The Arabic Dialect of Tillo in the Region of Siirt

(South-eastern Turkey)

By

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2009
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 tarrör “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 prothetic 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, qoltu-dialects, intermarriage, linguistic dominance, cultural influence, devoicing, pausal position, spontaneous imāla, copula, hāl-sentence, second borrowing, arabiska

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www.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se
To my parents: Malke Laḥdo and Ḥāna Chamoun Masso
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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 Qamašli 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 q̣áltu-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 Tür ʿAbdīn in particular is my original home and the birthplace 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 lō-маṭīnowo, 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
c.    circa
coll. collective
const. status constructus
dim.  diminutive
dua.  dualis
En.   English
f.    feminine
Fr.   French
HA   Halanze 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 (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan)
pl.   plural
poss. possessive
prep. preposition
QA   Qarîmîn Arabic
qD   qøltû-dialect(s)
qD I  Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qøltû-Dialekte 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 Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>voiced bilabial plosive</td>
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<td>[p]</td>
<td>voiceless bilabial plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[t]</td>
<td>voiceless dental plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>[ʈ]</td>
<td>voiceless velarized dental plosive</td>
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<tr>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>voiced dental plosive</td>
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<td>voiced velarized dental plosive</td>
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<td>voiced velar plosive</td>
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<td>$q$</td>
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<td>voiceless uvular plosive</td>
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<td>[ɭ]</td>
<td>voiceless glottal plosive</td>
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Vowels

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**Vowels in borrowings**

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**Diphthongs**

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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. 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. Blanc characterized this area as a Mesopotamian dialect area in which two large groups of dialects must be distinguished, namely qeltu-dialects and gelet-dialects. 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-lamiye, a dialect spoken in the region of Mardin. In 1978 and after years of field studies and data collection, Jastrow published his well-known study Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qeltu-Dialekte I. In this survey, Jastrow builds further on Blanc’s categorization of the Mesopotamian qeltu-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.

Studies of the Anatolian qeltu-dialects are going on and, to mention a few, I would first like to refer to Wittrich’s work on the Arabic dialect of Āzox (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

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1 Socin 1882-3.
2 Blanc 1964, 5.
3 Later called qeltu- 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, 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. 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 mérđalli 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.

For studies on the qáltu-related dialects in Syria and Iraq it is worth mentioning, for instance, Behnstedt’s studies on the Arabic dialects of Soukhne and M’adđamiye; Talay’s work on the Arabic dialect of Khawēna; Isaksson’s and my article on the Arabic dialect of three border towns in north-eastern Syria; my articles on an Arabic dialect in Qamishli, and Jastrow’s works on the Arabic dialect of the Jews of ‘Aqrā and Arbil and on the Arabic dialect of Tikrit.

As mentioned above, Jastrow divided the Anatolian qáltu-dialects in groups. For the Siirt group, Jastrow lists the following Arabic-speaking villages: Försaf, Halanze, Snēb, Tōm, Fäskun and Tälllo. When Isaksson and I travelled in the region in November 2000 we visited all these villages. On the way to Fäskun 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 Halanzöke 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 Tälllo.

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.
11 Talay 1999.
12 Isaksson and Lahdo 2002.
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 $\tilde{q}$. In men’s speech $q$ shifts to $\tilde{q}$ only in the root $qw\ell$. 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 southeastern 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, 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. 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 a mullah 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.

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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 xțēp. In the context one may find also these forms, xțēp and xțēb.

17 As a speaker of a qolitu-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 al-awliyā, “centre of the holy ones”, and was the home of Ibrāhīm Haqqī and Šayx 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 Ibrāhīm Haqqī, who was a theologian, physicist, astrologer and mathematician, had made all the calculations

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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 İbrâhîm Haqqî’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 Faqîrû lâh, 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”.*

Now back to the text:


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20 sayyâdi Faqîrû lâh is always translated as “my great-grandfather” because the expression refers to “the father” of the whole ʿAbbâsi tribe.
21 Due to technical difficulties it was not possible to transcribe an lâl with a macron over it, i.e. long ʾâl. For the allophone ʾâl 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. čûnki “because”.
26 Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. sulale “family, line”.
27 Cf. kâlloan “all of us”.
28 Cf. Turk. tabî “of course”. ʾtabikî is sometimes used as a filling word that has no particular meaning.
29 Cf. Turk. ʾferman “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 Faqīrū 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 Faqīrū 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 ʿmṭḥḥr31 “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 ʿmṭḥḥhr 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 ʿmṭḥḥhr.

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, Aramean-
ans, Jews, Circassians, Kazakhs and Arabs. The last group is poorly investigated as far as ethnicity and original homeland are concerned.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{33} There are, however, studies on the group’s identity, its confession of Islam, its number and areas of settlement etc.

Siirt (also Scert and Siştard 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.\textsuperscript{34} In the 9\textsuperscript{th} century al-Shabushtı says that there was a monastery housing 400 monks.\textsuperscript{35} From the 11\textsuperscript{th} century the city was under the rule of various local Muslim dynasties: Marwanids, Artu-kids 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.\textsuperscript{36}

According to a census, a tahrıır, 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.\textsuperscript{37} Within the East Syrian Church, Siirt belonged to the see of Hişn Kayfa.\textsuperscript{38} In addition to East Syrians, Siirt also had a West Syrian community until the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century (ca. 50 families), and an Armenian community. In the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} 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.\textsuperscript{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, ʿāʾila Xâlidîyya and ʿāʾila ʿAbbâsiyya, as a mullah in Tillo described them. The Xâlîdi tribe claims that their ancestors came to Tillo from Ḣoms in Syria about 700 years ago, and the ʿAbbâsi tribe says that their ancestors came to Tillo via Iraq from Saudi Arabia about 400 years ago. Both families

\textsuperscript{32} Here I am referring to the Arabs of Siirt and not to the Arabs of Turkey in general.
\textsuperscript{34} Seert in Fiey 1977, 244 and Witakowski 2000, 392-393, Siştard in Bosworth 1997, 573.
\textsuperscript{35} Bosworth 1997, 574.
\textsuperscript{36} Fiey 1977, 244 and Bosworth 1997, 574.
\textsuperscript{37} Faroqhi 1997, 575.
\textsuperscript{38} The modern Hasankef in south-eastern Turkey.
\textsuperscript{39} Fiey 1977, 244-251.
are Sunni Muslims and belong to the Shafi’i 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:

\textit{məšxâṭar l-islâmiyye, məšxâṭar l-islâmiyye təzdâät}

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

Were they nomad tribes or soldiers?

\textit{lâ, lâ kēnu faqah, mudarrəsîn}

“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.\footnote{The information presented here is based entirely on oral statements.} He starts, as in example (a), by saying:

\begin{quote}
\textit{anā d’allām bantī ‘arabi ē bā Click to view the full text.} \footnote{Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. \textit{mektep} “school”. Turkish \textit{okul} “school” is rare in the material.} \textit{maktap} \footnote{Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. \textit{mektep} “school”. Turkish \textit{okul} “school” is rare in the material.} \textit{41} ēkəm lay ma’a kəllə tərk ēnne.}
\end{quote}

“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:

\begin{quote}
\textit{anā d’allām bantī ‘arabi ē bā Click to view the full text.}
\end{quote}
b.  s-saḥ anā lī faff banēt. ʿal-faff banēt ʿann ka-ḡade ʿanne am ẓārlaš ʿal-me wāḥde arbaḥt awlād āy faḥš. kāl-wāḥd dā-yrūd ʿawqāḥ āk ʿaṭ-ṭāʾex. 42 ē anā d-ʾanxalaṭ maḥ ʿat-tārki. anā d-ʾanxalaṭ maḥ ʿat-tārki ʾash tu-yṣīr āk ʿaṭ-ṭāʾex?

“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 ʾēke ʿd-ṣīr: ʿd-ʾansī rūḥna. ʿaṣlīna ʿd-ʾansīyū w ʿd-nrū. ʿd-ʾanpīṭḥ yaʾne Ṽ-nūṣal.

“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 ḥ is not audible. Cf. rūḥu “they went”.
43 Cf. Kur. ḝax “when, at that time”. Cf. also Turk. çag “time, period, epoch”. Judging from the meaning and the function, Kurdish ḝax 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:

ya’ni kama aryna hiç45 mā fi ḍa-ṣī mawya’. fī havāha ham fī kalla ši. šādege46 lōha fārt əš-šiyyayn: ṭayy w ṣeqgl mā lōha

“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 tāsah ṣnin kağ-ğina. ġirāna kalla ənn tőrk. yəgraw bət-tőrk, nəhne mm séna ka-tğayyar 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 kūrmānč, 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.
...yā’ne ḥala nasap ‘āyla wāḥida. ‘āylat kūrmānč, nqūl kūrmānč, akrāt. mu-tafarriqa, kālla wāḥid ḡā mān makān.

“...without lineage there is one family, kūrmānč, we say kūrmānč, 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:

aqw ʾl-kūrmānč lay kāḏ-ḡaw mān qābāl taḥt ʿidd Fāqīru ʿllāḥ w ṣayx Mḡāḥd, ṣ̱ādawmāwān qwnak.

“These Kurds who emigrated (to Tillo) came for the sake of being servants to Fāqīru llah and sheik Muḡāhid, 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:

fi Tello ʾl-hayāt qabāl ʾaššīn, ṣ̱amṣa w ʾaššīn same kān bowṣ aḥṣān mān ʾaṣ-saḥa. ʾaṣ-saḥa Tello nxalatāt, aṣwam ʾaṣ-saḥ āwn fāt-Turkya nxalatāt ʾaṣ-masadale qwnak am ʾaṣy ʾaṣ-ṣī. nxalatāt Tello.

48 Assimilation, cf. ʾaššīn “20”.
49 Cf. Kur. ḑoš “plentiful”.

34
“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 bowš 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:


“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. çârik “headscarf”.
56 The definite article l assimilates to q < al-qat.
57 Cf. Turk. site “housing development, housing estate; city-state”.

36
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:


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. falan “so and so, and so on, and such”.
61 Most probably the speaker means lay here.
62 Cf. Turk. geri “back, backward”.

37
Sultan Mahmud sends a maid and a servant, a man and a woman to my great-grandfather Faqiru llâh, and he sends him also a camel, we say camel, a camel load of gold. The sultan says: Oh Faqiru llâh, 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, Faqiru llâh, he accepts the maid and the servant but the load of gold he sends back. He says: My name is Faqiru llâh, 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 Faqiru llâh. 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 Xâlidi tribe with ancestors originating from Ḥamṣ in Syria, and a ‘Abbâsi 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

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63 Cf. lâhan “they have”.

38
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:

“... 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 ..., cannot stand each other. They do not like each other. Let’s say that the Xalidi cannot stand the 'Abbasi (and) the 'Abbasi 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, Snëb, where a snëbi who is successful in commerce invests the money of his community in Istanbul:

“... there is a person from Snëb here; Snëb 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) Snëb. He bought, he buys them (for the people of Snëb) real estate (lit. apartment).”

And the same informant ends, bitterly:

Notes:
64 Cf. Turk. isletme “administration, management”.
65 Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. muhasebe + the Turkish genitive suffix. Note that Turkish $h$ is pronounced $h$. This may be due to dialectal variation in Turkish in this region.
66 Cf. Turk. kooperatif “cooperative”.
67 Cf. Turk. birbirini çekmyorlar “they cannot stand each other”.
68 Cf. Turk. ona göre “according to that”.
69 Cf. Turk. daire “apartment, flat”.
70 Broken Pl. of zengin, 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 Xālidi tribe while Faqīru lāh and Ibrāhim Ḥaqqī belong to the ʿAbbāsi tribe. The ʿAbbāsis declare proudly that they have a family tree by which they can be traced back to ʿAbbās.

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. Ḥay “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 shocking 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:

ṭl-akrāt baqa yatbżu ḥaqqa. ysaw rōḥan mudāfaʿa. nēḥne mō ntīq. mō tiq aʿül lā ... amā ṣnne ḡade bāʾda ḏ-ysawawa, ṣnne ḡade bāʾ, ḡade ḏ-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 kød-ğayyərtənu ěke, gari l-‘arabi?

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

H- āšš ārəf? əwn fi Şıanbūl lay ěke yəgraw nəHEME əmmən sayən 75 kər-rəḩ ěke. ḥalbuki 76 garina l-‘arabi əww akfəɾ akwəs. əww ahsēn. əwn lay yəgraw ěke nəHEME am sēnə kər-rā ěke 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:

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75 Cf. (l)sēnā “our tongue”.
76 Cf. Turk. halbuki “whereas, however, nevertheless”.

42
“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:

“wherever one goes one follows the custom there”

The same informant contradicts herself later by saying:

“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 *garibe* “stranger (f.sg.)”:

“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

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77 Cf. Turk. *yasak* “forbidden, prohibited”.
78 Cf. Turk. *ayrı* “different, separate”.

43
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:

ortāmna79 māww musā’ād. ʾal-lawm ʾann kā-l-kārdi mā tāq qāl anā kārdi, ʾann kal-l-ʿarabi mā tāq qāl anā ʿarabi, mā-lak ḥaqq ṭīš. ... ʾašš tā-tsāyy? mō tā-tkallām 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.”

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79 Cr. Turk. ortam “surroundings, milieu”.
2. Phonology

2.1. The consonant system

The Arabic dialect of Tillo has the following consonants:

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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.: clusão “someone”, cf. OA^{80} clusão; non-pausal form, e.g.: clusão 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 tanwin 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 maʿ; non-pausal form, e.g.: yəraw maʿ ḥaʿyən “they talk with each other”; šərab “he drank”, cf. OA šariiba; non-pausal form, e.g.: šərb əź-ʒəgəra “the smoking of cigarettes”; zawc “husband”; non-pausal form yərōhʊ l-zawg w əl-mara yəgiene ʒege “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.: aqʿad “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-yərafə haṃal “he used to carry or haul up weight”, cf. raʃə; ta-ʃət tahnt ... “I will sit under ...”, cf. qaʿada. Voiced consonants may shift to voiceless also in contact position before a voiceless consonant, i.e. partial regressive assimilation, e.g.: balah “you (m.sg.) swallowed”; tzawwaʃt “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.: ‘ʃəp “grape(s)”, cf. OA ʃinab; yəhrap “he flees”, cf. OA haraba; ʒərip “stranger”, cf. OA ʒərib; ktəp “book”, cf. OA kətəb. 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.: maɣrab “sunset”; laqab “title, nickname”; qarib “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 šarab “to drink” for Siirt. Today, 24 years later, we have the verb forms yarap and šərap 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.: *daps* “syrup”, cf. OA *dibs*; *haps* “jail”, cf. OA *habs*; *harrapt* “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 /b…/ which is attested in words where an original /b/ is velarized either because of a special consonant (emphatic consonant or a /x/, /ɣ/, /h/, /κ/)[83] or a back vowel (a, u, ā, ū, ā or ə) in its environment, e.g.: *kəl-’abár* “he has passed, gone by”, cf. OA *’abara*; *’abár* “coldness, chilliness”, cf. OA *bard*; *’ābhēx* “August”; *ḥətam* “terebinth”, cf. OA *butum*; *’āhbāt* “thief” (see 2.5). b is also velarized before the diphthong aw, e.g. *’yə’abhw* “they fill”.

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


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-/t-,*[84] e.g.:

- *d-aqūm* “I will stand up”  
  *d-ə-yəlləm* “he will teach”
- *d-āği* “I will come”  
  *d-ə-yəğü* “he will come”
- *d-aḥtik* “I will give you …”  
  *d-ə-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-ahət* “I will put”  
  *t-ə-yəğü* “he will come”
- *tə-nəbqa* “we will stay”  
  *tə-yəğənn* “he will get mad”

In a couple of examples, /lt/ shifts to /dl/ 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 gütt- where in the aorist verb-stem the /lt/ is followed by a vowel and then is voiced to /dl/, 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 da- 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 /lt/ to /dl/ in the future particle is a phonological change and not a morphological borrowing. In other Mesopotamian qštū-dialects, for instance Mardin and Āzāx, the future particle is /lt/ + a vowel, e.g.: taʾākōl “ich werde essen” and taʾāšrāb “ich werde trinken”;87 ta-nastārītna ʾnēg “wir werden uns Schafe kaufen” and ʾŠṭāq Bāzō ṭīhlāk ʾezrēʾa “ʾŠṭāq Bāzō wird das Dorf ruinieren”.88

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

2.1.5. The voiceless velarized dental plosive /lt/

The voiceless velarized dental plosive /lt/ is pronounced unvelarized /lt/ in contact position after /lt/, so-called progressive assimilation, e.g.: d-ahtik “I will give you”; taḥtīna “you (m.sg.) give us”, cf. OA ʿaṯtā. Apart from that, /lt/ is stable in all positions, e.g.: taḥ “of course”, cf. Turk. tabī; aḥṭal “I get tired”; faqat “just, but”, cf. Turk. fakat90 “but, however”.

85 Lewis 2000, 11.
87 Jastrow 1987, 302.
89 Second borrowing, cf. OA tabī “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 faqat “just”.

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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.: barat “hail”, cf. OA barad; walat “to be born”, cf. OA wala’d. A lesser amount of examples with retained final /d/ are attested, e.g.: wēhəd “one”; azyad “more” alongside wēhət 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. dəps “syrup”; damak “to say, having the meaning”, cf. Turk. demek; darp “way, road”, cf. OA darb; adab “good manners”.

/d/ is velarized to /ð/ in the vicinity of another velarized consonant (emphatic consonant or a /xl, /g/, /lq/, /h/, /x/) and/or in the vicinity of a back vowel, e.g.: yəqədu “they mean”; ənṣədə “we make friends”; qadr “his value”; ṭadrəs “teaching”; raḍḍaytu ... “once again I ...”; qaḍar “fate”; mò ḏor “I am not going around”; ḥəlih “eleven”; durum “state, condition” (see 2.5).

2.1.7. The voiced velarized dental plosive /d../

/d../ to /v../

The reflex of the OA voiced dental velarized plosive /d../ is the voiced velarized labio-dental fricative /v../, e.g.: awrəs “teeth”, cf. OA awrəs; kə-xvərrat “become green”, cf. OA ixvərrat; ayhərwən “they prepare”, cf. OA yu-həddirənə.

/d../ to /z../

In second borrowings, /d../ occurs as the voiced velarized dental sibilant /z../, e.g.: fažəla “abundance”, cf. OA fədəla, cf. also Turk. fəzála; rəməndən “Ramadan”, cf. OA raməndən, cf. also Turk. ramən; aļla yərəzə əlayk “may God be content with you”, cf. OA rađiya, cf. also rəzi olmak “to agree on something”. In borrowings from KA, /d../ is retained, e.g.: rađiya “to be satisfied, be content”, cf. OA rađiya; hədəɾ “presence, attendance”, cf. OA ḥudəɾ.

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

Nevertheless instances where /d/ is still used are found, e.g.: mə yədərr “it does not matter”.

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91 The verb is in II where the meaning is in III, “to make a friend”.
92 Cf. Turk. durum “state, condition, situation”.

49
2.1.8. The voiceless velar plosive /k/

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ is in general retained, e.g.: kân “he was”; dakâkin “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.: gbîr “big, large”, cf. kabîr. 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.: yaprâx “a dish made of leaves stuffed with rice and meat”, cf. Turk. yaprak.

2- A voiced velar fricative /ğ/, e.g.: qaçâğ “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.: ʿala gorât ʿl-mît alf dôlar “according to the 100,000 dollars”, cf. Turk. göre; zanâgin “rich (pl.)”, cf. Turk. zengin.

2.1.10. The voiceless uvular plosive /q/

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

/q/ to ɬ/

A reflex of the OA voiceless uvular plosive /q/ is the voiceless glottal plosive ɬ/ that, occurs more or less in all forms of the OA verb qâla “he said”, e.g.: ʿel “he said”; ʿayûl “he says”; ʿetûl “she says”. But it seems that the male speakers of this dialect alternate, due to external influence, in use between /q/ and ɬ/ in this verb, e.g.: qâl anâ kîrdi “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 a?ūl and aqûl “I say” while the women, whom we were not

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93 The shift of /q/ to ɬ/ is a common feature in many of the Syro-Palestinian dialects; cf. Behnstedt 1997, map 9.
allowed to interview, always say *a‘īl* 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 */l/* consistently, i.e. not only in connection with the verb *qāla*, e.g.: *ṭaba‘a* “layer”; */q/-*“that much”; */q/-*“a mouthful, little piece”; */q/-*“they stand up”; */q/- “we will be able to”; */q/- “difference”; */q/- “he danced”; */q/- “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 */l/* independent of M’s pronunciation:

M- *fi ḥaqq əŞtanbūl fi ḥaqq Təllo əşŞ Pūli?*

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

S- *fi ḥa’ əŞtanbūl, fi ḥa’ Təllo əşŞ a‘ül?*

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

M- *əs-saḥ yəqrəw?*

“Are they studying now?”

H- *əs-saḥ yəqrəw. nəḥne māā rəḥna māā ʔarayna. mō nəraf nəri 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”.


The alternation between */k/* and */q/* (in Turkish borrowings) and */q/* and */l/* 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 */l/*, e.g.: *bāšqa* “different”, cf. Turk. *başka*; *ʔima* “minced meat”, cf. Turk. *kryma*, pronounced *qima* by male informants.

*/q/* to */x/*
/q/ has shifted, in a few examples, to a voiceless velar fricative /x/ in final position, e.g.: ysaddax “he believes”, cf. OA šaddaqa. Also in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, /q/ shifts to /x/, e.g.: waxt94 “time; then, at that time”, cf. OA waqt; yəxtəl “he kills”; yəxtəlu “they kill”.

/q/ to /g/
In a few attestations /q/ shifts to /g/ in contact position before the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, i.e. contact assimilation, e.g.: yəgəblu “he accepts him”; yəgbal “he accepts”, cf. OA qabila. Also here a confusing change is occurring, because I think the change of /q/ to /g/ 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 /g/, cf. ghays “bread” (see 2.1.17).

The material contains instances where /q/ is retained in men’s speech, e.g.: qäm “he stood up”; saqawu “they gave to drink”; fəståq “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.: ʔəsal95 “origin”, cf. OA ʔasl; ʔaqāreb “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.: bɨr “well”, cf. OA bɨr; vih “jackal, wolf”, cf. OA diʔb. In loan-words from KA, on the other hand, /ʔ/ is attested in medial and final position, e.g.: masaleza (note that the Turkish word, mesele, is also attested) “matter, issue”, cf. OA mas’ala; təxir “delay”, cf. OA təxir; fuğatan “suddenly”, cf. OA fağ’a; qađa “district, province”, cf. OA qaḍa?; raʔisu l-ʔulamāʔ “chief of the scientists”; wuẓūʔ “ritual ablution before prayer”, cf. OA wuḍūʔ. 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 ʔəsal occurs alongside ʔəsl. In Kur. this word is pronounced with /ʕ/, ʔəsıl “origin” (see Chyet 2003, 179).

2.1.13. The voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ɡ/  

The voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ɡ/ is devoiced to a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /č/ in final pausal position, e.g.: tzawwač! “you (m.sg.) get married!”, şahrič “cistern, tank”, cf. OA şahriğ/šihriğ; hačè “pilgrimage”, cf. OA hağğ. Non-pausal, e.g.: falğ “snow”; zawğ “husband”. In contact position before a voiceless phoneme, /ɡ/ is devoiced to a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /š/, e.g.: zawski “your (f.sg.) husband”; tzawwstå “I got married”. In one word /ɡ/ shifts to /š/ in final position, namely falš “snow”, cf. OA talğ.

In a few examples, /ɡ/ shifts to the voiced palato-alveolar sibilant /ž/ in contact position before a voiceless consonant, e.g.: mažbûrîyye “necessity”, cf. OA mağbûr; tažmèd “it (f.sg.) becomes frozen”, cf. OA ḡamada; aždèdna “our forefathers”, cf. OA ḡdâd; ẓnaye “garden” kâ-żawwǜna “we had got married”. Although the shift of /ɡ/ 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 /ɡ/.

Apart from that, /ɡ/ is retained, e.g.: ǧiha “side, direction”, cf. OA ǧiha; ǝrgèl “men”, cf. OA riǧâl.


The OA voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ is retained, e.g.: faraš “horse”, cf. OA faras; rafaš “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; naviyyet (const.) “grand-child”, cf. Kur.

2.1.16. The OA interdentals /t/, /d/, /q/

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 ālğ; fēnî “second”, cf. OA ānî; āfâr “place”, cf. OA ātār; fēfīn “thirty”, cf. OA talātūna; akfar “more”, cf. OA akṭar.

2- /t/ is substituted by a voiceless dental sibilant /s/ in loan-words from KA, e.g.: kasîr “much”, cf. OA kaṭîr. Nevertheless, this second reflex is puzzling because one word is pronounced in two different ways by two different informants, e.g.: smîn ., and fmē . “8”. In an interview with a mullah the word salās occurs four times.

The OA voiced interdental fricative /d/ has a reflex /v/, e.g.: āvār “Mars”, cf. OA āḍār; vîb “jackal, wolf”, cf. OA dîb; vāhēb “gold”, cf. OA ḍahāb; kēvb “lie”, cf. OA kaḍîb. In final position and in contact position before /t/, /d/ shifts to voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, e.g.: aḡef “he took” cf. OA ax-aḍa, aḡaft “you (m.sg.) took”. In second borrowings where /d/ shifts to a voiced dental sibilant /z/ we find ẓan “permission”, cf. Turk. izin and cf. also OA iḍn.

The OA voiced velarized interdental fricative /q/ has a voiced velarized labio-dental fricative /v/ as a reflex, e.g.: yəhār “noon, midday”, cf. OA ḏuhr; yahri “my back”, cf. OA ḏahr. In second borrowings where /q/ shifts to voiced velarized dental sibilant /z/ we find kel-ẓalāmt “you treated unjustly, oppressed”, cf. Turk. zulmetmek, cf. also OA ḏalama. In loan-words from KA, /q/ is retained, e.g.: ẓālzm “oppressor”, cf. OA ẓālim. Note that both /q/ and /q/ coincide in /v/ (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 bôş, cf. Kur. boş “plentiful, abundant”.
97 Cf. sâse “three” and sēsîn “thirty” in Wittrich 2001, 117 and 119.
2.1.18. The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ shifts, in contact position before a voiceless consonant and also in a final pausal position, to voiceless velar fricative /ʃ/, e.g.: naʃxalu “we wash it (m.sg.)”, cf. ġasala; sāayex “goldsmith”, cf. šārä. Apart from that, /ɣ/ is retained, e.g.: ġarip “stranger”; ġnēni “songs”; zgayyar “little, small”; šāqoł “work”.

In Turkish borrowings, the Turkish yumušak, or soft, /ɣ/ is pronounced as /ɣ/ in this dialect, e.g.: yāq “oil, fat”, cf. Turk. yaq; sāq “safe, alive”, cf. Turk. saq; čağ98 “time, period”, cf. Turk. çag; yōgort “yoghurt”, cf. Turk. yoğurt. This may also be the ordinary pronunciation of /ɣ/ in Turkish dialects in this area.

2.1.19. The voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/

The voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/ is elided in final pausal position in the verb rāh “to go”, e.g.: əyrō “he goes”; arō “I go”; rā “he went”, but yrōhu “they go”. In non-pausal position /h/ is pronounced, e.g.: fatah “he opened”.

Apart from this /h/ is retained, e.g.: d-aḥkik “I will tell you”, cf. OA ḥakā; ḥakkōye “tale, story”, cf. OA ḥikāya; ḥmār “donkey”, cf. OA ḥimār; əyşiḥ “he shouts”.

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

98 čağ also occur.
2.1.20. The voiced laryngeal fricative /ʃ/

The voiced laryngeal fricative /ʃ/ shifts to a voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/ in word-final position, e.g.: mawqə́ “place, spot”, cf. OA mawqi’; ɡāmə́ “mosque”, cf. OA ɡāmi’t; maḥ “with”, cf. OA ma’; as-sāʿa; arbaḥ “four”; ṭallah “he looked, noticed”, cf. OA ṭala’ay; raḡaḥ “he came back”, cf. OA raḡa’ay. /ʃ/ also shifts to /h/ in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, e.g.: sāḥtayn “two hours”; xaməštə “15”; ḥtawni “give me!”, cf. OA aṭa’ta; ḏalaḥ “you (m.sg.) swallowed”, cf. OA ḏala’ay. In some instances /ʃ/ is elided in final position, e.g.: aṭalla “I look”. ṭallah is also attested. Apart from that, /ʃ/ is retained, e.g.: ʿnəp “grape(s)”; yəḥar “he passes”; arba’ ʿmit 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.: āk “that (3.m.sg.)”, cf. MA ḥāk; āāva “this”, cf. OA ḥāda; 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 ənne “they”. huwwa and hēke are also, though rarely, attested. In all other cases, the OA /h/ is retained, e.g.: ḥəhu “for, to him”; rəhwān “amblor (about a horse)”, cf. OA rahwān; maşhūr “famous, well known”, cf. OA maşhūr. Also in borrowings /h/ is audible in initial position, e.g.: hōnək “cool, cooler”, cf. Kur. honik/hēnik; yəhu “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 /xl, /ɡ/, /ɡl, /h/, /ʃ/ and/or a back vowel, e.g.: xəsar “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-nəsit “you (m.sg.) have forgotten”; ḡawīs “clothes”, cf. MA ḡawīs.

2.1.23. The voiceless velarized dental sibilant /ʃ/

The OA voiceless velarized dental sibilant /ʃ/ is in general retained, e.g.: ʃār “it (m.sg.) happened”; ʃawta “her voice”; ʃāhi “cloudlessness, brightness (of weather)”, cf. OA ʃawh; ʃawp “direction”, cf. OA ʃawb. An exemption from
this rule is that /š/ sometimes loses its velarization in the vicinity of the front vowels, e.g.: ʃysir and ʃsər “it happens, becomes”; tsər “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; tızawwaç! “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; ɡaws “walnuts”, cf. ɡawz; aʃgas “I get bored”, cf. OA ʿaɡaza. Non-pausal position, e.g.: nərkaz “we settle down, sit down”; markəz “centre, middle”.

2.1.25. The voiced velarized dental sibilant /z:\/

The voiced velarized dental sibilant /z:\/ is attested in borrowings, e.g.: kel-ẓalāmt “you treated unjustly, oppressed”, cf. Turk. zulmetmek, cf. also KA ḏalama; ẓātan “in any case”, cf. Turk. zaten; pāzr “market”, cf. Turk. pazar; ẓalame “man”, cf. Kur. zelam. 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.: šəḵ “work”; šaxs “person”, cf. OA šaxṣ; nəšrap “we drink”; faʃ təʃʃər “three months”; ʿaʃaʃ “thirst”; xaməstaʃ “15”.

3.1.27. The voiced dental lateral /l/

The OA voiced dental lateral /l/ is in general retained, e.g.: ləbek “a game, play”; dalil “indication, sign”; šəglu “his work”; ərğel “men”, cf. OA riğğ. /l/ is, however, velarized to /lː/ in the word allā “God”, e.g.: wəllə “by God”; allāhu ə分流 “God knows”; ə分流 “(interjection) Oh really!”.

2.1.28. The voiced velarized dental trill /r/

The OA voiced dental trill /r/ is in general retained, e.g.: rəğə “demand”; xa-ysir “let it (m.sg.) be (so)”; xər “may it be good”; kərəf “godfather”, cf. Kur. kirəv.

99 Barthelémy 1935, 318.
is sometimes velarized, due to back vowels and/or due to the phenomenon of tafxīm (see 2.5), e.g.: ṭāmāyān “pomegranate”; ṭāmād “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.: maktūp100 “written, letter”; xamāštahš “15”; damak “to say, assume”, cf. Turk. demek; yawm “day”.

/m/ is sometimes velarized when in contact with the back vowel /a/, e.g.: ṭayy “water; ṭāmām “true, correct”, cf. Turk. tamam; ǧamāmāy ǧaynu “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”; nāhne “we”; ġsnin “years”; mēn “from”; ẓban “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” Sāwēd “Sweden”; ẓkwayyēs “good, fine (m.sg.)”. /w/ is attested also in borrowings, e.g.: ġωwērī (pl. of ġēriyye) “headscarf”. /w/ in the conjunction wa “and” is often pronounced/u/ before labiodentals and bilabials, e.g.: fi bīr u fi šahrīč “there is a well and there is a cistern”; aflān kass u flān kass “there is this one and that one”; baynak u bayn aḷḷa “between you and God”; u bāl-layl “and in the night”; fālīf u mālī “pepper and salt”; raḡal u mara “a man and a woman”.

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

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

58
2.2.2. The voiced palatal /y/

OA /y/ is in general retained, e.g.: yawm “day”; abyay “white”, cf. OA abyad; miyye “100”; yəṭla‘u “they go out”; yəğaw “they come”; ayzoro̱wa “they visit it (f.sg.)”; aysir “it (m.sg.) happens”. Also in borrowings /y/ is retained, e.g.: milyon “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.: ʔarıla “family” and ʔarıloti “my family”, cf. OA ʔarıla. ʔarıla is also attested. Other examples: ㊙rayyəf “a small loaf of bread”, cf. OA rağıf: yəṭmanəf “to cease, stop”, cf. OA imtanəf; nəmye “she is asleep”, cf. OA nərima.

2.4. Vowels

2.4.1. The vowel system

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long vowels</th>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/ū/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ē/</td>
<td>/ō/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| /ā/          | /


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 /a/, e.g.: wēḥad “one”, cf. OA wāhid; man “from”, cf. OA min; təshrîn “October/November”, cf. tişrin; şəglu “his work”, cf. OA şuğl; təffâāh “apple (pl.)”, cf. OA tuffâh; kəll “all, every”, cf. OA kull; şərp “drink, drinking”, cf. OA šurb.

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

In borrowings both /i/ and /u/ are attested, e.g.: pilâf “rice”, cf. Turk. pilav; čičak “flower”, cf. Turk. čiček; cünkû “because”, cf. Turk. cünkû; guwanmîş “trust, confidence”, cf. Turk. gûvenç and/or gûvenmek “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), e.g. ġarîbe “stranger”, cf. OA ġarîba; sane “year”, cf. OA sana; mənâsaba “occasion”, cf. OA munâsaba. /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.: wazîr “minister”; faqîr “poor”; maliha “good, nice (f.sg.)”; ʿaskar “soldiers”; yahîr “back”; sântayn “two years”; xamse “five”; badala “instead of her”; dalîl “indication, sign”, cf. OA dalîl; ʿasal “honey”; şahrîc “cistern”, cf. OA şahrîğ.

2- /ā/, e.g.: māršak “with you (m.sg.)”; štâgal “he worked”; ǧafâ “tough, hard”; məšmâs “apricot”.

101 In this aspect one may also consider e as a morpheme.
3- /a/, e.g.: awnak “there”; awne “here”; qə‘ul “I say”; ɳə‘a-zA ɼəh! “God forbid”, cf. OA ma‘ādə ləh; ayri102 “different”.

/a/ shifts to either /ə/, /e/ or /ɛ/ (see 2.6) in the final syllable of a word in a pausal position, e.g.: kənət “she was”, also kənat is attested; arkəp “I ride”; markəz “centre”; zgəyyər (dim.) “little”; nəstağər “we ask”; awwəl “first”; asfəl “down”; gə-zdədət “it (f.sg.) has increased”; apət “more distant”, cf. OA aβəd; məktəp “school”; fətəf “he opened”; aγəf “he took”. Examples where /a/ is retained in the last syllable of a word in non-pausal position are also attested, e.g.: ɣənəm “sheep”; ɣəbal “mountain”; aηat “someone”.

Additionally, in the possessive pronouns, 3.c.pl. and 2.c.pl., /a/ and /ə/ alternate, unconditionally, e.g.: garıyən “their speech” and bərətan “their beer”; baytkən “your house” and aṣəlkən “your origin”. The pronunciation āṣəl 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”; rəhtan “you went”; ʂərapən “you drank”; sawaytən “you did”; ɣətn “you came”; tələhtən “you took out”.

2.4.3. Vowels in borrowings

Vowels that are used in borrowings in this dialect:


b. /öl/, e.g.: onə göre “according to that”, cf. Turk. onə göre; özəl “special, private”, cf. Turk. özəl; dört “four”, cf. Turk. dört.

c. /ʊl/, e.g.: ɕünk “because”, cf. Turk. ɕünkə; ʃəfər “driver”, cf. Turk. ʃəfər.

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. ayri with the same meaning.
a. Between two closing consonants in word final, e.g.: *baṭa* “after”, cf. OA *baṭa*; *qabāl* “before”, cf. OA *qabla*; *ṣahār* “month”, cf. OA *ṣahār*; *ṭəm* “taste”, cf. OA *ṭa’m*; *faḵr* “idea”, cf. OA *fikr*; *akāl* “food”, cf. OA *akl*; *ṣāgāl* “work”, cf. OA *ṣuġl*; *ʿamār* “age”, cf. OA *ʿumr*.

b. Before a word starting in a two-consonant cluster (prosthesis), e.g.: *ṣfmēne* “eight”, cf. OA *ṭamāniya*; *ḥansay akāl* “we cook (food)”; *ḥbyūt* “houses”, cf. OA *buyt*; *ḥsnīn* “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 /a/ is inserted between the boundaries, e.g.: *al-balad* ṣghīr “the city is huge”; *ašsam ṣthapp* “however you (m.sg.) like”; *nānla* ḫlmēn ḥnsayy fāntayn balazkyatayn “we can afford two bracelets”; *ašr ḥsnīn* “10 years”; *yəḥfaṣ ṣōrāt *al-ḥant ṣmān ṣbān* “they sent the girl’s photo to the young man (lit. son)”; kā-t‘ūl aṣṣ ʿtrīt “she used to say whatever she wanted”; ġk *al-ḥant ʿṭlābili iyye!* “ask (f.sg.) for that girl’s hand for me!”.

d. Amid a two-consonant cluster in foreign words, e.g.: *s̱por* “sport(s)”; *ṯrafīk* “traffic”; *ḵs̱k* “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*; *rābī* “spring”; *ṣfrīk* “almonds”; *ṣahrīč* “cistern”, cf. OA *ṣahriḡ*.

#### 2.4.5.2. The long front unrounded /e/  

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

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103 *ḥlna* “we have”.
104 Cf. Turk. *bilezik* “bracelet”.

62
a. *imāla*, so-called *umlauts* *imāla* (see 2.4.9), e.g.: *ǧemḥ* “mosque”, cf. OA *ǧāmiʿ*; *rēkəb* “riding”, cf. OA *rākib*; *nišēn* “bridal attire”.

b. Monophthongisation of the diphthong */ay/*, e.g.: *šayx* “good, goodness”, cf. OA *xayr*; *gēr* “other than, another”, cf. OA *gayr*; *kēfi* “mood, humour”, cf. OA *kaif*.

c. An unconditioned shift of an */a/* in a last syllable in final pausal position (see 2.6), e.g.: *vahēb* “gold”, cf. OA *ḏahab*; *ganēm* “sheep (in coll.)”, cf. OA *ganam*; *gangēl* “mountain”, cf. OA *gabal*; *aḥēt* “someone”, cf. OA *ahād*; *ʾamēl* “work”, cf. OA *ʿamal*.

d. An unconditioned shift of the plural suffix */-t/* to */-t/*, so-called *spontaneous* *imāla*, (see 2.4.9) e.g.: *ḥaywēnēt* “animals”; *ʿamkānēt* “possibilities”; *banēt* “girls”; *akalēt* “food dishes”. Also in borrowings when the */-t/* suffix is implicated, e.g.: Kur. *xwarzê*; *parpārōkēt* “moth”, cf. Kur. *perperok*; *ṣašnēt* “varieties”, cf. Turk. *çeşni*. Examples with */-t/* are also attested, e.g.: *ḥakkoyāt* “tales, stories”; *ʿarabāt* “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*; *ayēn*105 “call to prayers”, cf. *aḏān*; *anwēt* “varieties”, cf. OA *anwār*; *dōkkēn* “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/*, */āʾ/*, */āl/* 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 */āl/* (see below under 2), is retained, e.g.: *mōnāsbe* “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*;

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105 The normal shift of an OA */ḏ/* is to */v/*. Here the */v/* is velarized to */v/* (see 2.1.16).
falân “a certain person”, cf. Turk. falan and cf. also OA fulân “substituting for an unnamed or unspecified person or thing”. aflân is also attested.

2. /āā/: The long front unrounded /āā/ has the quality of a ‘phoneme’ between /ē/ and /ā/, e.g.: toffāā “apple (coll.)”; tāārix “history”; āāf axī “this brother of mine”; sāāxān “hot, warm”; āāl “he said”; ĉāāx “then, at the time”, cf. Turk. çâg.106 Noteworthy is that the same words are sometimes pronounced with either /ā/ or /ē/; for instance târîx and tērîx; āf and ēf are also attested.

3. /āː/: The long back unrounded /āː/ is attested in words such as: rəmhâŋ “pomegranate”; āk “that (m.sg.)”, cf. MA hāk; rəmād “ashes”, cf. OA ramâd; šəhâf “thief”; ĉâqal “wise”; əﬁ-şəhâh “the morning”; āyri “different”, cf. Turk. ayrî; ərmâŋ “sumac or sumach” (see 2.5).

4. /ēː/: In imāla (see 2.4.9).

2.4.5.4. The long back rounded /ūː/

The long back rounded /ūː/, when not subject to lowering, is retained, e.g.: tammûz “July”; ūf “mulberry”, cf. CS tûţô;107 laymûn “lemon, citrus fruit”; əṭlûri “you (f.sg.) go around” (ydûr “he travels around”; da-dûr “I will travel around”; əndûr “we travel around” are also attested); əbyût “houses”; maqfûlin “closed”. /ū/ is also attested in loan-words, e.g.: tûte108 “little”, cf. HA tûte; wudû “purity, ritual ablution before prayer”, cf. KA wudû; mašhûr “famous”, cf. OA mašhûr; maktûp “written, letter”, cf. OA maktûb.

2.4.5.5. The long back rounded /ōː/


106 əəl and əēl, ĉāx and ĉēx are also attested.
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.: yay’a “village”, cf. OA ḏay’a; ʿayn “eye”, cf. OA ʿayn; laymūn “lemon, citrus fruit”; ṣayf “summer”, cf. OA ṣayf; ṭayy “water”, cf. OA māʾ; ʿayb “shame”, cf. OA ʿayb.

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; ḡēr “other, different”, cf. OA ḡayr. Bayt, šayx and ḡayr 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.: mawgūd “existing”; laws “almond”, cf. OA lawz; mawqāḥ “place, spot”, cf. OA mawqāh; šawt “voice”, cf. OA šawt; hawš “enclosure, courtyard”, cf. OA hawš.

2. /aw/ shifts, in few examples and unconditioned, to the monophthong /ō/, e.g.: mōyaʾ “place, spot”, cf. OA mawjūd; ṣōb or ṣōp “direction, reason”, cf. QA šawb; fōq “above, on”, cf. OA fawqa; yōm “day”, cf. OA yawm. The forms mawyaʾ, šawp, 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 māʾ + the enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun 3.m.sg. uww results in the diphthong /ōw/, e.g.: mōw šegolna “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.” What is found in the material is that some words are pronounced somehow differently, e.g.: künstu “I was” where /ü/ is a front vowel and /u/ is a back vowel. The normal form in this dialect is kőntu; 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.: ṣmkenet, “possibilities”, where ṣmkânêt is also attested; kään sääkän … “he used to live …”; mää ēke? “isn’t that so?”; ḥk ŋmnen liy ġawwētu “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

\[
\begin{align*}
    i & \rightarrow \text{ə, (i)} \\
    u & \rightarrow \text{ə, (u)} \\
    a & \rightarrow \text{a, (ă, e, ē)}
\end{align*}
\]

Long vowels, OA > TA

\[
\begin{align*}
    ĩ & \rightarrow \text{i, ĕ} \\
    ū & \rightarrow \text{ū, ŏ} \\
    ā & \rightarrow \text{ā (ă, āă), ē}
\end{align*}
\]

Diphthongs, OA > TA

\[
\begin{align*}
    ay & \rightarrow \text{ay, (ĕ)} \\
    aw & \rightarrow \text{aw, (ō)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.4.9. imāla

imāla is a common feature in Anatolian qəltu-dialects.\footnote{Jastrow 1978, 320-321.} This means a conditioned shift of OA /ä/ to /ê/ or /i/ in the vicinity of /i/ or /ï/, so-called umlauts imāla. The common imāla reflex in this dialect is of OA /ä/ to /ê/, e.g.: wēḥad “one”, cf. OA wāḥid; ərgēl “men”, cf. OA riğāl; əfmēnīn “eighty”, cf. əmānīn; fēnī “second”, cf. tānī; tērīx “history”, cf. OA târīx; əğməh “mosque”, cf. OA əğmî; rēkāb “riding”, cf. OA râkîb; rēkīn “settled”, cf. OA râkiz. The last three instances are examples of the noun pattern C−C<C.\footnote{Cf. Kur. telis “sack”.} There are, however, attestations in this pattern where /ä/ is retained, e.g.: əɭəm “learned, scientist”, cf. CA əɭəml. 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 /ä/ to /ê/ in:

a. The plural suffix -ät, e.g.: ketēhēt “books”; ərēgēt “empty dishes (plates, pots etc.)”; əmkānēt “possibilities”; banēt “girls”; əcēydēnēt “tea-pots”; əcēriyyēt “headscarfs”. Forms with -ät are also attested, e.g.: ḫarakāt “gestures, habits”; ərōtmānāt “teachers”, cf. Turk. əğrētmen (see 2.4.5.2. d.).

b. The last syllable of a word (that contains an /ä/), e.g.: bēp “door”, cf. OA bāb; mēt “he died”, cf. OA māta; anēm “I sleep”, cf. OA nāma. Forms with /ä/ in the last syllable of a word are also attested, e.g.: baynāt “between (in const.)”; əşābāh “morning”; nār “fire” (see 2.4.5.2. e.). This phonological peculiarity is attested also in borrowings, e.g.: ḋēx “then, at that time”, cf. Kur. ćax.

2.4.10. The feminine ending

The vowel of the feminine ending, /T/, in the construct state, is either /ə/ or /a/, in this dialect, e.g.: səcət əl-xatēn “the wrist-watch of the bridegroom”, laylət lay ṣənqatal “the night when he was murdered”; naviyyət Xāłəd “the grandchildren of Xālid”; tallisət rəss “a sack of rice”;\footnote{An original /t/ assimilates to /bi/; cf. Vocke and Waldner 1982, 258 where the forms maṭbāxiye and maṭbəxiye “kochtopf” are attested.} qəşṣət əl-wəḥde “one tale”; əswayyət rəss “some rice”; sallət ənəp “a basket of grape(s)”; maṭ bəḥaxiyət azəl “a special pot”. Forms with /ə/ in the last syllable of a word are also attested, e.g.: maṭbāxiye and maṭbəxiye “kochtopf” are attested.\footnote{112 An original /t/ assimilates to /bi/; cf. Vocke and Waldner 1982, 258 where the forms maṭbāxiye and maṭbəxiye “kochtopf” are attested.} In isolated forms, the nominal suffix expressing the feminine ending has two reflexes, /-al/, after emphatic conso-
nants, laryngeals, velars and glottals and /-el/. The table below presents the forms in which these reflexes are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After /-al/</th>
<th>After /-el/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>́t</td>
<td>́b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ʃəbəta</td>
<td>́ʃəbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ʃərtə</td>
<td>ġaribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́h</td>
<td>́taybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ʃərə</td>
<td>́mabkame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ʃərə</td>
<td>́laqme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́h</td>
<td>́nazle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́y</td>
<td>masʿale and masale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́fayya</td>
<td>layle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́c</td>
<td>ġāyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́fayya</td>
<td>baṣale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́fayya</td>
<td>dawle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́r</td>
<td>safra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́sagara</td>
<td>karwe\textsuperscript{113}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́tiğara</td>
<td>xalwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́g</td>
<td>lağa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́q</td>
<td>nayife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́q</td>
<td>masēfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́q</td>
<td>tütte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́d</td>
<td>sätte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́s</td>
<td>madrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́s</td>
<td>kwayse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́n</td>
<td>sane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́r</td>
<td>ġbre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́z</td>
<td>ġarze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́lzzə</td>
<td>darağe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ğ</td>
<td>ġ-ğēge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́š</td>
<td>ćaše (also ćaša is attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́y</td>
<td>ćaskariyye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́y</td>
<td>rāzye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of feminine nouns in the absolute state: ʾaš-šəbəta ayšni mō nošraf “we don’t know what theft is”; mbērha araytu fa-nawmi l-qiyāme kəl-qāmat

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

\textsuperscript{114} Cf. Kur. nexwēş “ill, sick”.

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“yesterday I dreamt that it was Judgement Day”; ʿaṭāna uuwe am ḥdāʾš alf waraqa “he too gave us 11,000 TL”; kāll ġarze kasxa uuw ʿašne115 “every stitch is pruned in a different way”; nār al-ḥaṭab iyye bowš tāybe “the fire of firewood is very nice”; iyy arf navifē “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”; ʾāk l-ābre “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 /ü/ shift to /e/ and /o/ respectively in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or /xl/, /ḡl/, /ql/, /ḥl/, /ʾl/: malēh, “good”; nsēr “we become”; mō tēq “I am not able to” (attā “I am able to” is also attested); rōḥ “spirit”; ʾaṣṭōḥ “roof”, cf. OA ʾaṭḥ; ʾayzōruwa “they visit it (f.sg.)”; ʾaṭyōr “birds”; ʾōrā “picture”; mō dōr “I do not go around” (tādūri “you (f.sg.) go around” is also attested); ʾog “hunger”. An irregularity here is šān lā-fūl “for the workers”.

2.5. tafxīm

An emphatic consonant or a /xl/, /ḡl/, /ql/, /ḥl/, /ʾl/ in a word normally affects the pronunciation of the other consonants in its vicinity, e.g.: ṭaḍād “ashes”, cf. ṭaḍād; ʾaḥḥāt “thief”; ʾaḥbār “patience”, cf. OA ʾaḥbr; ʾaṣṭāq “pistachio”; ṭa bḥāxiyye “large pot”; ṭaʾyān “each other”; ʾaḥbār “he passed”, ʾaḥn “inn, hostel” ʾaṭmāqat ʾaṭmān “pomegranate juice”; ʾaṭṣādū “they mean or consider”; ʾaṭmāy ʾaṭnū “he closed his eye(s)”, cf. OA ʾaṭmāda.

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


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115 Cf. Turk. ʾeṣni “kind, variety, sort”.
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.: aḡef “he took”, cf OA axda; yemel “he works”; galep “to win”, cf. OA ġalaba; vahēb “gold (coll.)”, cf. OA ġahab; ġanēm “sheep (coll.)”, cf. OA ġanam; ġabēl “mountain”, cf. OA ġabal; aḥēt “someone”, cf. OA aḥad; ʿamēl “work”, cf. OA ʿamal; walēt “a boy”; Ḥasēn; “Hasan”; Aḥmēt “Ahmad”. 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): aḡaf; yemw or ywrapt; katap; vahabe “a golden coin”; ġanam; ġabal; aḥat; walat; Ḥasan; Aḥmat. Pausal phenomenon are not mentioned previously in studies concerning the Anatolian qēltu-dialects. This phenomenon is, however, known in the Syro-Palestinian dialects and in classical Arabic poetry.

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>afarap</td>
<td>afarabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>Āaārabat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>yarāpt</td>
<td>yarāptn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>yarāpti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>yarāptu</td>
<td>yarābna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other patterns: šārab “to drink”; aḡef “to take”; ḥābū “I brought”; ʿāḏɡal “to hurry up”; enfāqar “to become poor”; ftāham “to understand”. The stress does not shift place when the perfective verb form is pre-
fixed by, for instance, *ku*-e.g.: *ku-ġóbtu* “here I have brought”; *ku-ntámµet* “it (f.) is obviously finished”.

In imperfect of the verb pattern *yaCCaC*, *ya yap*, stress falls on the imperfect prefix *ya-, to-, a- or na-, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ِya yap</td>
<td>ِya yapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ِta yap</td>
<td>ِta yapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ِta yap</td>
<td>ِta yapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ِta yap</td>
<td>ِta yapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ِa yap</td>
<td>ِn yap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-yá yap “he is hitting”; ku-yól šab “he is playing”; ku-nóřašša “we are having dinner”; ku-dírař “I obviously know”; ku-día-nórkap “we will ride”. The last example contains also the future particle, -día- 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.: ُرافتیوا “I knew it (f.)”; araytuwa “I saw them”; waddaytuwa “I took them with”; ُتالشیم “he looks after them”; ُحايايتووا “I placed them”; ُپرکلم “it was needed for them”; ُبتلکی “I said to you (f.sg.)”; ُعگدزکی “he irritated you (f.sg.)”.

In disyllabic nouns (where no double-closed syllables exist), stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: ُباار “cows (coll.)”; ُخاب ٽ “mountain”; ُخان “brother or son-in-law”; ُلوبس “clothing”; ُسگل “work”; ُفکر “idea, thought”; ُنپ “grape(s)”; ُڈارفا “dining table”. Stress shifts place when the noun is suffixed, e.g.: ُخابلا “it’s (f.sg. mountain”; ُبار “his cows”; ُفرنیتنا “our dining table”.

Stress falls on the last syllable in disyllabic nouns with a last double-closed syllable, e.g.: ُفارتاش “13”; ُبیتاش “16”. In the elative, stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: ُکفر “more”; ُکیف “nicer”; ُکبار “bigger”. Also in names for colours that belong to the same noun-pattern as elative, stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: ُسفاود “black”; ُسفاار “yellow”; ُسفاار “green”. In nouns that consist of more than two syllables, stress falls on the last syllable if it is double-closed, e.g.: ُبارتاش “14”; ُساقتاش “17”.

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3. Morphology

3.1. Pronouns

3.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>uwwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>iyye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʔnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʔnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>anā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.c.sg. anā is likely to have derived from *ʔanā.\(^{119}\)

1.c.pl. ṭñne < *nihne < *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 ʔnt and ʔnti have, most probably, their origin in *inta and *inti and not in CA ʔanta and ʔanti.\(^{122}\) ʔ is in both cases the result of the regular shift of i to ʔ. The 2.m.sg. also has the long form ʔnta 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. attān and 2.f.pl. attén)\textsuperscript{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 > *entan.\textsuperscript{124} The form entan 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, trilliterality 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).\textsuperscript{125} There are also short forms of 3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg, e.g.: uww and iyy. 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).\textsuperscript{126}

3.c.pl.: Both 3.m.pl. and 3.f.pl. coincide, as is the case in sedentary dialects, in one communis form, ənne. The form ənne may either be an Aramaic substratum (3.m.pl. hennūn and 3.f.pl. hennēn)\textsuperscript{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 ənne.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sāglam-yye}\textsuperscript{129} l-mas'ale “the issue is wholesome, sound”
\item \textit{iyy maliha-yye}\textsuperscript{130} “it (f.sg.) is fine”
\item \textit{tyye lağwat kərdi-yye} “it is Kurdish”
\item \textit{əs-samn dəhn uww} “butter is (or means) fat”
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{123} Arnold and Behnstedt 1993, 79. For the forms of CS see Nöldeke 2001, 44. Türoyo has a communis form, ḥātu (hatu in Jastrow 1992, 22).

\textsuperscript{124} Wittrich 2001, 28-29. About the loss of the last -\textit{na} from *intunna see Diem 1971. Diem writes, though, about the ḥānee.

\textsuperscript{125} Jastrow 1978, 74 ff.

\textsuperscript{126} Jastrow 1978, 101 and 127-128 and Nevo 1999, 70.


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

\textsuperscript{129} Cf. Turk. \textit{sāglam} “wholesome, sure, honest”.

\textsuperscript{130} Cf. the copula in Mardin \textit{maliha-yye} “it (fem.) is fine”.

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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 *as-samn dḥn uww to have another form, namely *as-samn dḥn-wē. 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, Ṭūrōyo, 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-yō “she is fine”.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>Siirt</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>Siirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>uwwe</td>
<td>ēwe</td>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>anne</td>
<td>anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>iyye</td>
<td>ēye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ANTA</td>
<td>ūNT-ūNT</td>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>ĀNTEN-ĀNTEN</td>
<td>ĀNTEN-ĀNTEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ANTI-ANTI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ANĀ-ANĀ</td>
<td>ANĀ-NA</td>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>NēNHEN-NEHEN</td>
<td>NēNHEN-NEHEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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 čørge132 “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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>Siirt</th>
<th>3.c.</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>Siirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ma-ww</td>
<td>maw</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-nne</td>
<td>manne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ma-yy</td>
<td>mayye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>mā ŏnt</td>
<td>mant</td>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>mā ŏntən</td>
<td>manten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>mā ŏnti</td>
<td>manti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>mā anā</td>
<td>māna</td>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>mā nəһne</td>
<td>mānəɾne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 əŞṭan... “I am content with Istan(bul)”; əŞṭanbūl əšš hāla ŏnt mā ŏnt mamnūn mənna? “what is wrong in Istanbul that you (m.sg.) are not content with it?”; aṃa s-sah nəһne mā nəһne ēke “but now we are not like this”; nəһne am mā nəһne rāha “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:

awn ma-ww əfāri  “it is not my place here”
hawa Şṭanbūl ma-wwe šəššāne “the climate in Istanbul is nothing at all”
ət-Turkya ma-yy rāha “Turkey is not stable”
iyye ma-yy mən zamən “It (f.sg.) is not from a long time ago”
ənne ma-nne əɾəba “they are not strangers”

In the second example the longer form (−wwe) of the personal pronoun is used.

132 Cf. Turk. čiɾiɾ “rotten, bad”.
Below are some examples, where mā negates nominal clauses without merging together with the independent personal pronoun, are presented:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā uww māyy ḥalū} & \quad \text{“it is not sweet water”} \\
\text{mā iyy ǧaribē} & \quad \text{“she is not a stranger”} \\
\text{ḥnt mā ḥnt mamnūn mūnna?} & \quad \text{“are you (m.sg.) not content with her”} \\
\text{anā mā anā mamnūn} & \quad \text{“I am not content”} \\
\text{anā s-sāḥ nēhne mā nēhne ēke} & \quad \text{“but nowadays we are not like this”}
\end{align*}
\]

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”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sg.} & & \text{pl.} \\
3.\text{m.} & -u & 3.\text{c.} & -an/-ēn \\
3.\text{f.} & -a & & \\
2.\text{m.} & -ək & 2.\text{c.} & -kan/-kēn \\
2.\text{f.} & -ki & & \\
1.\text{c.} & -i & 1.\text{c.} & -na
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of forms that are attested in two variants: rūḥan “themselves”; qarālən their king”, cf. Turk. kral; ʾāddaṭkan “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”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sg.} & & \text{pl.} \\
3.\text{m.} & gariyu & 3.\text{c.} & gariyən/gariyən \\
3.\text{f.} & gariya & & \\
2.\text{m.} & garik & 2.\text{c.} & garikən \\
2.\text{f.} & gariki & & \\
1.\text{c.} & gariyi & 1.\text{c.} & garinə
\end{align*}
\]
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 abi “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, yarab “he hit”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>-an/-ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>-ak/-ək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>-kan/-kən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes in the accusative are identical to the possessive suffixes except in 1.c.sg. Examples: yarabni “he hit me” and bayti “my house”. Examples of the forms that are attested in two variants: ta-b’afak “I will send you (m.sg.)”; nāgawək “we take you (m.sg.)”; ənhəttan “we put them”; yəʃəddən “he makes them happy”; də-ʃəddən “he will circumcise them”; qawwākan “he made you (c.pl.) strong”; əarrəʃəkan “I let you (c.pl.) know”; ahəbboʃə “I like/love you (c.pl.)”.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yarabnəhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>yarabnəhan/-hən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>yarabnəha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>yarabnək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>yarabnəkan/-kən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>yarənəki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>waddəni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waddəna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the forms that are attested in two variants: əʃəddən “he gave them”; saynəhən “we made them”; əəsəndən 133 “we saw them”. Other

133 For əəs “to see” cf. Barthélemy 1935, 478 where he gives the form əəs - yəəs “voir”.

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attestations: ʰaṭṭaynāḥōn ṭaḥt “we put them down”; ʾakalnēḥōn “we ate them”; ʾxallaynēḥōn “we left them”; ʾqawwākan alla “may God make strong”; ʰakānī “he told me”.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddiyu</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddiyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddiya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddik</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddini</td>
<td>ʾɔywaddina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of forms attested in the material: ʾd-asawiyu ʾ₃₃l₃ “I will make him a scientist”; ʾaḥṭiya šānāk “I give her to you (m.sg.)”; ʾd-ḥṭik “I will tell you (m.sg.)”; ʾyāḥṭikī “he gives you (f.sg.)”; ʾyāḥṭīnī “he gives me”; ʾnāṭallīyān “we cook them”; ʾnāṭṭikān “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 ʾyarabu “they hit” (elicited forms):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ʾyarabū</td>
<td>ʾyarabūwan/ ʾyarabūwːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ʾyarabūwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʾyarabūk</td>
<td>ʾyarabūkān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʾyarabūkī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ʾyarabūnī</td>
<td>ʾyarabūnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some instances the suffix of 3.m.sg. is -hu, e.g.: ʾsaṭūḥu “I did it (m.sg.)”. More attested examples: ʾḥakayṭūk “I told you (m.sg.)”; ʾṣyibuwan “they bring them”; ʾkarmūnā “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-ʔallak* “I will say to you (m.sg.)”; *ʔallan* “he said to them”; *ta-ʔallan* “I will say to them”; *ʔultulak* “I said to you (m.sg.)”; *ʔālūlan* “they said to them” and/or *ʔultulan* “I said to them”.

Besides the suffixes mentioned above, the dative object pronoun is also expressed with *šā* “to, for”, e.g.: *ʔaṭāha 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.: *ʔulu*: *d-anamli māqdar ši* “I said: I will sleep (me or for me) some time”; *akalnāla ši mme* “we also ate (us) something”; *fataḥūlan šāğēl* “they started a business (for themselves)”; *mō yīṭ ʔaysaylu doṣt fi Șṭanbūl* “he cannot make himself a friend in Istanbul”; *mō tāšrablak qōla*134 šī? “don’t you want to drink (you) a cola?”; *tāa tā-ndōrna*135 dawra ši! “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 intial *h*, which is the case for all Arabic dialects in the Siirt group.136

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134 Cf. Turk. *kola* “cola, Coca Cola”.
135 Cf. *tā-ndōrna*
3.1.6.1. Demonstrative pronouns near deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Short form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.sg.</td>
<td>ÊÊva</td>
<td>Êäv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>Êävi</td>
<td>Êy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.pl.</td>
<td>Êwle</td>
<td>Êwl and Êw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Short form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.sg.</td>
<td>Êke</td>
<td>Êk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>Êke</td>
<td>Êk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.pl.</td>
<td>Êwlak/ Êkäm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

- fa- Êk Êwl-mawqâh “in that place”
- Êk Êwl-mayye “that water”

Examples of c.pl. attested in two variants: kënu Êk Êc-Êcëx Êwlak “at that time it was (only) those”; Êkäm lay maÊa Êlla Êrk Ênne “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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awne</td>
<td>awn</td>
<td>“here”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êwnake</td>
<td>Êwnak</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êke</td>
<td>Êk</td>
<td>“thus, in this way”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ês-saÊa</td>
<td>Ês-sah</td>
<td>“now”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples: yawrəba əwnake damm w əwn damm “he speckles blood here and there on her”; ər-tattün mə əysay əke şii “the tobacco does not do such a thing”; mə əys m-bálək əs-saḥ? “don’t you (m.sg.) remember now?”.

3.1.8. The definite article

The definite article has the forms əl-, ə∅-, ə∅-ə∅ and ə-

ə-

The definite article is əl- when the noun it determines starts with one of the following consonants: b, h, p, x, ɕ, ɡ, f, q, k, m, h, w, or y and is followed by a vowel, e.g.: əl-yəmwəyiye “the (working) day”; əl-qəstaxənə “the hospital”; əl-fəras “the horse”; əl-kərm “the vineyard”; fəl-yaʃa “in the village”; fəl-yaʃəm “in the dark”. Remarkable is that the initial y in yəwmi “today” is assimilated to the l of the definite article when it is used as an adverb, e.g.: əl-lawme kər-rəhtu l-pəzə “today I wen to the market”; əl-lawm məş-şəhər qəmtə ... “today I woke up in the morning ...”; āk əl-lawm ... “that day ...”.

ə∅-

The article is ə∅- when it precedes a cluster of two consonants, e.g.: ġirən ə∅-mləh “the good neighbours”; əban ə∅-gbər “the elder son”; āk ə∅-əʃətiyye “those people of Siirt”; şən ə∅-fəl “for the workers”; ə∅-rəğəl “the men”; ə∅-mətəhrən “the circumcisers”.

ə∅-ə∅-

In some twenty attestations the article is a combination of əl- and ə∅- before a noun that begins with a cluster of two consonants, e.g.: ə∅-lə-krəm “the vineyards”; ə∅-lə-mətəhrən “the circumcisers”; ə∅-lə-zyəfət “the invitations”; ə∅-lə-fəri “the almond”; fəl-ə∅-mənəm “in the dream”; ə∅-lə-trəp “the earth, dust”.

ə-

In cases when the preceding noun ends in a vowel, ə, e.g.: ə∅-hayrə l-əsi “they had prepared dinner”; abu ə∅-hayrən “the father of the present ones”; amə l-ərəbi zər “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”.

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The definite article assimilates to one of the following consonants: \( t, \tilde{t}, \check{g}, \tilde{c}, d, r, z, s, \check{s}, \check{t}, l \) or \( n \) when it precedes a noun starting with one of them, e.g.: \( \check{a}g-\check{a}rye \) “the maid”; \( \check{a}r-\check{r}ab \) “the spring”; \( \check{a}l-\text{trafiq} \) “the traffic”; \( b\check{a}d \check{s}-\text{sabeta\c{s} sene} \) “After the 17th year”. \( l \) assimilates (in one attestation) to \( \gamma \), e.g.: \( \gamma-y\gamma\gamma\alpha \) “the village” (see above under \( \check{a}l- \)).

3.1.9. The demonstrative article \( \check{a}l-/\check{h}al- \)

The demonstrative article \( \check{a}l- \) is derived from OA \( h\check{a} < h\check{a}g\check{a} \) and the definite article \( \check{a}l- \). The normally elided initial \( h \) is audible when the preceding word ends in a vowel, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\check{a}l-\text{\check{h}an}t & \quad \text{“this tape”} \quad \check{f}i \ \check{h}al-l\check{\omega}-\text{snin} \quad \text{“in these years”} \\
\check{a}l-\text{karra} & \quad \text{“this time”} \quad \check{s}\tilde{a}r \ \check{q}ar\check{r}ip \ m\check{\omega}-\check{g}ada \ \check{h}al-\text{karra} \quad \text{“it became almost lunch time”} \\
\check{a}l-\text{kal\check{a}m} & \quad \text{“these words”} \quad \ldots \ \check{f}i \ \check{h}\check{a}qq \ T\check{e}llo \ \check{h}al-l\check{\omega}-\text{kt\check{e}p} \quad \text{“… this book about Tillo”} \\
\check{a}l-\text{\check{h}arr} & \quad \text{“this heat”} \quad \check{y}\check{\alpha}ne \ \check{h}al-\check{\omega}\check{\alpha}s \ldots \quad \text{“this sound, so to say …”} \\
b-\text{\check{a}l-} & \quad \text{“in these lands”} \quad \check{q}\check{\omega}\check{m}tu \ \check{h}al-\check{\omega}k\check{\alpha}l \ldots \quad \text{“I stood up (and) this food …”}
\end{align*}
\]

There are however attestations where the initial \( h \) is elided also between two vowels, even though rare, e.g.: \( k\check{\omega}-\text{sawa} \ \check{a}l-\text{yarbe} \) “he did this plot” and \( \text{ta\check{l}ayna} \ \check{a}l-\check{h}an \) “we filled this tape”. There are a couple of examples where the \( h \) is audible also after a consonant, e.g.: \( \check{f}i-l\check{\omega}n \ \check{h}al-\text{masale} \) “they have this problem”.

3.1.10. Interrogatives

3.1.10.1. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in TA are:

\[
a. \ m\check{\omega}ne \ “who” \\
m\check{\omega}ne \ d\check{\omega}-\gamma\check{\text{\check{a}mm\check{\omega}lu}}? \ “who \ is \ using \ or \ driving \ it \ (m.sg.)?”
\]

\[138\] Cf. Turk. \textit{trafiq} “traffic”.
\[139\] Cf. Turk. \textit{bant} “tape”.
\[140\] Cf. Turk. \textit{mesele} “matter, problem, question”.

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māne may have developed from *mən uwwe > *mən uww > *mən wwe > māne “who is he”. Cf. Mardin māne-we “who is he”.\(^{141}\) māne may also just be the result of having a long form of mən. Cf. for instance the forms awn and awn e “here”; ēk and ēke “thus, in this way”.

b. ʾašš and ayš “what”
ʾašš ʾatsawaw? “what are you (c.pl.) doing?”; Xadîğe ayš kəs-sawet? “what has Xadîğe done?”.
ʾašš is the result of a number of steps toward shortening, starting with OA ʾayyu šayʾin “which thing” > *ayšin > ayš > ʾašš.\(^{142}\)

c. ʾašniy and ayšniy “what or what is it”
mō nərraf ʾašniy ʾat-tiḡara nəhne “we don’t know what commerce is”; nəhne ʾaš-ʾaḥtā ayšniy mō nərraf “we don’t know what theft is”.

d. aynam “which”
aynam māṣa?\(^{143}\) “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 aymān and in the Siirt dialects the form is aymān or ʾemān. 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 ḥapp 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 ayšām, ašām and ʾašem.\(^{145}\)

b. ayn “where”; mā kā-yařaf ayn dā-yḥṛṭṭu “he did not know where to put it (m.sg.)”.

\(^{141}\) Jastrow 1978, 115.
\(^{143}\) Cf. Turk. masa “table”.
\(^{144}\) Jastrow 1978, 117.
\(^{145}\) Jastrow 1978, 119.
c. ayy sapp “where”; ayy sapp aği rōhi? “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 šawbin “which direction” is used more frequently then 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”; kənəyənki 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 rāḥat? “where did my daughter go?”; ayy sapp ətro? “where are you going to?”. The directional particle *la- “to” is omitted (see 3.6.1).

f. əssh waxt and əč-çāāx (< əš çāāx) “when, what time”; fī əssh waxt, da-nūl, ayəsir? “at what time, let us say, it grows?”; əč-çāāx təhtawna musāˈada nəği “when will you allow us to come (and visit you)?”. The construction what + time seems to be copied from Turkish; cf. ne zaman.

g. šayş and šā ayʃ “why”; šayş əy sayt əlay hile? “why have you (m.sg.) cheated me?”; šā ayş mō əgray? “why don’t you (f.sg.) talk?”. šā has developed from bi-šən or min ša'n > b-ʃən or m-ʃən > *ʃən > šā.

h. əsqat(t) and aşqa (əşqa and aşqat occur though rarely) “how much” < *əssh-qaad;¹⁴⁶ əsqatt fī mahkən pərāt? “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.: əraf šqatt łaḥu qime “see how precious it (m.sg.) is!”; aşqa uwu əwəl “how tall is he?”.¹⁴⁷ This interrogative is also used for asking about time, e.g.: məş-ʃəbəh səqə aʃqa' ətro? “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 łożyć? “how many children do you (f.sg.) have?”.

The normal phrase used to ask about someone’s age is kam sane łożyć/lówki? “lit. how many years do you have?”; e.g.; kam sane kán ka-łoż lay rāht 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\(^{149}\) luḥu 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.: kæt-talaḥtu ək əl-..., rās əd-γamṇalɨq lay fī ək əl-škafte\(^{150}\) “I climbed up to the peak of the rock which is in that cave”; ʿæaadā丹麦 lay kānu fi Təllo, t-dawmūwən as-sah? “your customs that you had in Tillo, do you still go on with them?”; lay yəṣrap mənna MaxY yā tə-ymüt yā tə-yəγn “(this) who drinks water from it (f.sg.) he will either die or he will get crazy”; ʃi lay kəl-araw “this that they have seen”.

\(\text{lay}\) has a short form, la- or lə- (very rare)\(^{151}\), e.g.: badan\(^{152}\) la-tūli uwwe s-ṣəpör “when you (f.sg.) say badan you mean athletics (lit. badan that you (f.sg.) say means athletics)”; aná lə- kā-ətəbu mə stahsəntu 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-ḥamdalla ʿala ʃi la-alla tə-ala kəl-ətifəna fī haz-zamēn “thanks to God for thing(s) he gave us in this time”; ʃi la-kəg-ğā rəsak “this that happened to you”\(^{153}\).

3.1.12. Reflexive pronouns

The root rwəl is used as a reflexive pronoun, e.g.: salləm rəhu šə ᣨlə “he gave up himself to God (died)”; iyye mən rəfa tliu mm ʃayye “it (f.sg.) gath-

---


\(^{149}\) 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. şkəfti “cave”.

\(^{151}\) Cf. Khan 1997, 72.

\(^{152}\) Cf. Turk. beden “body”.

\(^{153}\) There is one attestation of liy as a relative pronoun: ək əmmēni liy ɡawwētu “also that which is inside of it (m.sg.)”. This form has no counterpart in other Mesopotamian qaltu 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 rōhak! “don’t let yourself (m.sg.) go!”; anā ham baqa aṣaqqūl rōḥī fī aṣ-ṣī u fī aṣ-ṣī “I also started to busy myself with this and that”; yahṣabū rōḥan mān Faqīru llāh “they consider themselves as belonging to Faqīrū llāh”; nāḥne nə斯塔ṭhi mən rōḥna “we are ashamed of ourselves”

3.1.13. The genitive exponent

The genitive exponent coincides, in form, with the relative pronoun, lay.\textsuperscript{154} The function of the genitive exponent is to point out belonging, e.g.: u fī Erdamli\textsuperscript{155} m\textsuperscript{156} iy y Mersin “and there is Erdamli, which belongs to Mersin”; hūt lāy Tāllo kēnū ḡaṣṣ anṣa lay Ştanbūl şaraḥtan anne atyap “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 ʾal-, e.g.: ʾal-maktēp “the school”; ʾal-pāzār “the market”. The article is lā- before a cluster of two consonants and a vowel, i.e. CCv/CCvv, e.g.: lā-mnēm “the dream”; lā-ḥmār “the donkey”. In some cases the article is a combination of ʾal- and lā- before CCv/CCvv, e.g.: ʾal-lā-kktēp “the book”; ʾal-lā-ḡnaye “the garden”. The l of the article is assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun if it is a sun-consonant, e.g.: ʾr-raḡāl “the man” but lā-rḡēl “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.\textsuperscript{157} Nouns which have male animate referents and nouns which refer to male animals, such as barēn\textsuperscript{158} “ram”, are grammatically masculine, e.g.:

\textsuperscript{154} Jastrow 1978, 123-126 and Eksell 1980, 42.
\textsuperscript{155} Erdemli is a town in the region of Mersin.
\textsuperscript{156} Cf. Turk. hem “(here) also”.
\textsuperscript{157} Watson 1993, 24. Cf. also Isaksson 1991, 135 (about the verb).
\textsuperscript{158} Cf. Kur. beran “ram, male sheep”.
“brother-in-law”
“uncle”
“donkey”

Nouns which have female animate referents and nouns which refer to female animals, such as “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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaybe</td>
<td>ṭayyap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəḥde</td>
<td>wēḥot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿarabiyye</td>
<td>ʿarabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃábe</td>
<td>ʃáap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡārye</td>
<td>ḡāri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of some feminine nouns attested in my corpus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qal’a</th>
<th>“a castle”</th>
<th>mahkame</th>
<th>“a court”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dašwe</td>
<td>“an invitation”</td>
<td>sane</td>
<td>“a year”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawle</td>
<td>“a country”</td>
<td>ʃamhūriyye</td>
<td>“a republic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qime</td>
<td>“value”</td>
<td>zurriyye</td>
<td>“family, off-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃāyle</td>
<td>“a family”</td>
<td>ʃābbe</td>
<td>“spring”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salle</td>
<td>“a basket”</td>
<td>kɔlme</td>
<td>“coffee”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donye</td>
<td>“a world”</td>
<td>qaßwe</td>
<td>“work and trade”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔtte</td>
<td>“six”</td>
<td>ʃmâle</td>
<td>of a porter or carrier”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.:

parča - parçāye “a piece (of s.th.)”
ʃarma - ʃarmāye¹⁶⁰ “capital”
ḥabbe - ḥabbēye “a tablet or a piece (of s.th.)”

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Turk. sermaye “capital”. sarma 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).
ˈtorba - ˈtorbāye “a bag”

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
0m\text{m} & \text{“mother”} & b\text{ant} & \text{“daughter, girl”} \\
\text{0xt} & \text{“sister”} & m\text{ara} & \text{“woman”} \\
\text{ˈarūs} & \text{“bride”} & x\text{ənəm}\text{161} & \text{“wife, woman”}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{id} & \text{“hand”} & \text{ˈayn} & \text{“eye”} \\
\text{əvən} & \text{“ear”} & \text{əgər} & \text{“foot”}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Wən} & \text{“Van”} & \text{Irən} & \text{“Iran”} \\
\text{Dyarbakər} & \text{“Diarbakir”} & \text{Irəq} & \text{“Irak”}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ərə} & \text{“earth”} \\
\text{ʃəms} & \text{“sun”} \\
\text{nər} & \text{“fire”}
\end{array}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lay kənna fə-Təllo kən ʰayət\text{162}} \quad \text{“when we were in Tillo life was} \\
\text{təyyap} \quad \text{better”} \\
\text{fı məyaʃ iyy kər} \quad \text{“there is a place which is huge”} \\
\text{uww ərəna and iyy ərəna} \quad \text{“it is our land”} \\
\text{abwēp kən wəsi} \quad \text{“the doors were wide”}
\end{array}
\]

\text{161} \text{Cf. Kur. əxəm “lady, Miss, Mrs.”. Cf. also Turk. hənəm “lady, woman, wife, Mrs., Miss”.} \\
\text{162} \text{hayət is a common word also in Turkish.}
A male informant, 33 years old, asks his 12-year-old sister the following: әәʃ tsaway fәl-maktәp? “what do you do at school?”. She answers: әәʃәlaʃ. dәrәti әәne mәlіha “we study, my studies are all right”. dәrәti is a plural substantive and mәlіha 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 -әt or -at, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-әt</th>
<th>-at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abs.</td>
<td>abs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parәқә 164</td>
<td>sansne 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a piece”</td>
<td>“a sort”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parәқәәт</td>
<td>sansne lәxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a piece of sheep (one sheep)”</td>
<td>“another sort”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>әләт</td>
<td>tallise 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a sack”</td>
<td>“a sack of sugar”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>әләтәқәәт</td>
<td>tallisәt sәkkәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a sack of sugar”</td>
<td>“some liver”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>әәrәүәke 167</td>
<td>әәsәmme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a little”</td>
<td>“an aunt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>әәrәүәктә qәәsәбе</td>
<td>әәsәmәt аrәqa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“some liver”</td>
<td>“the aunt of my friend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>әәt</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“clock”</td>
<td>“the aunt of the bridegroom”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sәәқә</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|  Remarks |
|  Remarks |
| —— | —— |
|  Remarks |
| —— | —— |
|  Remarks |
| —— | —— |
|  Remarks |
| —— | —— |

163 Cf. Turk. çәlәsmәk “to study, to work”.
164 Cf. Turk. Parә “piece, bit”.
165 Cf. Turk. ceшәni “flavour, taste, sample”.
166 Cf. Kur. төлә “sack”.
167 A local word.
3.2.4. Forming singular of collective words

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

\[ \text{\'a\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}le} < \text{\'a\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}lat\text{\textbar} kur\text{\textbar}m\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{"family" \quad \"a Kurdish tribe\"} \]

\[ \text{mamlak\text{\textbar}e} < \text{mamlak\text{\textbar}at\text{\textbar} l\text{\textbar}xx} \quad \text{"town" \quad \"another town\"} \]

\[ \text{salle} < \text{sal\text{\textbar}lat\text{\textbar} \text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}\text{n}ap} \quad \text{"basket" \quad \"a basket of grapes\"} \]

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.: \text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}d\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n “two hands”; \text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}g\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n and \text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n “two feet, legs”; \text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}k\text{\textbar}b\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n “two knees”; \text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}n\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n “two eyes”; \text{k\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}f\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n “two shoulders”}.

The -n of the dual marker is elided when a personal suffix is added to it, e.g.: \text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}n\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}u “his two eyes”; \text{\textbar}d\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}a “both her hands”; \text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}g\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}ëk “both your (m.sg.) legs/feet” and \text{\textbar}g\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}ray\text{\textbar}y “both my legs/feet”. Note the monophthongisation of the ay to e in \text{\textbar}g\text{\textbar}\text{\textbar}ëk (see 2.4.6.1).

2. Substantives in general, e.g.:

\[ \text{sant\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two years”} \]

\[ \text{yaw\text{\textbar}m\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two days”} \]

\[ \text{\textbar\text{\textbar}h\text{\textbar}n\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two sons”} \]

\[ \text{kilow\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two kilos”} \]

\[ \text{mar\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two women”} \]

\[ \text{m\text{\textbar}l\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two billions”} \]

\[ \text{s\text{\textbar}h\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two hours”} \]

\[ \text{b\text{\textbar}h\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“two daughters/girls”} \]

\[ \text{k\text{\textbar}r\text{\textbar}t\text{\textbar}ay\text{\textbar}n} \quad \text{“twice”} \]
Also here the -n of the dual marker is elided when a personal suffix is added to the noun, e.g.: wâldayk “both your parents”.

Adjectives that define a substantive in dual concord in pl., e.g.: ‘âyltañ kbâr “two big families”; ğalâbtañ\(^{168}\) ânne mlêh “some (lit. two sorts) are nice”; ñântañ ânne mzawêgân “two daughters are married”. In one example a substantive in dual concords to a numeral in dual, e.g.: nêna\(^{169}\) imkêñ onsayy fântañ balazêkyatañ “we can afford (only) two bracelets”. What is expected here is either balazêkyatañ without fântañ or fântañ balazêk, 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 -ât or -êt, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>insâänât</td>
<td>“human beings”</td>
<td>masâlêt</td>
<td>“matters, stories”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šalawât</td>
<td>“prayers”</td>
<td>akalêt</td>
<td>“(food) dishes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banât</td>
<td>“girls”</td>
<td>žnaynêt</td>
<td>“gardens”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘âdât</td>
<td>“traditions”</td>
<td>banêt</td>
<td>“daughters, girls”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xawêâna</td>
<td>“our sisters”</td>
<td>ūawêst</td>
<td>“clothes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūarâktañ</td>
<td>“movements”</td>
<td>ktêbêt</td>
<td>“books”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãfârâtañ</td>
<td>“their places”</td>
<td>darsêti</td>
<td>“my studies”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wargât</td>
<td>“papers”</td>
<td>ūaywênt</td>
<td>“animals”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madrasât</td>
<td>“schools”</td>
<td>frêgêt</td>
<td>“plates”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasîhât</td>
<td>“advices”</td>
<td>ūmkânêt</td>
<td>“possibilities”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{168}\) Cf. Kur. celeb “sort, variety, quality”.
\(^{169}\) ñna “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 -ät/-êt to singulants that ‘by tradition’ are expected to have broken plurals: for instance, ktebët, cf. CA kutub; darsëti, cf. CA durüs; waraqät, cf. CA awrâq and madrasät, cf. CA madâris. The plural marker -ät is added to afâratan (< âêt pl. of âtar), which already is in plural. This noun has apparently developed to give a meaning of a singular noun. hawísät (< hawîs coll.) is a noun that stands in coll. Also here the suffix -êt 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 -ät, -êt and -in, e.g.:

-ät

pârät Türk. para “money”
ţannagät Türk. teneke “tin plates”
marâwät Cf. Tûröyo marwöde170 “earrings”
şoĥbät Türk. sehpa “three-legged stool or table”
qornîśät Türk. kornîş “cornices”
şarpät Türk. eşarp “scarves”
şafràt Türk. sofra171 “tables with meal on”
mâlyârät Türk. milyar “billions”
farmânät Türk. ferman “imperial edicts”
mağârät Türk. macera172 “adventures”
söpät Türk. soba “stoves”
qultuğât Türk. koltuk “armchairs”
maltowât Türk. manto “women’s coats”
ôrâmânät Türk. âğretmen “teachers”

-êt

čičekät Türk. çîçek “flowers”
čeriyyät Kur. çarik “headscarfs”
čašnät Türk. çeşit “kinds, varieties”
čeydênät Türk. çaydanlik “tea-pots”
čeyêt Türk. çay “cups of tea”

-ìn

170 Tezel 2003, 175.
171 Second borrowing. Cf. suîra “dining table”. See also Tezel 2003, 149.
172 Second borrowing. Cf. OA mağarâyät pl. of mä ğarâ “events, happenings”.
Adjectives

Adjectives with “without manner”
dalēlin
sarbastin
gerin
pirözín

“lovable (pl.)”
“unrestricted”
“strolling”
“blessed, holy”

Substantives

dostin
ganğin
arqadaşiń

“friends”
“young ones”
“friends”

Cf. Turk. adap “good manners” + -siz, which is a Turkish suffix that means "without".
Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. genç “young”.
Cf. Turk. serbest “free, unrestricted”.
Cf. Turk. arkadas “friend”.
Cf. Kur. piroz “stroll, move around”.
Cf. Kur. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. nexweş “ill, sick”.
Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.

Cf. Kur. delal “dear, lovable”.
Cf. Turk. şahzade “blessed, holy”.
Cf. Kur. misafir “guest”.
f. Forming plural from singular nouns with the feminine ending -e and -a, e.g.:

\[ \text{harake} \rightarrow \text{harakát} \quad \text{“movements”} \]
\[ \text{madrase} \rightarrow \text{madrasát} \quad \text{“schools”} \]
\[ \text{karra} \rightarrow \text{karrát} \quad \text{“times”} \]
\[ \text{‘araba} \rightarrow \text{‘arabát} \quad \text{“cars”} \]

3.2.6.2. Broken plurals

3.2.6.2.1. \textit{aCC}v\textit{vC}

Broken plural type \textit{aCC}v\textit{vC} < *\textit{CvC}v\textit{vC}:

\[ \text{abyūt} \quad \text{“houses”} \quad \text{ənğūm} \quad \text{“stars”} \]
\[ \text{ənfūs} \quad \text{“souls, persons”} \quad \text{əkrūm} \quad \text{“vineyards”} \]
\[ \text{ərgēl} \quad \text{“men”} \quad \text{əbnēn and əbnīn} \quad \text{“sons”} \]

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.: \text{anā mā əslaḥ əs raḡēl} “I cannot marry (lit. I am not good for) men”. \text{əbnēn} (attested twice by one informant) and \text{əbnīn} (attested twice by a female informant) are unusual pl. They occur in the following context: \ldots əbnu s \text{əbnən} \ldots \text{salās} \text{əbnēn} u bənt \ldots “\ldots he had three sons \ldots three sons and a daughter \ldots”; \text{xams} \text{əbnīn} w arbaḥ banēt “five sons and four daughters” and \text{əl-əbnīn} ənən əfnayn “the sons are two”.

3.2.6.2.2. \textit{aCCēC}

Broken plural type \textit{aCCēC} < *\textit{aCCāC}:

\[ \text{əmēm} \quad \text{“uncles”} \quad \text{axtēn} \quad \text{“brothers-in-law”} \]
\[ \text{abwēp} \quad \text{“doors”} \quad \text{axwēn} \quad \text{“brothers”} \]
\[ \text{aždēd} \quad \text{“grandfathers”} \quad \quad \quad \text{“sisters”} \]

\footnote{\text{For the shift of } t \text{ to } s \text{ see 2.1.16.}}
3.2.6.2.3. CvCeC

Broken plural type $CvCeC < *CuCCâl$ or $< *CiCCâl$:

\( \text{\v{g}ah\v{e}l} \) “young ones” $< \text{\v{g}uhh\v{a}l}$ or OA $\text{\v{g}ihh\v{a}l}$ (more probable) where the gemination of $h$ is degeminated and the $\dot{a}$ changes, because of *imâla* to $\ddot{e}$.

3.2.6.2.4. CvCeCi

Broken plural type $CvCeCi$:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{hakêki} & \text{“tales”} & x\text{wêli}^{183} & \text{“veils”} \\
\text{\text{{\c{c}}eweri}}^{184} & \text{“headscarf”} & \text{t\text{\c{c}}e\text{\c{s}}i}^{185} & \text{“taxi cars”} \\
\end{array}
\]

$hakêki$ is the plural of $hakk\dot{y}$ or $hakk\ddot{y}e$. This plural form is used beside the ‘expected’ one $hakk$ $hakk\dot{y}$ $y\dot{a}t$. $\text{\c{c}eweri}$ is attested beside $\text{\c{c}eriyyêt}$ (see 3.2.5.1. b.). $\text{t\text{\c{c}}e\text{\c{s}}i}$ is attested beside $\text{taq\ddot{a}si}$.

3.2.7. Suppletive plural

As in many modern Arabic dialects, the suppletive or anomalous\(^{186}\) plural is attested in only a few words in TA, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$mara$ “woman”</td>
<td>$n\text{\c{s}}wên$ “women”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\dot{e}b\dot{e}n$ “son”</td>
<td>$awl\dot{a}d$ $/\text{\c{s}}l\dot{a}d$ “sons; children”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8. Nunation

The following attestations of nunation are found in the material:

| $yaw\text{\c{n}}$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “one day” |
| $hakk\dot{y}\text{\c{n}}$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “a tale” |
| $m\text{\c{a}}$ $\text{\c{s}}l\text{\c{a}}$ $\text{\c{n}}$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “a matter” |
| $\text{mamlak\dot{a}}$ $\text{\c{n}}$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “a kingdom” |
| $\text{\text{\c{b}}r\text{\c{\i}}}n$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “a well” |
| $\text{tapp\dot{a}}$ $\text{\c{\i}}$ $\text{\c{w}hde}$ | “a hill” |

\(^{183}\) Cf. Kur. $x\text{w\ddot{e}l}$ and Turk. $\text{havlu}$ “towel, veil”. Singular in Tillo $x\ddot{e}l\dot{\ddot{y}}y\dot{e}$.

\(^{184}\) Cf. Kur. ç\text{arik} “headscarf”. Singular in Tillo ç\text{eriyyê}.

\(^{185}\) Cf. Turk. $\text{t\text{\c{s}}i}$ “taxi, cab”.

\(^{186}\) Cf. Wright 1988, 233 B.

\(^{187}\) Cf. Turk. $\text{tepe}$ “hill, mound”.

95
The form *yawm $\nu$de occurs 9 times in the corpus. All nouns with nunation are succeeded by $\nu$de or $\nu$h$\dot{a}$. All of them are attested in singular except the last example, ḥakēkin, which is in plural but nevertheless followed, in analogy to the common feature, by $\nu$h$\dot{a}$ and means “some tales”. This morphological peculiarity is mentioned as ‘Rest der Nunation’ in Vocke and Waldner’s Der Wortschatz des Anatolischen Arabisch. Vocke and Waldner have only two attestations of this morphological peculiarity, both of them coming from the Arabic dialect of Fasken, one of the Arabic-speaking villages in the region of Siirt, like Tillo. Nunation is not a typical phenomenon for the Anatolian qaD. However, it is a common characteristic in Bedouin dialects and in the Arabic qaD of the Khawētna in north-east Syria, where it is termed in German ‘Indetermination’. 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:

* $\nu$b $\nu$h$\dot{a}$ “father”
* $\nu$x $\nu$x “brother”
* $\nu$ham $\nu$ham “father-in-law”

188 Second borrowing. Cf. CA kwāra “beehive”; cf. Ṭūrōyo kōro (see Tezel 2003, 168) and cf. also Turk. kovan “beehive”.
189 Vocke and Waldner 1982, 18 footnote 22.
190 Talay 1999, 72-74 and 172-173.
191 Cf. CS $\nu$mō “father in law” and Ṭūrōyo $\nu$mō “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 CvvC (where vv = ā, ū, ē, ē and ī) derives from OA CāC, CiC and CūC. ĖC and CōC may be the result of one of the following:

a. Vowel lowering of ī > ē and ū > ū in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or x, ġ, q, h, and ĕ.

b. Monophthongisation of ay > ē and aw > ū.

c. CvvC may be the result of OA CvC, e.g.: ra’s > rās “head”; ďīb > vīb “wolf”; bīr > bīr “well”.

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

3.3.2.1. CāC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nār</th>
<th>“fire”</th>
<th>hāl</th>
<th>“condition”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māl</td>
<td>“material; goods”</td>
<td>xāl</td>
<td>“uncle”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nās</td>
<td>“people”</td>
<td>ĝār</td>
<td>“poor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāp/b</td>
<td>“door”</td>
<td>yāg</td>
<td>“oil; fat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāl</td>
<td>“mind”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. yāg ”oil, fat”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūf</td>
<td>“mulberry”</td>
<td>mūn</td>
<td>“food supply”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūr</td>
<td>“light”</td>
<td>dūt&lt;sup&gt;194&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“mulberry”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fūm</td>
<td>“garlic”</td>
<td>dūš&lt;sup&gt;195&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“smooth”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţūl</td>
<td>“length”</td>
<td>qūš&lt;sup&gt;196&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“bird”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3.3.2.3. CöC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lōm</td>
<td>“day”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġōc</td>
<td>“hunger”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōq</td>
<td>“over”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōh</td>
<td>“soul”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōp</td>
<td>“direction”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōş&lt;sup&gt;197&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“empty”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoş bēş&lt;sup&gt;198&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“pleasant”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōp&lt;sup&gt;199&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“cannon”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zōr&lt;sup&gt;200&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“difficult”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şōn&lt;sup&gt;201&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“end”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lōm < *al-lōm* < *al-* yawm (assimilation) is not frequent and is attested when it is preceded by the definite article, e.g.: *al-lōm banti taqrī fāl-maktap* ... “my daughter studies at school now ...”. fōq and sōp (very rare) are monophthongizations of *fawq* and *sawp* respectively (see 2.4.6.2). *fawq* and *sawp* are also attested in the corpus. ġōc and rōh are a result of lowering (see 2.4.11).

3.3.2.4. ČēC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġēr</td>
<td>“another; different”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şēx</td>
<td>“sheik”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġēč</td>
<td>“chicken”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čēx&lt;sup&gt;202&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“time; then”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ġēr and şēx are monophthongization of *ġayr* and *šayx* respectively (see 2.4.6.1). *ġayr* and *šayx* are also attested in the corpus.

---

3.3.2.5. ĈīC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tīn</td>
<td>“fig(s)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zīn&lt;sup&gt;203&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>“saddle”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Turk. *dut* “mulberry”.
<sup>195</sup> Cf. Turk. *düz* “smooth, even, flat”.
<sup>196</sup> Cf. Turk. *kuş* “bird”.
<sup>197</sup> Cf. Turk. *boş* “empty”.
<sup>198</sup> Cf. Turk. *hoş beş* “pleasant, charming”.
<sup>199</sup> Cf. Turk. *top* “cannon”.
<sup>200</sup> Cf. OA *zür* “force” and Turk. *zor* “hard, difficult”.
<sup>201</sup> Cf. Turk. *son* “end”.
<sup>202</sup> Cf. Kur. *ça=ax* “then, at the time”. cf. also Turk. *çağı* “time, age, period”.

---

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3.3.2.6. CvvC-T

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rāha</td>
<td>“ease”</td>
<td>māṣa207</td>
<td>“table”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāgəl/ğęğe</td>
<td>“chicken”</td>
<td>ğemə208</td>
<td>“glass; window”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sərə/səə</td>
<td>“clock, hour”</td>
<td>təsə209</td>
<td>“bowl”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: məḥbəxiyye “large pot” > fi ləhu məḥbəxiyyat əzəl210 “it has a special pot”; təllıse “sack” > təllısət ərəs “a sack of rice”.

3.3.2.7. vvCaC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>äfər</td>
<td>“place”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨmän</td>
<td>“belief, faith”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

äfər < OA ʔätär is a singular noun in TA.

3.3.2.8. CaCC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʕapt</td>
<td>“slave, servant”</td>
<td>gapʃ</td>
<td>“ram, male sheep”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨlpa</td>
<td>“dog”</td>
<td>wəxt</td>
<td>“time”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falğ</td>
<td>“snow”</td>
<td>ɣaʃʃ</td>
<td>“gypsum”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaps</td>
<td>“jail”</td>
<td>ḡafər</td>
<td>“letter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalf</td>
<td>“after, behind”</td>
<td>ʃap</td>
<td>“way, direction”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

203 Cf. Kur. əzn “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 ʃast “basin, washbowl”. Cf. also Kur. əs “bowl”.
210 Cf. Turk. əzəl “special”.

99
sapp is attested beside šawp and šōp in the same meaning.

3.3.2.9. CəCC

(CəCC < OA CuCC and CiCC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šərp</th>
<th>“drinking”</th>
<th>wəčč</th>
<th>“face”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kəwp</td>
<td>“lie”</td>
<td>həfz</td>
<td>“knowing by heart”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həss</td>
<td>“voice”</td>
<td>yəhk</td>
<td>“laughter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧərp</td>
<td>“foreigners”</td>
<td>ləps</td>
<td>“clothes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məlḥ</td>
<td>“salt”</td>
<td>nəss</td>
<td>“half, middle”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

šərp occurs beside šərp without any distinction. ǧərp is the plural of ǧarīp.

3.3.2.10. CaCC-T

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yay'a</th>
<th>“village”</th>
<th>yarbe</th>
<th>“punch; trick”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dawle</td>
<td>“country, state”</td>
<td>ǧarze</td>
<td>“plant”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaḥwe</td>
<td>“coffee”</td>
<td>parda 211</td>
<td>“curtain”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salle</td>
<td>“basket”</td>
<td>banqa 212</td>
<td>“bank”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2.11. CəCC-T

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>həssə</th>
<th>“share”</th>
<th>šəḥbe</th>
<th>“getting together”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šərtə</td>
<td>“police”</td>
<td>ləbe</td>
<td>“a play, game”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəḥṭə</td>
<td>“theft”</td>
<td>ʃəfra 213</td>
<td>“table”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iəqme</td>
<td>“bit; mouthful”</td>
<td>mədde</td>
<td>“period”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fəγγə</td>
<td>“silver”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arap</th>
<th>‘arap</th>
<th>“Arabs”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Başal</td>
<td>ba’ar</td>
<td>“cows”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sağar</td>
<td>ğanam</td>
<td>“sheep”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xatan</th>
<th>xatan</th>
<th>“brother or son-in-law”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṭar</td>
<td>ḡabal</td>
<td>“mountain”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qadar</td>
<td>rağal</td>
<td>“man”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2.13. CaCaC-<br>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sağara</th>
<th>“tree”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġaname</td>
<td>“sheep”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.3.2.14. CσCσC

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Losas</th>
<th>“clothing”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Şorap</td>
<td>“drinking”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Şamr</th>
<th>“age”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Şekr</td>
<td>“idea, thought”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

214 Turk. *merak* “concern, anxiety”.

101
3.3.2.15. CvvCvC

a. CāCəC < OA CäCiC is the active participle of stem I. Remarkable here is that the ḫimāla, in these cases, has not affected the ā.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{nāqāṣ} & \text{“decreasing”} & \text{ḥāṣāl} & \text{“sum, total”} \\
\text{wālād} & \text{“father”} & \text{‘ālām} & \text{“learned, scientist”}
\end{array}
\]

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

b. CēCəC is formed, through ḫimāla, out of CäCiC, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{dēxāl} & \text{“entering”} & \text{ḡēmāṣ} & \text{“mosque”} \\
\text{nēṣṣm} & \text{“low (sound)”} & \text{‘ēdāl} & \text{“just”} \\
\text{nēṣṣaf} & \text{“hard, dry”} & \text{rēkāp} & \text{“riding”}
\end{array}
\]

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

3.3.2.16. CvCvvC

a. CaCāC forms nouns in singular, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ḥarām} & \text{“forbidden; sin”} & \text{ṣabāḥ} & \text{“morning”} \\
\text{xarāp} & \text{“bad; rotten”} & \text{zamān} & \text{“time”} \\
\text{rawāḥ} & \text{“wondering”} & \text{ḥawāl} & \text{“situation”}
\end{array}
\]

ḥawāl is attested only in the expression ḫāl w ʾal-ḥawāl iyy ... “(our) situation in detail is ...”.

b. CaCēC forms plural and collective nouns, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{CaCaC} \rightarrow \text{ʿadēs} & \text{cf. ʿadas “lentil(s)”}; \text{there is no semantic difference between ʿadēs and ʿadas. ʿadēs is simply the pausal form} \\
\text{CiCC} \rightarrow \text{banēt} & \text{cf. bānt “girl”}
\end{array}
\]
CaCaC → ḡanēm  cf. ḡaname “sheep”
CaCiC → kalēm  cf. ḡelme “word”
CaCeC forms abstracts as well, e.g.: ḡawēz “marriage”.

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

ḡamāʾa  “group of people”
ḡawāʾa  “hungry”

ḡamēʾa is also attested.

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

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

E.g.: ḅal-xayr w ḅas-salēme ḍ-nnṛ  at-Tello “lit. we will go (back) to Tillo in good faith and good health”. salāme is also attested.

Nouns such as zirāʾa “agriculture” and tīgāra “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 zirāʾa is pronounced may be due to Turkish local dialectal variety.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substantives</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wazīr</td>
<td>“minister”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rābīr</td>
<td>“spring”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿaḡīn</td>
<td>“dough”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣarīṭ</td>
<td>“string”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalīl</td>
<td>“proof”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarīq</td>
<td>“way, road”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasīp</td>
<td>“lot, fate”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭahīn</td>
<td>“flour”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarīp</td>
<td>“close”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾaḡīp</td>
<td>“amazing, strange”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hazīn</td>
<td>“sad”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xafīf</td>
<td>“light”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿaṭīq</td>
<td>“old”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faqīr</td>
<td>“poor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faqīl</td>
<td>“heavy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawīl</td>
<td>“long”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

215 Cf. Turk. ziraat “agriculture”.

103
Some attestations of $(\alpha)CCiC < CaCiC$ are also found in the corpus, e.g.: $(\alpha)gbir “big”; $(\alpha)zgir “small”.

f. $CaCiC-T$: The feminine of $CaCiC$, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>föriga</th>
<th>“breakfast”</th>
<th>fatira</th>
<th>“dough, bread”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garibe</td>
<td>“stranger”</td>
<td>malīha</td>
<td>“nice”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āṣire</td>
<td>“tribe”</td>
<td>daqiqa</td>
<td>“minute”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here too, attestations of $(\alpha)CCiC-T < CaCiC-T$ are found, e.g.: $(\alpha)gbirre “big”; $(\alpha)zgire “small”.

g. $CuCiC$ is a pattern that is attested in borrowings, e.g.:

| wud ceremonies | “ritual ablution” |
| durum | “condition” |
| luqum | “Turkish delight” |

h. $CaCuC < OA CuCuC$, is a pattern that derives nouns both in singular and in plural, e.g.:

| ḥażūr | “presence” |
| xaṣūs | “specially” |
| ḥadūd | “border” |
| ḥadūn | “depts” |

3.3.2.17. $CCvvc$

a. $(\alpha)CCēC < OA CiCāC$ indicates both singular and plural substantives, e.g.:

| (\alpha)ktēp | “book” |
| (\alpha)rğēl | “men” |

$\alpha$ is an anaptyctic vowel (see 2.4.4). In a sentence when the preceding word ends in a vowel, the $\alpha$ is then omitted, e.g.: $s-sah ḍandi ktēp āysay bahs ḥakēkin wēḥat “I have now a book that mentions some stories”.

b. $(\alpha)CCāC < CiCāC$ and $CuCāC$

---

216 Cf. KA. wudū’ with the same meaning.
217 Cf. Turk. durum “state, condition”.
218 Cf. Turk. lokum “Turkish delight”.
219 Cf. OA hudūd and Turk. hudut “border”.
220 Cf. duyūn “depts.”
(ə)ḥmār "donkey"
(ə)flān "so-and-so; certain person"

3.3.2.18. CvCCvwC

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

1. CaCCāC

dākkan “shop”
ţəmmān “pomegranate”
šaḥḥāt “thief”

2. CaCCāC

baqqāl “green-grocer”
qassāp “butcher”

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

šaqqōq “pear”

3.3.2.19. CvCCāC-T

The feminine of CvCCāC, e.g.:

laʃāha “scarf” ţayyāra “airplane”
yərāṭa “the one (f.) that ţəmmāna “pomegranate” farts” tree”
šaḥḥāta “thief”

3.3.3. Triliteral nouns with prefix

3.3.3.1. aCCaC

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

akfar “more” axyar “green”
ahsān “better” asfar “yellow”
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 axfâf “easier, lighter*. In pausal position the *a* shifts to *ē* in the last syllable, e.g.: *ahsēn “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.:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{asḡār} & \text{“trees”} & \text{aḵṣāṣ} & \text{“persons”} \\
\text{aḏbāq} < \text{aṭbāq} & \text{“plates”} & \text{aṅwēκ} & \text{“sorts, varieties”} \\
\text{aḵwāl}^{221} & \text{“shoes”} & \text{aṭrēκ}^{222} & \text{“sorts or varieties of food or fruit”}
\end{array}
\]

b. \(iCCēC\): Indicate nouns in singular, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{imkēn} & \text{“ability”} \\
\text{insēn} & \text{“human being”}
\end{array}
\]

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

3.3.4. Triliteral nouns with the prefix *m*

3.3.4.1. \(mCCvvC\)

\(mCCvvC < maCCūC, muCCāC\) and \(miCCāC\):

---

221 Cf. Kur. *sol* “shoes”.
222 A local word that means “sort or kind of food or fruit”.

106
a. *maCCūC*: The participle passivum designates adjectives in masculine singular, e.g.:

- *mašhûr* “known”
- *madfûn* “buried”
- *maskûn* “populated”
- *marhûm* “deceased”
- *mağbûr* “forced”
- *maktûb* “written”
- *mafrûm* “chopped”
- *mamnûn* “grateful”

b. *muCCāC*: This pattern is attested only in the word *muxtâr* “elected head of a village”. The word occurs twice in this form and once with a shift of *u* to *ə*, *məxtâr*. 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 *məqdâr* “amount”.

### 3.3.5. Quadriliteral nouns

#### 3.3.5.1. *CvCCvC*

*CvCCvC* indicates a collective form, e.g.:

- *‘askar* “soldiers”
- *burğur* “cracked wheat kernels”
- *fəlfəl* “pepper”
- *məşməş* “apricot”

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

#### 3.3.5.2. *CvCCvC-T*

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

- *malzama*\(^{223}\) “necessaries”

---

3.3.5.3. CvCCvwC

a. CaCCāC

šaytān “Satan”
sūltān “sultan”
farmān224 “imperial edict”

b. CaCCāC: Nouns in singular, e.g.:

tattūn225 “tobacco” ʿasfūr “bird”
panṭūr226 “trousers” naʾmūk “small, little”

The ending -ūk in naʾmūk is the Kurdish diminutive *-i/-uk (see 3.7. and 5.2.2.2).

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

zanḡir227 “chain” ʂahrīc228 “cistern”
lastiq229 “rubber” ʿatrīk230 “electricity”
bastiq231 “fruit pulp dried in thin layers” sarvīs232 “service”

d. CaCCēC

ḥaywēn “animal”
darnēk233 “association”

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

kḥbrit234 “matches”

224 Cf. Turk. ferma “imperial edict”.
225 Cf. Turk. tūṭūn “tobacco”.
226 Cf. Turk. pantalon “trousers”.
227 Cf. Turk. zinir “chain”.
228 Cf. OA ʂahrīq and Turk. sarnič “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.:

\[\text{\textit{šošbīn}}^{235}\]  “godfather, best man”


g. C\(\text{aCCiC}\) Indicate nouns in singular, e.g.:

\[\text{\textit{tæxtōr}}\]  “doctor”

3.3.5.4. CvCC\(\text{vC-T}\)

The feminine of CvCC\(\text{vC}\), e.g.:

\[\text{\textit{şəşşāne}}\]  “nothing at all”

\[\text{\textit{qošxāna}}^{236}\]  “pot, cauldron”

3.3.5.5. CaCāCiC

C\(\text{aCāCiC}\) indicate in general the plural of CvCC\(\text{vC}\) and CvC\(\text{vC}\), e.g.:

\[\text{\textit{ašāfīr}}\]  “birds”
\[\text{\textit{dakākin}}\]  “shops”
\[\text{\textit{zanābir}}\]  “hornet”
\[\text{\textit{danānīr}}\]  “dinar”

3.4. Numerals

3.4.1. Cardinals

The numeral wēḥ\(\text{at}/\text{wēḥat}\) “one (m.sg.)” and w\(\text{ḥde}\) “one (f.sg.)” may function as an indefinite marker when succeeding the noun they define, e.g.: yawm\(\text{an}\) wēḥ\(\text{at}\) “a day” and yaw\(\text{atan}\) w\(\text{ḥde}\) “a village” (see 3.2.8). wēḥ\(\text{at}\) may also follow any numeral to indicate indefiniteness, amount or pieces of something, e.g.: arb\(\text{īn}, xamsīn\) wēḥ\(\text{at}\) “forty, fifty (people, or anything that is masculine)”; əʃ̥š\(\text{īn}\) w\(\text{ḥde}\) “twenty (women or anything that is feminine)”.

\[235\] Cf. CS əš̥w\(\text{bīno},\) cf. also MSA əš̥\(\text{bīn}\) or iš\(\text{bīn}\) “godfather, best man”.

\[236\] Cf. Turk. k\(\text{uʃhane}\) “small saucepan”.
*fnayn* “two (m.sg.)” and *fantayn* “two (f.sg.)” have the characteristic dual ending, i.e. the -*ayn* (see 3.2.5) in both genders. Examples: *al-ebnin am* *fnayn* “the sons are also two” and *kanêyari, fantayn ane mên Têllo* “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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>faff</th>
<th>fefe</th>
<th>faff taššör</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arbaḥ</td>
<td>arḇa</td>
<td>arbaḥ taššör</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xams</td>
<td>xamse</td>
<td>xamṣ tayyēm</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêt</td>
<td>sètre</td>
<td>sêt taššör</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabṣ</td>
<td>saba</td>
<td>sabṣ taššör</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fmān</td>
<td>fmēne</td>
<td>fmān taššör</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tṣṣa</td>
<td>tṣṣa</td>
<td>tṣṣḥ tayyēm</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ašṣ</td>
<td>‘ašra</td>
<td>‘ašṣ tayyēm</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples for the left column: *faff banēt* “3 girls”; *arbaḥ ansin* “4 years”; *xams ansin* “5 years”; *sêt ansin* “6 years”; *sabḥ karrāt* “7 times”; *fmān cašaēt* “8 varieties”; *tṣṣa ansin* “9 years”; *‘ašṣ neswēn* “10 ladies”; *arbaḥ awlād* “4 children”; *arbaḥ ḫefs* “4 souls, persons”; *xams tayyēm* “5 days”.

The numerals 11-19

| ḥdahš    | 11     | ‘eššin | 20 |
| finahš   | 12     | flēfin | 30 |
| flāṭṭahš | 13     | arḇin | 40 |
| arbatahš | 14     | xamsin | 50 |
| xamṣtalḥš | 15     | sēṭtin | 60 |
| sēṭṭahš | 16     | sabṭin | 70 |
| sabṭahš | 17     | fmēnin | 80 |
| fmēntahš | 18     | tṣṣηn | 90 |
| tṣṣetaḥš | 19     |       |    |

Examples: *sēṭṭahš sane* “16 years”; *‘eššin sane* “20 years”; *wēḥad w ‘eššin* “21”; *fnayn w ‘eššin* “22”; *sabṭa w ‘eššin* “27”.

Hundreds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hundred</th>
<th>237</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Note that the forms in this table are elicited which may leave some doubts.
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.: "when (19)94 came ..."; "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.: "in 1997, eh 1987, 1987". A 12-year-old girl had difficulties in saying how old she was. She said "...", "two te..," when her sister said "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". In the Anatolian qalıtu-dialects fard is attested in Mhallamiye. Vocke and Waldner present one attestation of fard which also originates from Mhallamiye. 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 bin dokuz yüz saksan yadi “1987”.
240 The ‘Abbasi 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 ‘Abbásies, 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. Blanc writes in *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* that the indefinite marker *fard* (in slightly different shapes) is the characteristically Mesopotamian ‘indetermination marker’. In TA *fard* is attested in both men’s and women’s speech. *fard* precedes nouns in singular and in dual. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sadeğe} & \quad \text{fart aš-šiyyayn} \\
\text{mò yàklu fî fār} & \quad \text{sfra} \\
\text{fart wàhde mèn aw mò kòla} & \\
\text{... kànu tam fàrt layle} & \\
\text{uww fàrt čàšne nàhne mûlêdna} & \\
\text{naswèn w ñrêgêl mò yàrkàzu fî fàrd} & \quad \text{ṣàhe} \\
\text{wèhàd żàlamè ta-yqùm ñyòrò mèn ã} & \quad \text{wne farz} \\
\text{mahàll ñl-Îrâq} &
\end{align*}
\]

“*It has only (these) two things*”
“*they don’t eat at the same table*”
“I don’t eat a single one of these”
“… they were exactly (in) one night”
“Our mûlêd feast is one sort”
“women and men don’t sit in one gathering”
“a man is about to leave from here to 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-šiyyayn* 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 *wàhde* 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 *awwàl* “first” and *fëni* “second”, e.g.: *awwàl karra aṭ-ṭâlbè ṭâlabuwa* “the first time they asked for her hand”; *fëni layle ḥâṭṭaytu râsi nàmtu* “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.: *uçunğû* “third”; *dördunğû* “fourth”; *besîngî* “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 Ꙓ!
248 Note that these forms are elicited which may leave some doubts.
According to the informants \textit{wēḥōt l-awwel} and \textit{wēḥōt l-\textls{fnayn}} are also used but very rarely. Note the lack of definite article in the ordinal for “eighth”. Note also the \textit{t} in \textit{wēḥōt} before the \textit{l} and before the \textit{s} (see 2.1.6).

The use of the preposition \textit{ba’t} “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 \textit{nārs} and \textit{rārēḥ} TA has developed its own fractionals, even though strongly influenced from Turkish (elicited forms):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{nārs} \tab 1/2 \tab \textit{wāhde fāl-sahā} \tab 1/7
  \item \textit{wāhde fāl-fēfe} \tab 1/3 \tab \textit{wāhde fāl-fmēnē} \tab 1/8
  \item \textit{čērāk} and \textit{rārēḥ} \tab 1/4 \tab \textit{wāhde fāl-tāsā} \tab 1/9
  \item \textit{wāhde fāl-xamse} \tab 1/5 \tab \textit{fāl-miyye āsra} \tab 10%
  \item \textit{wāhde fāl-satte} \tab 1/6
\end{itemize}
Three quarters is *faf čawerak*. čawerak which is the pl. of čērerak < Turk. čeyrek “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 *wōde fəl-satte* and *wōde fəl-sahā*. 

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):

```
sāča wōde  “one o’clock”
sāča fəntayn  “two o’clock”
sāča fāfe  “three o’clock”
sāča arbə  “four o’clock”
sāča xamse  “five o’clock”
sāča sōtte  “six o’clock”
sāča sabə  “seven o’clock”
sāča fmēnaye  “eight o’clock”
sāča təsə  “nine o’clock”
sāča ʻašra  “ten o’clock”
sāča ḥdāʻš  “eleven o’clock”
sāča fnahš  “twelve o’clock”
```

In the corpus both sāča and sēča are attested beside sāča. Examples from the corpus: *nōgho s-sēča xamse, sōtte* “we (usually) come at five or six o’clock”; *sās-sahh iyye s-sēča wōde fəl-layl* “it is one in the night now”; *ṣtanyərma Saṭit ābe hayyone s-sēča fmēnaye* “we waited for Said until eight o’clock”; *kā-kəl-əhaṙat sās-sēča fnahš* “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.:

```
fnahš təbər xamse  “it is five past twelve”
fnahš təbər ʻašra  “it is ten past twelve”
fnahš təbər čērerak  “it is quarter past twelve”
fnahš təbər ʻaʃšin  “it is twenty past twelve”
fnahš təbər xamse w ʻaʃšin  “it is twenty-five past twelve”
```
The verb ʻaḥar “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 ʻaḥar 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 kalktı “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.: sāā’ bru{name}a fnahš dē-ntenšš ḫa’ayna “we will meet at twelve o’clock”; sāā’ wḥde “It is one o’clock”.

rāḥṣ “quarter” is used in different contexts in TA, for instance rāḥṣ 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḋā‘āx šaqq ʻal-‘aḡar</td>
<td>“at dawn”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣ-ṣabāḥ</td>
<td>“in the morning”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋā‘āx ḡy-yḥar</td>
<td>“at noon”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋā‘āx ʻal-‘ašar</td>
<td>“in the afternoon”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋā‘āx ʻal-ḥaḍrap</td>
<td>“at sunset”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋā‘āx ʻal-‘aše</td>
<td>“in the evening”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bḥ-layl</td>
<td>“in the night”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nḥṣṣ ʻal-layl</td>
<td>“(at) midnight”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note the frequent use of čääx “here: at the time of …”. For the expression “in the morning”, the preposition mën “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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓl-ṣifnayn</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓl-falefēn</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓl-arbēn</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓl-xamīs</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓg-ḡāmēa</td>
<td>Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓs-sabt</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawm ẓl-aḥmed</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example from the corpus: ẓg-ḡāmēa kăn tāʿtil, kăn tāʿtil yawm ẓg-ḡāmēa “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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kānūn ẓl-baḥt</td>
<td>January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aẓbāt or šubāt</td>
<td>February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕEʕEʕEr</td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nisāān</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyyāār</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥṣayyārān</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammūs</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫbēx</td>
<td>August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓylūn</td>
<td>September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓylūn ẓl-baḥt</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāšrīn</td>
<td>November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānūn ẓl-awwāl</td>
<td>December</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kānūn ẓl-baḥt is a peculiar form. The ‘expected’ form after kānūn ẓl-awwāl is kānūn *ẓl-fēnī. ẓylūn ẓl-baḥt is also a strange form. The difference between ẓylūn and ẓylūn ẓl-baḥt may be caused by the eliciting phenomenon.
3.5.4. Seasons of the year

rabī‘  Spring
ṣayf  Summer
xarīf  Autumn
šaṭe  Winter

Examples: ʼal-lāxx yāḥar kama ʼar-rabī‘ “the rest passes like spring”; nəhne fəṣ-ṣayf ta-nəbqa maḡburin nəbās čēkēt “we have to put a jacket on in summer”; ǧaw fi waqt ʼal-xarīf “they came in autumn”; ʼal-layl ʾanne ṯwāl fəṣ-šaṭe “the night(s) are long in winter”.

3.6. Particles

3.6.1. Prepositions

The following prepositions are used in TA:

ila  “till, until, to”  ila yawm ʼal-ḥaqq am mō fēḥalu “until the Day of Judgment I won’t forgive him”

b-/ba-  “in, at, by”  b-raḡlu “by (his) foot”; bə-raśak “in your head”

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

mən badal/  “instead of”  abūs it ʼal-bənt mən badal axī “I kiss the bride’s hand instead of my brother”; badala ʾa-yəḥtī-yu xamsa mūt vahabiyye ʷwwe yəḥtī-yu xamsa mūt fəyya “instead of giving him 500 gold coins he gives him 500 silver coins”

baʃd/baʃd  “after”  baʃd arbaʃ əsniŋ əsīr amakli “after 4 years I will get retired”; baʃt əšwayye “after a while”

bala  “without”  bala nawm “without sleep”

bayan  “between”  baynētn “between them”

taht  “under”  taht əš-sama “under the sky”

 génér  “beside”  génér əš-ġēmāh “beside the mosque”
hatta “till, until” \( \text{fi arba} \text{h ci} \text{c} \text{eket hatta s-sa} \text{h} \) “there are still four flowers until now”

hawālay- “around” \( \text{fi by} \text{ut hawalay} \text{an} \) “there are houses around them”

xalf “behind” xalf \( \text{e} \text{l-} \text{a} \text{raba} \) “behind the car”

şā, şān “for, to” şā \( \text{e} \text{mmi} \) “to my mother”; şān l-\( \text{e} \text{f} \text{-} \text{ül} \) “for the workers” (see 3.1.4.3)

şawp “direction, because” \( \text{man} \text{ şawp xbayz} \text{an} \) “because of (for) their living (bread)”

‘ala “over, on” ‘ala \( \text{h} \text{e} \text{d} \text{u} \text{d} \text{e} \text{-} \text{T} \text{u} \text{r} \text{k} \text{i} \text{y} \text{y} \text{a} \) “on the Turkish border”

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

‘ala with the pronominal suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>‘alayu ‘alayon/‘alayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>‘alaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>‘alayk ‘alayken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>‘alayki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>‘alay ‘alayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘ənd “at, by” yəbqa ‘ənd sayyədi Faqiru ɭləh “he stays with my grandfather, Faqiru ɭləh”

In the suffix of the 1.c.pl. the d is dissimilated, e.g.: kā-fi ‘ənna almānən əfnayn “we had two Germans” or “there were two Germans with us”.

gayr “except, other than” gayr \( \text{e} \text{l-waz} \text{ir} u \text{gayr } \text{e} \text{l-} \text{q} \text{r} \text{äl} \text{249} \), pādišāh šī aḥat mū yəbqa əqal “except for the minister and the king, the sultan, no one remains sane”

fī “in, on” kāän mahlūs fī ɭWeən “he was jailed in Van”; da-ḥət’ī \( \text{e} \text{l-} \text{l-} \text{h} \text{m} \text{ār} \text{fī yahri} w \text{da-} \text{t} \text{ma} \text{s} \text{a} \text{r} \text{o} \) “I will put the donkey on my back and go on walking”

The full paradigm for fī + suffix is as follows:

---

\( \text{249} \) Cf. Turk. \( \text{kral} \) “king”.

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An *n* is inserted in the form of the 1.c.sg. to separate the *i* of the particle and the *i* of the 1.c.sg. The forms *fi-yu, fi-ya, fi-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).

A short form of *'oddem/qoddem, dem* is also used, e.g.: *dëm əl-baḥar* “on the seashore, close to the sea”; *nāswēn hīč mō yəṭlaʿu dēm əl-lə-r̥gēl* “women never come out in front of the men”.

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.:
d-arō ət-Təllo anā “I will go to Tillo”; abī kā-yrōh əl-ayyōr “my father used to go to the villages”; qūm rū əl-karm “go to the vineyard!”; awwəl mā yəlḥaq əl-ıdu “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”; ṛāhu rās šaglən “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: ḏahaba š-ša’ma “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.: fi ləhu mabḥaxiyaṭ azāl “it (m.sg.) has a special pot”; ka-ləna ḡawš “we used to have a courtyard”; kān lək ṛəfqa maṣək? “did you (m.sg.) have friends with you?”; ləki ḡban ‘əskarı? “do you (f.sg.) have a son in the army?”. The complete forms, with a personal suffix, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ləhu</td>
<td>ləhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ləha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>lək</td>
<td>ləkən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ləki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>liləhi</td>
<td>ləna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of liləhi 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lī (men and women)</th>
<th>ləhi (only women)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lī šagəl layk</td>
<td>ləhi əʃmənye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I have work for you (m.sg.)”</td>
<td>“I have 8 (grandchildren)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lī karm</td>
<td>ləhi bənt fi Urfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I have a vineyard”</td>
<td>“I have one daughter in Urfa”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

252 Wright 1996, ii, 191.
**lī bənt fi Təllo**
“I have a daughter in Tillo”

**lī əban əskar**
“I have a son that is in the army”

*bala* (b- + “without”  *kənna bala šəgəl* “we were without work”
*lā*)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>šānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>šāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>šānək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>šānki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>šānī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*əmšān* (*mən* “to, for” *əmšān əben* “to a son”. This preposition is attested only once in the material

*ma‘* “with”  *mā fi ma‘i ḥaqq kəre* “I do not have to pay rent”

*ma‘* with the pronominal suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ma‘u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ma‘a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ma‘ək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ma‘kī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ma‘i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the devoicing of *ʕ/ in contact before the voiceless /k/.

---

män “from” də-nwaddi parçəye254 män ḡanamək “we will take one (lit. a piece) of/from your sheep”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>mənnu</td>
<td>mənnən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>mənna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>mənnək</td>
<td>mənkan/mənkən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>mənki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>mənni</td>
<td>mənna/mənnəna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: mə šārli manfa’a mənnu “I did not take advantage of him”; lay yərərap mənna ɜayy yə tə-yumit yə tə-yən “This who drinks water from it either he will die or he will get mad”; mə tēq anqaṭah mənkan “I cannot stop meeting you”.

hayya/ hayya255 “until” hayyə darank “until late”
warə “after” warə l-gada “after lunch”

3.6.2. Conjunctions

awwəl la- “as soon as, when” awwəl la-kə-ɢ-ɢəw “...as soon as they came ...
ba’ad lay/la- “when, after that” ba’ad la-l-ɢəmər yəntamm “when life has come to an end”; ba’ad lay yəsir səttin səne ɢəl-ɢəmər yəntamm “when becoming 60 years old, life is at its end”
čünkı256 “because” mə ʻatəwni ɜən čünkı ɢɨtɨ ɢəl-ɢənqara “they didn’t give me permission because I (had) come to Ankara”

254 Cf. Turk. parçə “piece”.
255 Cf. Kur. heya “till, until”.
256 Cf. Turk. čünkə “because”.

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ənn kā- “if, when” ənn kā-təxna sayna aš-ši... “if we can do this ...

šayš “because, while” dawāmli šayš anā āxəv əl-muțala’a anā nāṣas harake ɣa’nī “because I always read I lack (physical) fitness”

‘ala tiül “as long as, along” ‘ala tiül aš-šəte “the whole winter long”

gayr “other than, except” mā-li gayrən “except them I have no one”

qabəl la- “before that” qabəl la- kā-kər-rəh təl-Wēn “before that you went to Van”

lā258 “or” ʃəyyə [...] kəl-ḥətāk ənne lā vahēb? “did he give them to you as silver or as gold?”

lamma “when” nəhne lamma rəhna ... “when we went ...”

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

madām “since, while” madām kət-ţina lə-Şanbūl lā n-nənsi rəhna “Since we now came to Istanbul let us not forget ourselves”

madamki259 “since, while” madamki ʒəbnəha hayyə ʔawne ... “since we managed so far ...”

məšxəṭər and ša xəṭər “because, for the sake of” məš xəṭər ʒəklu w ʒəsrəbu tə-yəwaddawa “they will take it for eating and drinking”; rəhna d-Diyərəbakər ša xəṭər ḥamūk “we went to Dyarbakir for the sake of your father in law”.

mən sawp “because, for the sake of” mən sawp aʃ-ʃəgəl ʒaw lə-Şanbūl “they came to Istanbul because of work”

mən lay “because” mən lay ʒəyq qanama260 “because he is bleeding”

w “and” ʒuɔɔ mən əmm əw nəhne mən əmm “he is from one mother and we from another”

waya261 “or” fɔs-Ṣūriyya waya fəl-is-Swēč “in Syria or in Sweden”

wayuxta262 “or” fɨ rās mayye wayuxta fɨ məwqəh ʃi “by the water or in some place”

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

258 This conjunction is rare.

259 Cf. Turk. madamki “since, while”.

260 Cf. Turk. kanama “bleeding”.

261 Cf. Turk. vəya “or”.

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3.6.3. Interjections

a. **yā** (< Turk. ya) “O …, Oh”, e.g.: *alla ysahhød-lök yā doşti*<sup>266</sup> “may God help you, Oh friend”.

b. **yā** (< Turk. ya) “yes, that is correct”, e.g.: *yā s-sähä ʿaynī nsayyen* “yes, we do the same now”.

c. **yāhu** (< Turk. yahu) “Oh God!”, e.g.: *yāhu ʾašš ʾṭâlū?* “Oh God! What are you (c.pl.) saying”.

d. **hā** (< Turk. ha) “behold!”, e.g.: *tallaʿ hā! kanū*<sup>267</sup> l-ṭalame ku-kā-rtama man ʿal-farâṣ “he looked (and) behold! The man had fallen off the horse”.

e. **hā ... hā** (< Turk. ha ...) “nearly, almost”, e.g.: *hā ġade, hā baʿād ġade, arīṅ yawm ba quàna fā-Šīāmḥūl ēke bala šəqāl* “we stayed in Istanbul 40 days without work (saying) today (or) tomorrow” (see text 5:8).

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<sup>262</sup> Cf. Turk. veyahut “or”.
<sup>263</sup> Cf. Kur. hēj “yet, so far, still”.
<sup>264</sup> Cf. Turk. salon “hall, salon”.
<sup>265</sup> Cf. Kur. çax “then, at that time” and Turk. çâğ “time, age, period”.
<sup>266</sup> Cf. Turk. doşt “friend, comrade”.
<sup>267</sup> Cf. kān уву “he was”.

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f. əh “to sit back and enjoy life”, e.g.: əh, ā, ā el-hawa fə-Tollu uww kwayyəs “Ah, yes, yes, the weather in Tillo is nice”.

g. qərt u qərt “onomatopoeic about eating”, e.g.: yəgibi w yəgi yəqət ʿalayu qərt u qərt w qərt u qərt hayy xams, satt taʃšor “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-xətərkan “well, goodbye”.

i. dē ... dē “to do s.th. with great difficulty”, e.g.: bowš ʿarraytu dē w dē, ama ʿel-marḥūm abi bowš aṣraʿi “I went through a lot of difficulties but my father invoked God a lot for my favour”.

j. alla lla “Oh really”, e.g.: alla lla, qāʿāq, qaʿāq kər-rəḥt!? “Oh really, by smuggling, you were smuggled (there)!”.

3.6.4. Adverbs

3.6.4.1. Demonstrative adverbs

a. ʿawn, ʿawne “here”, e.g.: ē ʿaw mā fi ēke ʃi “there is no such thing here”.

b. ʿawnak, ʿawnake “there”, e.g.: ʿaw l-ə-xtayrín kəlla kā-yaqədū ʿawnak w yaʃawaw bahl 268 ʿel-ṣərāq “all these old ones used to sit there and talk about Iraq”.

c. ēk, ēke “thus, like this”, e.g.: qāmu ḥayru ēke ʿeydənət u ḥayru aḵəl u šərp “so they prepared, thus, tea-pots and they prepared food and drink”.

3.6.4.2. Temporal adverbs

a. ʿas-saḥ “now”, e.g.: ku-ṭəḫṣu əntən yaʾne ʿas-saḥ bət-Turkya ʃi lay ysir “you (c.pl.) are watching what is going on in Turkey now”.

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

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b. *karra* “once” and *karr¿t* “sometimes”, e.g.: ‘amaltu aww¿l karra iš¿l269 “the first time I worked as a worker”; ak-karra ääf əl-st¿t am yɔ́́trap tatt¿n xaf tatt¿ “so this time this teacher was smoking one cigarette after the other”; *karr¿t* k¿-akram¿n źig¿r¿ “sometimes I used to offer them a cigarette”.

3.6.4.3. Adverbs of place

   a. *f¿q* “up, over, on top of”: hayy¿ f¿q “all the way up”; īla f¿q m¿ k¿n f¿ bayt w¿h¿ “there was not a single house (from here and) all the way up”.

   b. *barra* “outside”: k¿-f¿ iyy¿m k¿-an¿m barra “there were days when I slept outside”; k¿n n¿bqa barra, f¿l-ar¿zi “we used to stay outside, in the open fields”.

   c. gettext(269)*gawwa* “inside”: qafal g¿mu w q¿rd gawwa “he closed his window and sat inside”; k¿d-daxalat gawwa “she went inside”.

3.6.4.4. Other adverbs

   a. *bass* “only”, e.g.: maww an¿ w bass “it is not only me”; īla l-ar¿r¿n sane bass f¿kiha akal “until 40 years he ate only fruit”.

   b. *ham270* “also, as well, again”, e.g.: axavn¿l¿n m¿nnu ham pasta271 “we also took (for us) cake from him”; ənn ka-g¿r yawm š¿lak š¿ł¿l š¿ ham nr¿d n¿g¿ m¿k n¿h¿ “if you (m.sg.), some other day, will have more work, we would like to come again”.

   c. *ç¿xwa272* “then, though”, e.g.: ç¿xwa an¿ b-tab¿ti273 ah¿pp əl-, ëk¿ št¿g¿l f¿l-l¿-tr¿p “By nature, though, I thus like to work with earth”

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269 Cf. Turk. iš + ç¿ “work(er)”.
270 Cf. Turk. hem “also, as well”.
271 Cf. Turk. pasta “cake”.
272 Kur. ç¿x + w¿ “then, though, simply, obviously”.
273 Cf. bi-ṭab¿ati “according to my habits”.

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3.6.4.5. The existential particle \( \text{f}\)

The existential particle in TA is \( \text{f}\) “there is/are”, e.g.: \( \text{kān f\; bīr} \) “there was a well”; \( \text{manbā\; m\; f\; f-Ṭillo} \) “there is no (water) spring in Tillo”; \( \text{kāān f\; ʾanna fālfa mīt zālame} \) “we had 300 men”; \( \text{f\; āk ʾl-bānt ʾstābili iyye!} \) “there is that girl, ask for her hand for me!”.

3.6.5. Negation

Negation is expressed by the following particles: \( \text{maww} \) and \( \text{mayy, mō, mā} \) and \( \text{lā}. \)

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

1b. \( \text{mayy} \; < \; *\text{mā} \; \text{iy} \) is used to negate the f.sg. in nominal phrases, e.g.: \( \text{ma-yy ēke ʾȘṭanbūl} \) “Istanbul is not like this” (see 3.1.3).

2. \( \text{mō} \) negates a verbal clause in the imperfect, e.g.: \( \text{mō tqaffī} \) “you will not find”; \( \text{mō-ḵal} \) “I do not eat”; \( \text{mō ṭḥāṭtu xēliyye?} \) “don’t you (c.pl.) use (lit. put) veil?”

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

4. \( \text{lā} \; + \; \text{imperfect} \) in the 2.m.sg., 2.f.sg. and 2.c.pl express negative imperative:

\begin{align*}
&\text{sg.} &\text{pl.} \\
&\text{2.m.} &\text{lā t’āllān “do not say to them”} \; &\text{2.c.} &\text{lā tābdaw “do not start”} \\
&\text{2.f.} &\text{lā tōkay “do not talk”}
\end{align*}

5. \( \text{lā} \; + \; \text{imperfect} \) in the 3. person express indirect imperative or prohibition, e.g.: \( \text{lā yrō l-karm “he should not go to the vineyard”; lā yəbqaw qwn “they should not stay here”} \)

6. \( \text{lā} \) or \( \text{la} \) as a negative answer after a question, e.g: \( \text{təřaři təqrayy w źaktābī? lā waļla mō ʿraf “do you (know how to) read and write? No, I don’t (know)”;} \) \( \text{yətəaššaw mə ḥaγyan? lā waļla mō yətəaššaw mah ḥaγyan “do they have dinner together? No, by God, they don’t have dinner together”}. \)
7. lã ... lã “neither ... nor”, e.g.: lã l-ary w lã s-sama “neither earth nor sky”; lã ytęq yahrap w lã ytęq ysay ñi “he can neither run nor do anything else”; lã Ştanbül lã şī mamlake mò tsır kama Tello źaybe “neither Istanbul nor any other city will (ever) be as good as Tillo”.

3.6.6. Other particles

a. é “so (used in rhetorical speech)”, e.g.: é lə-fūl yahțalu yezəmlən mayye “so the workers get tired (and) they need water”
b. ź din “so (used as a filling in the beginning of a tale)”, e.g.: ź din faraši 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.: šbayəta “her little finger”; qsayra “short (f.sg.)”; šjayhat “a high level of a building that is lower than a roof (pl.)”; gbəys “bread”; xṭayrīn “old ones”. gbayr and xṭayrīn 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 – ayya- between the second and the third consonant, e.g.: ľrayyap “near, close”; zgəyər “little (m.sg.); grayyəf “a small loaf of bread” (note the metathesis, see 2.3).

The Kurdish diminutive ending *-ik/-uk is attested in one example, uww naźmük “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  yarap - yawrap
   šarap - yašrap
II  'ağğal - a'yəğğal
III  tɛlaḥ - a'yɛlaḥ
V  ëtwagğeh - yətwağğeh
VII  ënkasər - yənkəsar
VIII  štaḥem - yəštəhəm
IX  ëxyar - yəxyar
X  ëstɑṛber - yəstɑṛber

3.8.1. Stem I

3.8.1.1. The strong verb

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>qatal</td>
<td>qatlu</td>
<td>yarap</td>
<td>yarabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>qatalt</td>
<td>yarabat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>qatalt</td>
<td>qataltən</td>
<td>yarapt</td>
<td>yaraptən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>qatalti</td>
<td>yarapti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>qataltu</td>
<td>qatalna</td>
<td>yaraptu</td>
<td>yarabna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: qatalu fi raqbaṭṭa “they killed him and accused us (lit. put him in/on our neck)”. That in the corpus the form is qatalu may be caused by the vocalic suffix. In the 3.f.sg. the personal suffix vowel in qatal is ə and in yarap it is a. Examples from the corpus: əlla ta'ala yarabni “God the Sublime hit me”; qatal faras əl-pāṣa “he killed the horse of the pasha”.

Imperfect    sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.
3.m. yəxtəl yəxtəlu yəyərap yəyəbu
3.f. təxtəl təyərap
təyəbə
2.m. təxtəl təxtəlu təyərap təyəbə
2.f. təxtəli təyəbəli
1.c. axtəl nəxtəl aytərap nəyəbə

$q$ 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 yəyərap 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. yərkəp 'al-fərəs u yəyərap “he gets on the horse and rides away (lit. hits)”; yəyəbə qa'naka damm “he sprinkles blood (there) on her”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperative Participle active of</th>
<th>Participle passive of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əqtəl</td>
<td>əyərap</td>
<td>qətəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əqtəli</td>
<td>əyəbəi</td>
<td>qətle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əqtəlu</td>
<td>əyəbəu</td>
<td>qətlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əqtətu</td>
<td>əyəbətu</td>
<td>maqtül</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əqtəti</td>
<td>əyəbəti</td>
<td>maqtülė</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participle forms of ɣərap could not be elicited. Other participle forms that are attested are: qədîn “sitting (pl.)”; dəxəl and dəxəlin “entering”; rəkzin “settled”; maktūp “written”; maʃu “covered pl.”; maʃhûr “well known”.

b. The type CəCaC, cf. CA CaCiCa, e.g.: ʃərəp “to drink” and ʃəɬəm “to be safe”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ʃərəp</td>
<td>ʃərəbu</td>
<td>ʃəɬəm</td>
<td>ʃəɬmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ʃərəbat</td>
<td>ʃɬəmət</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʃərəpt</td>
<td>ʃərəptan</td>
<td>ʃɬəmt</td>
<td>ʃɬəmtən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʃərəpti</td>
<td>ʃɬəmti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ʃərəptu</td>
<td>ʃəɬənə</td>
<td>ʃɬəmtu</td>
<td>ʃɬəmtən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$ b $ is devoiced to $ p $ both in final position and in contact position before $ t $ in ʃərəp and ʃərəptu (see 2.1.2). In the 3.f.sg the personal suffix vowel in ʃərəp is $ a $ and in ʃɬəm it is $ ə $. The verb ʃɬəm in stem I has the same meaning as in MSA aslama “to become Muslim”. Examples: akəlnəən w ʃərəbə “we ate them and we drank”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yəʃərap</td>
<td>yəʃərabu</td>
<td>yəɬəm</td>
<td>yəɬəmu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The stem vowels in the last syllable in 3.m.sg. are a in ʔəʃrap and ə in ʔəʃləm. The difference is maintained also in the 1.c.pl. in both verbs. Examples: ʔəʃrap ʒgara “he smokes”; ʔəʃrap ʤeje amməni? “do you (m.sg.) also drink tea?”; ʔəʃləm ʔəʃləm “they become Muslims”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Participle active</th>
<th>Participle active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šrap</td>
<td>šərap</td>
<td>sələm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šrabi</td>
<td>šərbe</td>
<td>səlme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šrabu</td>
<td>šərbən</td>
<td>səlmən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative of sələm could not be elicited. Examples of participles: maʃrūbətna274 “our drinks”; məsələm “Muslim”. məsələm is a residue of stem IV participle passive.

3.8.1.2. Verba primae

The types aCeC and aCaC, cf. CA aYaCa, e.g.: a Donation “to take” and aʃal “to eat”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m. aʃef</td>
<td>aʃavu</td>
<td>akal</td>
<td>akalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. aʃavet</td>
<td>aʃavət</td>
<td>akalət</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. aʃəf</td>
<td>aʃəfən</td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>akaltən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. aʃəfi</td>
<td>aʃəfi</td>
<td>akalti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. aʃəfit</td>
<td>aʃəfit</td>
<td>akaltu</td>
<td>akalna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 aʃef and the a in aʃal. The vowel in the personal suffix in the 3.f.sg. is e in aʃavet and ə in aʃalət. Attested forms: axavnəlna mənnu ham pasta275 “we also took us some cake from him”; axafəti ruxʃətti “I took my licence”; aʃaləna akəlna “we ate our food”; aŋa akaltu pərtəqənə “I ate an orange”.

Imperfect sg. pl. sg. pl.

274 Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. məʃrubat “drinks”.
275 Cf. Turk. pasta “cake”.

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Examples: yāxav əğ-ğāri w əğ-ğārye “he takes the servant and the maid”; yāxav maymāti “he takes my grandmother”; mō yāāklu fi faʾər 277 ʂəfrā “they don’t eat at the same table”; ənhaʃtu fəs-ʃəfrə yəltammu yāāklu “we put it on the table, they gather (and) eat”. Note the alternation of āā and āā.

Imperative  Imperative  Participle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yāäγəf</td>
<td>yāäγvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tāäγəf</td>
<td>tāäγvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tāäγəf</td>
<td>tāäγvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tāäγvi</td>
<td>tāākli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>āäγəf</td>
<td>nāäγəf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participle of ağəf could not be elicited. Other attestations: ək maʾkūl ʃāyəp “that is a good food”.

3.8.1.3. Verba mediae w

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>rā/rāh</td>
<td>rāhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>rāḥat</td>
<td>qāmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>rəḥt</td>
<td>rəḥtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>rəḥti</td>
<td>qəmti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>rəḥtu</td>
<td>rəḥna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ḡiṭən and ḡiṭən “you came” are attested; daxəltən “you entered”; araytan “you saw”; baqaytan “you stayed, remained”. Examples of verba mediae: w: uwwe rā əl-walēye anā baqitu fi Tillo “he left to the town while I stayed in Tillo”; ənne qāmu rāhu rās ṣə٪ələn “they went (back) to their work”.

Imperfect  sg.  pl.  sg.  pl.

276 In the elicited forms x is pronounced voiced g between two vowels. In the attested forms one finds also x between two vowels.
277 The informant means furt “one, the same” here.
The imperfect stem vowel ā is lowered to ō in rāḥ due to the laryngeal h (see 2.4.11). Examples: ʾyrōḥ ʾl-pāzār “he goes to the market”; wēḥḥōt ayy sapp ʾyrō ʾyrō ʾala āk ʾl-ʾēde “wherever one goes one follows the custom there”; ʾyqūm mns-ṣabāḥ ʾyrō 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. tē-tqūm tēḥtiyū pārātu! “you will (m.sg.) (stand up and) give him his money”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rōḥ</td>
<td>qūm</td>
<td>qāyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōḥī</td>
<td>qūmī</td>
<td>qāyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōḥu</td>
<td>qūmu</td>
<td>qāymīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participle of rāḥ could not be elicited. Attested examples: ḏaxal baqa qāyɔm u yāʾat “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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nēm</td>
<td>nēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>nēmət</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>nəmt</td>
<td>nəmtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>nəmti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>nəmtu</td>
<td>nəmta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example: ḥāṭṭaytu rāsi nəmtu “I went to bed (lit. I put my head (down) and slept)”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ʾynēm</td>
<td>ʾynēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ʾtnēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʾtnēm</td>
<td>ʾtnēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʾtnēmi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>anēm</td>
<td>ʾnnēm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attested examples: qaḅl kā-yrōḥu ynēmu fāḡ-ḡēmeḥ “in early days, they (the circumcisers) used to go and sleep in the mosque”; Aḥmat xa-ynēm “let Aḥmat sleep”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nēm</td>
<td>nēyəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēmi</td>
<td>nēmye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēmu</td>
<td>nēymin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observe the metathesis in the participle of the f.sg. (see 2.3)! Attested example: mō ṭāḥqa nāyəm “you (m.sg.) don’t stay asleep”. The elicited form of the participle is nēyəm and the attested form is nāyəm.

3.8.1.4. Verba mediae y

The types CāC and CēC, cf. CA CāCa, e.g.: šār “to become” and bēḥ “to sell”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>šār</td>
<td>šāru</td>
<td>bēḥ</td>
<td>bḗu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>šārat</td>
<td></td>
<td>bḗat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>šɔrt</td>
<td>šɔrtən</td>
<td>bəḥt</td>
<td>bəḥtən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>šɔrti</td>
<td></td>
<td>bəḥti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>šɔrtu</td>
<td>šɔrna</td>
<td>bəḥtu</td>
<td>bə́na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

` is devoiced to h in final position and in contact position before t (see 2.1.20) in bēḥ. The personal suffix vowel in šār is a and in bēḥ it is e in the 3.f.sg. The stem vowel i is lowered to é in bēḥ due to the laryngeal h (see 2.4.11). Attested examples: əs-šāra šārat wəḥde fəl-ləyl “it is one o’clock in the night now”; šāru ʻarap ənne “they became Arabs”; bāc al-ʻafs278 “he sold the …”. The last example is the only attestation in the corpus where the vowel is ā and not ē.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>əyšir</td>
<td>əyširu</td>
<td>əybih</td>
<td>əybíu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>əṭšir</td>
<td></td>
<td>əṭbih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>əṭšir</td>
<td>əṭširu</td>
<td>əṭbih</td>
<td>əṭbíu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>əṭširi</td>
<td></td>
<td>əṭbíi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>əšir</td>
<td>ənšir</td>
<td>əbih</td>
<td>ənbih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

278 The meaning of ʻafs is not clear. ʻafs may have the meaning “gallnuts, oak apples”.

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Note the variation between $s$ and $s$ in the elicited forms and the attested forms. One expects a lowering of $i$ to $e$ in both $\text{ayšîr}$ and $\text{aybîh}$. In the corpus one finds attestations where lowering occurs, e.g.: $\text{ysēr} \text{ ma} \text{y} \text{mēt} \text{na} \text{ “he belongs to our grandmother”}$. Other attested examples: $\text{awne} \text{ š} \text{ā} \text{n} \text{na} \text{ mō} \text{ ysēr} \text{ “it is not good for us here”}; \text{ya} \text{’} \text{ne} \text{ s} \text{ō} \text{nū} \text{t} \text{na} \text{ ayš} \text{ tō-tsîr} \text{ ma} \text{y} \text{y} \text{ ballī}$279 “what our end is, it is not clear”. There are no attested forms for the imperfect of $\text{bēh}$.

### 3.8.1.5. Verba mediae geminatae

The type $\text{CaCC}$, e.g.: $\text{matt} \text{ “to stretch (out)”}$:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>$\text{matt}$</td>
<td>$\text{maddu}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>$\text{madd}ət$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>$\text{maddayt}$</td>
<td>$\text{maddaytən}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>$\text{maddayti}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>$\text{maddaytu}$</td>
<td>$\text{maddayna}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$d$ is devoiced to $t$ in final position (see 2.1.6). Attested examples of mediae geminatae verbs: $\text{gāb} \text{ əl-faraš, ḥattī} \text{ ‘alayu zīn}$280 “he brought the horse and saddled it”; $\text{ku-ərəf} \text{ ayy sapp kəl-ḥattaytu l-ḥastīq} \text{ “I know where I put the hastīq”}$281; $\text{qatalū ḥattū} \text{ fi raqqət} \text{na} \text{ “they killed him and accused (lit. put him in/on our neck) us”}; \text{ḥattayna kībēt} \text{na kəlla fət-ənnəgā}$282 “we put all our books in tin cans”; $\text{ğıtū tza} \text{wə} \text{wə} \text{stū} \text{ yawn əl-xams tyyēm raddaytu} \text{ “I came (and) got married (and) on the fifth day I returned”}; \text{ṣ} \text{a} \text{d} \text{daytu} \text{wa} \text{ fəs-şarīt, fəl-ḥabəl la-nərl, dallaytu} \text{wa}$283 $\text{fəl-bīr} \text{ “I tied it on a string, on a rope as we say, (and) lowered it into the well”}.$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>$\text{əy} \text{m} \text{ət}$</td>
<td>$\text{əy} \text{m} \text{əddu}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>$\text{ət} \text{m} \text{ət}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>$\text{ət} \text{m} \text{ət}$</td>
<td>$\text{ət} \text{m} \text{əddu}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>$\text{ət} \text{m} \text{addi}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>$\text{a} \text{m} \text{ət}$</td>
<td>$\text{ən} \text{m} \text{ət}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

279 Cf. Turk. $\text{belli} \text{ “obvious, known”}.$
280 Cf. Kur. $\text{zīn} \text{ “saddle”}.$
281 $\text{hastīq} \text{ “thin sheet of sun-dried fruit pulp”}.$
282 Cf. Turk. $\text{teneke} \text{ “tin plate, large can”}.$
283 Cf. OA $\text{dalwa} \text{ “to lower”}. \text{ Cf. also CS d} \text{lä “to draw or drag out (water)”}.$
Attested examples: ʾayḥāt ʾas-salle ʾa-yahru “he puts the basket on his back”; ʿdā-yrāddu yrōhu waṭānan “they will return (lit. return and go) to their home village”; ʿslaḥ ʿlaḥāāṣak ʿdā-nṣəddu mān qawn ṭayyāṣu ṣnāp “take off your cloth, we will tie it thus (and) fill it (with) winegrapes”.

Imperative

\[
\begin{align*}
  & mātt \\
  & mōddi \\
  & mōddu
\end{align*}
\]

3.8.1.6. Verba tertiae

The type CaCa, cf. CA CaCaʿa, e.g.: qara “to read”:

Perfect  

\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
  3.m. & qara & qaraw \\
  3.f. & qarat & \\
  2.m. & qarayt & qaraytən \\
  2.f. & qarayti & \\
  1.c. & qaraytu & qarayna
\end{align*}
\]

Attested examples: anā qaraytu ʿarabi mme 284 “I have studied Arabic also”; māā ʿarayna “we didn’t study”; bowš bəl-zör ʿaraw maktep masala “they have studied with difficulties in school”.

Imperfect  

\[
\begin{align*}
  & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
  3.m. & yəqrilə & yəqraw \\
  3.f. & təqrilə & \\
  2.m. & təqra & təqraw \\
  2.f. & təqray & \\
  1.c. & aqri/ə & nəqri/ə
\end{align*}
\]

The differences concerning ʾi/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-fāātha “they read the opening sura”; insāān ytiq yəqra mən ʿala ḥayāṭan filim “one can write (lit. read) a film about their life”. bəl-ʿarabi tərəfi təqrayy w ʾektəbi? “do you (f.sg.) know how to read and write Ara-

284 Long form of Turk. hem “and also, as well as”.

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bic?”; mō nə́ráf nə́ri w nəktēp “we don’t know how to read and write”. Note the alternation between q and ɬ in the examples (see 2.1.10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɬəqri and ɬəqrā</td>
<td>qāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬəqray</td>
<td>qārye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬəqraw</td>
<td>qāryin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8.1.7. Verba tertiae w and verba tertiae y

a. Verba tertiae w, the type CaCa, e.g.: ‘aṭa “to give”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ɬaṭa</td>
<td>ɬaṭaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ɬaṭat</td>
<td>ɬaṭayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ɬaṭayt</td>
<td>ɬaṭaytən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ɬaṭayti</td>
<td>ɬaṭayti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ɬaṭaytu</td>
<td>ɬaṭayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: ɬaṣṣ ɬaṭat? “what did she give?”; kəl-ɬaṭayt ɬaṣṣ tālāf waraqa “you (m.sg.) gave ten thousand TL”; ɬaṭaytuwan pərətan “I gave them their money”; kəl-ɬaṭawni ḡawāāp “they gave me an answer”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ɬəḥti</td>
<td>ɬəḥtaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ɬəḥti</td>
<td>ɬəḥtaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ɬəḥti</td>
<td>ɬəḥtaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ɬəḥtay</td>
<td>ɬəḥtay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ɬəṭi</td>
<td>ɬəṭi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ɬ is devoiced to ɬ before t (see 2.1.20). Attested examples: ɬəd-dawle ɬəḥtina aq-qat pərət “the state gives us this amount of money”; kə-ɬəṭi mūt waraqa kərə “I used to give a hundred TL in rent”; ɬəḥtaw qime šā l-insāān “they show respect to people (lit. to the human being)”; ɬəṣqatt ɬəḥtawni maṣəṣ? “how much will you (c.pl.) give in wages?”.

b. Verba tertiae y, the type CaCa, e.g.: baqa “to stay, remain”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>baqa</td>
<td>baqaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>baqat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
baqayt baqaytan
baqayti
baqaytu baqayna

Attested examples: 
*baqat ʿandi faff ʿsnīn* “she stayed with me three years”; 
*bqītu sane batlē* “I stayed one year unemployed”; 
*baqaw fāl-bayt* “they stayed at home”.

Imperfect sg. pl.
3.m. yābqa yābqaw
3.f. tābqa
2.m. tābqa tābqaw
2.f. tābqay
1.c. abqa nābqa

Attested examples: 
*yābqa xamāstahš sane f-āl-ʿāiq* “he stays fifteen years in Iraq”; 
*tābqa fā-bayt āl-xatān yāwma, yωymayn* “she stays one or two days in the house of the bridegroom”; 
*xa-yābqaw hayyā ma āgi* “let them stay until I come”; 
*tābqaw fi Ṣanbūl?* “do you (c.pl.) live in Istanbul?”.

Imperative

ēbqā
ēbqay
ēbqaw

3.8.1.8. Irregular verbs

a. sawa285 “to do”:

Perfect sg. pl.
3.m. sawa sawaw ~ saw
3.f. sawet
2.m. sawayt ~ sayt sawaytēn ~ saytēn
2.f. sawayti
1.c. sawaytu ~ saytu sawaytēn ~ saytēn

Attested examples: 
*sawa dawēm* “he continued”;  
sawat čēkēt šā ʿSmāʿīl  “she has sewn a jacket for Ismāʿīl”;  
sawaytē abī zyāra “I visited my father”;  
mā tāqu sawawa wēḥēt “they couldn’t agree on that (f.sg.) (lit. they couldn’t

285 sawa corresponds to OA sawwā “to even, to smooth”.

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make it one”); *fəs-šālōn sawaytəna?* “did you (c.pl.) do it (f.sg.) in a reception hall?”. 

### Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>øysawi ~ ysay</td>
<td>øysawaw ~ ysaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>øtsawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>øtsawi</td>
<td>øtsawaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>øtsaway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>asawi</td>
<td>ønsawi ~ nsay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: ̣gāā aāgasən do-ysawi șalāha bayn əl-yaятayn “their aga came to make peace between the two villages”; mō ysay ēkē ši “he doesn’t do such a thing”; tsawilak inšālla “hopefully she (will) make(a jacket) for you (m.sg.)”; d-asawiyu ʕāləm “I will make him a scientist”; ysw șəhbe bowš “they talk together often”; yswawlu ʕaša “they prepare dinner for him”; fī Tillo əšš kā-tsawaw? “what were you (c.pl.) used to doing in Tillō?” 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sawi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sawaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: əmmi saway bahs əl-kalty fūm əmmēni! “mother, talk also about kalty fūm!”; sawawlənə šəgəl nəhne “arrange work for us!”; saw karaml “please come!” In the attested examples of the imperative there is a short form for the 2.c.pl. saw karam “here: please”.

b. ̣gā “to come”:

### Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>̣gā</td>
<td>̣gaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>̣git</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>̣git</td>
<td>̣gitən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>̣giti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>̣gitu</td>
<td>̣gina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: ̣gā lə-Šтанbūl “he came to Istanbul”; la-kəğ-ğıti fəs-Šтанbūl ənti rāzye əmmə mā nī rāzye? “this that you (f.sg.) came to Istanbul, 286 fūm “garlic” kalty fūm “A typical Tillo food dish made of wheat dough and minced meat”.

---

286 fūm “garlic” kalty fūm “A typical Tillo food dish made of wheat dough and minced meat”.

---

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are you satisfied or not?”; qambil gitu l-Anqara “I came to Ankara”; qamu gaw “they came”; ams layš mā gitān am ma’na? “why didn’t you (c.pl.) come with us yesterday?”; ġitān mən Təllo la-Ştanbül? “did you (c.pl.) come from Tillo to Istanbul?”; kəq-ġina nəlab bəntäk “we came to ask for your (m.sg.) daughter’s hand”. Note the two endings of the 2.c.pl., -tən and -tan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yaği</td>
<td>yağaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>təği</td>
<td>təğaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>təği</td>
<td>təğaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>təğay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>āği</td>
<td>nəği</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: yaği yəştanyar fəl-lə-ğnayne “he comes and waits in the garden”; la-trō l-maktap w təği mō təţaz “when she goes to school and comes back, doesn’t she feel bored?”; ġkayna ʕal-maktep, așwam trōhi? așwam təgay? “tell us about school, (I mean) how do you (f.sg.) go there (and) how do you come?”; xa-yəbqaw hayyā mā āği! “let them stay until I come!”; mas-šahah ayṛōhu š-šəğel ʕașriyye yağaw “they leave to work in the morning and in the evening they come (back)”; təğaw ma’na? “would you (c.pl.) like to come with us?”; ənrīd nəği ma’ək nəhne “we want to come with you (m.sg.)”.

Imperative

\[
\begin{align*}
təćā \\
təćay \\
təćaw
\end{align*}
\]

Attested examples: təćā tə-ndōrna dawra ši! “come and let us take a tour!”; əxti ma anti m təćay əwne! “sister, you too come here!”; təćaw tığaddaw! “come and eat!”

c. ara²⁸⁷ “to see”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>araw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>arat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>arayt</td>
<td>araytən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>arayti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>araytu</td>
<td>arayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁸⁷ Cf. MSA raʾā, ɣarā “to see”.

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Attested examples: *ara maḥkūmin la-ydōru fāl-le-ḡbēl* “he saw outlaws that were wandering in the mountains”; *wāldōtī am araṭa mwāfqa* “also my mother found that (f.sg.) suitable”; *bowš kāl-arayt* “you (m.sg.) have gone through a lot (lit. seen a lot)”; *mḥēbha araytu ʃaw-nawmi l-qiyāme kāl-qāmāt* “yesterday I dreamt that it was Judgement Day”; *bowš ēke kāl-araw ġār*288 “they have experienced a lot of poverty”; *bale araytan ʃēğlān* “yes, you (c.pl.) have seen their work”; *ē, arayna ʃēğlān* “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, *yaṭoss*289 “to see” is used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yaṭoss</td>
<td>yaṭossu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>aṭṭoss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>aṭṭoss</td>
<td>aṭṭossu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>aṭṭossi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>aṭoss</td>
<td>əṭtoss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: *yaṭoss āv əẓ-zalame* “he sees this man”; *aṭṭoss muhāsāba qurṣi* “you (m.sg.) attend (lit. see) accounting course”; *aṣwam aṭṭossi āṯurūm əʃṭānbūl?* “how do you (f.sg.) see the situation in Istanbul?”; *šī lay aṭoss iyye l-ḡnayne dāāmna* “as far as I can see it is the garden that is in front of us”; *aṣwam aṭṭossu Ṭella s-sāḥha?* “how do you (c.pl.) see Tillo now?”; *mō ṅṭoss ḣā ṣayna* “we don’t see each other”.

*yaṭoss* occurs in one attestation in perfect, e.g.: *māšalla, kāl-, əs-saᶜ kāl-arayt, kət-ṭaʃšayt bowš. bowš kət-ṭaʃšayt?* “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 *kāl-arayt* says *kət-ṭaʃšayt* 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.: *yaʃqūmu yəsλəmu* “they become Muslims” (one attestation).

3.8.2. Stem II

289 Cf. Barthélemy 1935, 478 where he gives the form *ʃасс - ʃасс “voir”*. 

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The type *CaCC*eC, e.g.: `ağğol “to hurry up”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ـağğol</td>
<td>ـağlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ـağlät</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ـağğölṭ</td>
<td>ـağğölṭən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ـağğölṭi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ـağğölṭu</td>
<td>ـağğöləna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The middle consonant is degeminated in the 3.f.sg. and 3.c.pl. due to the consonant cluster of the ـ and the ـl. Attested examples: *f-bayt nazzəlna* “he made us get off (the car) at home”; *bačərlay rtaxa uwwe am rakkbəltū* “after that it (the horse) became calm I also made him (the friend) ride (with me)”; *abwəb nəftəḥən* “we open the doors”; *talləna z-zamən kəl-əḥər* “we noticed the time was late (lit. the time has passed)”. Note difference between the elicited form ـağğəlna “we hurried up” and the attested form *talləna* “here: we noticed”.

A mullah mentions in his speech the following: *malla əsmən, quddisa sərrahu, axrəğu. xarrəğu barəra* “mullah Usmən, 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 *axrəğu*. When he realises that he is supposed to talk in dialect, he corrects himself immediately and uses stem II instead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>əy’ağğəl</td>
<td>əy’ağlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ər’ağğəl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ər’ağğəl</td>
<td>ər’ağlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ər’ağli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ə’ağğəl</td>
<td>ən’ağğəl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: *əyrəkkəp əl-walit* “he makes the boy ride”; *ğawwət əl-yay’a yənazzəl as-salle mən yahru* “inside the village he takes the basket off his back”; *əśšə də-ya’llah?* “what is he going to look for?”.

**Imperative**

`ağğel
 `ağli
 `ağlu

Attested example: *tallaḥ, talla چ-چکئ!* “look, look at the jacket!”.
3.8.2.1. Verba tertiae infirmae

The type *CaCCa*, e.g.: *‘abba* “to fill”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td><em>‘abba</em></td>
<td><em>‘aḥḥaw</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td><em>‘abbet</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td><em>‘abbayt</em></td>
<td><em>‘abbaytān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td><em>‘abbayti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td><em>‘abbaytu</em></td>
<td><em>‘abbayna</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*b* is velarized before the diphthong *aw*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td><em>ṣ‘abbi</em></td>
<td><em>ṣ‘aḥḥaw</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td><em>ḥ‘abbi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td><em>ḥ‘abbi</em></td>
<td><em>ḥ‘aḥḥaw</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td><em>ḥ‘abbi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td><em>ḥ‘abbi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested example: *l-ṣäyle ṭabi d-awaddiya* “I will of course take the family”.

Imperative

*‘abbi*

*‘abbay*

*‘aḥḥaw*
3.8.3. Stem III

a. The types CēCaC and CēCṣC, cf. CA CāCaCa, e.g.: tēlah “to take out/up” and tēwēn “to help”:

Perfect | sg. | pl. | sg. | pl.  
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---  
3.m. | tēlah | tēľu | tēwēn | tēwnu  
3.f. | tišat | tēwēt |  
2.m. | tišat | tišatn | tēwnt | tēwns  
2.f. | tišati | tēwnti  
1.c. | tišatn | tēwnta | tēwntu | tēwnna  

The verb form for 3.f.sg. is tišat and not, as may be expected, *tišat or *tišat. Example: anā mā fēkulū “I also did not forgive him”.

Imperfect | sg. | pl. | sg. | pl.  
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---  
3.m. | atēlah | atēľu | atēwēn | atēwnu  
3.f. | atēlah | atēľu | atēwēn | atēwnu  
2.m. | atēlah | atēľu | atēwēn | atēwnu  
2.f. | atēli | atēwni  
1.c. | atēlah | antēlah | atēwēn | atēwna  

Attested example: baṣat antēlahu nhēṭṭu fel-fārn “after that we take it (m.sg.) out we put in the oven”.

Imperative  

| |  
--- | ---  
₇ēlah | tēwēn  
₇ēlə | tēwn  
₇eľu | tēwnu  

The long vowel in stem III, ē may have another allophone, namely ā. Attested examples: hāṣabna hisāben, āk al-lawm ṣqat kā-yānsekk “we made up their wages (lit. their account), how much it was that day”; ānn yāḥāngiyye₂⁹⁰ mō nāṣāran “they are strangers, we are not being social with them”. Turkish borrowings that are inflected in accordance with stem III: mō tqaḥṣu₂⁹¹ ṣaṣaykān? “don’t you (c.pl.) interfere with each other?”; trò tsāfṣār?₂⁹² “are you (m.sg.) going for the sake of being his guest?”.

₂⁹⁰ Cf. Turk. yabancı “stranger, foreigner”.  
₂⁹¹ Cf. Turk. karişmak “interfere (in, with)”.  
₂⁹² Second borrowing. Cf. Tur. misafir “guest, visitor”.

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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 karrât kə-akramən žigāra m*293 “and sometimes I used to offer them cigarettes also”; *mallə ʿəsmān, quddisa sərrahu, axrəğu xarrəğu baṭa* “mullah Usman, 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”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ətwağğəh</td>
<td>ətwağçu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ətwağçət</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ətwağğəht</td>
<td>ətwağğəhtən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ətwağğəhtı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ətwağğəhttu</td>
<td>ətwağğəna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: *waqt əg-ğumhuriyya twağğənā bowš nəhne* “we suffered a lot when the republic came”; *twağğənā ʿalayn bowš* “we suffered a lot for them”. Note the alternation between *a* and *ə* twağğələnə. *mā tqabbəltu ʿala əḵ əš-ši* “I did not accept that thing (conditions)”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ātwağğəh</td>
<td>ātwağçu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ātwağğəh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ātwağğəht</td>
<td>ātwağğəhtən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ātwağğəhtı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ātwağğəhttu</td>
<td>nətwağğəh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: *baṣt lay əği fī Təllo yətmakkan fī Təllo* “after coming to Tillo he settled down there”; *əl-pärāt baqat əl-ʿulm; əl-maḏdiyāt yətqaddem* “money is education; materialism is going forward”;

293 Cf. Tur. *ham > am > m* after an “a” in the previous word.
yətxammən fəkər kwayyaś “he thinks of a good idea”; d-yəgrəw ma‘ ḫa‘yən bəl-‘arabi, də-yətkalləm ma‘ən bəl-‘arabi “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.: atmarḥəbna fi ḫa‘yna “we said hello/welcomed each other”, cf. OA raḥiba. Turkish roots are inflected according to the same pattern, e.g.: æc‘arrək “became worse”, cf. Turk. çürük.

3.8.5.1. Verba tertiae infirmae

The type ætCaCCa, cf. CA taCaCCa, e.g.: æ‘aşšə “to have dinner”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>æ‘aşšə</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>æ‘aşšət</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəyt</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəytən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəyti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəytu</td>
<td>æ‘aşšəyna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: ætma‘şəyna məqdaṙən wəḥət “we walked some distance”; rəḥtən təγədəyətən əwnək? “did you go and have lunch there?”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yə‘aşšə</td>
<td>yə‘aşšəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tə‘aşšə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tə‘aşšə</td>
<td>tə‘aşšəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tə‘aşšəy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>a‘aşšə</td>
<td>nə‘aşšə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: yətwaffə abū “his father dies”; ba‘əd lə-yə‘aşšəw əy‘ul šā l-mara ... “after having dinner he says to the woman ...”; nəḥən qə‘dən ku-nə‘aşšə “we are sitting and eating”; ənḥəyən yəthaddaw “we put them (down) until they calm down”.

Imperative

æ‘aşšə
æ‘aşšəy
æ‘aşšəw
3.8.6. Stem VI

No examples of Arabic roots are found in stem VI.

3.8.7. Stem VII

The type әnCaCaC, cf. CA inCaCaCa, e.g.: әnkasar “to be or become broken”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>әnkasar</td>
<td>әnkasaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>әnkasarat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>әnkasart</td>
<td>әnkasartәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>әnkasarti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>әnkasartu</td>
<td>әnkasarna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples in the use of stem VII: kәn-nfataḥu u kәn-nḥatt ḥi-yәn … “they were opened and … were put in them”; zawә әxtи nḥata stihfә “my brother-in-law was given resignation”; kә-nfaqәrna. mә fи ḥәqq pakәt “we became poor, we couldn’t buy cigarettes (lit. there is cigarette money)”; әs-sәhә Tәllo nxalaṭ “Tillo has been mixed now (concerning ethnic groups)”; annәqәlә әl-akonәmi nьяrәp “the economy was shaken”; fи әәvi s-sәn kәš-әn nṭafә, nтаммат Tәllo, nтаммат “at this latest time everything has become dark, Tillo is finished, finished”. One stem I verb is made a stem VII verb, e.g.: bowә әnyәәlә nәnәt “we lost many books”; әz-зәlәmә nыә “the man has disappeared”; әәk lәylәt lәy әnqәtal, yәtәr әmbәlә “I remember that night when he was killed”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>yәnkәsar</td>
<td>yәnkәsru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>tәnkәsar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tәnkәsar</td>
<td>tәnkәsru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tәnkәsar</td>
<td>tәnkәsru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tәnkәsri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>anкәsar</td>
<td>nәnkәsar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: bәәd lәy yәsir әzәttәn әnә әl-әmәr әyәntәmә “when one is sixty years old life is over”; dә-әnәqәtә yәәn n-nәsәә “the progeny will come to an end (lit. be cut off)”; әnәqliyәәn, әnәtәbxә, nәsәәn “we boil them (until) they get cooked (and then) we take them off”; әәɒ-әәrәq әәnәsәap әsәyәyәr әtәә “compared to the east its winter is considered short”; lәzәm уwу wәәnәәtә әәqәqә “he must be given what he deserves”.
3.8.8. Stem VIII

The type (ə)CtaCaC, cf. CA iCtaCaCa, e.g.: əftaham “to understand”:

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<th>sg.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>əftahem</td>
<td>əftahamu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>əftahamet</td>
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<td>2.m.</td>
<td>əftahamt</td>
<td>əftahamten</td>
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<td>2.f.</td>
<td>əftahamti</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>əftahamtu</td>
<td>əftahamnu</td>
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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-naxwaštyye “he became sick”; rtaxa “it (the horse) calmed down”; alla ərəhamu kər-rtəham “may God have mercy upon him, he had died”; šər mən zurriyyət u mə ntaʃə, mə šərli manfa’a mənnu “he belonged to my offspring and I didn’t, I did not take advantage of him”.

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<th>sg.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yaftəhem</td>
<td>yaftəhmu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>təftəhem</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>təftəhem</td>
<td>təftəhmu</td>
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<td>2.f.</td>
<td>təftəhmi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>aftəhem</td>
<td>naftəhem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested examples: əl-ərəbi mə kə-yəntəsi “Arabic would not have been forgotten”; awne mə aḥtəš lay aḥat “here, I don’t need anyone”; əz-zərəriyye təzdət “the offspring grows”; fi ək əl-bəxər yəstəwi “it is getting cooked on that steam”; əšš ta-nsavv da-yəmtənə yəstədna mən änv ərəb əz-əgərə? “what shall we do to make our teacher stop smoking?”. Note the metathesis in yəmtənə, cf. OA imtana’a (see 2.3).

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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>əftəhem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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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 $CCaCC$, cf. CA $iCCaCCa$, e.g.: $\text{x}y\text{arr}$ “to become green”:

Perfect  sg.       pl.
3.m.  $\text{x}y\text{arr}$  $\text{x}y\text{arru}$
3.f.  $\text{x}y\text{arrat}$
2.m.  $\text{x}y\text{arrayt}$  $\text{x}y\text{arraytan}$
2.f.  $\text{x}y\text{arrayti}$
1.c.  $\text{x}y\text{arraytu}$  $\text{x}y\text{arrayna}$

Attested example from the corpus: $\text{g}arze k\text{-x}y\text{arrat}$ “the plant has become green”.

Imperfect  sg.       pl.
3.m.  $y\text{xyarr}$  $y\text{xyarru}$
3.f.  $t\text{xyarr}$
2.m.  $t\text{xyarr}$  $t\text{xyarru}$
2.f.  $t\text{xyarrri}$
1.c.  $a\text{xyarr}$  $n\text{xyarr}$

Attested examples: $\text{a}n\text{z}\text{og}a f\text{\text{-f}rn} t\text{\text{-hmarr}$ “we throw it (f.sg.) in the oven (until) it becomes red (or brown)”; $\text{n}\text{\text{-h}tu f\text{\text{-f}rn} y\text{\text{-hmarr$ “we put it (m.sg.) in the oven (until) it becomes red (or brown)”.

Imperative

$\text{x}y\text{arr}$
$\text{x}y\text{yarri}$
$\text{x}y\text{arru}$
3.8.10. Stem X

The type əstaCCeC, cf. CA istaCCaCa, e.g.: əstağber “to ask”:

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<th>Imperfect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>əstağber</td>
<td>əstağbəru</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>əstağbəret</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>əstağbərt</td>
<td>əstağbərtən</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>əstağbərti</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>əstağbərtu</td>
<td>əstağbərna</td>
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</table>

Attested examples of stem X verbs: əstarəḥ xamse w arb'în yawm “he rested 45 days”; mā staḥsəntu “I was not able to”; mən mən əstaḥayt? “of whom were you (m.sg.) ashamed”; annaqle axū əstaḥa qaršiyətu “now his brother was ashamed instead of him”.

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<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yəstağber</td>
<td>yəstağbəru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>təstağber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>təstağber</td>
<td>təstağbəru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>təstağbərti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>astağber</td>
<td>nəstağber</td>
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Attested examples: aḥat mā kā-yəstərği yədxəl fi-ya “no one dared to enter it (f.sg.)”; yəstağbəru šā Faqīru lli., “they ask Faqīru llı.,”.

Imperative

əstağber
əstağbərti
əstağbəru

Examples of stem X participles in the corpus, e.g.: məstasləmən “peaceful”; məstaḥa “shame”; mустаqɨmɨn “correct (pl.)”; mustəriḥ “comfortable”.

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3.8.11. Verbal nouns

An overview of attested verbal nouns:

Stem I

šəḥṭa

\[nəhne əš-šəḥṭa ayšni mō nərəf\] “we don’t know what stealing is”

šərə/lərə

\[yəsəwəw dəwəm ‘ala šərp əl-məray “they go on drinking the water”

zyərə

\[kər-rənə zəyərat əBrəhîm əl-Xalîl “we (went and) visited the shrine of əBrəhîm əl-Xalîl”

dawarən

\[... dawarən əysɨr masala “... if it is going out, for instance”

rawəh

\[rawəh, mağu aḥat mā kəl-baqə yərəqəz fɨ-yu “no one is bothered any more by going and coming”

mağwe/mağu

\[gīna tə-nərət fəl-mağwe arayna wəhəd arqədās “while coming back we met a friend”; ər-rəwəh w əl-mağu ləy kā-rəðɨu təği bəqə-əqəl “the going and coming that you (c.pl.) used to go and bring wood from the mountain ...”

Stem II

təhər\[294\]

\[țînî qər..., kâm hayyā mā arô t-təhər w ēgî! “give me som... until I leave for circumcising and come back!”

Stem III

əmdəxələ

\[məl-xamsə w səbɨn əmdəxələ təsîr “it is (considered) intervening since 1975”

Stem V

twaṃɡəh

\[twaṃɡəh twaṃɡət bowš kōn “the suffering I went through was very bad at that time”

Stem VIII

əmtiḥān

\[fətəhət əmtiḥān “an exam was initiated”

əxtilāl

\[fî waqṭ Kənān Övrən, ləy šər əxtilāl “at the time of Kənān Övrən, when a disturbance took place ...”

Stem X

stinhə

\[zawɛ əxti nḥəta stinhə “my brother-in-law was given dismissal”

\[294\] Cf. taḥîr.

\[295\] Cf. Tur. kōν “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, ʾant mamnūn mān ʾašṭanbūl?* “Ahmad, are you happy in Istanbul?”; *ʾant m ʾantī ḥaqīṭ*296 “you (f.sg.) too are right”; *anā rāżyē* “I (f.) am satisfied”; *ʿas-saḥ maktūbīn ṣinī kōlā “all of them are written now”; ʾāk ʾal-xādəmāyīn ʾantī ṣinī “you are those two servants”; *nəḥnī aṣwē “we are brothers”.

2. To stress the subject which is already implicit in the verb: *uwwe rāḥ xalfu* “he went after him”; *iyy bāqāt b-bayt ʾammi* “she stayed at my uncle’s house”; *ʾant kāl-ẓalāmt ʿāf ṣaʿ-ẓalame “you have oppressed this man”; ʾant tālōbā sī ʾēriyye*297 “do you wear a headscarf?”; *anā d-aqīm arī l-ʾIrāq “I will leave for Iraq”; ʾanī qamū rāḥu rās ʾaḍgān “they went (back) to their work”; ʾās sīḥā ṣinī ṣiyyūnhən “what do you demand from us”; *nəḥnī nīllū ṣābāb ʾal-xān “we call it ṣābāb ʾal-xān”; ʾāṣu ʾarāp ṣinī “they became Arabs”; ʾanī baqa yansaw ṣinī “they have started to forget”; kāānu ḡnēnu ṣaybīn ṣinī “they were good songs”; ʾant ʾezawwa! anā mā ʾsāḥ ṣā Ṿaṭ “you (m.sg.) get married! I am not suited for men”.

3. To stress the object which is already marked by a pronominal suffix: *ʾalna nəḥnī da-nṣaraf!* “tell us so that we know!”; *bāʾṣit lay gētt ʾeq-еqmhūriyye qaṭaʿūwa mān ʾalayna nəḥnī “when the republic was founded they stopped giving us that”.

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4. As copula: *əl-adapsəzin*²⁹⁸ *əntən əntən* “you are the ones who have no manners”; *ək əl-xādəmayn əntən əntən* “you are those two servants”; *w əs-sah ək əg-ğārye w əg-ğāri anne əwn mawğūdīn fi Təllo* “this maid and servant are now here in Tillo”; *awn əp-panāgər kama kəl-mawya′ ənne fəl--gāmer²⁹⁹ “the windows here are as everywhere else (made of) glass”; *əlfarmānāt ənn mawūdīn əs-sah* “the imperial edicts still exist until today”; *əstāt abūk, Faqiru llāh uww fəg-ğēmər* “your father’s teacher, Faqiru llāh, is in the mosque”; *sāfīt uww ənən ənn w nəfı̂n ənən “Sait is from one mother and we are from another”; *axuwa uww fəl-əskariyye* “her brother is doing his military service”; *Təllo iyy aṭayap “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: *əwlak əm waddaynēhən, xallaynēhən fi baytən* “we also brought those and left them home”; *kā-kəs-saytuhu ʿala əsəm Sāfīt əl-otobūs “I had registered the bus in Sait’s name”; *qaṭaʾuwa “they ceased it (f.sg.)”; əhəbkən “I love you (c.pl.)”; bowš yahkūni ək əl-lawme “that day, they made me laugh a lot” (see 3.1.4.2).

2. As dative object: *ənn kā-şār d-aḥṭik pārātī “if it is okay I will give you my money”; kā-kəh-ḥattaytūk vahēb “I had given you gold”; tḥəbbu da-ğibālkon akəl hāyor šī b-tariqa aw tḥəbbu da-silkən čēye “if you would like I will bring you ready food, somehow, or if you would like I will make you tea”; ʾəltūlən “I said to them”; katabūli ḡaza “They wrote me a fine”; əltu d-anamli maqdār šī “I thought I will sleep (me) for a while”; šəltu ʿataytuwan pārātan “I gave them their money”; akalnūna 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 ʿata does not need the preposition 1ə- 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 ənəḥti̇k iyye

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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”; āk pārāti ūni nne “give me that money of mine”. The normal way to express this in other q̱ḻtu-dialects is to add an enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun to the verb, e.g.: ... la-mō təḻzamki tə-tʃayyəli-yə! “die du nicht brauchst schinkst du mir [surück]”. 300

3. To denote ownership: ʿaqlu “his brain”; hēla “her situation”; ʿidək “your hand”; zawški “your husband”; abī “my father”; gariyən “their dialect”; šəqəlkən “your work”; waxətəna “our time”.

4.2. Demonstratives

4.2.1. Demonstrative pronouns

1. Near deixis

m.sg. āāva “this”: āāva z-zalame kəs-sawa maʿu āq ər-hqāra301 “this man exposed him to that vulgarity”; əs-šəhət uwwə āāva “the thief is this”; āāv naviyyətu ʿallı: ā′mi Ahmet, waʃla kəŋ-gəb ḥaʃtəq302 “this nephew of his said to me: Look Ahmet, by God, he brought ḥaʃtəq”.

f.sg. āāvi “this”: tabi āāvi l-kəlme mən luqat ət-tərki kəl-ʃəhərat ʾənədəna “this word has, of course, come into (our dialect) from Turkish”; āāvi l-mamlake kəš-sər fi nəʃsha bıran əwəde “there was a well in the middle of this kingdom”; āāvi l-bənt, aššwam iyyə? “this girl, how is she?”.

c.pl. awlə “these”: kə-ʃənšən šə awlə lay ʿal-ḥudūd kə-ywaddawən l-Irān “we used to sell them to these people on the border (and) they used to take them to Iran”; əl-aʃwəl303 ŵnne awl lay yəltəbəsu b-bəb barra “aʃwəl are these that one puts on by the outside door”; mən awl əl-ḥəkbəki əwəde mme d-aḥti..., d-əʃkikən “of these tales I will relate one for you”.

300 Qartmin (Mardin dialect), Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 166.
301 Because of the preceding q and the succeeding h, the l of the definite article shifts, peculiarly, to r.
302 Cf. Turk. pestil “fruit pulp dried in thin layers”.
303 Cf. Kur. sol “shoes”.

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2. Remote deixis

m.sg. and f.sg. äke, äke, äk, äk “that”: anä äke kän-nösitu “I have forgotten that”; zurriyøtu daxalat åke ol-piyäså “his offspring came into the scene”; tammu øš-šgøl åk ol-lawme “they finished work that day”.

c.pl. awlak, ølwak “those”: åqøqøt³⁰⁵, awlak øswam tsawawen? “åqøqøt, how do you do those?”; øs-sañ län³⁰⁶ fi häwla l-mít bayt ønn møn øwlak “there are now about 100 families of those”; rafa’uwan awlak ømme “they lifted also those”.

4.2.2. Demonstrative adverbs

a. äke “so”: w al-åråø øhøttøyna øhbe baqa nägrø w äke “and in short, we got together and started to chat and so”.

b. øke “thus, in this way”: åk øl-lawm øke ‘aẖar “that day passed so (in this way)”; ønt fi-Tållo käs-søwt mäå øke? “you were born in Tillo, isn’t that so?”; bår ød ørb’in øawm øgøp ør-räšna øke bala øävä øz-zølame “after 40 days, this man created such a problem for us”; åk førøøøk øke øybaøyøøøn førøøøø øwøyøø “that horse of yours looks (such a) good horse”.

c. øy “here: now, at this time”: øy tøsøh øsnïn økøø-øgiña “it is now 9 years since we came (to Istanbul)”; øyø øyø øyøt ‘åløy øiłę “why have you cheated me in this way?”.

4.2.3. Demonstrative article

The demonstrative article al- (< *hå + the definite article)³⁰⁷ has, as expected, the meaning “this, these” when talking about something that is already mentioned: madamki³⁰⁸ käs-søwa øl-yarbe “since he did this plot”; ød-dawle töhtïna øq-øat pøråt nsøyø øl-føbrïqa³⁰⁹ “the state will give us this amount of money so we can build this factory”; Ahmat, øl-møra møn iyyø? “Ahmet, who is this woman?”; åk øc-øcøø øl-møthørín øøn kaka-yømømømø øk

³⁰⁴ Cf. Turk. piyasa “scene, market”.
³⁰⁵ A dish made of stuffed intestines.
³⁰⁶ Cf. løøn “they have”.
³⁰⁸ Cf. Turk. mademki “since, while”.
³⁰⁹ Cf. Turk. fabrika “factory”.

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al-pärät al-lawm Tøllo azgan mənna mamlake mä kā-fī “if the circumcisers had saved money at that time, today there wouldn’t have been a richer village than Tillo”; ... kān atyap mən al-waxt “... it was better than now (lit. this time)”; nəñhe kwa-kələtəna garayna talayna al-ḥant³¹⁰ “we have now all talked and filled this cassette”.

There are some instances where the original initial h is audible, e.g.: fi-lən hal-masale³¹¹ ēke “they have this problem”; bət lay gitu karm kən-nəsitu l-məyya hal-karra “after coming (back) to the vineyard I forgot (this time) the water”; ŋəva raфiqi də-yəktəb fī haqq³¹² Tøllo hal-ə-ktəp “this friend of mine will write this book about Tillo”; Tøllo fī hal-ə-snən məyya uww qəlil “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: yə ttəḥtəna aq-qat pərət yā mə nəxtik iyye “either you give us this amount of money or we won’t give her to you”; ē din fī as-sən³¹³, fī āvī s-sən kəş-ʃi nτafa “recently (lit. in this end), in this end, everything has been put off”; ənn kə-təxna sayna aș-ʃi ta-bəfaq əd-Dużza “if we could do this I will send you to Duţza”; bəɔt 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 giha “side” or ʃi “thing” takes a different meaning, e.g.: mən ək əʃ-ʒiha “because of that, concerning that, or when it comes to that”; mən ək əʃ-ʃi nəñhe am mà nəñhe rəha “because of that reason we are not comfortable”.

³¹⁰ Cf. Turk. bant “tape”.
³¹¹ Cf. Turk. mesele “matter, problem, question”.
³¹² Cf. Turk. hakkinda “about, concerning, regarding”.
³¹³ Cf. Turk. son “end, last, final”.

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b. ‘ala

‘ala “on”: In combination with different verbs or nouns, ‘ala takes different meanings. When talking about clothes that fit or do not fit, the preposition is then combined with the verb ṣāği, yāği “to come” and the meaning becomes “to suit, fit”, e.g.: ʾann kā-ḡott ‘alayk ‘ala Smā’il tā-ṭāği 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”, ‘ala takes the meaning “according to” e.g.: ‘ala gorāt ʾl-mīt alf dōlar sawawlna šāği nāḥne! “according to the 100,000 dollars organize (c.pl.) us a company!”’. In the context of lawsuits, ‘ala means “against”, e.g.: baʾṣt sāne fataḥ ‘alayna dā′we “after one year he started a lawsuit against us”. Moreover, kān fī ‘alay dānūn faff talāf, arbaḥ talāf dōlar “I owed (people) 3000, 4000 dollars (lit. there was … on me)”; fī kāll mawqāḥ dārna ‘alaya “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.: ʾabī bowš kāl-ḥabbū, ʾBrāhīm Ḥaqqi šā sayyādi Faqīru ʾllāh “Ibrahim Haqqi loved my grandfather, Faqīru ʾllāh, very much”; sabāḥ naṣīḥāt kāl-ʾaṭa šā Brāḥīm ʾl-Ḥaqqi “he gave Ibrahim Haqqi seven pieces of advice”. With the verb tallāh “to look”, šā acquires the meaning “to, at”, e.g.: yātallāh šā ʾBrāhīm ʾl-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 -el-.a.

4.4. Possessive expressions

Possessive may be expressed in three ways in TA:

1. With the possessive suffix (see 3.1.4.1):

   baytu "his house"
   kayfak "your (m.sg.) mood"
   šāqālḵōn "your (c.pl.) work"
   ʾbōnna "our son"
2. With the genitive in an *idāfa*-construction:

- *it əl-ḥokūme* “the government’s arm”
- *sallat ən̄ap* “a basket of grapes”
- *ĉeriyyat mamlakətna* “the headscarf of our village”
- *hawa Štanbel* “Istanbul’s weather”

3. With the genitive exponent *lay*: 314

E.g.: *a̱na čuwērīna lay Təllo kēnu čašne*315 w lay ɑ̱nne ěnne 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-mawqāh yəğaw zyārət ěva Təllo lay ˤaʃx Faqiru ˈlʔah “(people) come from everywhere to visit Tillo of sheik Faqiru Llah”*; *wālla hawa Təllo uww bowâ əḥṣan ən̄ lay Štanbel “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-/hal- see 3.1.9) have a pronominal suffix or are status constructus in an *idāfa*-construction, where the second part is definite. 317 Examples: *əl-karm* “the vineyard”; *əl-bayt* “the house”; *əğ-ğəri* “the male servant”; *yayətna* “our village”; *rāsu* “his head”; *məl̄amatkı* “your (f.sg.) teacher”; *hawəhə* “its (f.sg.) weather”; *bāb əl-bayt* “the door of the house”; *zwəc əl-mara* “the woman’s husband”; *məyyət Təllo* “Tillo’s water”; *gari Štanbel* “the speech (or dialect) of Istanbul”.

There are, nevertheless attestations where the definite article is omitted, e.g.: *læhəm nax̄əlu* “we wash the meat”; *āk karra ayəlu* ... “then or at that time they say to him ...”; *ko̱ğ-ğə həmû an̄me mən hačč “his father-in-law has come (back) from the pilgrimage”; *bač lay ɣiṭu karm kən-nəsîtu l-mayy “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. *taba* 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 ‘arūs, ʿamm, ʿaxt, ʿaxt and parts of the body that occur in pairs such as idayn, ʿaynāyn etc., the grammatical feminine suffix is -e and -a, and -ḥt in construct state (see 3.2.2). ʿalame “man” has a feminine form but is treated as masculine noun, e.g.: qām ʿaz-ʿalame ʿagavālna m markēt “so the man bought us a supermarket also”. In the construct state ʿalame has the suffix -ḥt, like any other feminine noun, e.g.: ʿalamātu 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substantive</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿban ʿaskar</td>
<td>“a son who is a soldier”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waļēt ʿ zgayyar</td>
<td>“little boy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawa ṭayyar</td>
<td>“nice weather”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿalamat bowṣ ʿaṣap</td>
<td>“very smart man”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿbenton malīḥa</td>
<td>“good girl”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿayle gbir</td>
<td>“big family”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arf nayife</td>
<td>“pure soil”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substantive</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿgalṣbtayn mlēḥ</td>
<td>“two good sorts”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿbhnayn ʿzgēr</td>
<td>“two small sons”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿāylṭayn ʿkbār</td>
<td>“two big families”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Dual with participle:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b̂bnayn mzawgín} & \quad \text{“two married sons”} \\
\text{bøntayn dalélín}^{318} & \quad \text{“two lovable girls”} \\
\text{žalamtayn qēdīn} & \quad \text{“two sitting men”} \\
\text{køntayn mafrūlín} & \quad \text{“two covered daughters-in-law”}
\end{align*}
\]

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 concords only in number, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bhyūt økbār} & \quad \text{“big houses”} \\
\text{gnēnī ṭaybin} & \quad \text{“nice songs”} \\
\text{awlāt øṣgār} & \quad \text{“small boys”} \\
\text{ømtahrīn šaʿbīn} & \quad \text{“smart circumcisers”} \\
\text{akalāt ṭaybīn} & \quad \text{“good dishes”} \\
\text{cândū mlēḥ} & \quad \text{“good tradition(s)”}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Plural with participle: When a substantive in plural is followed by a participle, having the same function of an adjective, the latter concords only in number, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rğēl muxtaslāmīn} & \quad \text{“peaceful, honest men”} \\
\text{noswēn rēkzīn} & \quad \text{“settled women”} \\
\text{awlēt mflōsīn} & \quad \text{“bankrupt boys”} \\
\text{farmānāt mawgūdīn} & \quad \text{“existing edicts”} \\
\text{banāt mafrūlīn} & \quad \text{“veiled girls”}
\end{align*}
\]

Broken plurals are followed by an adjective in feminine singular (see 3.2.6.2), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ bırkrūm øgbīrē} & \quad \text{“large vineyards”} \\
\text{gūwemēh nayīfe} & \quad \text{“clean mosques”} \\
\text{aṭām ṭaybe} & \quad \text{“good dishes”}
\end{align*}
\]

---

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.:

\[ \text{\textit{tiğärat bowş əgbir}} \quad \text{“very big trade”} \\
\text{\textit{əqənənī bowş kwawyəs}} \quad \text{“very nice songs”} \\
\text{\textit{ḥayāt ṭayyap}} \quad \text{“good life”} \]

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 -\textit{-at} or -\textit{-at}, e.g.:

\[ \text{\textit{sallat ənap}} \quad \text{“a basket of grapes”} \\
\text{\textit{sayyərət tranzit}} \quad \text{“a transit car”} \\
\text{\textit{məddət zamān}} \quad \text{“a period of time”} \\
\text{\textit{šərḥat zaḥtār}} \quad \text{“thyme soup”} \\
\text{\textit{čəyəłat kurmānč}} \quad \text{“a Kurdish family”} \\
\text{\textit{marət ġanam}} \quad \text{“a pasture-land for sheep”} \\
\text{\textit{mamlakat lxx}} \quad \text{“another country”} \\
\text{\textit{šuṣat laban}} \quad \text{“a bottle of yoghurt”} \\
\text{\textit{məḥbəxiyyat szəl}} \quad \text{“a special pot”} \\
\text{\textit{parčəyət ġanam}} \quad \text{“a piece of sheep (one sheep)”} \\
\text{\textit{čəşnət lxx}} \quad \text{“another sort”} \\
\text{\textit{talıssət səkkər}} \quad \text{“a sack of sugar”} \\
\text{\textit{šərũqət qaʃəbe}} \quad \text{“a piece of or some liver”} \\
\text{\textit{yayət lxx}} \quad \text{“another village”} \]

The status constructus of the masculine is not marked, e.g.:

\[ \text{\textit{laḥm əl-ğanəm}} \quad \text{“the sheep meat”} \\
\text{\textit{čyəm ǵəm}} \quad \text{“side bones, ribs”} \\
\text{\textit{šəqəl əmmo l-ḥağgī}} \quad \text{“the work of uncle ḡağgī”} \\
\text{\textit{məyy şəmmər}} \quad \text{“sumac sauce”} \\
\text{\textit{ḥawa Ștənbūl}} \quad \text{“the weather of Istanbul”} \]
As in CA, the *iḏāfa*-phrase is definite when the second component is already definite (see 4.5.1), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʂəhḇat øt-ṭaybe</td>
<td>“the nice company”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laq̱wat øs-Šūriyya</td>
<td>“the Syrian dialect”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaẓ̱inat dawlat øl-ʕuṣmāniyya</td>
<td>“the treasury of the Ottoman empire”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəṟət bayti</td>
<td>“the rent of my house”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōṟat ør-raḡal</td>
<td>“the man’s photo”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sənnat øn-nabi</td>
<td>“the prophet’s law”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuɾiyat sayy̱ḏi</td>
<td>“my grandfather’s offspring”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qazat Adana</td>
<td>“Adana’s district”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: *Tலlo iyy aṭayap mən øštanbul* “Tillo is better than Istanbul”; *hawa Tةllo uww bow̱ś aḥsan mən lay Štanbul* “the weather in Tillo is much nicer than the weather in Istanbul”; *aṭayap mən Tةllo mā fī “there is nowhere better than Tillo”; øbyūt øštanbul ønne aṭayap mən lay Tةllo “Istanbul’s houses are more comfortable than Tillo’s”; *awnak akfār kənna rāha* “we felt more comfortable there”; *fọl-bayt iyye arxaṣ* “it is cheaper at home”; *Tةllo azgān319 mṟnna fọl-lọ-kiēḇet mā kā-fi “concerning books, there was no richer (place) than Tillo”; *øl-hayāt qabōl øššin, xamsa w øššin sane kān bow̱ś aḥsan mṟn øs-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 al-mamēlāk an l-ṭayyəp, Tةllo m dēx̱ōl, aynam ønne? “of these cities, Tillo included, which one is the best?”*; *an aqruba “the closest relatives”; an yāq̱ən321 “nearest”; an bow̱ś xamostahš sane “maximum 15 years”; an azyat “maximum”; an aṭayap “the best, nicest”; al-mamēlāk kalla an birəngī iyy Tةllo “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 *hayāt* and *kān*.
321 Cf. Turk. *yakın* “close, near”.

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adjective is not a Turkish loan, the adjective appears, after an, in the expected elative form, azyat, atyap etc.

4.5.6. Partitive

Partitive is expressed with:

1. Elative, e.g.: ḥanne akfarān kā-yaṣrābu āk tattūn “the majority of them used to smoke that (kind of) tobacco”; akbar taʿlīfu Maʿrifat Nāma “the most important in his literary work is Maʿrifat Nāma”.

2. 몬, e.g.: wāḥed モン ᵍayx Muṣṭafa “one of them is sheik Muṣṭafa”; ḥawla l-mīt bayt าะn مون ำwla “about one hundred families of those”.322

3. šī (+ GetMethod), e.g.: šī _moreh ᵃbdaw baqa yəksəxu w šī baqa ynaqqaw ḍə-šəste “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.: ɣābūlna ḥayye ɣasīš axdar “he brought us some green grass”; ʿl-lawm ǧītu GetMethod Batmāne “today I came from Batman”; ʿatmaṣṣayna məqārən əebat “we walked for sometime”; ḥaṭṭayna ʿalayu zîn w ʿl-mərğəp ʿəmme ḥaṭṭaynāhu əf əmmu “we saddled it (the horse) and we also put the bridle in his muzzle”; ɣābūlna ʃəl-bir323 ʃayt zamzəm324 w ɣābūlna qasp325 “they brought us first zemzem-water and (after that) they brought us dates”; ṣəmtu məʃ xātar ʿək əz-zalement ysakken ʿataytuhu mît alf, mît ṭəlyən, ʿaʃ əc-čəx, 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”.

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Various nuances of the past tense may be expressed by a verb modifier + perfect:

a. \( \text{qal} \) + perfect expresses the perfect tens, i.e. with “have”, e.g.: \( \text{walla mōš xāṯrak kāl-na}’\text{šamtū} \) \( \text{ḥassu} \) “by God, I have turned it (the radio) down for your sake”; \( \text{kāq-gā ḥamū} \ amme mūn ḥačč ě “his father-in-law has come from the pilgrimage”; \( \text{kār-rēḥti Mārdīn?} \ “have you (f.sg.) been to Mardin?”

b. \( \text{ku} \) + perfect takes the meaning of “here, behold, obviously”, e.g.: \( \text{kū-žābtuwa hayye la-awn “here, I have brought it (f.sg.) until here”; ēnū kā-nōḥūne rōḥna ku-ntammat al-masale “if we had also died (lit. gone) the matter is obviously, then, finished”; kū-ḡābtu š-šōḥḥāt “here, I have brought the thief”; kū-kā-rtama mūn ēal-fāras “behold, he had fallen off the horse”.}

c. The perfect form of the verb may be used after \( \text{ba}’\text{šd lay “after that”}, \text{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’šd lay qūblu qomtu waddaytwān karm “after they had accepted, I took them to the vineyard”; bāt lay ḡītu karm kān-nāsitū l-ḡayy “after I had come to the vineyard, I forgot the water”; waqt ḡū-ḡumhuriyya lay ṣārat al-wṣmalli yāqūmiš, ṣāḥbat “when the republic had come into existence, the Ottoman empire collapsed, devastated”; yawm lay ḡā l-lā-Ṣṭānīl ḡād-dqsan, ḍāl-alf w ṭāṣā’ miyye w ṣāṭa w ṭāṣēn ṣaraftu ḍā ṣē-ṣāx fīyu ʿalayu l-ṣaṣṣīn, ḥamsa w ʿaṣṣīn alf waraqā “when he had come to Istanbul, in 1996, I spent on him, at that time, 20-25 thousand TL”.

d. In conditional sentences, after ēnū the verb may be either in perfect or in imperfect in the protasis, e.g.: ēnū kā-ṣār d-aḥṭik pārāti amanatan yābqaw ʿendāk “if it is possible, I will give you my money, as a deposit in trust, so that you keep them with you”; imkān ēnū kā-ṣār b-idi ḏ-arū ṣt-Tīllo anā “If I could, I would go (back) to Tillo”; ēnū kā-nōḥūne rōḥna ku-ntammat al-masale “if we were gone, this would be the end (of the story)”; ēnū kā-ṣār ma’āk qarš ṣa-ṭāmmām ayy sapp ṣa-ṭṣayy ṭīḡārā “if you save some money, you think about how to make business”.

326 Cf. Syr. the root ṣr, ṣrāṭo “gentle sound or voice, soft whisper”.
328 Note the lack of preposition before karm.
329 Cf. Turk. yīkīlmak “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.: lahem näxselu, näfrämlu bašale, føfle, mõlh w änsblu šwayyat mäyye “we wash the meat, we chop onion to mix with it (and we add) pepper, salt and we pour some water on it”; wara' ḫña'ī māl-garzęt, mān āl-, mān āl-baxča ḥnā'īyyān. ḥngīıp ṣnsa'y xal稍tan: rass, lahem, šaltča³³², qara bibar,³³³ pūl bibær.³³⁴ ṣnlaffēn “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”; fš-Štanbūl māṣ-shabāḥ nro s-sā'a ḫmēnye, tša' š-šeqol nāği s-sā'a ḫdā'š, fnā's šš-šeqol “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 yāsammu malla Muḥāt ḏs-Suhrānī “they used to call him mullah Muḥāt ḏs-Suhrān”; kān drēfu “I used to know him”; kān nābhq barra “we used to stay outdoors”; kām nābhaḥ ḡanēm “we used to slaughter sheep”; mā kān nāstāgri nqūm baynēnten “we did not dare to show ourselves among them”; kā-yṣadqu šā ḥaṣya'n “they used to trust each other”; kā-ytiḥlān “they used to like it”; ḥonnē akfarōn³³⁵ kā-yoṣrabu āk tatṭūn “they used to smoke that tobacco”; kā-āṭṭiyān ḥigāra ḥāyār “I used to give them a ready cigarette (not rolled by hand)”.

b. kaka- + imperfect preceded by the conditional particle ṣnn denotes the irrealis condition, e.g.: al-mṭahhrin ṣnn kaka-ylōmmu āk āl-pārāt āl-lawn Tšlo azgān mōnna mamlake mā kā-fī “if these circumcisers had (had) saved that money, today, there wouldn’t be a richer village than Tillo”; ṣnn kaka-yomṣčku pārāt ḍs-sah ḍurūmna, ḍurūm Tšlo kān bowš bowš kwayys “if they could reserve money, now, our situation, Tillo’s situation would be very, very good”; ṣnn kaka-ysīr fī-ya māyye, kā-ysīr fabriqa āḥḥat mōn Tšlo

³³² Cf. Turk. sālça “tomato paste; tomato sauce”.
³³³ Cf. Turk. kara biber “black pepper”.
³³⁴ Cf. Turk. pūl biber “cayenne pepper”.
³³⁵ Cf. OA akقوىروس “the majority of them”.

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mā kā-yaṭlaḥ “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 + ka + perfect denotes the pluperfect, e.g.: kān kəgğa “er war gekommen”.

c. kān (or kā-) + d-/t- + imperfect denotes an action, in the past, which was about to happen, e.g.: kān d-amūt “I was about to die”; əshš kā-daʿūl? “what was I about to say?”, axwēti kā-daysawu šāqal mā kā-fi šāqal “my brothers wanted to work but there was no work (for them)”; kā-tyōhkina “he would tell us”; kā-tyōṣṭaḥ338 fīna əl-kalp “the dog was about to hit us”; kā-yāʾayyan əl-maḵrap, šafrōtna kā-tyōḥatt “when the evening prayer was calling, our table was ready-laid”.

d. ku- + imperfect denotes the actual present, e.g.: ku-yōqrni “he is pulling me”; ku-yəqtarn ənəp əml-ʿgarze “he is picking grapes from the vine”; ku-aʿraq ayṣ sapp kəl-ḥaṭṭaytu l-ḥaṣṭiq “I know where I put the ḫaṣṭiq”; ku-naʿašša “we are having dinner”; ku-yāb fəl-ʿaša “he is playing with his dinner”; ku-ṭṭaṣṣu əntən ya’ne əs-saḥ bêt-Turkya šī lay yṣir “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 it’s short form xa- (derived from the imperative *xalli “let!”)340 + imperfect, e.g.: kəll mən uww xayy yəlbas čeritu “let everyone have her own headscarf”; ʿūli šā Aḥmat xa-ynēm uwwxe xayy Mahmūt ʿyarō š-šāqol! “say to Aḥmat that he should sleep and Mahmūt should go to work!”, xayy aṣṣam happ xayy yṣay yaʿne “he should do as he likes” xa-yərbaḥ fī-ya ʾeke zamēn anġax341 ēntēq nəhtikən əl-hant “some time should pass before we would be able to give you the girl”, xa-ysir “let it be so”; xa-yəği “let him come”; xa-yawu “let them make”; xa-yəraf “he should know”; Aḥmed xa-yābqa ʿandi satt taššōr “Aḥmed should stay six months with me”; xa-yinaμu pārāt “let them invest money”.342

f. A future nuance is gained when prefixing ta-, tə- or da- də- to the imperfect, e.g.: ta-yəhtina pārāt “he will give us money”; fī kəlme ta-griya bəttərkī “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.
340 Jastrow 1978, 310.
341 Cf. Turk. ancak “not until”.
b'afak ad-Dużza təbqa faff taššur “if we could do this I will send you to Dużza to stay there three months”; ayy sapp tə-trō “which direction are you going”; lay yəsrap məna mayy yā tə-yəmary yā tə-yəğən “the one who drinks from it, either he will die or he will become mad”; tə’ə tə-ndərna dawra ši! “he said: come let us stroll around for a while!”; al-ḥaşṣi tə-nbērəklu məssə xātar ḥašṣu “we will congratulate the pilgrim for his pilgrimage”; da-ḥattay al-əł-əmər fi yahri w da-tmašṣa arō “I will put the donkey on my back and I will walk and leave”; wēḥət zalame yawm, eḥ yawmən wəḥde da-yətəlah mən baytu də-yərō məmlakat ləcx “once, a man wanted to leave his home town and go to another one”; eṭəībhu da-ḡibəkən akəł häyor ši b-tariqa aw eṭəībhu da-səlkən čəye “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”; wałlahi da-nwaddilə parčəyət čənam “by God, we will take (or steal) one sheep from him”; baṣət an-nəsal lay nəhne nəro da-yəd343 yəği nəsal da-yənsi rōhū “the generation that will come after ours, they (lit. it) will forget themselves”, q şəlnə da-nənsiyu w də-nrō “we will forget our origin and we will vanish”.

g. lə + imperfect expresses negated imperative (see 3.6.5), e.g.: lə tsayy maraq! “do not (m.sg.) bother!”; lə təroh “do not (m.sg.) go”; lə ḫəkəf fol-qəşür!344 “excuse me! (lit. do not (c.pl.) behold my mistake or bad behaviour)”; lə tfallat rōhak! “do not (m.sg) let go yourself!”; lə twağxə fə-dardənə345 “do not (m.sg.) add pain to our suffering!”; lə tqūləli ... ! “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 talla ʿala abûk fi Təllo! “(stand up and) go and look for your father in Tillo!”; ma dəxli fən-nəş! “come in the middle!”; ma ẓəlnə nəhne də-nərəf! “tell us so we will know!”, əxti ma təqay qwne əxti! “sister, come here!”; ənn kā-fi Ḫakko yəi ĕe ma ḥkiya! “if there is a tale, relate it then!”, Aḥmat ma qre ţk darsak lay qabəl ʿəsšin yawm! “Ahmad, read the homework that you had 20 days ago!”; ma təqip aw l-pārət! “bring this money!”; ma qūm rō al-karm ḡibələnə mən qwnak 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”.

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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 dōrū ʿalāyu “sucht nach ihm!”.\(^{347}\) dē as an imperative prefix is attested only once in the material from Tillo, e.g.: dē fəkna mən Ḥaqqi! “free us from Ḥaqqi”.

4.6.4. Participles

The passive participle is normally used as an adjective, e.g.: nəhne maʃfūlin “we are covered”; aw l-pərāt lay kə̈l-ḥatayt-ni tāʾārixən uww qəbəl lay ʿaʃr əsnin ʿalay-ən maktūp “the date that is written on the money that you gave me is 20 years old”; əl-farmənət ənn mawğūdin əs-sah “the imperial edicts still exist”; əs-sāhə nəhne fi-ya rēkzn nəhne maʃbūrin da-nəhbbə “we live in it now so we have to like it”; mən uww ǧīčən da- kā-yṣîrlək ḥayy\(^{348}\) mənnu “you would have knowledge about everyone that is hungry”; ənti məmmnûnə mol-məktəp? “are you happy in school?”; mā kənū məfləsən kama s-saḥh “they were not bankrupt as now”; nəhne t-ti̱gəra nəhne bowš marẖūmən “we are very humane in business”; ṭəbī awl ḫarakāt əl-ṣaqar ʿənəd əl-məغنūn ṣṣyər kama l-məḏənən “of course, the behaviour of the wise is seen as behaviour of the mad by the crazy”.

kən + participle denotes past state of affairs, e.g.: kən maʃbūs “he was in jail”; kən murīdə “he was his follower”; kən bowš məštaram “he was very respectable”; kānna maʃfūl fataḥu “it was locked (and) he unlocked it”; ṭəbī kəl-almən kənūn bowš mustaqımən “of course, these Germans were very proper”; kānna ramaẓān kantu səyəm “it was the time of Ramadan and I was fasting”; āva ẓ-ẓalame kənān bowš ēke mələyım\(^{349}\), aʃəndi, sākən “this man was very convenient, gentlemanly, calm”.

\(^{346}\) Blanc 1964, 117.
\(^{347}\) Cf. Jastrow 1978, 310.
\(^{348}\) Cf. Kur. ḥay “knowledge”.
\(^{349}\) Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. mələyım “reasonable, suitable”.

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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.:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kullatna baqa nutfar\'{e}c\text{-talaf\'zy\text{"}n}} & \quad \text{“we all started to watch television”} \\
\text{\`el-kalb baqa y\text{"}di xalf \`el-araba} & \quad \text{“the dog started to run after the car”} \\
\text{hayanni m\text{"}a baqa yhaww\'sni} & \quad \text{“he hugged me and started to kiss me”} \\
\text{s\ii\text{"} m\text{"}ann\text{"}n badaw baqa y\text{"}ks\text{"}xu w s\ii} baqa ynaqqaw \`s-\`\text{"}ste} & \quad \text{“some of them started to prune and some of them started to pick up the branches that fell off the vine”}
\end{align*}\]

In some few examples also bada, y\text{"}bdi + imperfect indicates inchoative, e.g.:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{badaw h\text{"}nn\text{"} baqa y\text{"}m\text{"}lu} & \quad \text{“they started to work”} \\
\text{y\text{"}bdi y\text{"}s\text{"}q \`el-fara\text{"}s u yr\text{"}} & \quad \text{“he starts to ride the horse and leaves”}
\end{align*}\]

4.6.5.2. Egressive

Egressive is formed of m\text{"}a baqa + imperfect “not anymore”. It denotes the end of an action, e.g.:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{m\text{"}a baqa yt\text{"}q y\text{"}lb\text{"}su} & \quad \text{“he cannot wear it (m.sg.) anymore”} \\
\text{\`s-sa\text{"}h ahat m\text{"}a baqa yr\text{"}o lay a\text{"}hade} & \quad \text{“nowadays no one visits (lit. goes to) another anymore”} \\
\text{m\text{"}a baqa t\text{"}g\text{"}rra, la\text{"}} & \quad \text{“you (m.sg.) won’t pull it anymore, or?”}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{350 Cf. Turk. hemen “at once, instantly”}\]
4.6.6. Auxiliary verbs or hendiadys

šāl, qām and ayrō 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 šyšil + imperfect “lit. to carry, lift”, e.g.:

šəltu ʿataytuwan pārātan

“I gave them their money”

šyšilu yqχhaw šā š-šete

“they conserve, put aside for winter”

b. qām, ayrūm

qām + perfect and ayrūm + imperfect seems to add an inchoative meaning, “lit. to stand up”, e.g.:

šāhap ʿl-mālk qām ʿatāna l-māhkame

“the landlord took us to court”

šen ne qāmu ráḥu rās šəğlan qām ʿl-farāṣ

“they went (back) to their work”

qām wēḥat zālame aṣev pārāt āk ʿl-māh kālā
dayqūmu yrūhu ʿeq-ʿamāʾa maḥ baʿyān

dayqūm ayrūm ʿn-ḥaḥl fī lḥās ʿa-raqāl

dayqūm yiwpaddi ʿz-zālame ʿqwān w yrū

dayqūm al-māra tayqūm trollan\(^{352}\)...”

tayqūm tbūl fī ē, fī ḥaḡqr ʿešnā

“this woman goes and says to them...

qām, ayrūm concords in gender and number with the verb that follows it.

c. ayrō

ayrō + imperfect “lit. to go”, e.g.:

ayrō + imperfect “lit. to remain”. The material contains an instance of ayrūm + imperfect, e.g. : ayrūm ʿcantu ʿal..., ayrūm yrō kart lāx “he lifts his bag to his..., (and) goes on again”.

\(^{352}\) trō + tāllan “she goes and says to them”.

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“he (goes and) holds the basket in his hand”
“he (goes and) sprinkles ... the water”
“he (goes and) covers his head with white cloth and comes to the garden and waits”
“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

axī rā l-walēye or rā l-walēye axī “my brother went to the town”

āq-āqhmūriyye ǧawt or ǧawt āq-āqhmūriyye “the republic came”

b. Plural concord

qabāl aw l-lā-mṭahrīn kā-yṛūḥu ʿal-ʿorāq “in early days, these circumcisers used to go to Iraq”

on-naswēn yēklu fī ʾallīṣīri, ʾallī ḫāṣa l-lā-rḡēl ʾallī ḫāṣa “the women eat in a room and the men in another (lit. different)”

naswēn w ʾagēl māʔ kā-yārkwācu ʾand ḫāwān, fī ṣawbat ḫāwān “women and men did not sit in the same room and talk to each other”

yāḡaw l-awlt mān ṣā-ṣāḡel “the children come (home) from work (and) have dinner”

yāḥṣabbuwa l-ʾorṭmānāt kallā “all the teachers like her”

353 Cf. ʿulliyā “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: Faqiru Ilah uww faq-ghem “Faqiru Ilah he is in the mosque”; Tillo iyy atyap mə n kə ll eł-mamələk “Tillo, it (f.sg.) is nicer than all the (other) villages”

b. An independent personal pronoun: iyy maliha “she is good”

c. A demonstrative pronoun: aâv uww bowsh maḥqul “this is very logical”

d. A substantive: hawsh uww əgbir “(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:

Faqiru Ilah uww maşhûr
aʃəkan uww balî355
eł-bənt iyy maâlîna
əš-ʃaqqâq w eł-ənbarî356 ənne anwêc
bəntayn ənne mzawqên
əbyût əʃənbûl ənne atyap
ək eł-xâdamayn əntən əntən
əl-adapşəzîn əntən əntən

“Faqiru Ilah is famous”
“your origin is clear”
“the girl is ours”
“pear and ‘anbari are (different) sorts”
“two daughters are married”
“Istanbul houses are nicer”
“those two servants are you”
“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

355 Cf. Turk. bell “evident, obvious, known”.
356 A variety of grape.
one of the two *antən* 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 *antən* 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 ‘cop-
ula’ has the same function in all three dialects, e.g.:

*harāra kṭire-ye hawnake* (Mardin)357  “the heat is too much there”
*čmtqa ćaš ćmtār-we* (Mardin)358  “its depth is ten meters”
... *fərmān ənnəshār-e* (Āzəx)359  “… it is the imperial edict of the
Christians”
... *masalət Āzəx gya-ye* (Āzəx)360  “… the matter of Āzəx is this”

In Mardin and Āzəx a short form of the independent personal pronoun enclit-
cically 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**

*harāra kṭire-ye hawnake* (Mardin)  
*čmtqa ćaš ćmtār-we* (Mardin)  
*qələt hāza zawg hāk əlmara-we* (Āzəx)361  
... *masalət Āzəx gya-ye* (Āzəx)

**Tillo**

*harāra iyy bowš qwnak*  
*čmtqa uww ćaš ćmtār*  
*ţələt ţəv uww zawc ək əl-mara* “she
said: he is the husband of that
woman”  
... *masalət Āzəx iyy ţəvɨ “... this is
the case of Āzəx”

357 Jastrow 1981, 38.  
358 Jastrow 1981, 44.  
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:

- anā māmūr362
- ṣnt rēkāp
- ṣnt ʿandi
- uww mālī
- iyy ġārībe
- nēhe mażbūrin
- ṣntān kaysīn
- ṣnne masāfrīn

“I am an official”
“you are riding”
“you are with me”
“it is good”
“she is stranger”
“we have to or we are compelled”
“you are good”
“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)i “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 nexweši “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 ʿalīmun “Zeid is learned”.363 Cf. also CS ẖūbō nūhrō “love is light”; ḥūbō 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.:

- baṛū mā uww ḥūwš “its chilly (period) is not long (lit. a lot)”;
- ʾl-laxx mā iyy ēke “the other one is not like this”;
- maww anā w bass “it is not only me”;
- hawa Ṣṭanbūl ṣmme maww ṣayyap “Istanbul’s weather is not good either”;
- ʿl-Turkya mayy rāḥa “Turkey is not stable”.

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362 Cf. Turk. memur “official, employee”.
363 Wright 1996, ii 251.
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 mżawgən “two daughters are married”; ənn axwət wəhət, ɡirən lə-mləh “the good neighbours are like one’s brothers”. Due to influence from Turkish, concord is not applied in some instances, e.g.: ɡənənī əwəs əwəs kwawwəs “very, very good songs”; fi məya` iyy khər “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.: əl-bəyt uww wəsìh “the house is big (lit. wide)”

Təllo iyye bow` əybe “Tillo is very nice”

banənə ənne qapali365 “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. A name: Mahmūd u Sə`ıt kəרג-ɡəw əǥdīt məl-`askariyye “Mahmud and Said have just demobbed from the army”
b. An independent personal pronoun: anə aq`əm əq-ə`sala “I wake up at the time for (morning) prayer”
c. A demonstrative pronoun: ãyə də-γəlləm ər-raγal, ʃəbən “this one will teach the man, bestman”
d. A substantive: əɡ-ɡalamə də-yrə ɡablə 1-ɡnayne ɣəʃat “the man will go to the garden before me and steal”
e. Included in verb form: ɡaw ət-Təllo w rəkzu fì-yə “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 kā-dāysawi șaĝal mà kā-fī șaĝal “my father wanted to work (but) there was no work”; ʾommī tālbes ham čēriyye “my mother also wears a headscarf”; ʿtrīḍī ʿtrāḥī ʾat-Tīllo? “do you (f.sg.) want to go (back) to Tillo?”; ʾanne qāmu rāḥu rās șaḡlān “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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āl-awlēt yɔsməlu awne (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{the boys are working here} \\
\text{awlēdnə kā-yrōḥu l-maktep (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{our children used to go to school} \\
\text{abī kā-dāysawi șaḡal (SVO)} & \quad \text{“my father wanted to do (some) work”} \\
\text{abī kā-yrōḥ əl-avyōḥ (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“my father used to go to the villages”} \\
\text{Maḥmūd u Saʿīt kəq-ŷaw əḥdīt məl-Časkariyye (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“Mahmud and Said have just demobbed from the army”} \\
\text{Saʿīd ḥakāk ʿalayu (SVO)} & \quad \text{“ Said told you (m.sg.) about it (m.sg.)”} \\
\text{ānne qāmu rāḥu rās șaḡlān (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“they went (back) to their work”} \\
\text{waxətna kā-yəḥar bowš kwayyas fi Tīllo (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“our time used to pass very nice in Tillo”} \\
\text{anā d-aqʿum arō l-ʻIrāq (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“I will leave for Iraq”} \\
\text{ānne qāmu rāḥu lə-byūṭen (SAdv.)} & \quad \text{“they left for their houses”}
\end{align*}
\]

Attested instances where VSO word order occurs, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yəṭləh qəršiyyu}^{367} \text{ zalamət ləxx (VS)} & \quad \text{“another man comes in his way”} \\
\text{badaw hənne baqa yɔsməlu (VS)} & \quad \text{“they started to work”} \\
\text{əyqümu șulțān Maḥmūt yəbəflu} & \quad \text{“Sultan Maḥmūt sends him a maid and a sevant”} \\
\text{gāārya u ġāāri (VSO)} & \quad \text{“the group goes together for the sake of the engagement”} \\
\text{əyqümu ərōhu əq-γamāča maḥbəryan məxətar an-nīšān (VSO)} & \quad \text{“it (the sky) had become dark, of course”} \\
\text{ṭabi kə-yəlam əl-hawā}^{368} (VS) & \quad \text{“the sky” (nominative case, singular))}
\end{align*}
\]

367 Cf. Tur. karsı “opposite”.
368 Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. hava “air, weather, the sky, climate”.

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There are few attested instances where the objective occurs in the beginning of a verbal clause, e.g.:

\( \text{gō} \text{āt \text{əmm}ən nāxsəlen} \) “we also wash the intestiens”
\( \text{la} \text{hem nāxsəlu} \) “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 \( \text{ənn(u)} \), c.f. CA ḍinnā and ḍan is frequently used, e.g.:
\( \text{xāf ḍənno yərˈrku š-šəqˈl} \) “he was afraid they would quit the job”;
\( \text{ʔənti mā btəstərqi ənno ʔākikə} \) “you (f.sg.) don’t deserve that I should speak to you”.\(^{369}\) In TA this particle is not used, e.g.:
\( \text{yāḥu ʔlt-li anā šəbər ʔələ taˈəla uww arbrˈin səne} \) “you told me that the patience of God the Sublime is as great as 40 years”;
\( \text{Ṭuba əm ʔrˈul dawəmlə ɣˈagaˈznə} \) “Tuba says that he always bothers me”;
\( \text{ʔul mō ɣərra kart lˈxx! ʔul kart lˈxx mō ɣərra!} \) “say that you won’t pull it (f.sg.) another time! Say that you another time you won’t pull it!”;
\( \text{bəˈɛt lə-l-pədiˈsəh yəfrəq kələ məllətu kə-ʔənənət ...} \) “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 \text{waxt/qaqt} \text{and waxt/qaqt lay}
“when”, \( \text{cēx} \) and \( \text{cēx lay} \) “when”, \( \text{awwəl mā} \) “as soon as”, \( \text{baˈɛd lay} \) “after that ...”, \( \text{qaˈbl lay/lə-} \) “before that ...”, \( \text{hayyā} \) and \( \text{hayyā mā} \) “till, until”, e.g.:

\( \text{waxt əl-əsər ayˈəll məs-ʃəqəl} \) “when it becomes evening he leaves work”
\( \text{waxt lay ˈṭəlahc məl-kərm aˈlla m kān ˈala rəsək} \) “also when you (m.sg.) left the vineyard God was watching you (lit. on your head)”
\( \text{waxt lay də-ˈyəшибuwa, əyqumə yərˈhu ʃə-ɡamədəɾə məh bəˈyan məəxəɾaʔ ən-ˈnɨʂən} \) “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.
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.: *məğxət(ar)* and *şə xətər* “for, for the sake of”, e.g.:

371 Cf. Cowell 1964, 357.
372 Cf. Turk. *kazanmak* “to win”.

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tayy q’adi ʿala ʾalayy məšxāta r ysaknu!
ṣyrō ēddēm ba’yt ʾbhnu məšxāt ṭayḥṭina pārāt
qōmtu məšxātar ʾak qū-zalame
ysakkān ʿataytūhu mīt ʾalf, mīt məlyūn
kəl-fataḥna āāva ʾd-darnēk
məšxātar 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 thou-
sand, one million”
“we started (lit. opened) this association for the sake of not forgetting
ourselves”

b. Asyndetic final clauses, e.g.:

kəg-ḡina nəṭlab bəntāk
kəg-ḡitu s-sah asawī bōya
trō tsəfəru
arōh arayyāḥ əl-, əl-ḡədi
əlna nəhne də-nərəf!

“we came to ask for your (m.sg.)
daughter’s hand”
“I came here for the sake of paint-
ing”
“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 final-
ity.

4.7.3.3. Causal clauses

The conjunctions čünkî (čünkû) “because” and šayš “because” are used to
express causal clauses, e.g.:

mā ʾatāwni ʿzan čünkî ĝītu əl-
ʿAnqara
kə-yəği iyām d-aṣrap šā rōḥi, čünkî
mā-la ǰąqat la- anā ḥəməl
ḥāṭṭaynā kṭēbētna kōla ʃə-
ṭənnəqār w ḥāṭṭaynān ṭaḥt 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, Çünkü fî waqt Ünûnî kâ-yârûwan
êl-molle mân ââv êl-bîr yasrabu
çünkî fî âk êl-mamlake mâ kəs-şêr
kamêha mâyâ tayyap
şayê anê äxên êl-mûtâla'a anâ nâyêş
hârake yâ'ni
mân zamên şayê ahat mâ kəs-sêq êl-
faraş ayşaytân bowê
şayê kântu fî Batmâne kâyêghîna
msâfrîn

the earth, because in the time of
Inônû 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.:

ğawwêt êl-bayt ham 'aynî kama t-
Têllî nêhne
mô yswa mâ'na êke 'alâqa kama lay
ûnta saytına mâ'... sayt mâ'na

“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 gayr “other than, but”, bass and
şâdeğe377 “only”, e.g.:

uwwe îla l-arbîn sane mâ akal šî
gayr êl-fâkiha
îla l-arbîn sane bass fâkiha akal
koll insâan êke, maww anâ w bass
mâ-li gayrên
fûl-yayêa gayr êl-wazîr u gayr êl-

“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 Ismet Inônû, second president of Turkey.
377 Cf. Tur. sadece “merely, simply, only”.

180
“and the king remained sane”

“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”, ʾašš “what” and ayšni “what”, e.g.:

baqa yəgraw bahš 379 ʾal-qəṣ..., lə-ksēx 380 ašwam ysir

“they started to talk about pruning, how it is done”

ʾašš kā-yīɡīp mū mō ʿraf

“what he was bringing I don’t know”

ʿammo ʾaš-sahiḥ ʿAbdallḥaḥad niyyétu tyye ləḥētna, ʾašš nəgri

“uncle, now Ablahad’s intention is our dialect, how/what we talk”

mū yūl ʾal-maqṣat ʾašš kəd-daxal fə-luḥētkon

“he does not tell you the aim, why he penetrated into your dialect”

ʾašš tərmar anā fi amrak

“whatever you (m.sg.) ask I am in your service”

nəhne ʾaš-šəhṭa ayšni mō naʿrāf

“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.: ʾal-walat ʿal-lə-ḥmār w ənta trō b-ʾal-maṣu! “the boy is riding the donkey while you are going by foot!”; šī baqa yəksaxu u šī baqa ynaqqu š-šiṣṭe 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 ʿaraba ysōqa w yəği surʿat-li 381 “he is sitting in a car (and) driving it while coming fast”.

378 Cf. Tur. kral “king”.
380 Cf. Syr. ksāḥ “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.: *ḥal-marḥūm wālīdī lay zḡayyar mtaṣak fāl-naxwaṣīyye* “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: *ḡīna fṣṭ-ṭarīq ḥal-ṣaskriyye sakhūna* “while coming on our way the soldiers stopped us”; *ḡīna ṭa-ṣnrṭt ḥal-maġwe arayna wēḥād ar-
qadāš* “while on the way back we saw a friend”; *uwwe rā ḥal-walēye anā bqīṭu fī Tḥlloc* “he went to the town while I stayed in Tillo”; *āāf ṣṣ-ẓalame baqa yrō xalfu ḥazīn* “the man started sadly to walk behind him”; *ḥal ʿett ḥal-ṭaru ṣʿadu sawu ṣḥbe maʿu anā ḥ-laff ṣ-sīgōrt “he said: You go in, sit (and) make him company while I pull the safety-bolt”; *ḥal-ṭahrīnīn kɔl la qēdint ḥararat wḥde 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:

* ḥal-kurmanč lay kēg-ḡaw mɔn qabāl
  “these Kurds that came earlier”

* ḥal-ʾarqadāš lay ʾṣ-ṣūfōr, lay ʿammol l-ʿarabā
  “this friend who is the driver, who drives the car”

* ḥal ḥ-lārāt lay ṭaṭaynt-ni tāʾrīxūn
  “the date written on the money that you gave me is 10 years ago”

* ḥal ḥ-ṣḥaṭ ḥal-ʿarāṣ ʿṣṣīḥ ʾṣṣ-zālamę
  “this who stole the horse calls upon the man”

* ḥal-ḥaṣṣar ḥal-ṣasam ḥal-qaṣam
  “my mother had prepared what God had given us (lit. shared)”

* ḥal-ṣāṅgēn lay fī ʿalay ṣʾnūn
  “the cup that has a handle (lit. an ear)”
b. Asyndetic relative clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waddaytu} & \text{ lay kam doxtor,}^{382} \\
\text{prafasör } & \text{enne} \\
\text{anā w } & \text{zowč xti kān lisa mōduri}^{383} \text{ fi Bašqar } \text{fi } \text{Wēn} \\
\text{ās-saḥ lān}^{384} & \text{ fi } \text{ḥawla l-mīt bayt } \text{enī} \\
\text{mēn } & \text{aqwālak}
\end{align*}
\]

“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”
“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 \textit{enī} or by \textit{lay}, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ās-saḥ } & \text{ḥāālkān } \text{enī kā-šār malī} \\
\text{trōhu } & \text{t-Tēllo } \text{omme ṭēbqaw fī} \\
\text{Şṭanbūl?}
\end{align*}
\]

“if your situation becomes better, will you go (back) to Tillo?”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{enī kā-šār } & \text{fi-ya šēgal } \text{ham kōlla } \text{dē-yrōddu } \text{yrōhu } \text{wāṭanān } \text{kart } \text{ləxxe} \\
\text{lay } & \text{durumna } \text{mmēnī } \text{yśir malī } \text{dē-nrō} \\
\text{nəḥa } & \text{fə-Tēllo} \\
\text{lay } & \text{nəḥne } \text{nrō } \text{dā-yəd}^{385} \text{ yəği } \text{nəsəl } \\
\text{dē-yənsi } & \text{rōhu} \\
\text{enī } & \text{kā-əʃāla } \text{salaf } \text{baqa } \text{nqūm } \text{daran} \\
\text{n-ā } & \text{nawrāh ṭawāf }
\end{align*}
\]

“if there will be work in it (Tillo) everyone will go back again home to their village”
“if our (economic) situation is getting better, we will go (back) and stay in Tillo”
“if we die the offspring after us will forget themselves”
“if God wants, we will wake up late”

---

382 Cf. Kur. \textit{tixtor} “doctor”.
383 Cf. Turk. \textit{lise} + \textit{mūdēr} “director of an upper secondary school”.
384 Cf. \textit{ləhən} “they have”.
385 Cf. \textit{yrōdd} “come back, come again”.

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b. Asyndetic, e.g.:

\[ kā-tqātu rāḥtu awwnak, awlādi am \]
\[ inšāllah, b-ṣzan allā tāʿāla, hič ol-masa\] \[ mā yənsaw āāv ašlan \]
\[ kā-ṭbni gā bīs-salēme da-anyərlu mūlet \]

“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”

“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 \( ənən \) and \( kā- \) or after \( kā- \), e.g.:

\[ ənən kā-mā mətna, ənšā'allah əysīr məna nərāf dəntī ənsayy ֶha'' rōhna fi Təllo dənrō ət-Təllo inšā'allah \]

“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”

\[ ənən kā-mā sārlu yāqa təlhəsu də-yəllx \]

“if it does not have a collar and you wear it, its colour will fade”

Examples of negated asyndetic conditional clause, e.g.:

\[ mā ntafaḥ, mā šārli manfə'a mənnu mā غا 'ala əsəmməti \]

“if he is not useful, if I won’t get any benefit from him, he will not be given my name”

“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 \( ənən + kā- \), e.g.:

\[ ənən kā-ṣərtu amakli əs-ʃahr d-əxev miyye w xamsīn miṭayn milyōn mašās, t-aq'ad fə-Təllo aṣay ֶhaqq \]

“if I were retired and my wages had been 150, 200 millions per month I would live in Tillo and manage for myself”

\[ 386 \text{ Cf. Turk. hič “not at all”, ol “to be or become” + -mez which is the negation of the aorist 3.sg.; see Lewis 2000, 115-121.} \]

\[ 387 \text{ Cf. CA where where law introduces the irrealis conditional clause and ẓiḍal'īn introduces the realis, Wright 1988, ii 6-17.} \]
Irrealis conditional sentences are negated by mā, e.g.:

\[
\text{enn kā-aša mā kāl-‘āšā ē maḥ sabḥ abbātān yāklu xara}
\]

“If God does not want (lit. said), their fathers will have trouble (lit. eat shit) in the morning”

\[
\text{enn kā-mā kā-‘alayni baṛa kān d-amūṭ}
\]

“if he hadn’t taken me out, I would 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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maww kam} & \; l-	ext{laben abyay} \\
\text{hawa Ṣṭanbūl ūmme maww ṭayyap} & \\
\text{uwu mawwa bowš ṣuwāri} & \\
\text{mayy ērge} & \\
\text{mayy maliḥa} & \\
\text{mayy ēke Ṣṭanbūl} & \\
\text{da-rō ya‘ne āwn maww āfāri} & \\
\text{kanu arbi‘in, xamsin wēḥ, maww wēḥ} & \\
\text{w tmayn.} & \\
\text{anā a‘ül iyy mayy maliḥa} & \\
\text{rtamayt mān ‘al-farāṣ mayy m-ōl-ēhi} &
\end{align*}
\]

“it is not white as yoghurt”

“the weather in Istanbul is not good either”

“he is not a good (horse) rider”

“it is not bad”

“she is not good”

“Istanbul is not like this”

“I will leave, because this is not my place”

“They were 40, 50 people, not one or two”

“I say that she is not nice”

“That you fell off the horse is not because of this”

maww is sometimes used in combination with šēshāne or šī-shāne. The expression then has a shade of emphasis, e.g.: hawa Ṣṭanbūl mawwe šēshāne

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388 A short form of kama “like”.
389 Cf. Turk. čiürük “rotten, bad”.
390
“the weather in Istanbul is nothing at all (compared to Tillo)”; mō sayy šaššaìne “I don’t do anything at all”; mō ytiq ysaìbə̀ř 391 ši-šaìne ʿala ēf ʔażalame “he cannot prove anything at all against this man”. šaššaìne/ši-šaìne is the equivalent of Turkish, hic “never, not at all” which also has a function of reinforcing negatives, e.g.: hic konaşmaz “he doesn’t talk at all”. 392 In one instance ši-šaìne and hic are used together in a clause, e.g.: ʿerfnə, ʿadə̀tnə hic mā kət-tə̀gayyər ši-šaìne “our tradition, custom, nothing at all has changed”.

Existential clauses are negated by mā + fi, mā + maʿ or mā + ʿənd, e.g.:

mā ʿfi ħandaʕ “there are no hazelnuts”
mā ʿfi ḥad fə-l-bayt “there is no one at home”
mā kā-fi šagəł “there was no work”
manbaʕ mā ʿfi fə-Tə̀llo “there is no water source in Tillo”
mā maʿu faraṣ “he does not have a horse”
mā maṣk pərət “you (m.sg.) don’t have money”
mā ʿəndi bayt “I don’t have a house”
mūn mā ʿənədna fəl-bayt “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.:

ənne mō yʾišlu fəlš “they don’t say falš, snow”
šay 394 mō tāākəł? “why aren’t you eating?”
mō yəmši š-šəgəł “work is not going (well)”
mō nəraf aʃniy ət-tə̀gəra nəhne “we don’t know what trade is”
ənn yābəŋχiyye 395 mō nəʃəɾən “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. ši “thing, something”.
391 Cf. Turk. sebat etmek “to hold fast one’s purpose”.
392 Lewis 2000, 74.
393 Jastrow 1978, 312.
394 šay < šå aʃə aʃ “Why”.
395 Cf. Turk. yabancı “stranger, foreigner”.

186
mō anā kāš-šaḥāṭṭu
mō kalla 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.: al-awlēt kallata mō yɐʾaššaw maʾ haʾyan, 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, e.g.:

mō qabəl kā-yəḥbəsu lbāasāʾāt ṭwāl
mō tə-tfaṣṣal šānu əl-wēḥət
məṣxāṭar ...

“in early times people used to have long dresses”

mō koš-šālat əlciyiḥə mən qənək
mō kān ləhu āvak lay ụwwə
yärəm 398
mō mā kā-yeʃəIQʊ fəl-īt

“it should be cut out for someone for the sake of …”

“she took his measurements already”

“he had that one which was short (lit. half)”

“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.:

ama mā ftaḥamna mənna ʃī ʃ-ʃāne
mmənī
baḥs əl-kətal fūm mā sayten

“but we haven’t understood anything from it”

“you haven’t mentioned kətal fūm (a traditional Tillo dish)”

“I have forgotten to tell you (f.sg.) that we have workers with us today”

“I stole the horse and not even a minute passed, God the Sublime punished me”

396 Isaksson and Lahdo 2002, 328.
397 Cf. Turk. əlci “measure”.
398 Cf. Turk. yARM “half”.

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má xallaytu ĥaqqan “I gave them their wages (lit. I did not hold in their rights)”

ër- 역사 má xalla da-rō xalfu “the shepherd didn’t let me go after it (m.sg.)”

má qŏbŏltu āk ʔel-маḥall “I didn’t accept that place”

There are, nevertheless, some attestations where má negates imperfect, e.g.: má nsayn ... “we don’t do them ...”; laymūn má y., má ysîru fə-Tello “lemon does not grow in Tillo”; má yŏnsaw āāv ašlan “they don’t (or won’t) forget their origin”.

b. má + kə + a verb in perfect negates clauses in the past tense, e.g.:

má kən-nəṣītu ʿarabi “I have not forgotten Arabic”
sayyōdi bə-dlay má kəl-qabal āke “since my grandfather didn’t accept that thing (m.sg.) we cannot accept it either”
še šehe mə ntiq nəqḥəlu hēš má kəɡ--git “haven’t you (m.sg.) come yet”
má kəl-əlu šə əmmi ... “I haven’t said to my mother ...”
anā má kəl-axavtu mənヌu ši “I haven’t taken anything from him”
ʔel-fāʾel ɤš399 ʾaraqu má kən-nəṣef “the worker should have his wages even before his sweat has dried”
lazəm ʔuww yāxəd haqqu

c. má + kə- (< kən) + imperfect negates duration in the past, e.g.:

má kə-yəḥəlu da-yrōhu l-maktēp “they did not allow them to go to school”
kəntu ʃāyam má kə-yəğaw “I was fasting and they didn’t come to me”
bīra má kə-yəṣrabu ʿəndi “they didn’t drink beer at my place”
má kə-ykaftina “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. má + imperfect negates also final clauses, e.g.:

ʔəg-ʔnayne yʃawkuwa məʃɔṭar ʔəl-ḥaywənêt má yədxəlu l-ɡawwa “they enclose the garden with thorns so that animals would not be able to come inside”

ʔabi nɔarrayna ʿala ɡənp məʃɔṭat “we stepped aside, of course, so that

399 Cf. Kur. héj “so far, yet, still, more”.

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mā ʿawṣṭah fina  

he wouldn’t hit us”

4.9.2.3. lā

lā + imperfect indicates the negated imperative, e.g.:

_bowš lā tāstāmāl kālmāāt bāt-tārki!_  
_“don’t (m.sg.) use many Turkish words!”_

_ḥiċ lā tsayy maraq!_  
_“don’t (m.sg.) bother at all!”_

_lā ʿāllay ḥāski!_  
_“don’t (f.sg.) raise your voice!”_

_lā tāhkay!_  
_“don’t (f.sg.) talk!”_

_āāvi l-bīr lā tābdaw tāṣrābu mānna māyy!_  
_“don’t (pl.) start drinking from this well!”_

_lā tqūlūlū ... !_  
_“don’t (pl.) say to me …!”_

_xa-yāği ʿəššīn żalame azyad lā yāği!_  
_“let 20 men come (and) more should not come!”_

_ahḥat lā yrücklu ści!_  
_“nobody should say anything to him!”_

There are, though, some exceptions to this rule. In a few examples mō negates the imperative, e.g.:  

_’ammu mō tāc₄₀₀ fā-qṣūr ṭawwāltu rūḥi!_  
_“sorry, uncle, I stretched my legs!”_

_lā is sometimes used with ʾamma, ʾamma lā “... or not?” as a short way to negate declarative question, e.g.:

_tāʾgabī al-balazik₄₀₁ ʾamma lā bantti?_  
_“do you (f.sg.) like this bracelet or not, my daughter?”_

_āāva l-marāwāt tāʾgabīyya ʾamma lā?_  
_“do you (f.sg.) like these earrings or not?”_

_ac-čak fi qaršíyyaṭu ʾamma lā?_  
_“does this check have covering or not?”_

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₄₀₀ tāc < tāllc “look (2.m.sg.)!”

₄₀₁ Cf. Turk. bilezik “bracelet”.

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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. The main story line is characterized by events that come in sequence, one after the other, to give a skeleton of the narrative, e.g.: ʿalaʿna faḍ-dorayyāč, daqqayna z-zīl, fataḥūlna l-bēp, karmūna l-ōda, daxalna l-ōda, rakazna ʿal-qulīgāt “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”; yāḡaw l-awlāt man ʿaḥ-šāḡāl, ʿaḥṣāṣṣaw, yāṣrābu čeṭe, yēklu maywe “the boys come from work, have dinner, drink tea and eat fruit”; naxṭāt fi-yu fālṣāt u māḥ, nāẓānu fi ḫāʿyu, ʾansayu čeṭe, ṣanẓāŋrū, nāfram basāl, ṣanḥammārān, ḫk ʿṭ ṣanḥammārān, ʾansāqq ʿalayān mayy ʿamātā “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.: baʾṣāt la-yāṛū b-mādāde yāṭlaḥ qārṣiyyu “after walking for a while, another man comes out in his way”; man zamēn šayš aḥat mā ḵas-saq ʿal-farāṣ ʾayṣāṭān bōwš “because none had ridden the horse for a long time, it was being noisy”; baʾṣād lay qāblu qamtu waddāyīṭwān karm “after they had accepted I took them to the vineyard”. This supplementary material is referred to as background. Below a short text is presented where the background is marked in bold:

“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...”

403 Dahlgren 1998, 61.
404 Cf. Tur. zīl “bell”.
405 Cf. Tur. koltuk “armchair”.
406 Cf. Tur. karsu “opposite”.
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 Faqiru lläh 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%. 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.

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 fi ḏalam “there was a man”, where a new topic or a new person is presented, the word order is VS, e.g.: kā-fī wēḥat kā-ʾasmu malla Ḥasēn Sāṅgār, allā yāḥamu kār-rṭāḥam “there was a man called mullah Ḥasēn Sāṅgār, may God have mercy with him, he died (now)”; kā-fī ʾinna almān ʿfnayn, kā-yāḥmalu ʿendnā “there were two Germans working for us”; kā-fī ḏalame kāān bowš šāḥḥāt “there was a man that stole a lot (lit. he was very thief)”; kā-fī kā-yṣammu Ḥusayn, kāān bowš ʿaṭq “there was someone that was called Ḥusayn that was very smart”. The verb kān and fi in the expression kān fi ... 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, e.g.: nāḥne nāṣṭaḥi mān rōḥna “we are ashamed of ourselves”; badala tā-yēḥtī-yu xamsa mīt vahābiyye uwwe yēḥtī-yu xamsa mīt fayyā “instead of giving him 500 gold coins he gives him 500 silver coins”; ʾinā kā-uwwe axī d-azawwāṭu anā arū abūs īt ēl-bḥant “if it is

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408 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”; ʾal-gapš āyye ʿarabiyy-ye “the ram, it (f.sg.) is an Arabic word”; ʾs-saḥ nāḥne t-tiḡāra nāḥne 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.: nāḥne, 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): *aqris* “crises” (< Turk. *kriz*); *vergi* “taxes” (< Turk. *vergi*); *kimliği* “identification (card)” (< Turk. *kimlik*); and *yaplama* “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. 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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b &gt; p</td>
<td>ｇａｒｉр</td>
<td>“stranger”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d &gt; t</td>
<td>ｗａｌａｔ</td>
<td>“son, boy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡ &gt; c</td>
<td>ｚａｗｃ</td>
<td>“husband”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v &gt; f</td>
<td>ａｇａｆ</td>
<td>“he took”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z &gt; s</td>
<td>ｇａｗｓ</td>
<td>“walnuts”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬ &gt; h</td>
<td>ｍａｗｑɭɦ</td>
<td>“place, spot”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: maɣrɔb “sunset”; aswagen “black”; ｆaｌɡ “snow”; tammûz “July” and mɔɣaɾ “place, spot”.

A word-initial voiceless consonant may change to voiced if it is followed by a vowel, e.g.: mɔ dɛq “I cannot”; danak “tin plate, can”, cf. Turk. teneke. The future particle t- is frequently pronounced d-, e.g.: d-ṣyrɔ “he will go”; d-ән’әммәɾa “we will build it (f.sg.)”; d-asawiyu “I will do it (m.sg.)”; d-aḥti “I will give”; d-ә’әyәsәn “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” > ağaç (acc.) and şerit “tape” > şeridi (acc.).

5.1.1.1. Consonant assimilations

Devoicing of a voiced consonant in contact position after a voiceless con- sonant, 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. 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.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
 b & > & p \\
 ğ & > & ğ \quad \text{“syrup”} \\
 y & > & f \\
 ğ & > & ğ \quad \text{“dowry”} \\
 c & > & h \\
 \end{array}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
 pärät & “money (in pl.)” & < \text{Turk. para} \\
 vergi & “taxes” & < \text{Turk. vergi} \\
 čax & “era, age” & < \text{Turk. çağ} \\
 zanagin & “rich (in pl.)” & < \text{Turk. zengin} \\
 \end{array}
\]

Moreover, the voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, which does not exist in standard Turkish, shifts due to Turkish pronunciation to voiceless glottal fricative /h/, e.g.: maliha “good, fine (f.sg.)”, cf. maliha. 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.

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413 Lewis 2000, 10. There are exceptions, though; cf. Turk. at “horse” > attu in acc. and ot “wild grass” > otu in acc.
414 Johanson and Csató 1998, 34.
415 ğaház/ğiház “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. axada “to take” where d normally shifts to y.
417 Cf. OA ğafara “to forgive”.

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5.1.1.2. Epenthetic vowel

A cluster of two consonants is, in Turkish, avoided in the beginning of a word, e.g.: *sıpor* < 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.: *ıstasyon* < Fr. ‘station’; *ıstatistik* < En. ‘statistics’. In ‘original’ Arabic words used in TA, an epenthetic vowel is used prosthesis for the same purpose, e.g.: *ňsayy* “we do, make” < *nsayy*; *ň sticky “distant, far-away”* < *b sticky “houses”* < *byút*.

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, *anã küntu tarğumān šānu* “I was his interpreter” and *tawakkül* is attested in one example, *tawakkül: twakkal šā alla! “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 *lay*. This pronoun is pronounced *liy* in one attestation: *āk ʔmmēni liy ʔawwētu* “also that which is inside of it (m.sg.)”. This form of the relative pronoun has no counterpart in other Mesopotamian *qāltu*-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 konna fə-Tōllo kān ḥayāt ṭayyap* “When
we were in Tillo, life was better” where hayât is feminine and both kân and tayyap refer back to masculine nouns; fi mûya‘ iyy kbîr “there is a place which is huge” where iyy is the independent personal pronoun 3.f.sg. and both mûya‘ and kbîr refer back to masculine nouns; bîr əl-app iyye mən zamən “the well bîr əl-app is old” where bîr is a masculine noun and iyye is the independent personal pronoun 3.f.sg. The noun arîy “land, soil” is treated as both masculine and feminine, e.g.: uww arîna and iyy arîna “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: ýtallah šā əBrâhîm əl-Ḥaqqi “He looks at Ibrahim Haqqi”; ýtallah šā l-pârât “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 əBrâhîm Ḥaqqi-ye bakıyor (the dative suffix is -el/-a after consonants and -el/-ya after vowels) and para-ya bakıyor respectively. Another example is: əllî: mō ḥaţîli ǧarîp “he said to me: You look familiar (lit. you don’t come stranger to me)” where -li in ḥaţîli is the dative marker in Arabic, which is needed for the Turkish verb gelmek. This sentence is a direct copy from Turkish bana yabançı 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 wasîh

darsēti ənne maliha

“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.: walā, ākē da l-yawm xafīf da-ytahhāran “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 qāltu-dialects.418 There is only one instance of -ze in the corpus, e.g.: yəğī āk əš-šaxs-ze man qaraqūl 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/əmmə and a short form əmm/əmm depending on whether the succeeding word starts with a vowel or a consonant, e.g.: haṭṭayna ʿalayu zin w əl-mərgēp əmmə haṭṭaynāhu fi fəmmu “we saddled it (the horse) and we also put the bridle in his muzzle”; fi hğār amme dāām əl-bēp “there are stones too in front of the door”; āk ammm iyye qima “that too is minced meat”; əl-wazīr yəşrap u baʾēt əl-pədişāh amm əl-qərālən419 yəşrap “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 kiši “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-ḥāşəlī bowš məʃkāl “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.:

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418 Cf. Jastrow 1978, 301.
419 Cf. Turk. kral “king”.
420 Lewis 2000, 72.
an azyat "the most" an aqruba\textsuperscript{421} "the closest relatives"
an l-tayy\textsuperscript{422} "the best or the nicest" an y\textsuperscript{422}aq\textsuperscript{422} "the nearest"
an atyap "the most delicious" an bir\textsuperscript{424}\textsuperscript{424}n\textsuperscript{424}i "the first"

In addition, \textit{en} is used to compare the Kurdish word \textit{bow\textsuperscript{423}} "much, many", e.g.: \textit{an bow\textsuperscript{423}š} "the most".

5.1.2.6. Compound nouns

Turkish possessive compounds are frequently used, often in whole Turkish phrases, e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
qurs\textsuperscript{424} öratmani\textsuperscript{425} "(Koran) course teacher"
f\textsuperscript{424}\textsuperscript{424}st\textsuperscript{424}q fabriqasi "pistachio factory"
qoparatif muh\textsuperscript{426}şabasi "cooperative bookkeeping"
muh\textsuperscript{426}şaba qursi "bookkeeping course"
išlatma muh\textsuperscript{426}şabasi "administration bookkeeping"
turkiya petrolleri "Turkish oil"
lisa\textsuperscript{426} m\textsuperscript{426}duri\textsuperscript{427} "high school director"
\end{verbatim}

Compound nouns are, on the other hand, rare in instances such as \textit{f\textsuperscript{422}ol-\textsuperscript{422}arabi m\textsuperscript{422}ä\textsuperscript{422}fi ge \textit{harfi} “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/-c\textsuperscript{i}

This suffix denotes a profession, e.g.: \textit{kā-ab\textsuperscript{426}raflu l-k\textsuperscript{426}āre m\textsuperscript{426}äh āk āč-č\textsuperscript{426}eyiği “I used to send him the rent with that tea vendor”; k\textsuperscript{426}ā\textsuperscript{426}la k\textsuperscript{426}ā\textsuperscript{426}nu m\textsuperscript{426}ṭ\textsuperscript{426}ahl\textsuperscript{426}r\textsuperscript{426}č\textsuperscript{426}iyye “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.

\textsuperscript{421} Second borrowing, cf. Turk. \textit{akraba} “a relative, relatives”.
\textsuperscript{422} Cf. Turk. \textit{yakın} “close, near”.
\textsuperscript{423} Cf. Kur. \textit{boş} “plentiful, abundant”.
\textsuperscript{424} Cf. Turk. \textit{kurs} “course, lesson”.
\textsuperscript{425} Cf. Turk. \textit{öğretmen} “teacher”.
\textsuperscript{426} Cf. Turk. \textit{lise} “high school”.
\textsuperscript{427} Cf. Turk. \textit{müdür} “director”.

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5.1.2.8. Negation

Turkish *hiç* “not at all” is used to emphasize negated sentences, e.g.: *hiç konușmaz* “he doesn’t talk at all”. The Arabic of Tillo has an equivalence to this particle, namely, *şəşšāne* (also pronounced *şī-şāne*), e.g.: *mō sayy şəşšāne* “I don’t do anything at all”; *hawa Ştanbül mawwe şəşšāne* “the weather in Istanbul is nothing at all”; *mō yiğ yəsabbāt428 ʃī-ʃāne ʿala ēf əz-załame* “he cannot prove anything at all on this man”. Turkish *hiç* is sometimes used in combination with *şəşšāne*, e.g.: *ʿərfna, ʿādətna hiç mā kət-təgayyar ʃī-şāne* “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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
gā d\text{-doqsan dört}^429 & \ldots \quad \text{“when (19)94 came ...”} \\
ətməş ikki^430 & \quad \text{“62”}
\end{align*}
\]

Dates are sometimes mentioned first in Turkish and then in Arabic, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fəl-yətmiş dəqəz}^431, \text{təşə a w sab'ın} & \quad \text{“in (19)79, 79”}
\end{align*}
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fəl-əlf w təşə miyye w sab'ə w təs'ın}, & \quad \text{“In 1997, eh 1987, 1987”} \\
əh əlf w təsə miyye wa sab'ə fmənīn, & \quad \\
\text{bin}^432, \text{dokuz}^433, \text{saksan}^434, \text{yadi}^435
\end{align*}
\]

428 Cf. Turk. *tesbit etmek* “to hold fast one’s purpose”.
429 Cf. Turk. *doksan dört* “94”
430 Cf. Turk. *əltməş iki* “62”.
431 Cf. Turk. *yetmiş dokuz* “79”
432 Cf. Turk. *bin* “thousand”.
433 Cf. Turk. *dokuz* “nine”.
434 Cf. Turk. *səksen* “eighty”.
435 Cf. Turk. *yedi* “seven”.

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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 ǧā l-lā-Ṣṭanbūl ḟād-dōqsan, ḟāl-alf w tasaʾ miyye w sāṭṭa w tawāʾin* “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.: *ṣuṭṭān biriṅgī 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.:

- *sāʾā fnaḥš tsar xamse* “it is five past twelve”
- *fnaḥš tsar čerawk* “it is quarter past twelve”
- *sāʾā wḥde la xamse* “it is five to one”
- *wḥde la čerawk* “it is quarter to one”

The verb *‘aḥar* “to pass” is a literary translation of the Turkish verb *gecme* which is used for giving time, when minutes pass the whole hour, e.g.: *saat biri beş geciyor* “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 *tsar* 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 geciyor* “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.: *sāʾā fnaḥš dā-nṭešš ḥaʾyana* “we will meet at twelve o’clock”; *sāʾā wḥde* “It is one o’clock”.

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Moreover, although "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 wasa “to do, make” and is placed before a Turkish noun to make a verbal phrase, e.g.:

lā tsayy maraq “don’t (m.sg.) worry” < Turk. merak etmek
ysay qanama436 “he bleeds” < Turk. kanama
ysawaw bahs ... “they talk about …” < Turk. bahs etmek
sawa yardəm “he helped” < Turk. yardim etmek
mō ysay əgasəra “he doesn’t dare” < Turk. cesaret etmek
nssay qahvaštə “we have breakfast” < Turk. kahvalti etmek
ysaw ʃəhe “they have a chat” < Turk. sohbet etmek
ysawaw dawäm “they continue …” < Turk. devam etmek
...

5.1.2.12. Interrogative

The interrogative əşš waxt or əč-čāax (< əš čāax) “which time, when” is copied from Turkish. Cf. Turk. ne zaman. Example: əč-čāax təhtawna musāqada 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 ... am437 “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 ... waya438 “either ... or”
yrœhu yœḥbøt yā šawi439 al-xaten waya sœøt al-xaten
“they steal either the shoe or the watch of the bridegroom”

yā ... yoxta440 “or ... otherwise”
y’alu ša øz-øzalame yā ttøtøna aq-qat pærøt hayyø høš dø-nsallømlak uww
yoxta mø nøqøl
“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”
yš fø-Søøudi waya fœs-Sūriyya waya fœ-is-Swëè “either in Saudi Arabia or in Syria or in Sweden”

yā ... wayuxta441 ... vayaxuta “either ... or ... or...”
yš fi rûs øl-cayn wayuxta fi rûs mayye wayuxta fi mawqøh ši yøøø øl-bønt
“he sees the girl either at the spring or at any water place or anywhere”

aømø, faqøø442 “but”
mø kø-yøtkølløm mœøi aømø hayønnøi hayru ‘aøø faqøø œøtnøyørna Saøøit
“he didn’t talk to me but he hugged me”
“they prepared dinner but we waited for Sait”

angøøø443 “only”
angøøø mœøn ’øraæqøø tøøt tsayø ši
“only by hard work (lit. your sweat) can you accomplish something”

madømøki444 “since”
axû øøøl: yawø madømøki kœs-sawø al-yørøøbe ...
“his brother said: since he did this to you ...”

øølbuøki445 “whereas”

438 Cf. Turk. ya ... veya “either ... or”.
439 Cf. Kur. sol “shoe”.
440 Cf. Turk. yahut “or, otherwise”.
441 Cf. Turk. veyahut “or”.
442 Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. fakøø “but”.
443 Cf. Turk. ancøøk “only, hardly, not until”.
444 Second borrowing; cf. CA mø døøma “as long as”. Cf. Turk. madømøki “since, while”.
445 Cf. Turk. øølbuøki “whereas, however, nevertheless”.

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“whereas our Arabic dialect (lit. talk) is much better”

“although we cover our head …”

“I went to the village (and) it looks as if you have cut the penis of someone”

“as if it wasn’t ours, it was for the guests (lit. strangers)”

“They didn’t give me permission because I had come to Ankara”

“it means that you gave me silver (and) you have forgotten”

“thus it becomes sleeping time, we prepare their places and they go to sleep”

5.1.2.14. Interjections

“O …, Oh”

“may God help you, Oh friend”
yāhu, yāwo and yaw\textsuperscript{455} (< Turk. yahu) “see here, look here”
... ē yāhu ḍā-ywaddawan yākluwan; ywadawan yəšətuwan
“...but they will take them (and) eat them; they will take them and steal them”

\textit{uwwe samık yāwo}
“it is really thick”

yaw hāl w əl-hawāl ēke ...
“the situation is really like this ...”

hā (< Turk. ha) “behold!”
ṭallaʾ hā! kanū\textsuperscript{456} l-ẓalaṃe ku-kə-rtama mən ʿal-farāš “he looked (and) behold! The man had fallen off the horse”

hā ... hā (< Turk. ha ...) “nearly, almost”
hā ġade, hā baʾzd ġade, arbʾīn yawm bāqina fə-Ṣṭambhūl ēke bala šəḡəl “we stayed in Istanbul 40 days without work (saying) today (or) tomorrow”

The example above may also be a direct translation from Turkish \textit{ha bugün ha yarin} with the same meaning.

\textit{amān} (< Turk. aman ) “please, for God’s sake”
əmmi walla amān\textsuperscript{457} əl- lə-fūl ləzəmlən ġada
“mother, for God’s sake, the workers need lunch”

5.1.2.15. \textit{m}-doublets

A couple of samples of the so-called \textit{m}-doublets are found in the corpus. The rule for forming an \textit{m}-doublet is simple: a word is followed by an echo of itself with an \textit{m}- before the initial vowel or instead of the initial consonant,\textsuperscript{458} e.g.: \textit{ički\textsuperscript{459}} mički “liquor and the like”, or “liquor and so on”; \textit{kuvaför\textsuperscript{460}} muvaʃʃər “hairdresser and so on”.

\textsuperscript{455} Cf. Turk. \textit{yahu} “see here, look here”. \textit{yahu} may also mean “well, what now” which expresses impatience.
\textsuperscript{456} Cf. kān \textit{uwu} “he was”.
\textsuperscript{457} Cf. Turk. \textit{aman} “please, for God’s sake”.
\textsuperscript{458} Lewis 2000, 235.
\textsuperscript{459} Cf. Turk. \textit{ički} “liquor”.
\textsuperscript{460} Cf. Tur. \textit{kuvaför} “hairdresser”.

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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.:

\[ \text{məs-şabâh səčə aşqə trə? Cf. Turk. sabah saat kactə gidiyor?} \]
\[ \text{awlədʒi kə-yərtəmu nxwaşšin.}^{461} \text{ Cf. Turk. hasta dúşmek} \]
\[ \text{bowş ḡarraytu zər.}^{462} \text{ Cf. Turk. zorlux çektim} \]
\[ \text{mō nəğır bəəvna. Cf. Turk. birbirini çekemiyorlar; əl-xələdiyye mō yəgərr u əl-əbbəsiyye} \]
\[ \text{ama l-ərəbi zər. Cf. Turk. arapatça zor şərə bowş mənni mənnunin. Cf. Turk. benden çək memnun oldu mətasak əl-naxwaştiyye} \]
\[ \text{qwne mənni yəgilna ətəyyap. Cf. Turk. burda da bize hoş geliyor} \]

The word order for telling percentage is also copied from Turkish, e.g.: əl-miyye xamse “five per cent”, cf. Turk. yüzdə beş, əl-miyye miyye “one hundred per cent”, cf. Turk. yüzdə 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.:

\[ \text{yə fə rəs əl-əyən wayuxta}^{463} \text{ fə rəs mayye wayuxta fə mawəş əf yəfişə əl-ənət} \]
\[ \text{“he sees the girl either at the spring or at any water place or anywhere”} \]
\[ \text{əmmi w xələti w nəswən a'ıməni w fənən kəss awnak akəl, şərəp kə-yəhəyu} \]
\[ \text{“my mother, aunts, the wives of my uncles and this and that used to prepare food and drinks there”} \]
\[ \text{mən lay ysay qanama}^{464} \text{, də-yəmınt əl-wəlet} \]
\[ \text{“the boy will die because of bleeding”} \]

461 Cf. Kur. nexweʃ “ill, sick”.
462 Cf. Turk. zor “hard, difficult”.
463 Cf. Turk. veyahut “Or”.
464 Cf. Turk. kanama “bleeding”.

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**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Turkish Form</th>
<th>Phrase Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>åbe</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>Turk. abi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ağaba</td>
<td>one wonders (second borrowing)</td>
<td>Turk. acaba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ačəx</td>
<td>uncovered, open</td>
<td>Turk. açık</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'affarən</td>
<td>bravo, well done</td>
<td>Turk. aferin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama'amaña</td>
<td>but, yet, still (second borrowing)</td>
<td>Turk. ama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amakli</td>
<td>retired</td>
<td>Turk. emekli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aman</td>
<td>please, for God’s sake</td>
<td>Turk. aman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angax</td>
<td>only, hardly, not until</td>
<td>Turk. ançak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Anqara</td>
<td>Ankara, the capital of Turkey</td>
<td>Turk. Ankara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqsaray</td>
<td>a district in Istanbul</td>
<td>Turk. Aksaray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'araba</td>
<td>car (second borrowing)</td>
<td>Turk. araba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arama</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>Turk. arama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arqadāşin (pl.)</td>
<td>plot of vacant land, building site (in the given context, the word means bazaar or gathering place)</td>
<td>Turk. arkadaş (sg.)</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arşə</td>
<td>plot of vacant land, building site (in the given context, the word means bazaar or gathering place)</td>
<td>Turk. arsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atməš ikki</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Turk. almış iki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atrēk</td>
<td>may be used as a pl. of akčl and means sorts or varieties of food or fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ayax</td>
<td>foot; leg; step; stair</td>
<td>Turk. ayak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ayna</td>
<td>mirror</td>
<td>Turk. ayna</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turk.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'ayni</td>
<td>Türk. 'ayn</td>
<td>the same, identical</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ayrı</td>
<td>Türk. ayrı</td>
<td>separate, different</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>az</td>
<td>Türk. az</td>
<td>little, few</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>baxça</td>
<td>Türk. bahçe</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahlı</td>
<td>Türk. bahis</td>
<td>subject, topic, matter, issue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawa bahs</td>
<td>Türk. bahs etmek</td>
<td>to talk about, mention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqannığı</td>
<td>Türk. bakanlık</td>
<td>ministry</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>banqa</td>
<td>Türk. banka</td>
<td>bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bant</td>
<td>Türk. bant</td>
<td>tape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bardaq</td>
<td>Türk. bardak</td>
<td>glass, cup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâş</td>
<td>Türk. baş</td>
<td>head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâş'a</td>
<td>Türk. başka</td>
<td>other, different</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balki</td>
<td>Türk. belki</td>
<td>perhaps, maybe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ballı</td>
<td>Türk. belli</td>
<td>evident, obvious, known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biber</td>
<td>Türk. biber</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badan</td>
<td>Türk. beden</td>
<td>body (here it means sports)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bida</td>
<td>Türk. bide/birde</td>
<td>in any case, so; also, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balazıt/badazık</td>
<td>Türk. bilezik</td>
<td>bracelet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir</td>
<td>Türk. bir</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birœngi</td>
<td>Türk. birinci</td>
<td>first, number one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir nabze</td>
<td>Türk. bir nebe</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çême</td>
<td>Türk. cam</td>
<td>glass, window</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çêkêt</td>
<td>Türk. ceket</td>
<td>jacket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çâg/çëx/çääx</td>
<td>Türk. çâğ</td>
<td>time, period, era, age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çâlşaçqâne</td>
<td>Türk. çâlâşkan</td>
<td>hard-working</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(f.sg.)</td>
<td>Türk. çâlâşmak</td>
<td>to work, study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çäära</td>
<td>Türk. çare</td>
<td>solution, remedy, care</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>çëye</td>
<td>Türk. çây</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çëyëgi</td>
<td>Türk. çâyçî</td>
<td>keeper of tea house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çëydênët</td>
<td>Türk. çâydanlık</td>
<td>tea-pot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çakk</td>
<td>Türk. çêk</td>
<td>check</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çâñne</td>
<td>Türk. çêsñî</td>
<td>flavour, taste, sample</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çîçêk</td>
<td>Türk. çîçêk</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çîflêk</td>
<td>Türk. çîfiçilik</td>
<td>agriculture, farming, husbandry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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465 In Turkish, /k/ in polysyllabic substantives shifts to /i/ when it is followed by a vowel, e.g.: ekmek “bread” > ekmeği (acc.). In TA Turkish yumuşak, or soft, /i/ is pronounced as /i/ (see 2.1.18).
čuqqulläta    Turk. čikolata  chocolate
čünkulečünkikčän
ki    Turk. čünkü  because
čərək    Turk. čürrük  bad, rotten
čərge (f.sg.)    Turk. čürrük  bad, rotten
d    daha    Turk. daha  still
    čanmačis    Turk. domates  tomato
    đamlə    Turk. damla  drop, drops
damək    Turk. demek  that is to say (that)
danış    Turk. deniz  sea
darnaq    Turk. dernek  association, club, society
darwış    Turk. derviş  dervish
dawämli    Turk. devamlı  continuous, uninterrupted
diyaban    Turk. diyabet  diabetic
doqsan    Turk. doksan  ninety
döqaz    Turk. dokuz  nine
dost    Turk. dost  friend, comrade
doştın (pl.)    Turk. dost  friendship
doştanətiyye    Turk. dost  friendship
doqtor    Turk. doktor  doctor
toctoriyya    Turk. doktora  doctorate, doctoral degree
dört    Turk. dört  four
dürüm  (1.c.sg.)    Turk. durum  situation
düt    Turk. dut  mulberry
düüs    Turk. düz  smooth, even, flat
e    afandi    Turk. efendi  gentleman
  ĉatrık    Turk. elektrik  electricity
  an    Turk. en  (superlative particle)
  şarpät    Turk. eşarp  scarf, head scarf
f    fabriqa    Turk. fabrika  factory
  fəlän    Turk. falan  so and so, and such (second borrowing)
farmän/ fär-
mänät    Turk. ferman  firman, imperial edict
fəʃəaq    Turk. fıstık  pistachio
g    galənnə    Turk. gelinlik  wedding dress
ganğin    Turk. genç  young
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word (Original)</th>
<th>Word (Turkish)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garçi</td>
<td>Turk. gerçi</td>
<td>though, although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gäri</td>
<td>Turk. geri</td>
<td>back, backward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorât</td>
<td>Turk. göre</td>
<td>according to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwanmiš</td>
<td>Turk. güven</td>
<td>trust, confidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>guye</td>
<td>Turk. güya</td>
<td>as though, as if</td>
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<tr>
<td>haftiyye</td>
<td>Turk. hafta</td>
<td>week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haqq</td>
<td>Turk. hakkında</td>
<td>about, regarding (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha‘lli/ ḥaqli</td>
<td>Turk. hakli</td>
<td>right (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥalbuki</td>
<td>Turk. halbuki</td>
<td>whereas, however, nevertheless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hänöm /xênöm</td>
<td>Turk. hanım</td>
<td>woman, lady, Miss, Mrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>Turk. hasta</td>
<td>sick, ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qastaxāna</td>
<td>Turk. hastane</td>
<td>hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xeśliyye (f.sg.)</td>
<td>Turk. havlu</td>
<td>towel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xeveli (pl.)</td>
<td>Turk. havlu</td>
<td>towel</td>
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<tr>
<td>hazretlari</td>
<td>Turk. hazret</td>
<td>title given to a venerated person (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>hamme</td>
<td>Turk. hem</td>
<td>also, as well</td>
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<tr>
<td>haman</td>
<td>Turk. hemen</td>
<td>right now, at once; almost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiç</td>
<td>Turk. hiç</td>
<td>nothing, none whatsoever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xōš bēš</td>
<td>Turk. hoş beş</td>
<td>pleasant, charming; exchanging greetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥəzûr</td>
<td>Turk. huzur</td>
<td>presence, attendance (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥəzûrak (m.sg.)</td>
<td>Turk. huzur</td>
<td>your presence (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>hərmatkār i</td>
<td>Turk. hürmet</td>
<td>respectful (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>içki</td>
<td>Turk. içki</td>
<td>liquor, drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṭaṛın (pl.)</td>
<td>Turk. ihtiyar</td>
<td>old person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imānsızız</td>
<td>Turk. imansız</td>
<td>unbeliever (second borrowing, cf. imān)</td>
</tr>
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<td>ināniyye</td>
<td>Turk. inan</td>
<td>belief, trust</td>
</tr>
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<td>ipak</td>
<td>Turk. ipek</td>
<td>silk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iswẽc</td>
<td>Turk. İsveç</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išçi</td>
<td>Turk. işçi</td>
<td>worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išlatma</td>
<td>Turk. işletme</td>
<td>administration, management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ošta</td>
<td>Turk. iste</td>
<td>look, thus, like that, now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ožon</td>
<td>Turk. izin</td>
<td>permission (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qačag</td>
<td>Turk. kaçak</td>
<td>deserer, smuggled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qačaxčatiyye</td>
<td>Turk. kaçakçılık</td>
<td>smuggling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>qahwaltə</td>
<td>Turk. kahvaltı</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
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<td>kalite</td>
<td>Turk. kalite</td>
<td>quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qapali</td>
<td>Turk. kapalı</td>
<td>covered, closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qara</td>
<td>Turk. kara</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaraqöl</td>
<td>Turk. karaköl</td>
<td>police station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kardaşım</td>
<td>Turk. kardeş</td>
<td>brother, sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.c.sg.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yqârëša</td>
<td>Turk. karişmak</td>
<td>to oppose, go against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qârši</td>
<td>Turk. kâršî</td>
<td>opposite, contrary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qrâl</td>
<td>Turk. kral</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaza</td>
<td>Turk. kaza</td>
<td>accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qazzat</td>
<td>Turk. kazanmak</td>
<td>administrative district, county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamar</td>
<td>Turk. kemâr</td>
<td>belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(əflän) kass</td>
<td></td>
<td>someone, anyone; herkes “each and everyone, all”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qīma/qîma</td>
<td>Turk. kıymâ</td>
<td>minced meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qūla</td>
<td>Turk. kola</td>
<td>cola, Coca Cola</td>
</tr>
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<td>qūmadi</td>
<td>Turk. komedi</td>
<td>comedy</td>
</tr>
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<td>qamp</td>
<td>Turk. kamp</td>
<td>camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qanama</td>
<td>Turk. kanâma</td>
<td>bleeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qâ′sîyyan</td>
<td>Turk. kâtiyen</td>
<td>absolutely (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
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<td>kibâr</td>
<td>Turk. kibar</td>
<td>noble, rich, grandees (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilo/ kilowayn</td>
<td>Turk. kîlo</td>
<td>kilo</td>
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<td>(dua.)</td>
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<td>kimligi</td>
<td>Turk. kimlik</td>
<td>Identification (card)</td>
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<td>kâre</td>
<td>Turk. kira</td>
<td>rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qozqûğa</td>
<td>Turk. koskoca</td>
<td>very big</td>
</tr>
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<td>qoparatif</td>
<td>Turk. kooparatif</td>
<td>cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qordon</td>
<td>Turk. kordon</td>
<td>cord, watch chain, cordon</td>
</tr>
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<td>qorişât</td>
<td>Turk. korniş</td>
<td>cornice</td>
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<td>quwwaratan</td>
<td>Turk. kovan</td>
<td>beehive</td>
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<td>kufta</td>
<td>Turk. köfte</td>
<td>meat balls</td>
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<td>kömür</td>
<td>Turk. kömûr</td>
<td>coal, charcoal</td>
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<tr>
<td>köti</td>
<td>Turk. kötü</td>
<td>bad, evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūti</td>
<td>Turk. kötü</td>
<td>bad, evil</td>
</tr>
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<td>kâral</td>
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<td>king</td>
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<td>qâris</td>
<td>Turk. kriz</td>
<td>crisis</td>
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<td>qūş</td>
<td>Turk. kuş</td>
<td>bird</td>
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<tr>
<td>qūšbâşi</td>
<td>Turk. kuşbâşi</td>
<td>(meat) in small pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk.</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Tur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>kusur</td>
<td>fault, defect</td>
<td>kuaför</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuşhane</td>
<td>small saucepan</td>
<td>leke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekeli</td>
<td>spotted, stained</td>
<td>lekeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokanta</td>
<td>restaurant</td>
<td>lokum</td>
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<tr>
<td>madem</td>
<td>since, while (second borrowing)</td>
<td>mademki</td>
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<td>adventure</td>
<td>mektep</td>
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<td>manifatura</td>
<td>textiles, cloth</td>
<td>manto</td>
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<td>(süper)mar-</td>
<td>(super)market</td>
<td>masa</td>
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<td>mazot</td>
<td>diesel oil, fuel oil</td>
<td>memleket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memur</td>
<td>official, employee (second borrow-</td>
<td>merak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesela</td>
<td>for example, for instance (second borrowing)</td>
<td>metre</td>
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<tr>
<td>mesele</td>
<td>problem, matter (second borrowing)</td>
<td>mayva</td>
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<tr>
<td>millet</td>
<td>nation, people, community</td>
<td>milkyar</td>
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<td>milyon (sg.)</td>
<td>millions</td>
<td>minibüs</td>
</tr>
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<td>misafir</td>
<td>guests (second borrowing)</td>
<td>misafir ol-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mak</strong></td>
<td>rowing</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mhallab</strong></td>
<td>sweet pudding made with milk and rice flour</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>muhasaba</strong></td>
<td>accounting (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>muṭlaqa</strong></td>
<td>absolutely (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ṃṭfa’</strong></td>
<td>kitchen</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mudāfa’a</strong></td>
<td>defence (second borrowing)</td>
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<td><strong>mūdir</strong></td>
<td>director (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mūlayim</strong></td>
<td>reasonable, suitable</td>
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<td><strong>musāade</strong></td>
<td>permission, permit (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>musbat</strong></td>
<td>proved, demonstrated (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>n</strong></td>
<td>what</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ne</strong></td>
<td>shameless, dishonest</td>
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<td><strong>namūsuz</strong></td>
<td>nylon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nāylo</strong></td>
<td>before long, pretty soon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nardaysa</strong></td>
<td>anyway, anyhow</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>naysa</strong></td>
<td>sign, mark; engagement (second borrowing)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>nīśāān</strong></td>
<td>to become engaged</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>t̩̣tnayšan</strong></td>
<td>(3.f.sg.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>o</strong></td>
<td>it will be</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>olaçaq</strong></td>
<td>reading</td>
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<td><strong>uquma</strong></td>
<td>middle</td>
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<td><strong>orṭa</strong></td>
<td>surroundings, milieu</td>
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<td><strong>orṭam</strong></td>
<td>partner</td>
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<td><strong>ortaq</strong></td>
<td>hotel</td>
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<td><strong>otēl</strong></td>
<td>bus</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>otobōs</strong></td>
<td>his measure</td>
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<td><strong>ö</strong></td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ölciyuu</strong></td>
<td>sample, example</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>öratmani</strong></td>
<td>special</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>özal</strong></td>
<td>package (here: packet of cigarettes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p</strong></td>
<td>trousers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>părăt (pl.)</td>
<td>Turk. <em>para</em></td>
<td>money</td>
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<td>parça</td>
<td>Turk. <em>parça</em></td>
<td>a piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parkinson</td>
<td>Turk. <em>parkinson</em></td>
<td>Parkinson’s disease</td>
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<td>păzăr</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pazar</em></td>
<td>market</td>
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<td>bayzörna</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pazarlık</em></td>
<td>to bargain</td>
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<td>paki</td>
<td>Turk. <em>peki</em></td>
<td>all right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamba</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pembe</em></td>
<td>pink</td>
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<td>panğara/panağ</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pencere</em></td>
<td>window</td>
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<tr>
<td>parda</td>
<td>Turk. <em>perde</em></td>
<td>curtain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parda pilaf</td>
<td>Turk. <em>perde</em> and Turk. <em>pilav</em></td>
<td>a dish made of rice and chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paşta</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pasta</em></td>
<td>cake, pastry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paţăto/paţaţa</td>
<td>Turk. <em>patates</em></td>
<td>potato</td>
</tr>
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<td>patrol</td>
<td>Turk. <em>petrol</em></td>
<td>petroleum, oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bastiq</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pestil</em></td>
<td>fruit pulp dried in thin layers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peşin</td>
<td>Turk. <em>peşin</em></td>
<td>paid in advance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilaf</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pilav</em></td>
<td>rice (cooked and ready to be eaten)</td>
</tr>
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<td>piyâsa</td>
<td>Turk. <em>piyasa</em></td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
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<td>prafasör</td>
<td>Turk. <em>profesör</em></td>
<td>professor</td>
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<td>pûl biber</td>
<td>Turk. <em>pul biber</em></td>
<td>cayenne pepper</td>
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<td>rank</td>
<td>Turk. <em>renk</em></td>
<td>colour</td>
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<td>mrannăk</td>
<td>Turk. <em>renk</em></td>
<td>coloured</td>
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<td>römân</td>
<td>Turk. <em>roman</em></td>
<td>a novel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruxşati</td>
<td>Turk. <em>ruhsat</em></td>
<td>my licence, permission (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Turk. <em>soba</em></td>
<td>stove, hothouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şadege</td>
<td>Turk. <em>sadece</em></td>
<td>merely, simply, only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şâg</td>
<td>Turk. <em>sağ</em></td>
<td>alive, safe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şâğlam</td>
<td>Turk. <em>sağlam</em></td>
<td>wholesome, sure, honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxta</td>
<td>Turk. <em>sahte</em></td>
<td>false, fake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltča</td>
<td>Turk. <em>salça</em></td>
<td>tomato paste; tomato sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şălăn̄</td>
<td>Turk. <em>salon</em></td>
<td>hall, salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şamîmi</td>
<td>Turk. <em>samimî</em></td>
<td>hearty, sincere (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şamîmiyye</td>
<td>Turk. <em>samimiyet</em></td>
<td>sincerity, heartiness (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanki</td>
<td>Turk. <em>sanki</em></td>
<td>as if, as though, supposing that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysabb̄t</td>
<td>Turk. <em>tespit etmek</em></td>
<td>to hold fast to one’s purpose (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sehpa</td>
<td>three-legged stool or table, coffee table</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serbest</td>
<td>free, unrestricted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sermaye</td>
<td>capital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siki</td>
<td>problem, hardship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigara</td>
<td>cigarette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigorta</td>
<td>fuse; insurance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site</td>
<td>housing development, housing estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofra</td>
<td>table with a meal on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofra</td>
<td>tables with meal on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohbet</td>
<td>getting together, spending time together (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>end</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonra</td>
<td>later</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spor</td>
<td>sports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulu</td>
<td>water(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sans</td>
<td>luck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seker</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sey</td>
<td>thing (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sise</td>
<td>bottle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabii</td>
<td>of course, certainly (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabii + ki</td>
<td>naturally + that (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taksi</td>
<td>taxi, cab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taksit</td>
<td>instalment, payment plan (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam</td>
<td>complete, perfect (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamam</td>
<td>true, correct (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tansiyon</td>
<td>blood pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarim</td>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatli</td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyp</td>
<td>his tape-recorder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepsi</td>
<td>tray (large, shallow, open), baking tin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tütün</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terbiye</td>
<td>(without) good manners (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telefon</td>
<td>telephone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teneffüs</td>
<td>rest, respiration (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teneke</td>
<td>(2) tin plate(s), can</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akıtnoğät</td>
<td>theatre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiyatro</td>
<td>Turk. tiyatro</td>
<td>theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torbay/torbaye</td>
<td>Turk. torba</td>
<td>bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trafik</td>
<td>Turk. trafik</td>
<td>traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transît</td>
<td>Turk. transit</td>
<td>transit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trullyönat</td>
<td>Turk. trilyon</td>
<td>a million million, trillion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulumba</td>
<td>Turk. tulumba</td>
<td>a sort of sweets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wêli</td>
<td>Turk. vali</td>
<td>governor of a province (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergi</td>
<td>Turk. vergi</td>
<td>tax, duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waya</td>
<td>Turk. veya</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayuxta</td>
<td>Turk. veyahut</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zahme</td>
<td>Turk. zahmet</td>
<td>difficulty, trouble (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zat</td>
<td>Turk. zat</td>
<td>personality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zatan</td>
<td>Turk. zaten</td>
<td>in any case, as a matter of fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zangiatan / zanêgin</td>
<td>Turk. zengin</td>
<td>rich, wealthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azgan</td>
<td>Turk. zengin</td>
<td>richer, wealthier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zangênên</td>
<td>Turk. zengin</td>
<td>he made them rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zangîr</td>
<td>Turk. zincir</td>
<td>chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zirâca</td>
<td>Turk. ziraat</td>
<td>agriculture, cultivation (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamên</td>
<td>Turk. zaman</td>
<td>time, epoch (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zôr</td>
<td>Turk. zor</td>
<td>hard, difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zawrat</td>
<td>Turk. zor</td>
<td>she emphasized, make things hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzawwar</td>
<td>Turk. zor</td>
<td>she emphasizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâä!</td>
<td>Turk. ye</td>
<td>eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâbângiyye (pl.)</td>
<td>Turk. yabancî</td>
<td>stranger, foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâx/yâğ</td>
<td>Turk. yağ</td>
<td>oil, fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâhu</td>
<td>Turk. yahu</td>
<td>see here! O God!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoxta</td>
<td>Turk. yahut</td>
<td>otherwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaqgâq</td>
<td>Turk. yakacak</td>
<td>fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalnış</td>
<td>Turk. yalnız</td>
<td>but, only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaprax</td>
<td>Turk. yaprak</td>
<td>leaf, grape leaf, vine leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yârdêm</td>
<td>Turk. yardım</td>
<td>help, aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarêm</td>
<td>Turk. yarım</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasâq</td>
<td>Turk. yasak</td>
<td>forbidden, prohibited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâtışmîş</td>
<td>Turk. yetişmiş</td>
<td>grown-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâzma</td>
<td>Turk. yazma</td>
<td>writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yazmay</td>
<td>Türk. yazma</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaqan</td>
<td>Türk. yakın</td>
<td>close, near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaqqa</td>
<td>Türk. yaka</td>
<td>collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawo</td>
<td>Türk. yawo</td>
<td>see here! O God!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalage</td>
<td>Türk. yelek</td>
<td>waistcoat, vest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamak</td>
<td>Türk. yemek</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yatmiš</td>
<td>Türk. yetmiş</td>
<td>seventy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoqalmiš</td>
<td>Türk. yikilmak</td>
<td>to collapse, fall down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoğurt</td>
<td>Türk. yoğurt</td>
<td>yoghurt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: doştanṭiyye “friendship”, cf. Türk. dostane; sonysta and sonuntinga “at the end, (lit. at its (f.sg.) end”, cf. Türk. sonunda; mrannak and mrannêk “coloured”, cf. Türk. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bir nabze</td>
<td>Türk. bir nebeze</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qurs ʿaratmani</td>
<td>Türk. kurs öğretmen</td>
<td>Koran course teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olağaq šay mı?</td>
<td>Türk. olacak şey mi</td>
<td>can this be possible?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hic olmasa</td>
<td>Türk. hiç olmasa</td>
<td>at least, in any case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fustaq fabriqasi</td>
<td>Türk. fistik fabrikası</td>
<td>pistachio factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilo matra</td>
<td>Türk. kilometre</td>
<td>kilometre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona göre</td>
<td>Türk. ona göre</td>
<td>according to that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lise müdüri</td>
<td>Türk. lise müdürü</td>
<td>high school director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilمام nay</td>
<td>Türk. bilmem ne</td>
<td>(and) what do I know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne bilim</td>
<td>Türk. ne bileym</td>
<td>what do I know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išlatma muhäsabası</td>
<td>Türk. işletme mühasebesi</td>
<td>administrative bookkeeping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

466 Cf. Türk. 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.
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. 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.

\[\text{§ag "ol} \quad \text{Turk. sa"g ol} \quad \text{thank you, thanks}\]
\[\text{qoparatif muh"asabasi} \quad \text{Turk. koopratif muhasebesi} \quad \text{cooperative bookkeeping}\]
\[\text{ondan sonra}^{467} \quad \text{Turk. ondan sonra} \quad \text{after that}\]
\[\text{muh"asaba qursi} \quad \text{Turk. muhasebe krusu} \quad \text{bookkeeping course}\]
\[\text{h\={a} "ade, h\={a} ba\=cd "ade,} \quad \text{Turk. ha bug\={i}n ha yarin} \quad \text{we stayed in Istanbul}\]
\[\text{arb\={i}n yawm b\={a}q\={i}na f\=o-} \quad \text{40 days without work} \quad \text{(saying) today (or)}\]
\[\text{\=Stamb\=ul e\={k}e bala "ag\={o}} \quad \text{tomorrow}\]
\[\text{adapsz\={i}n (pl.)} \quad \text{Turk. adapsiz} \quad \text{the ones without manner}\]
\[\text{'ayni zam\={a}n-da} \quad \text{Turk. ayn\={i} zamanda} \quad \text{at the same time}\]
\[\text{'ayni "ak\={s}e\={k}l-da} \quad \text{Turk. ayn\={i} "ekilde} \quad \text{in the same way}\]

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, \(p, v, \ddot{c}\) and \(g\), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pøsmâm} & \quad \text{“cousin, son of one’s father’s brother”} < \text{Kur. pismam} \\
\text{nåviyyøt (in const.)} & \quad \text{“grandchild”} < \text{Kur. navî} \\
\text{çëriyyø} & \quad \text{“headscarf”} < \text{Kur. çarîk} \\
\text{gërin} & \quad \text{“stroll, move around”} < \text{Kur. gerîn}
\end{align*}
\]

\(/\ddot{g}/ > /\dddot{z}/

\(/\ddot{g}/\) shifts in some examples to \(/\dddot{z}/\), e.g.: \(\text{mažbûriyyø “necessity”, cf. OA mağbûr; tāzmêd “it (f.sg.) becomes frozen”, cf. OA ġamada; aždêdna “our forefathers”, cf. OA ağdâd; ūnaye “garden”; kâ-zawwâžna “we had got married”; yâžğolû “they work”}\). Although the shift of \(/\ddot{g}/\) to \(/\dddot{z}/\) 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 \(/\dddot{z}/\) is more common than \(/\ddot{g}/\) (see 2.1.13).

5.2.2. On morphology

5.2.2.1. Conjunctions

\(\ddot{c}xwa < ji + xwe\)\(^{469}\) (as it is in Kurdish) “then, though, simply, obviously”

\(\ddot{c}xwa mû ÿəřûwa\)\(^{470}\)

“they obviously don’t know it (f.)”

\(\text{yadaba “or”}\)

\(\text{daqûm arû la-l-qâdi, yadaba l-mahkame}\)

“I will go (either) to the judge or to the court”

\(\text{hêş “so far, still, yet”}\)

\(\text{hêş}^{471}\) \(\text{Tållo laxwa iyî ʻayni Tållo ham}\)

\(^{469}\) Cf. Kur. \(ji + xwe “naturally”; see Chyet 2003, 289.\)

\(^{470}\) Note here the elision of \(/j/\).

\(^{471}\) Cf. Kur. \(hêj “so far, yet, still, more”\).
“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.: naʾmük “small, little”, cf. OA naʾima “to make small, pulverize”.

5.2.2.3. Adverbs

$hēdī hēdī$ “slowly, gently”

$hammâltu:wən ʿal-faras u hēdī qəmtu rəḥtu karm$

“I loaded them on the horse and very slowly I rode to the vineyard”

$laxwa,472$ naʾxwa and $nəxwe$ “otherwise”

$xalf ʿoğbayznə kəğ-ɡīna Ştantūl, laxwa473 Təllo ıyətəp mən əŞtantūl šē-na nəhne$

“we came to Istanbul searching for a better living (lit. our bread), otherwise Tillo is, for us, better than Istanbul”; $bəyt əwle nrō, naʾxwa bəyt ġərbe hīc mō nrō$ “we visit these families, otherwise we never visit strangers”; $fi Təllo əṭabi kənu aḥsan, nəxwe$ “they were better in Till, indeed”

5.2.2.4. Interjections

$λ̄be$ “yes, give me your order!”

$wəḥat ẓalaṃe yaṭtš Nasrəttūn Xōğa, yəṭllu: Nasrəttūn Xōğa! yəṭllu: λ̄be474!$

“a man sees Nasrəttūn Xōğa, he calls upon him: Nasrəttūn Xōğa! (Nasrəttūn Xōğa 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.: $bowš ɢarraytu zōr$ “I suffered a lot”, cf. Kur. $miŋ pıɾ kışand$ “I went through (lit. pulled) difficulties”. The Arabic verb $rətama$ “to fall” is a literal

472 Cf. Kur. $nexwe$ “indeed, in this case”.
473 Cf. Kur. $nexwe$ “indeed, in this case”.
474 Cf. Kur. $labe$ “yes, give me your order” Cf. also OA $labbayka$. 

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translation of the Kurdish verb ketin “to fall” and it is used in translated idioms such as: awladi kā-yartamu nuxwašin\textsuperscript{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: ṣenn kā-k.TXT-yartamaw ʿalayu (the idea) mā kā-ysir āk ṣē cinco “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-farki, āk āè-čāāx kantu mərmî ḳalayu “at that time I was keen on my idea” and he ends: mō yartmaw ḳalayu “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.

\begin{verbatim}
\textbf{b}
\begin{tabular}{llp{0.6cm}}
\textit{baḥs} & Kur. \textit{behs} & subject, topic, matter, issue (< Turk. bahis) \\
\textit{bale} & Kur. \textit{belê} & yes \\
\textit{bale} & Kur. \textit{belê} & but \\
\textit{barēn} & Kur. \textit{beran} & ram, male sheep \\
pəskwît & Kur. \textit{biskîwit} & biscuit \\
pɔsmmām & Kur. \textit{pismam} & cousin, son of one’s father’s brother \\
\textit{bowʃ} & Kur. \textit{boʃ} & plentiful, abundant \\
\textit{c}
\textit{gəlbe} & Kur. \textit{celeb} & grade, sort \\
ger & Kur. \textit{čax} & when, at what time \\
čēriyye (f.sg.) & Kur. \textit{čarik} & headscarf \\
čēriyyat awne (const.) & Kur. \textit{čarik} & local headscarf
\end{tabular}
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{475} Cf. Kur. \textit{nexweʃ} “ill, sick”.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Kur.</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čowēri (pl.)</td>
<td>čarik</td>
<td>headscarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čowxa</td>
<td>ji + xwe</td>
<td>then, though, simply, obviously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yčëkkwuewn</td>
<td>ĉek</td>
<td>to put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dereng</td>
<td>late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalēlin (pl.)</td>
<td>delal (sg.)</td>
<td>dear, lovable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>faiz</td>
<td>interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hay</td>
<td>knowledge, care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayya</td>
<td>heyâ</td>
<td>till, until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haftiyye</td>
<td>hefte</td>
<td>week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yothaddaw</td>
<td>hēdi</td>
<td>to calm down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēdi hēdi</td>
<td>hēj</td>
<td>slowly, gently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēš</td>
<td>hēn</td>
<td>yet, so far, still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōnēk/ huwnēk</td>
<td>hēnik/honik</td>
<td>cool, cooler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gerin</td>
<td>stroll, move around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorât (const.)</td>
<td>gor</td>
<td>according to, relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>jar</td>
<td>poor, weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kirîv</td>
<td>godfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kötek</td>
<td>kotek</td>
<td>beating, by force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>labê</td>
<td>yes, give me your order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nevi</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxwa</td>
<td>nexwe</td>
<td>indeed; otherwise; in this case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxwa and naxwa</td>
<td>nexwe</td>
<td>indeed; otherwise; in this case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuxwaš (m.sg.)</td>
<td>nexweš</td>
<td>ill, sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuxwaššiyye</td>
<td>nexweš</td>
<td>sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>petêx</td>
<td>melon (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perpārōkēt (pl.)</td>
<td>Perperok (sg.)</td>
<td>moth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qehweyî</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalīyye/ qaliyye</td>
<td>qelī</td>
<td>preserved fried meat (second borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qasp</td>
<td>qesp</td>
<td>date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kur.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qutik</td>
<td>shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawar</td>
<td>boiled and pounded wheat, or its dish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siwar</td>
<td>horseman, mounted, riding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol</td>
<td>shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škeft</td>
<td>cave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telîs</td>
<td>sack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirî</td>
<td>type of food consisting of patties stuffed with ground meat and minced onions, in a sour sauce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tas</td>
<td>metal bowl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tixtor</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanim</td>
<td>woman, lady, Miss, Mrs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xewlî</td>
<td>towel, veil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xosav</td>
<td>stewed fruit, in Tillo a dessert made of apricot, raisin and fruit juice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwarzê</td>
<td>nephew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yerî (sg.)</td>
<td>joke, play, friendship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zehmet</td>
<td>difficulty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zelam</td>
<td>man (second borrowing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zengarî</td>
<td>here: to make brown, fry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zîn</td>
<td>saddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zozan (sg.)</td>
<td>high plateau, mountain pasture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.: äk “that (3.m.sg.)”, cf. MA hāk; ääva “this”, cf. OA hāđa; 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 ēnne “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 /ā/ in the last syllable of some words shifts in some cases to /e/, in verbs, and to /ē/ in nouns, e.g.: *āgef* “he took”, cf. OA *axaḡa*; *ḡabel* “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.

tafsīm: An emphatic consonant, or a /x/, /ʔ/, /q/, /h…/ in a word, normally affects the pronunciation of the other consonants and vowels in the vicinity, e.g.: *ramād* “ashes”, cf. *ramād*; *šēbāt* “thief”; *šabār* “patience”, cf. OA *šabr*. Also the back vowels (a, u, ā, ū and ą) may influence the quality of the consonants in their vicinity, e.g.: *aṁa* “but, yet, still”, cf. Turk. *ama*; *walla* ”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 /ʕ/ only in the root *qw*l while in women’s speech /q/ shifts to /ʕ/ consistently, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fī haqq Tello əšš ṭūlī?</em></td>
<td><em>fī haʔ Tello əšš aʔul?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“what do you (f.sg.) say concerning Tillo?”</td>
<td>“what do I say concerning Tillo?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əs-saḥ yəqrāw?</td>
<td>əs-saḥ yərāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“are they studying now?”</td>
<td>“they are studying now”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Mhallamiye. E.g.: *fart wə̄ḥde mə̄n aw mō kəla* “I don’t eat a single one of these”; *uwf fart ćašne nə̄hne múlədna* “our múləd 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 wə̄ḥde* “a kingdom”; *mə̄qdə̄rən wə̄ḥət* “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 yə̄srə̄p mə̄nən mə̄yy yə̄ tə̄-yə̄mūt yə̄ tə̄-yə̄ğən* “(this) who drinks water from it (f.sg.) he will either die or he will get crazy” and *u fi Erdamlı m iyy lay Mersin* “and there is Erdamli, which belongs to Mersin”.

Men and women: The use of the preposition *l* varies depending on whether the speaker is a man or a woman. Men use only *l* while women use both *l* and *lə̄hi*, e.g.:

- *l* (men and women)
- *lə̄hi* (women)

- *l ʒə̄ɡəl layk* “I have work for you (m.sg.)”
- *l kərm* “I have a vineyard”
- *lə̄hi ə̄jmə̄nəye* “I have 8 (grandchildren)”
- *lə̄hi bənt fi Urfa* “I have one daughter in Urfa”

Nevertheless irregularities are attested, e.g.: *mayy m-ə̄l-lə̄hi* “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.: *wa llə̄ mə̄š xə̄srə̄k kəl-nə̄sə̄mə̄tu ħəssu* “by God, I (have) turned it (the radio) down for your sake”; *ə̄nn kə̄-nə̄hə̄ne rə̄hə̄na ku-ntəmmə̄t el-məsə̄le* “if we had also died (lit. gone) the matter is obviously, then, finished”; *kə̄n yə̄zə̄mmu malla Mu-ḥə̄t ə̄s-Suhrə̄n* “they used to call him mullah Muḥə̄t ə̄s-Suhrə̄n”; *al-μə̄ṭə̄hrə̄n ə̄nn kə̄kə̄-yəmmə̄ mə̄k el-pə̄rə̄t el-ləmm Tə̄llo azə̄zə̄n mə̄nən mə̄mlə̄kə mə̄ kə̄-fı̄ “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”;
\[ku-\]
\[yāqṭam\] \[‘anāp\] \[māl-\]\[gārze\] “he is picking grapes from the plant”.

Imperative: A particle \[ma\] often precedes the imperative to strengthen it, e.g.:
\[ma\] \[‘olna\] \[nāhne\] \[dā-\]\[nṣrāf\] “tell us so we will know!”;
\[‘xti\] \[ma\] \[tā’ay\] \[qwne\] \[‘xti\]! “sister, come here!”;
\[‘ann\] \[kā-fi\] \[ḥakkoy\] \[sī\] \[ēke\] \[ma\] \[ḥkiya\]! “if there is a tale, relate it then!”.

Copula: The copula in TA precedes its predicate, e.g.:
\[aṣlkan\] \[uww\] \[balli\] “your origin is clear”;
\[‘al-bānt\] \[iyy\] \[māālna\] “the girl is ours”; \[bāntayn\] \[‘anne\] \[mzawgīn\] “two daughters are married”;
\[‘ḥyūt\] \[ṣṭānbūl\] \[‘anne\] \[atyp\] “Istanbul houses are nicer”.

Word order: In TA, SV word order is more frequent than VS, e.g.:
\[‘al-awlēt\] \[yāmālu\] \[qwne\] “the boys are working here”; \[awlēdna\] \[kā-\]\[yrōḥu\] \[l-maktep\] “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:
\[yāṭlāh\] \[qāršiyu\] \[żalamāt\] \[lāxx\] “another man comes in his way”;
\[huṭaw\] \[hānne\] \[baqa\] \[yāmālu\]; “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.:
\[‘anāp\] “grape(s)”, cf. OA \[‘ināb\]. Devoicing appears also in contact position before voiceless phonemes, e.g.:
\[dāps\] “syrup”, cf. OA \[dibs\]; \[ḥaps\] “jail”, cf. OA \[ḥabs\]; \[ḥarrāpt\] “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”; \[an\] \[atyp\] “the most delicious”.

Telling the time: In telling the time, Turkish rules are used, e.g.:
\[sā‘a\] \[fnaḥš\] \[tā’bar\] \[xamse\] “it is five past twelve”; \[sā‘a\] \[wḥde\] \[la\] \[xamse\] “it is five to one”. The verb \[‘abar\] “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.: učunğu “third”; dördunğu “fourth”; beşinği “fifth” etc. Beside the Turkish ordinals, the Arabs of Tillo use two other, though very rare, forms: (1) wēhət l-ărba’a “fourth”; wēhət ət-tas’a “ninth”. (2) wēhət ba’at l-ărba’a “fourth”; wēhət ba’at ət-tas’a “ninth”.

Turkish conjunctions and particles: aḫu ʿāl: yawo madamki kəs-sawa al-yarbe ... “his brother said: since he did this to you...”; anğax mən ʿaraqak təqt tsayy ši “only by hard work (lit. your sweat) can you accomplish something”; sanki mə kānət ləna, kānət lal-ğərp “as if it wasn’t ours, it was for the guests (lit. strangers)”.

Kurdish conjunctions: şaxwa mō yərafuwa “they obviously don’t know it (f.sg.)”; hēş Tello laxwa iyy ʿayni Tello ham “Tillo is still the same Tillo”.

6.6. The lexicon


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Appendix

This appendix contains 7 sample texts, their translation and a glossary.

Text 1
Male informant, 24-year-old.

1. ‘ammu yəḥkaw baḥs āāv ət-tattūn ḥakkoyṭən wəḥde. yawm fi əstēt lu kam faqah. ak-karra āāv əl-stēt am⁴⁷⁶ yəṣrap tattūn xaff⁴⁷⁷ tattūn. yəṣrap žəgāra, žgāra, žgāra.


3. ɣəllü: xayr uwwe. ɣəllü: stēdi, mbērhə araytu fə-nawmi l-qiyāme kəl-qəmät. Ɂalla Ɂəlləhu kəə-fə-Ɂam̄ar. e, ɣəllü. dawwəm!


⁴⁷⁶ Cf. ham “also”.
⁴⁷⁷ Cf. xəlf “after, behind”.
⁴⁷⁸ Cf. fi + yu.
7. e dîn qwnak ӕt-țalaba yûl: ӕstêdi, nəne qəmna sayna hêke šî tə-tətərəku qəmt ḥaraqtu kart ləxəlle.

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 mahgär “sacred place”.

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Male informant, 33-year-old.

1. wēḥēt zalamē yawm, ʾōh yawmān wēḥde da-yēṯlāh mān baytu dā-yēro mamlakat lōxx. uww šuwārī, šuwārī, rēkār ʾal-faras.


3. f-ʿd-darp, čāāx la-yērōḥu āf la-uww, lay-baʿēt ġā, lay-mōw šuwārī, lay-mā māʾu faras, ʾyēlā: kōmā šaḥār ʿalla taʿāla aṣqa uww ṯawīl?


6. w al-ḥāsīlī yērōḥu, yērōḥu, yērōḥu. baʿēt ʾyēlā: kōmā da-ʿēlāk šī, āk farasḵē ēke yēbayyān farasḵ ēkwayyān, mant, ēke atīq aḡarrūbū? aṭallāʾ așam uww ha-l-faras. rahwān uww ʾemma khāāl uww ašn uww. ʾyūl: atīq aḡarrūbū, ēke arḵēb ʿalayū?.


8. w-al-ḥāsīlī āʾf ʾṣ-zalamē baqa yērō xalfu ḥazīn. farasḵ rā mān idu. rā ṣw., rā, ṭā, ṭā ṣwāyye. ʾṭallāʾ ḥā! kanī l-扎拉 mute ku-kārtāma mān ʿal-faras.


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480 Cf. Kur. siwar “horseman, mounted, riding”.
481 A word used locally, meaning “direction, way”.
482 Cf. da-āḡī “I will come”.
483 A word used locally and having the same meaning as Turk. yahu “See here! O God!”.
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. mšān ayṣ “why”.

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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 amblcr 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 little, 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. **fat-Turkya** fi wēhēt uww maṣhūr, ṭabi mān qabāl kēl-ayš ysammu Nasrätīn Xōgā. āāf Nasrätīn Xōgā lōhu ʾāhmār. uww eke ʾāhmār āṃbāhēlā, mḥarēbēn wēhēt.


5. ʿnt, ʿnt qozqōgā 488, imām ḍal-māh... ḍal-mamlake kēlla ḍal-walēt ḍal-ā-hāmār w ʿnta trō bēl-maṣhu! olaqāq šay mā. 489 nēhē nōstēhī mān

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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?”.
röhna. Nasrattín Xöğa əyqım əyrəkap uwwe ham ʻal-lə-հmär maḥ əxwarzẽtu.


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 Nassett 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)?


490 Cf. maʻāda əlla “God forbid!”.
491 Cf. Turk. imənsız “someone who has no religious faith”.
492 Cf. Turk. örnək “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 tongue\(^{494}\) 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 wēhūd ẓālāme tā-yqūm ʾyūrō mōn awne farz\(^{495}\) māhāl ʾl-ʾIrāq. māʿu pārāt, ʾyūl ʾsā rafiqū, ʾyūlū: ʾaṭīy, aña d-aqīm arū ʾl-ʾIrāq ʾann kā-ṣār d-aḥṭīk pārātī amanātān\(^{496}\) yābqāw ʾanḏāk.

2. **uwwe am\(^{497}\)** yāʾlū: xa-ṣīr, ʾyqūm ʾyūrō, ṭabī ṣāglū yāʾwawwāq ʿawnāk. mō ytēq tā-yūṯī, sane, santayn, ḥēfē, xamṣ, ʾaṣra. yābqā xamṣṭahš sane fāl-ʾʾrāq.

3. **baʾṣt la-yāḥ...** yābqā xamṣṭahš sane fāl-ʾʾrāq, yawm yūṯī yūl ʾsā aḏf ʾz-ẓālāme, yāʾlū (kāl-hāṭāhu xamsa mīt vahabiyye farz ʾmāhāl), yāʾlū: ʾaṭīy ʾann kā-ṣār ala ysaḥḥālāk yā doṣṭi\(^{498}\), tāʾṣabtūk, ʾann kā-ṣār ʾāk pārātī tīnī nne d-aʿmēl fī-yāḥ.

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494 Meaning “cannot talk”.
495 farz is used here instead of *māhāl an wēhūd* (see 3.4.2).
496 Cf. CA amanatun “faithfulness”.
497 Cf. Turk. hem “Both … and”.
498 Cf. Turk. dost “friend, comrade”.

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**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. respit 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”.

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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.
Male informant living in Istanbul since 1992, 40-year-old.

1. anā am ġitu māl-askariyye fāl-fēfe w ẓfmēnīn, alf w sa506 miyye fēfa w fmēnīn. ẓl-marḥūm wālādī qām axaf ʿarabat, sayyārat tranzīt, mēn āva l-mōnūbūs507. baqa nrō w nāgī fī-yu. nġip ins., qw ʿal-insānāt nsayyy, nḥammēn w ẓnībēn.

2. ṭallāḥtu mā fi ʾṣāqāl, mō yōmī ʾṣ-ṣāqāl. qōmtu ġitu l-ʿAnqara daxaltu t-tūrkya patrollari, la-yōmal ʿal patrol508. ʿamaltu sane. sāntayn kāntu qamp āmir509 ... āk ʿēc-ʿēx. baʿēt faff ʾdsnīn šortu qamp āmir ʾs-s-s... faff, baʿēt faff ʾdsnīn šortu qamp āmirī.


4. alf w tōsāʾ miyye wēḥāt w tāṣīn atallā ǧāā wēḥāt māṣ-ṣṭambūl. ʾāl hāl w ʾl-hawālīyy ʾiyy k-āli markērī513 fā-ṣṭambūl. taw tānsir anā w ʾntūn maʾ ḫāṣyna ortāq514! Maḥmūd u Saʿīt kēq-ḡaw ʾdgīt māl-ʾaskariyye.


506 Cf. tōsāʾ (miyye) “nine (hundred)”.
507 Cf. Turk. mīnībūs “small bus”.
508 Cf. Turk. petrol “petroleum, oil”.
510 Cf. Turk. tābī + ki “naturally + that”.
511 Note the metathesis.
512 Cf. Turk. ʾičkī “liquor, drink”.
513 Cf. Turk. (sūper) market “(super)market”.
514 Cf. Turk. ortāk “partner”.
515 Cf. Turk. otobōs “bus”.
516 Cf. Turk. līsē + mūdūr “director of an upper secondary school”.

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8. baʾəd arbiʿin yawm, baʾəd arbiʿin yawm ʾeqp ʾrâsna eke bala ʾāāva ẓ-zaλâme, baʾəd arbiʿin yawm. mä şârâna ortâq anṣa kəl-ʾʕâṭaynâhu l-pârât ʾəmmê. ēnn fi ḡâybu, maš-ṣabâh zawâ ʾxti yrō ynēm, yrō ddēm bəyt ʾənнu maškât tâyəhtînâ pârât mō yâḥtînâ. ġâ gâde, hâ baʾəd ʾgâde,⁵¹⁸ hâ baʾəd ʾgâde, arbiʿin yawm bəqîna fər-ʃəmâbt bâle bala šəgêl w bala ʾəmēl. twaggənâ.

9. an-naqle axū ʾstâṭa qaṛ̲š̲iyətu. axū ʾzâl yāwo madamkî⁵¹⁹ kəs-sawa al-yarbe, qám mi Aqsaray kâñ fî markêt, tabî mō nərəf, anâ màmər⁵²⁰, axwâti kaš-ɡaw məl-ʾaskariyye, ət-tiğâra, mō nərəf əšnîy ət-tiğâra nhêne.⁵²¹


11. ašwam nəndēn? šarmâyəti kəllâ ʾatəyûwâ. mA fî maʿi ḥaqq kare d-aḥtî šâ l-bayt. mâ fî maʿi ḥaqq akəl d-əqîb əl-bayt. kəllâ ʾayəyûwâ. əb-əznən allâ taʾâla fəd-dōqsan bir⁵²³ ʾək əl-mit alf dōlār baʿət sət tāşsîr kəš-šâr baqa aḥtî xamsin milyûn, xamsin milyûn tâqṣît.⁵²⁴

12. baʿət ʾayəyûwa šaffərtu ʾAbdallâhəhad. mA baqî šəššāne mâna. baʾəd āyak šâhəp əd-dəkkēn, šâhəp əl-məlk qâm ʾaṭâna l-məḥkâme. fərği dəkkēnî! baʿət sane fətah ʾalayna də-we. ġâq qazzan ⁵²⁵ maḥkâme. baʾəd la-qazzənə bəqîna fən-nəsš.

13. qəmtu mašxâtar ʾeqz-zaλâme yəskkān ʾaṭaytūhu mit alf, mit məlyûn ʾeqe-čex turki šâ āva ʾeqz-zaλâme. bəqîna fi-ya. ġâ d-dōqsan dōṛt⁵²⁶,

⁵¹⁷ Cf. Turk. peşîn “paid in advance”.
⁵¹⁸ Expression used when someone is hoping for something to happen soon.
⁵¹⁹ Cf. Turk. mademkî “since, while”.
⁵²⁰ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. memur “official, employee”.
⁵²¹ The sentence is not complete.
⁵²² Cf. Turk. ona gōre “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. dōṛt “four”.

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I too came back from the military service in 1983, 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.

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.

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.
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 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. *sayyədī Faqirū llāh rahima llāhu ʿanī kāān ēkə zat. fi waqṭ ʾal-ʿusmānīyya šuṭān breqī Miḥmūt kəl-baʿaflū farmān źyəllūː yā Faqirū llāh, źnt u zurriyātak mad-dawle mō təhā tegi, mō tsəyy ʿaskariyye, šī ʾš-šāne mō tsəyy, ʿayəllū. w kəs-sane d-d., mən xażinat dawlat ʾal-ʿusmānīyya ʾal-miya covered iyye šā sulārītak, ʿayəllū.*


4. awwəl mə yəlaq əlidu, *sayyədī Faqirū llāh yəxəv ʾəg-ʿgərī w ʾəg- ǧərəyə, yəqałən u ʾḥəml əl-vəhəp yəhĆaflū ǧərī ʒən ʒən. yəllūː anə əsmi uww Faqirū llāh, anə faqir əflə yəllū. anə mə-li haq da-əxəv a-vəhəp. w əs-səḥ ək ʾəg-ʿgərəyə w ʾəg-ʿgərəi ənne aww mawguṭin fi Tello. əθən awlət. yəhĆəbu rōhən mən Faqirū llāh ənne am. ʿAbβasiyye yəllu nənə. šəru ʿarap ənne.*

5. ənne ʿarap əs-səḥ. əs-səḥ ʃən ʒən ʃən ʃən əjəla 1-mit bayt ənne mən awlək. zurriyey eke əʒ-ʒdədət fi arbaʿ mit sane, mit bayt.

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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. *lahən* “they have”.

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6. yâ’ni fi Tello əl-hayât qabəl ʿəššîn, xamsa w ʿəššîn sane kân bowš aḥṣan men as-saḥa. as-saḥa Tello nxalaṭat. ašwam as-saḥ qwm ʃət-Turkya nxalaṭat əl-masale qwnak am ʿayn əš-ʃi. nxalaṭat Tello.

7. ənn ka-nənhe kənna sāg Xâlədiyye w ʿAbbāsiyye u kānu ƣw əl- kurmane lay kəq-ʃaw mən qabəl təṭ iht Id Faqîrû llâh w šayx Mğâḥed yəxədmüwən qwnak. kənû ək əc-çeq awlak mə kān fî aḥt laax.

8. ... čünkî wâləd wâlədi mən as-Səřûdi yəği əl-, əz-Zire⁵⁴ⁱ mən Zire yəği l-Hîlâla u mən Hîlâla həş yəği əl-Tello. əxɛt lay yəği fî Tello yətmakkan fi Tello.

9. mən ək əq-ʃiha s-saḥ ʃə-lay ka-nxalaṭat Tello kəl-əmən uywe, sə mən t′ûl ʿanâ tələwənî y′ül, ʿanâ mən Təllo ʰalbuqi⁵⁴² mə uy... aṣlu mə mən Təllo. s-saḥ bowʃ insəänət ʃaw lə-l-marhum ʾammi, kān məfti, ʾələluμ: tîn⁵⁴³ șaqara da-nbarri nənhe mən flən mawqah! ʾallan: qaʃiyyan⁵⁴⁴. əntan așəlkan uyw hallî⁵⁴⁵, ya′ni mə dəq aʿəllak ənt mən əflən kass⁵⁴⁶.

10. čünkî nənhe vələdna⁵⁴⁷ hayyâ l-ʿAbbâs, raḍiya llâhu ʿanh, anâ fəl- arbîn alhaq al-ʿAbbâs, raḍiya l'lâhu ʾanhu. fəl-arbîn app alhaq al-ʿAbbâs raḍiya llâhu ʾanhu. ya′ni mawğût uyw qwn. əs-saḥ maktûbîn ənne kalla. ʿAhmad əbən malla Naşrulla, malla Naşrulla əbən malla ʿAbdəll ʿAzîz, malla ʿAbdəll ʿAzîz əbən malla Ahmat, malla Ahmat əbən malla Fahîm trô hêke hayyâ l-arbîn app. kalla trô ēke. kella trô.

Text 6 (translation)

1. My great-grandfather Faqîrû llâh, 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 Faqîrû llâh, 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-

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⁵⁴¹ Cizre, a town in south-east Turkey.
⁵⁴² Cf. Turk. ʰalbuqi “whereas, however, nevertheless”.
⁵⁴³ Cf. ʿtîn “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 Faqīrū ilāh and he also sends him a camel, we say camel, a camel-load of gold. The sultan says: Oh Faqīrū ilāh, 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, Faqīrū ilāh, he accepts the maid and the servant but the load of gold, he sends it back. He says: My name is Faqīrū ilāh, 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 Faqīrū ilāh. 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 Faqīrū ilāh 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

This text is included to give an idea of women’s speech.

1. M- axti, ma axti m tay aytı awne axti! axti ma tay aytı awne axti!

2. S- sayy karam axi!


4. S- bale, sayy karam!

5. M- axtı m548 mın aștanbul. fi ḥaqq aṣtanbul fi ḥaqq Təllo aʃs t'uli?

6. S- fi ḥa₃ aṣtanbul, fi ḥa₃ Təllo aʃs a'ül?

7. M- ya'ni Təllo at yap əmma ștanbul at yap?


548 Cf. ham “also”.
9. M- tayî\textsuperscript{549} awne mɔl-la-qrayyap əgray šā ...! (M. talks to his son) ğibli ṯablîyye ši lağ-ġəgəra!

10. S- êh, s-saḥa bahs əŞṭanbül də-nsawi?

11. M- bale.

12. S- əs-saḥa nəḥne fi-ya rəkźin nəḥne mažbūrin da-nḥəbbə, šā ayaš da-nḥəbbə? ənki\textsuperscript{550} baytina uww fi-ya, əẖayyna fi-ya yəṭlaḥ, akəlna mənna yəṭlaḥ, ən′iš fi-ya, nḥəbbə ṭabi. əma masala mamlakətna iyy aṭyap. uww waṭənna, iyy mamlakətna. əwnak kəl-çaʃna, əwnak kəl-gəḥərəna s-saḥa mməne awne hamməne əẖayyna yəṭlaḥ awne, awne nəḥne mažbūrin da-n′iš awne. s-saḥa ku-nəḥne awne. awn uww m ťayyap, ya′ne mə wwe čəɾək\textsuperscript{551}. əma ṭabi mamlakətna kənət aṭyap.

13. M- Təllo iyy aṭyap?


15. M- ənti akfar ṭəlah′i l-barra mas..., mən əmmi w ədəxəli ġ-ğawwa?


17. M- ašwam əṫشؤşi durūm əŞṭanbül, durūm\textsuperscript{552} əl-məlôle?


\textsuperscript{549} Cf. təay! “come! (f.sg.)”.

\textsuperscript{550} Cf. the Turkish suffix -ki “the one that”.

\textsuperscript{551} Cf. Turk. çürük “bad, rotten”.

\textsuperscript{552} Cf. Turk. durum “state, situation, condition”.

\textsuperscript{553} Note the // as a result of an original Turkish /kl/.
19. M- aма hкayna ‘ala Tøllo! fi Tøllo øšš kā-fi øšš mä kā-fi?


21. M- mayye?


23. M- øz-zör la-tûli uwwə z-zahme mäa ēke?

24. S- uwwə zahme, bile. kän bowš zahme. ya’ne bez-zahme `araw mak-tēb, bəl-kōtak ya’ni. ama iyy ginałə-həmmu lə-ləll əs-səhə anumən uww kəwəyəs yəməlu, yəzəqəlu. tabi fi Tøllo nəhne n-nəswən `alayna fər mä kā-fi. kənna əqəwət əl-bayt. əwnək ənədənə nəhne səp.., asfəl mäa fi. barra mäa fi. masala dəkkən uwwə, šə.., barra uwwə mama mā trōh əl-barrera. mō təstəri ši. mō təxəv ši. kələ lə-rğəl yswa. ya’ni ənədənə uww ʿayp. mama ...

25. H- uww ʿayp ənədənə, uww ʿayp nəhne. nəswən w ørğəl mäa kā-yrkəzu ənd ba’yan, fi šəhbat ba’yan.

26. S- nəhne ənədənə nəswən w ørğəl mō ørkkəzu fi fard šəhbe. mō yāklu fi fa’ərəsfəra. masala øn-nəswən yèklu fi øli ayri, øli bās’ə, lə-rğəl øli bās’a. masala ənədənə n-nəswən hič mō yələ’u dém øl-ø-rğəl bala ɡdaym, yazmAY ˈtaynlaʔu? yswawə səwi mənədilən

554 Cf. Turk. siktə “discomfort, trouble”.
555 Cf. Turk. bide/birde “in any case, so (filling word)”.
556 Cf. yəyraw “they studied”.
557 Cf. kəla “difference”.
558 Cf. Turk. bide “in any case, so (filling word)”.
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. ˈuːliyyə “upper room, upstairs room”. Cf. also CS. qəle “room, chamber”, (Lat. cella)
562 Local use “socks”.

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ysawawən əs-səwər. əwərə ənəndə bənt təsər arbatəhə əsan fəzən, an bəwəxəməstəhə əsan təlbəs əxəriyə əxəliyə, an azyət mə fi ənəni. tərləh əs-səttəhə əsan uww bəwəxəyə ənəndə.

27. H- uww ərəm.

28. S- uww ərəm. ənəni ənəndə mə yroh əke şii.

29. M- fi Ştanbül əwle ənəni tsawawər?

30. S- yə, s-səhə ənəni nsayyen ama Ştanbül masala ənəni mə nsayn. masala əmmi təlbəs ham əxriyə ənəni mə-yə əxriyyət məməlkətən təlbəs. təlbəs əxriyyət əwne. mə təhə xəliyə ənəni nəhən əwəl al-ğəhəl kələtnə nələbəs məntəwət. ənəni xəliyyə, an azyət mə fəzel rüşna. nəhən məfəlin. mənəwətən ənəni əwəl fələn, amənən əfəl-mənətəwət nəyə, əfəl-şarpət ənətnən, fəl-məntəwət ənətnən. ka-əwne uww ēkə. wəhət ayy sapp əyərə yroh əla əkə-əde.

31. H- əmə ə Gawwət əl-bayt ham ənəni kəma t-Təllo nəhən ...

32. S- am kəma, Gawwət əl-bayt nəhən ənəni kəma Təllo nəhən. ənəni məə əlayna fərə məə fə hàə, nəhən fi Təllo. Gawwət əl-bayt ham bəl-ərabi nəgri ham kəma məməlkətən nəhən. əkələnə, şərəbənə həç mə kət-təgayyar şii. ərafənə, ədətənə hıç mə kət-təgayyar şii şənə. məsa, fə-μəməlkətən așwam kənnə əwən am nəhən ēkə. akəl əysər, şərəp əysər, dawərən əysər masala ne bilim, da′we əysər ta′ziyyə əysər əşə lay əysər ənəni kəma lay l-məməlake iyyə. ənəni mə kət-təgayyar şii əlayna nəhən.

33. M- la-tsawaw həwnə 570 da′we, da′we təllo əşə karət fi baynətən?

34. S- bale, wallə hamən haman mə fi şii farə. əmə așwam a′ül ...

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. xewəi “towel, veil”.
565 Cf. Turk. manto “woman’s coat”.
566 Cf. Turk. gərçi “although, though”.
567 Cf. Turk. esarp “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-áfär uww ţâyayâ?

36. **S-** awne āfār uww bowš ţayyaâ. awnak ka-lōna ţznaynēt. ka-lōna dēm ābwep kēn wasih. ka-lōna ţznaynēt w ka-lōna ašaṭîh. ka-lōna șṭayhāt. fâ..., awne ēke mā fî.

37. **H-** ka-lōna hawš, hawš șebbir.

38. **S-** ka-lōna hūšēn. masala ka-lōna hawš șebbir, șemmi w xēlēti w nōswēn āmēmi w flān kā-ysawaw awnak akəl, šōrəp kā-yhāyru, kā-ysawaw. əl-gə..., əl-gəhel ʃemən kəllətən ka-y⁷⁷..., yōbətə ș-safrāt. ər..., əl-gəŋği⁷⁷₁ əl-rəğəl kā-yəbətə šā lə-rəğəl w ən-nōswēn kā-yəbətə šā n-nōswēn. awnak akfər kənna rāha; akfər kān ēvi ... awne nn kāsayna da'wē šī byūtna mən lay ţenne z各地 nəh..., nəşsawy nəḥhir⁷⁷₂ əšš də-nsawi.

39. **M-** əʃš ətsawaw?

40. **S-** awne? wallākī da'wətayn la-əxwəti saynēhən ʃəl-bayt. ama bōš kān, ya'ni bōš bōsh zaḥme sayna. bale āaf axī l-əxxe ʃəs-ʃəlōn⁷⁷³ sayyēhu, da'wətu ʃəs-ʃəlōn saynēha, barrə ya'ni. ama mə fihamna mənna šī ʃ-sāne məmēni. sa... sanki⁷⁷⁴ mə kənt lōna. kənt lal-ʃərp. kəllətən rəkəzə fi əfərəna əḥihat mənəna mə ṣām mə ra'as mə râh mā șa.

41. **H-** kānu ʃərba mə ənəma bəynēton.⁷⁷⁵

42. **S-** kānu ʃərba. ər-rəğəl kēnu əyri ham nəhne kənna. təmām, kənna məʃfūlin, kənna əəvi ama māa kā-yağī əh, māā kān fi ši sənnətən mō yrōh, fi ʃədətən fi turətnə mō trō. ama mən mažbūriyye. baytna kān yayya' māa tə'na saynēha ʒəwətə ʃəl-bayt. mažbūriyye saynēha ʃəs-ʃəlōn.

43. **M-** ʃəs-ʃəlōn sawaytəna?

44. **S-** bale.

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⁷⁷ Cf. Tur. genç “young”.
⁷⁷² Cf. CA hāra “to become confused, helpless”.
⁷⁷³ Cf. Turk. salon “hall, salon”.
⁷⁷⁴ Cf. Turk. sanki “as if, as though, supposing that”.
⁷⁷⁵ The bride is Turkish and hence the expression “they were strangers”.

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45. M- әнә kā-şâr әң-наṣîp әnti mmēnî kama әmmî trîdi trîdi әт-Тîllo?

46. S- әнә ka-alla sawa әң-наṣîp axwɔti tâ’u ҭala’u mәn ƙa” rôhәn, ҭaw⁵⁷⁶ fatahulação ҭәgәl, ҭaw banawɔn әbyût, inšâllә.

47. M- trîdi әnti mmēnî?


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 Is- tәnbul and about Tîllo?

6. S- What do I say about Istanbul and about Tîllo?

7. M- Is Tîllo better or Istanbul?

8. S- It is clear that Tîllo 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. tā’u “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?


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 zõr 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. But we, the younger ones, wear coats. But, 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/, /q/ 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.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
*2bw & app \\
& father \\
& abi \\
& my father \\
& abbēna \\
& our fathers \\
*2yāḥo & my dear (in speech when two people know each other well) \\
*3ṭr & āfār \\
& place, trace \\
*3ḥād & aḥat/aḥad \\
& somebody, someone \\
& aḥat šī \\
& somebody, someone \\
*3xād & axaf \\
& he took \\
& tēxav \\
& she takes \\
& axaftu \\
& I took \\
& tə-nāxəvək \\
& we will take you (m.sg.) \\
*3xr & ləxx \\
& other, another \\
& āāxəre \\
& the end, the hereafter \\
& axīr (baʾət la-axīr) \\
& last, at last \\
*3xw & axx \\
& brother \\
& əxti \\
& my sister \\
& axwe/ axwēn \\
& brothers \\
*3rx & tərīx \\
& date \\
*3rēd & arv \\
& land, soil \\
*3std & ustāz, ustād, əstēt, əstēdna \\
& teacher \\
*3šl & ašəl \\
& origin \\
& ašlu \\
& his origin
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<th>ak̲l</th>
<th>food</th>
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<td>2mr</td>
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<tr>
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<td>how much, cf. *ay̲š̲ qadr</td>
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<tr>
<td>ayn</td>
<td>aynama</td>
<td>who which; the one who</td>
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<td>aynam</td>
<td>which</td>
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<td>ayy</td>
<td>ayy (sapp)</td>
<td>which (direction)</td>
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<td>bd̲</td>
<td>badaw</td>
<td>they started</td>
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<td>y̲bd̲i</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>badala</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br̲</td>
<td>nbarri</td>
<td>we prove, demonstrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brm</td>
<td>nibrām</td>
<td>we go round, our work goes just fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br̲h̲</td>
<td>mbēr̲h̲a</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brd̲</td>
<td>bart</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brr</td>
<td>barra</td>
<td>outside, outdoors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhīm</td>
<td>personal name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bass</td>
<td>only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{s}t$</td>
<td>$\text{y}āb\text{s}tu\ \text{s-ṣfrāt}$</td>
<td>they lay the tables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ṭ}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{ʾ}a\text{f}li$</td>
<td>he sent to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ḍ}$</td>
<td>$\text{y}āb\text{ʿ}a\text{fu}$</td>
<td>they send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ḍ}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{ṣ}t$</td>
<td>after, later, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ḍ}$</td>
<td>$\text{ṣ}b\text{ḍ}id$</td>
<td>far, distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma$\acute{e}$) $b\text{ḍ}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥa}\text{ʾ}a\text{yn}a$</td>
<td>together, with each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma$\acute{e}$) $b\text{ḍ}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥa}\text{ʾ}y\text{ḥ}n$</td>
<td>together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$bq\text{r}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{ʾ}ar$</td>
<td>cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$bq\text{y}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{q}i$</td>
<td>become; stay, remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$a\text{b}q\text{a}$</td>
<td>I stay, remain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n\text{ḥ}\text{b}\text{ʾ}a$</td>
<td>we stay, remain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{q}a$</td>
<td>to stay, remain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{q}a\text{t}$</td>
<td>it (f.sg.) remained</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t\text{ḥ}b\text{qa}$</td>
<td>she stays, remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{k}y$</td>
<td>$\text{y}āb\text{k}a\text{w}$</td>
<td>they cry, weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ly}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{l}a$</td>
<td>misfortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{l}a$</td>
<td>without</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{n}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{ān}$</td>
<td>boy, son, child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{n}i$</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{nt}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{ānt}$</td>
<td>girl, daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{na}n\text{t}$</td>
<td>girls, daughters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{ny}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{n}a\text{w}$</td>
<td>they built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{hd}l$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}mb\text{ḥ}d\text{ā}l$</td>
<td>maltreated, miserable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{wb}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{p}$</td>
<td>door, gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{wēp}$</td>
<td>(pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yt}$</td>
<td>$\text{b}ā\text{y}t$</td>
<td>house, home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yūt}$</td>
<td>(pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yd}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{y}ā\text{y}$</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{ay}a\text{ya}$</td>
<td>white (f.sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yd}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{ḥ}\text{tu}$</td>
<td>I sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yn}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}b\text{ay}y\text{ḥ}n$</td>
<td>to be or become clear, evident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b\text{yn}$</td>
<td>between</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>commerce, trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t\text{ḥt}$</td>
<td>$\text{ḥ}a\text{ṭ}$ (prep.)</td>
<td>under, below, beneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Trk}$</td>
<td>$\text{ṭ}a\text{r}\text{k}\text{u}$</td>
<td>you leave it, abandon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Trk}$</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Trk}$</td>
<td>Turks coll.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the elicited data we also find \textit{\textipa{təs\'a miyye}} (see 3.4.1).
mażbūrtiyé | compulsion, necessity
---|---
ğbl | ğabēl | mountain
ğbēl | mountains
ğrb | əğdīt | new, recently
ağarrōbū | I try it (m.sg.)
ğrr | ğarr | to experience, to pass through; pull; to tape-record
şyğarr | to pull
ğarrayna | we experienced, passed through difficulties
ğry | ğāārī | slave, servant
ğāāriya | slave girl, servant
ğzr | Ğōzra cf. Cizre | town in south-east Turkey
ğll | Ğalāl | personal name
ğmē | ğamṓ | he gathered
ğameśa | a gathering, a group of people
ğēmāh | mosque
ğēmṓ | mosque
ğuwēmṓh | (pl.)
ğēmṓa | Friday
ğml | ğamēl | camel
ğmhr | ğomhūriyye | republic
ğnb | şamp | side
ğnn | şnayne | little garden
şnaynē (pl.) | gardens
ğhl | ğōhēl (pl.) | youth, young ones
ğwb | şawā́āp | answer
ğwē | ğṓ | hunger
ğūnān | hungry
ğwz | şaws | walnut
ğww | şawwa | inside
ğawwḕt (const.) | inside
ğy | şā | he came
yāčč | he comes
yəğīlna | it (m.sg.) comes to us
ğıtu | I came
ğıt | you (m.sg.) came
mağu | coming
ğyb | ağip | I bring
ğōbtū | I brought him
mō şīp | I do not bring
ğibli | bring to me
we brought
his pocket
neighbour

we will like it (f.sg.)
pilgrimage
pilgrim; honorific title of one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca
warm
dried, thin sweet made of grape syrup
dried, thin sweet made of grape syrup
to burn
you burned
sin, forbidden
June
sad
they reckon, consider
better, more suitable
better, more suitable

I will put …

fee, price
fee, price
really, actually, indeed
to control, decide upon
court
they talk
tell us!
tale, story
place, location
thanks to God
personal name
personal name
red
elative, more red

Note the shift of $h$ to $ç$. 

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamra</td>
<td>red (f.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥmār</td>
<td>donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥml</td>
<td>he loaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥammol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nḥammol</td>
<td>take them on board, load them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawīs</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawīsāt (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥwr/</td>
<td>to be confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥyr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥār</td>
<td>he became confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥēru</td>
<td>they became confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nḥḥīr580</td>
<td>we become confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥwš</td>
<td>enclosed area, courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥušēn (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥwl</td>
<td>its (f.sg.) situation, condition, circumstances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāl w ʾal-ḥawāl iyy</td>
<td>our situation in detail is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāl w ʾal-masale</td>
<td>the situation is like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēke</td>
<td>trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥyw</td>
<td>to be ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾostaḥa X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾostaḥi</td>
<td>you (m.sg.) are ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostaḥi</td>
<td>we are ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayāt</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥyy</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaywēn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaywēnēt</td>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xbr</td>
<td>to ask for someone or something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾastaḥbūr tu X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾastāḥbūrūn X</td>
<td>I ask them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾastāḥbūru</td>
<td>he asks him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xabar</td>
<td>news, notice, knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥbays</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾḏbayzna</td>
<td>our bread, living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xrb</td>
<td>it (f.sg.) became worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥarāp</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xzn</td>
<td>treasure house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṣṣ</td>
<td>special, private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṭ</td>
<td>mistake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṭr</td>
<td>for the sake of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṭar</td>
<td>showing respect, to please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xld</td>
<td>belonging to Xālid tribe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

580 Cf. CA ḥāra “to become confused, helpless”
xlf  xalf  after, behind
xaff  after, behind
xlq  maxluqat  creatures, created beings
xl[t  nxalaṭaṭ VII  it was mixed
kəl-xawliṭṭen  you (m.sg.) have mixed them up
xms  xamse  five
xams (const.)  five
xamsa (mit)  five (hundred)
xamsin  fifty
xamostaḥš  fifteen
xamis  Thursday
xwl  xele  aunt
xelota  her aunt
xelot (pl.)  aunts
xyr  xayr  good, better; may it be good
d
 dbs  dḥbos  syrup
dḥps  syrup
dxл  daxal  to enter, come in
dxaltu  I entered
tədxəli  you (f.sg.) enter, come in
drb  darp  way, road
dw  daÆwe  wedding
daÆwətayn (dua.)  two weddings
daÆwe  lawsuit, case
dqq  daqqaytu  I touched
daqiqa  minute
dkn  dḥkkën  shop
dall  dalil  evidence
dnw  dḥnye  world, this world
dwr  tḍuri  you (f.sg.) go round
dort  you (m.sg.) went, travelled around
dər (mō ḍər)  I go around (I do not go around)
əndər  we go around
dawarān  travelling, going around
dwl  dawle  state, empire
dwm  dəyem  endless, eternal
dawwēm!  go on!
dyn  din  This word is used with the same meaning as walja “by God” but only as a narrative fill-
ing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dayn</td>
<td>debt, financial claim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dənûn (pl.)</td>
<td>we take up a loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəndên</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr</td>
<td>progeny, descendants, children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuriyye (const.)</td>
<td>progeny, descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dqn</td>
<td>your (m.sg.) beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhb</td>
<td>gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahêp</td>
<td>gold coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahabiyye</td>
<td>gold coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahabe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍk</td>
<td>that, that one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āx</td>
<td>that, that one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲s</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲s (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲y</td>
<td>I saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲b̄</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbaḥ</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arba (const.)</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbataḥš</td>
<td>fourteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arb̲f̲in</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲gl</td>
<td>both my feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ̲γrayyy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raγal</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raγ̲el (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲gw</td>
<td>to dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y̲astar̲g̲i X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̲astar̲g̲i</td>
<td>we dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh̲m</td>
<td>the one whom God may have mercy upon, deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar̲hum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲x̲š</td>
<td>cheaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar̲x̲aš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdd</td>
<td>they (go back) again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayr̲addu</td>
<td>we (go back) again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an̲rat</td>
<td>we (go back) again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ərr̲at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raḍ̲idaytu (g̲ī̄tu)</td>
<td>I once again (came back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲d̲y</td>
<td>to be satisfied, content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y̲arza</td>
<td>content, satisfied (f.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲f̲</td>
<td>I lifted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲fq</td>
<td>my friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲qb</td>
<td>your neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raq̲b̲aṭa̲k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲qs</td>
<td>he danced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲kb</td>
<td>I sat on, took a ride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y̲ark̲ap</td>
<td>he rides on the horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̲ek̲āb</td>
<td>riding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
arkab I ride
torkabu you (c.pl.) are riding
øyrakkøp he makes someone ride
rkz we sat down
yrkæzu they sit down
rækzæn settled
rm� ramazān Ramadan
rmn ronmān pomegranate
rmy yortamaw VIII they drop, fall down
k-r-tama he has fallen off, down
rtamayt you (m.sg.) fell off, down
rhw rahwān amble (about a horse)
rwḥ arō I go
øyrō he goes
rōhi refl. myself
rōhan refl. themselves
rōhna refl. ourselves
råha rest, ease
rwd øyrīt to want, demand, ask for something
tridi you (f.sg.) want
z
zrq azraq blue
azra’ blue
zgr zgir small, little
zgayyar small, little
zwḡ øt zawwač V get married (m.sg.)
tzawwāšt you (m.sg.) got married
tzawwāštu I got married
yøt zawweč he gets married
zowč husband
zyd azyad more
azyat more
øzdādet VIII it (f.sg.) became more, increased
s
søl sa’alt you (m.sg.) asked
sbē sab’a seven
sab’in seventy
sabah (const.) seven
sabetahš seventeen
stt søtte six
søtt (const.) six
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;səttahš&quot;</td>
<td>sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sətın&quot;</td>
<td>sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sğd&quot;</td>
<td>bow down and worship me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;əsğədənɪ!&quot;</td>
<td>they bowed down and worshipped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sağənəhu&quot;</td>
<td>we bowed down and worshipped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sağədu&quot;</td>
<td>they bowed down and worshipped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ṣtəh&quot;</td>
<td>roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;așəṭəh (pl.)&quot;</td>
<td>roofs, terraces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ṣtəyətəh (pl.)&quot;</td>
<td>roofs, terraces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ṣd&quot;</td>
<td>personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ṣədūd&quot;</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ṣədərt&quot;</td>
<td>Siirt, town in Southeast Turkey; Turk. Siirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ṣfəl&quot;</td>
<td>down (with the meaning of out of the house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;əsfəl&quot;</td>
<td>down (with the meaning of out of the house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;skn&quot;</td>
<td>he calms down, becomes still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ṣlən&quot;</td>
<td>sultan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sll&quot;</td>
<td>our family, descendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;șəmməδ&quot;</td>
<td>cf. summəq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəmməδəl&quot;</td>
<td>personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şməc&quot;</td>
<td>he hears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şmy&quot;</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şmi&quot;</td>
<td>my name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sn&quot;</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;səntayn (dua.)&quot;</td>
<td>two years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəsnən (pl.)&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şhəl&quot;</td>
<td>he makes (it) easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəsəhəl II&quot;</td>
<td>he makes (it) easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəsəhə&quot;</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;s-səha&quot;</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəs-səhəha&quot;</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şsf&quot;</td>
<td>distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şyd&quot;</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şayyəd&quot;</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şayyət&quot;</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şwy&quot;</td>
<td>to do, make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəwa&quot;</td>
<td>to do, make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəswi&quot;</td>
<td>he makes, does</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şsay&quot;</td>
<td>he makes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəyt&quot;</td>
<td>you (m.sg.) did, made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəyna&quot;</td>
<td>we made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tə-nsəsay&quot;</td>
<td>we will do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şyr&quot;</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ş&quot;</td>
<td>(const.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəbət&quot;</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəbətət&quot;</td>
<td>thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;şəbətət&quot;</td>
<td>I stole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

266
| šbṭa | theft, thieving |
| šṭe | winter |
| šṭṛ | tree, family tree |
| šṣx | person |
| aṣṣxāṣ (pl.) | |
| šṛb | water, something to drink |
| yāṣrāp | to drink or smoke |
| šṛṭ | conditions |
| šṛy | he buys, purchases |
| māṣṭara | buying, purchase |
| ša’rūke | local word |
| ša’ūka | little |
| ša’rūq (const.) | little |
| šl | we lit (fire) |
| šġl | work |
| šġlu | his work |
| škÌ | problem |
| š[r | sun |
| šhr | month |
| šahar | month |
| šahr (dua.) | two months |
| (satt)aṣṣār (dua.) | six months |
| māṣhūr | famous |
| šwš | to be confused; surprised |
| šy | thing, something |
| šiyāyān (dua.) | two things |
| šytn | Satan |
| š | |
| šbḥ | morning |
| šḥb | owner |
| šbr | patient |
| šbᶜ | her finger |
| Şṭanbūl | Istanbul |
| oṣẓīr | little, small |
| zḡār (pl.) | |
| šfr | I remained without money, I had zero money left |
| šṣṭe | yellow |
| šwb | reason; direction |
| šōp | direction, way |
| sapp | direction, way |
| šwğ | sääyex | goldsmith, jeweller |
| šyh | əysîh | he calls upon ... |
| šyr | xa-yûsr | let it be so |
| šâr; ən nâ-šâr | happen; if it is OK ... |
| šyf | šayf | summer |
| ð | | |
| dør | yarahni | he hit me |
| yəyrəp | he hits |
| nyəyrəp VII | was hit |
| yarbe | hit, plot |
| dỵ | yây’a | village |
| ayyû/lâyûh | villages |
| dyq | yâyûy | narrow |
| ! | | |
| ðb̪x | ṯəbbēx | August |
| ðrq | tərîq | way, road |
| tərîqa | breakfast |
| ð̄sh | yəʔəsš | he meets, sees |
| əttəsši | you (f.sg.) see |
| n̄tsš | we see, meet |
| aʔtsš | I see |
| da-təsšan | I will see them |
| ðf | təfəyt | you (m.sg.) extinguished, put out (fire) |
| ðlb | təlaba | student, |
| təlabtuwa | I asked for her hand |
| ðk | atləh | I go out or up |
| tək’u | take care of, look after |
| tələh! | look! |
| tələ’ai | you (f.sg.) go out |
| thr | dɔ-yəyahərən | he will circumcise them |
| mṭahhərɛi | circumcision |
| mṭahhəriyye (pl.) | |
| mṭahrən | the persons who do the circumcision |
| ðwq | təqat (const.) | ability, capacity |
| dəqtəu | I was able to, could |
| atiq | I am able to, can |
| nti? | we are able to, can |
| təqaartə’na | we were able to, could |
| mə təp | I cannot |
| ðwl | tûl | length |
| tawil | long |
taybe  tasty, good, delicious; comfortable, easy
atyap  tasty, good, delicious; comfortable, easy
atyap  better, more comfortable
za lamt  you (m.sg.) oppressed
yahru  his back
yahri  my back
yahsr  back
apt  servant (of God), human
yarbar  to pass, happen, experience
abar  to pass (about time)
Abbasyye  belonging to Abbās tribe
abar  pass (about time)
ūsmāniyya  Ottoman (Empire)
arabi  Arabic
arap  Arabs
raff  I know
raff  I do not know
arrafkan II  I let you (c.pl.) know, present to you
rfna  our custom, tradition
araq  a strong colourless liquor made of raisins
Iraq  Iraq
taziyye  consolation
askar  soldier
askariyye  military service
ašra  ten
asšl / ašr (const.)  ten
asšin  twenty
aşfūr  sparrow, small birds
aşfir (pl.)
ataynahu  we gave him
ahṭi  I give
tinī!  give me!
stihfa  resignation
aqol  wisdom, brain
aqlu  his mind, brain
aqrar  sane
mahqūl  reasonable
əlam  theology, knowledge
ələmna V  we learned, got used to
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syll</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lw</td>
<td>come! (f.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taw</td>
<td>come! (c.pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alli&lt;sup&gt;581&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>upper room, upstairs room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliyayn (dua.)</td>
<td>two rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lya</td>
<td>on, upon, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>they work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaltu</td>
<td>I worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y alm</td>
<td>he works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-amal</td>
<td>I will work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amel</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amem (pl.)</td>
<td>uncle!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammu!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammati</td>
<td>my aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>at, with, by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enat</td>
<td>at, with, by us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wd</td>
<td>custom, tradition, habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ede</td>
<td>our custom, tradition, habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wq</td>
<td>to be delayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wl</td>
<td>my family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayle</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yb</td>
<td>shame, disgrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysh</td>
<td>we lived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nis</td>
<td>we live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd</td>
<td>local word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daym</td>
<td>socks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gdw</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grb</td>
<td>foreigner, stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garib (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurb (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grz</td>
<td>stitch; plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsl</td>
<td>we wash it (m.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasil</td>
<td>washing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gtw</td>
<td>became expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galyat</td>
<td>it (f.sg.) became expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyar</td>
<td>be modified, changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayar</td>
<td>other than</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>581</sup> Cf. ʿulliyya “upper room, upstairs room”. Cf. also CS. qēle “room, chamber” (Lat. cella).
they opened

Mufti, official expounder of Islamic law

one, only one

one, only one

horse

leave! make empty!

plates, dishes

difference, distinction

differentiation, distinction

you (m.sg.) are afraid

silver

worker

we became poor

poor

personal name

students

my idea, thought

we understood

up, on top

above

(existential part.) there is

he accepts them

he accepts it (f.sg.)

he accepted

before

before

before

I accepted

as much as

how much

in front of, before

in front of him

they read

they read, studied

close to, near

relatives, cousins
aqruba relatives, cousins
‘aqraba relatives, cousins
qrt qart the sound of breaking s.th. into small pieces
qsm nəqəşəmu we divide it (m.sg.)
qsd taqṣit instalment
qrə qrayyap near, close
qdy qādi judge
q’d qətτu I sat, stayed, settled
qfl nəfel we close (about a veil)
qwm yqūm to stand up
qsmna we stood up
qiyāme resurrection, Day of Judgement
q’d qədədna we sat down
qwl ayyālu they say
a’īl I say
qwm qəmt you (m.sg.) stood up
qām he stood up
qāmāt she stood up
qiyāme Judgement Day
qiyām he stands up

k
kbr aqbiyr large, big, huge
ghār (pl.)
gəbərna we grew up, became adult
kbṛt kəbrīt matches
kbš gəbš ram, male sheep
ktb ktep a book
maktüp written
maktūbīn written

ktr akfar more
khhl kḥāāl horse of noblest breed
kbd kɔwp lie
krd akrat Kurds
krr karra time, āk-, hal-karra that, this time
kart lɔxše another time, once more
katt lɔxx another time, once more

krm kərm karam (sayy karam) please, if you please

kərmān Kurds
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ksx</td>
<td>ksēx</td>
<td>to prune (esp. a vine), to lop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kass</td>
<td>local word</td>
<td>direction, way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kll</td>
<td>kōlla</td>
<td>all of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kōllatna</td>
<td>all of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>how many, how much; some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kws</td>
<td>kwayyās</td>
<td>fine, good, nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēkwayyse</td>
<td>fine, good, nice (f.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwayyās</td>
<td>fine, good, nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akwēs</td>
<td>better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akwas</td>
<td>better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwn</td>
<td>kēnu</td>
<td>they were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kān</td>
<td>he was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kēnat</td>
<td>she was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tkūn</td>
<td>you (m.sg.) are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kys</td>
<td>kēsātāk</td>
<td>your (m.sg.) sack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gari</td>
<td>gari</td>
<td>talk, chat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēgri</td>
<td>we talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mō gri</td>
<td>I won’t talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gray!</td>
<td>talk! (f.sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēgray</td>
<td>talk! (f.sg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>(do) not, no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>tōlbes</td>
<td>she wears, puts on (clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nōlbes</td>
<td>we wear, put on (clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhq</td>
<td>yōlhaq</td>
<td>to reach s.th.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alhaq</td>
<td>I reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsn</td>
<td>sēn</td>
<td>tongue, language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sēnna</td>
<td>our tongue, language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ℱb</td>
<td>l̃̃be</td>
<td>a play; a practical joke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l̃̃bātu</td>
<td>his practical joke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m̄̄dde</td>
<td>a period, a distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrd</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>wife, woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardin</td>
<td>Mardin, a town in south-east Turkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māšmāš</td>
<td>apricot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mšy</td>
<td>yōmši</td>
<td>he goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yētmaššaw</td>
<td>they walk, stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašu</td>
<td>walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̄̄</td>
<td>m̄̄ (prep.)</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
maṣak with you (m.sg.)
maṣu with him
mah with
mkn əmkēnēt possibilities
yətmakkan V settle down
mlk mamlake town of origin, home town
mālk property
malla mullah
mān māne who
mndl mānēdīl (pl.) head-kerchief
mnʕ yətmānāh VIII to cease, stop
mwl mēl goods
mwh mayın water
мыш water

n
nḥn nəḥne we
nzn nazar vision, seeing, appearance
nzl yənzal he goes down, climbs down
nsl nəsəl progeny, offspring
nsn nəswēn women
nsy kən-nəsīt you (m.sg.) have forgotten
nṣb nasiṣ fate, lot, chance
Nasrāttī personal name
n Xōğa
nsf nəss half
nql an-naqle so, now, thus, this time
nwm ynēmu they go to sleep
ynēm he sleeps
mnēm dream
nawm sleep

h
hrbl mharbēlān miserable
hāf this (m.sg.)
ālüäväva this
āëvi (f.sg.)
hrb harap to escape
yəhrap he escapes
harrap t you (m.sg.) stole, went away with …
hk ək that (m.sg.)

582 Note the metathesis here.
<p>| ekm̥n | those |
| ẖḵd | hēken | thus, such, in this way |
| ēken | thus, such, in this way |
| ham | also, as well |
| am | also, as well |
| amme | also, as well |
| omnia | also, as well |
| mm̱ṉi | also, as well |
| ẖorṉṉi | also, as well |
| hń | ēnṉe | (personal pronoun) they |
| ńn | they |
| hw | ńww/ńwwe | he |
| hwń | hawne | here |
| ńw | here |
| awne | here |
| hawnak | there |
| āwnak | there |
| āyak | that (m.sg.) |
|awlak | those |
| awle | these |
| hw̱y | hawa | air, weather |
| hy | iyy/iyye | she |
| de/dē | (interj.) so, thus, in this way (narrative filling) |
| w | mawg̱ūt | existing |
| mawg̱ūdin | existing |
| w̱g̱c | twag̱g̱s̱na | we were hurt |
| twag̱g̱oht | you suffered |
| twag̱g̱e̱h | he suffered |
| whd | wēẖd | one |
| w̱hde | one (f.sg.) |
| wṟ | turātna | our cultural heritage |
| wrq | waraq̱a | Turkish lira, pound |
| ws̱c | wasi̱h | wide, roomy, large |
| wδ̱c | mawya̱c | place |
| mōya̱c | place |
| wtn | waṭanna | our home, place of origin |
| wfy | twaffa V | he died |
| wqt | waqt | time |
| waxt | then, at that time; time |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wq`</td>
<td>mawqath</td>
<td>spot, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāq`a</td>
<td></td>
<td>occurrence, incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wld</td>
<td>wāladi</td>
<td>my father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wāldayk</td>
<td>your (m.sg.) parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>walt</td>
<td>boy, child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awlēt</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wly</td>
<td>walēye</td>
<td>home or place of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wēn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Van, city in Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yd</td>
<td>idīit</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yadaba</td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ywm</td>
<td>lawm</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yawm</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yōm</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yawmayn (dua.)</td>
<td>two days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iyyām (pl.)</td>
<td>days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


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