Turkish and Kurdish influences in the Arabic Dialects of Anatolia

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Özet: Anadolu Arapçası, ayrı lehçeler (Sprachinseln) biçiminde ortaya çıkar. Suriye sınırı (Mardin) bölgesinden Siirt, Kozluk, Sason bölgelerinin dağlık yörelerine ve Muş Ovası'na kadar uzanır. Bu lehçelerin kendine özgü niteliklerini meydana getiren unsurlar, "yaygın" Arap lehçelerinden ayrılmaları ve baskın olan ulusal dil Türkçeyle birlikte bölgesel dil Kürtçenin güçlü etkisi olmuştur.

En önemli fonetik değişim Kürtçe ve Türkçeden alınan aktarma sözcükler yoluyla, "yaygın" Arap lehçelerinde bulunmayan birtakım yeni ünsüz fonemler olmuştur. Örn., /p/, /v/, /č/, /ž/, /g/.
Örnekler:

/p/	parčāye 'parça'	< Türk. parça
/v/	davare 'rampa'	< Kürt. dever f. 'yer'
/č/	čəqmāq 'çakmak'	< Türk. çakmak
/ž/	ṭāži 'tazı'	< Kürt. tajî
/g/	gōmlak 'gömlek (modern)'	< Türk. gömlek

Bu fonemler dolayısıyla, Arap söz varlığı mirasıyla ilgili ses kaymaları meydana gelmiştir. Örn., EA (Eski Arapça) *kḏb "yalan söylemek" > Mardin Arapçası gəḏəb, yəgḏəb, EA *kbr "gelişmek" > Kəndērīb gəbər, yəgbar.

Mümkün olan başka bir gelişme ise aşağıdaki Kinderib örneğinde olduğu gibi iki farklı anlam verecek şekilde bir kökü ayırmak olmuştur: EA *frr "uçmak" > Kinderib farr, yfərr "uçmak, uçup gitmek" ve. varr, yvərr "fırlatmak, fırlatıp atmak".

Buna benzer bir gelişme ayrıca iki yeni fonem /ē/ ve /ō/ ile genişletilen sesli harf sisteminde gözlemlenebilir.

Anadolu Arapçasında fiile bakacak olursak, zaman/fiil kipi/görünüş gruplarına ilişkin zengin bir sistem ortaya koyduğu görülmektedir ve bu en iyi şekilde hem Türkçenin hem de Kürtçenin karmaşık fiil sistemlerinin etkisiyle açıklanabilir.

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Sözlükte, Türkçeden ve Kürtçeden alınan birçok aktarma sözcük bulunmaktadır. Birçok sözlüksel aktarma sözcükler Arapçanın morfolojik sistemiyle iyi bütünleşmiştir. Örn. zangīn "zengin", zangane "zenginlik". İlk sözcük doğrudan Türkçe "zengin" sözcüğünün aktarma yoluyla geçmiştir. İkinci sözcük ise Arapça sözcük oluşturma kurallarına uygunluk göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Anadolu Arapçası, qəltu lehçeleri, Türkçe ve Kürtçe etkileri, fonetik sistem

Abstract: Anatolian Arabic occurs in the form of isolated dialects (Sprachinseln); they extend from the proximity of the Syrian border (Mardin) into the mountainous areas of Siirt, Kozluk, Sason and down to the plain of Muş. What shaped their particular character was the separation from the 'mainstream' Arabic dialects on the one hand and the strong influence of the dominant national language, Turkish, and the regional language, Kurdish, on the other hand.

The most important phonological change was the introduction of a number of new consonant phonemes not found in 'mainstream' Arabic dialects via loan words from Kurdish and Turkish, e.g., /p/, /v/, /č/, /ž/, /g/. Examples:

/p/	parčāye 'piece'	< turk. parça
/v/	davare 'ramp'	< kurd. dever f. 'place'
/č/	čəqmāq 'lighter'	< turk. çakmak
/ž/	ṭāži 'greyhound'	< kurd. tajî
/g/	gōmlak 'shirt (modern)'	< turk. gömlek

The establishing of these phonemes in turn has given rise to corresponding sound shifts in the inherited Arabic vocabulary, e.g., OA (Old Arabic) *kḏb "to lie" > Mardin Arabic gəḏəb, yəgḏəb, OA *kbr "to grow" > Kəndērīb gəbər, yəgbar.

Another development which became possible is the splitting of a single root to give two different meanings, as in the following Kinderib example: OA *frr "to fly" > Kinderib farr, yfərr "to fly, fly away" vs. varr, yvərr "to throw, throw away".

A similar development we can observe in the vowel system which has been enlarged by two new phonemes, /ē/ and /ō/.

The verb in Anatolian Arabic displays a rich system of tense/mood/aspect categories which can be best explained by the influence of the elaborate verbal systems of both Turkish and Kurdish.

In the lexicon there is a large number of loanwords from Turkish and Kurdish. Many lexical loans are well integrated into the morphological system of Arabic, e.g. zangīn "rich", zangane "richness". While the first word is a direct loan from Turkish zengin "rich" the second word follows the rules of Arabic word formation (the Turkish word for "richness" is zenginlik).

Keywords: Anatolian Arabic, qəltu dialects, Turkish and Kurdish influences, phonological system

In a previous workshop which was held in Istanbul in November 2004 I gave a survey of the various Arabic dialects spoken in Turkey (cf. Jastrow, to appear). In the present paper I want to concentrate on the easternmost group, the Mesopotamian Arabic dialects or qəltu dialects of Anatolia; for the sake of brevity I shall call them simply Anatolian Arabic or Anatolian dialects.

Anatolian Arabic occurs in the form of isolated dialects (Sprachinseln); they extend from the proximity of the Syrian border (Mardin) into the mountainous areas of Siirt, Kozluk, Sason and down to the plain of Muş. Figure (1) shows the internal division of this group.

(1) Anatolian Arabic (qəltu dialects)
1 Mardin group
Mardin town (Muslims; Christians, emigrated)
Mardin villages (Muslims; Christians, emigrated)
Plain of Mardin (Muslims; Christians, extinct)
Kōsa and Mḥallami dialects (Muslims)
Āzəx (Christians, now emigrated)
Nusaybin and Cizre (Jews, now emigrated)

2 Siirt group
Siirt town (Muslims; Christians, extinct)
Siirt villages (Muslims)

3 Diyarbakır group
Diyarbakır town (Christians, extinct; Jews, emigrated)
Diyarbakır villages (Christians, extinct)
Diyarbakır, Siverek, Çermik, Urfa (Jews, emigrated)

4 Kozluk-Sason-Muş group
Kozluk (Muslims; Christians extinct?)
Sason (Muslims; Christians extinct?)
Muş (Muslims; Christians extinct?)

All Anatolian dialects have been shaped by the separation from 'mainstream' Arabic dialects on the one hand and by the strong influence of the dominant national language, Turkish, and the regional language, Kurdish, on the other hand. Typological distance from 'mainstream' Arabic dialects increases with the geographical distance, and the influence of the dominant languages, Kurdish and Turkish, becomes stronger. It is, however, not always possible to attribute a given feature with certainty to one of the two superstrate languages, because Kurdish and Turkish in many instances show parallel structures as opposed to Arabic. Superstrate influences are found on all levels of language structure.

a) Phonology

The most important phonological feature was the introduction of a number of new consonant phonemes not found in 'mainstream' Arabic dialects, e.g., /p/, /v/, /č/, /ž/, /g/.

Old Arabic had a consonantal system with a striking lack of balance, see figure (2).

(2) The consonant system of Old Arabic

	bilabial	labio-dental	apical	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngal	glottal
stop	- b		t d ṭ		k -	q		ʔ
affricate				- ǧ				
fricative		f -	ṯ ḏ / ḏ	š -	x / ġ		ḥ ʕ	h
			s z / ṣ					
			ḍ					
nasal	m		n					

lateral			l				˘	
vi-brant			r					
semi-vowel	w			y				

This lack of balance was caused by two sound shifts from Proto-Semitic to Old Arabic:

(3)   Proto-Semitic   >   Old Arabic
      1.   *p   >   /f/
      2.   *g   >   /ǧ/

The first of these sound shifts eliminated the consonant */p/ and thus left /b/ without a voiceless counterpart. */p/ in turn shifted to a labio-dental fricative /f/ which remained without a voiced counterpart. The second shift eliminated the Semitic consonant */g/ and thus left /k/ without a voiced counterpart. */g/ in turn was shifted to a voiced palatal affricate /ǧ/ which again remained without a voiceless counterpart.

This deficient consonant system has been retained in most Arabic dialects of today or has been even further reduced, e.g., by the disappearance of the interdentals. In contrast, Anatolian Arabic shows a consonantal system which has reestablished the lacking symmetry by introducing new consonant phonemes (in italics) and on the whole is richer in phonemes than Old Arabic, cf. figure (4):

(4) Anatolian Arabic (Kinderib)

	bila-bial	labio-dental	api-cal	pala-tal	ve-lar	uvu-lar	pharyn-gal	glot-tal
stop	*p* b		t d ṭ		k *g*	q		(ʔ)
affri-cate				*č* *ǧ*				

frica-tive		f v	t̲ d̲ d̤	š ž	x ġ		ḥ ʕ	h
			s z ṣ					
nasal	m		n					
lateral			l ḷ					
vibrant			r ṛ					
semi-vowel	w			y				

Whereas the new emphatic phonemes /ḷ/ and /ṛ/ result from secondary velarization of /l/ and /r/ the following new consonant phonemes have been introduced into Anatolian Arabic via loan words from Kurdish, Turkish and Aramaic: the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/, the voiceless affricate /č/, the voiced palatal fricative /ž/ and the voiced velar stop /g/. Examples from Kinderib (a dialect of the Mardin group, cf. Jastrow 2005) are shown in figure (5):

(5) /p/   parčāye 'piece'   < turk. Parça
             pūš 'dry grass, hay'   < kurd. Pûş
       /v/   davare 'ramp'   < kurd. dever f. 'place'
       /č/   čəqmāq 'lighter'   < turk. Çakmak
             čāx 'time, moment'   < kurd. Çax
       /ž/   ṭāži 'greyhound'   < kurd. Tajî
             bažž 'non-irrigated land'   < kurd. bej 'land'
       /g/   gōmlak 'shirt (modern)'   < turk. gömlek
             magzūn 'large sickle'   < aram. magzūnā, cf. Ṭuroyo
                                              magzuno

The establishing of these phonemes has given rise to corresponding sound shifts in the inherited Arabic vocabulary as well. To give an example: If in a given Arabic dialect the word for 'he is lying' /yikd̲ib/ is pronounced as [yigd̲ib] the speaker will still know that [g] is an allophone of

/k/ caused by assimilation of the sonority feature. He will know this instinctively because an independent phoneme /g/ does not exist in his native inventory. Consequently, in the past tense, the speaker will retain the form /kidib/ 'he lied'. In a dialect like Mardin Arabic, however, there exist both the phonemes /k/ and /g/. Consequently a situation can arise in which the speaker is no longer sure whether a form like [yigdib] has a /k/ or a /g/ phoneme as first root consonant. If he interprets the first consonant as representing the phoneme /g/ then he will reconstruct the past tense as /gidib/. This is exactly the situation which is found in Mardin Arabic, cf. figure (6):

(6) Old Arabic   Mardin
     kadab, yakdib   >   gədəb, yəgdəb   'to lie'
     kidb   >   gədb   'lie' (noun)

In the Kinderib dialect a number of verbs have undergone this change in root structure by reinterpretation and subsequent phonemicization of a consonantal allophone, cf. figure (7):

(7) Old Arabic   Kinderib
     *tġy   >   daġa, yədġi   'to bleat, to low (cattle)'
     *tbx   >   dabax, yədbəx   to cook'
     *kbr   >   gəbər, yəgbar   'to grow, become big'
     *kbs   >   gabas, yəgbəs   'to compress'

Another development which became possible is the splitting of a single root to give two different meanings, as in the following Kinderib verbs (figure (8)):

(8) Old Arabic   Kinderib
     *ğrr   >   ğarr, yğərr   'to pull, pull out'
                   >   čarr, yčərr   'to tear, tear off'
     *frr   >   farr, yfərr   'to fly, fly away'
                   >   varr, yvərr   'to throw, throw away'

What we have observed in the consonant system – namely the introduction of additional phonemes and the closing of gaps in the consonant system – we can also see, although on a smaller level, in the vowel system, more precisely in the system of long vowels. Old Arabic has only three long vowel phonemes and two diphthongs, as shown in figure (9):

(9)   Old Arabic   ī   ū
                                                            ay   aw
                                    ā

In many modern dialects of Arabic the two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ have been shifted to monophthongs, the two mid long vowels /ē/ and /ō/. Consequently we now have a system of five long vowels but no more diphthongs, cf. figure (10):

(10)   Modern dialects   ī   ū
                            ē   ō
                                    ā

In Anatolian Arabic, however, we find a more elaborate system which has preserved the diphthongs but nevertheless also contains the two mid long vowels /ē/ and /ō/, cf. figure (11):

(11)   Anatolian Arabic   ī   ū
                            ē   ō   ay   aw
                                    ā

How did this system come about? Here again, it was triggered by the introduction of loan words from Turkish and Kurdish, e.g., wide-spread items like (figure (12)):

(12)   /ō/   čōl   'desert'   < turk. çöl
                xōrt   'young man'   < kurd. xort
        /ē/   tēl   'wire'   < turk. tel

The inherited phonemes /ay/ and /aw/ remained largely unchanged, except for a few lexical items like, e.g., fōq 'on, above' (< Old Arabic fawq). Again the establishing of the new vowel phonemes /ē/ and /ō/ has triggered some reinterpretations of allophones in the inherited Arabic vocabulary as well. Thus the lowering of /ū/ and /ī/ in contact to emphatic and back consonants has resulted in a phonemic shift to /ō/ and /ē/, respectively, e.g. (figure 13):

(13)   Old Arabic   Kinderib
        rūḥ   >   rōḥ 'soul; go!'
        daqīq 'fine'   >   daqēq 'flour'

Another source for the vowel phoneme /ē/ in Anatolian Arabic is the so-called *imāla* of qəltu Arabic, i.e. the raising of the long ā vowel to a close /ē/, a sound shift triggered by the presence of an i vowel, either short or long, in the preceding or following syllable. The *imāla* is a very old feature in Arabic as it was described by the Arab grammarians of the Middle Ages; now it only survives in the qəltu dialects. For examples of the *imāla* creating an /ē/ phoneme in Anatolian Arabic see figure (14); the examples are taken from the dialect of Āzəx:

(14)   Old Ara-   Āzəx
            bic
            dakākīn   >   dakēkīn 'shops'
            ǧāmiʕ   >   ǧēməʕ 'mosque'
            ǧawāmiʕ   >   ǧawēməʕ 'mosques'
            kilāb   >   klēb 'dogs'

In the last example the *imāla* has been triggered by a short i vowel which was subsequently elided, thus kilāb > *kilēb > klēb.

b) Morphology

Compared to Old Arabic and to most present-day dialects, the verb in Anatolian Arabic has a more elaborate system of tense/mood/aspect categories. The new categories were formed with the help of so-called verb mod-

ifiers, verbal prefixes resulting from a process of grammaticalization, thus, e.g., Old Arabic *kāna, kānat, kānū* etc. (inflected verb forms) yielded the prefix *kā- / kan-*, Old Arabic *ḥattā* (preposition/conjunction) yielded *ta- / tə-*. Although the morphemes used in expressing the new categories can thus be traced back to lexical material of Old Arabic one has, nevertheless, the impression that the categories themselves were formed under the influence of Turkish and Kurdish. Again it is difficult to say which of the two languages was more influential because both Turkish and Kurdish have similar systems of tense/mood/aspect categories. Figure (15) gives examples taken from the Kinderib dialect with Turkish correspondences to show the similarity of the categories.

(15)   Kinderib   Turkish
       ayš tākəl?'   'what do you eat?   ne yersin?
       ayš kū-tākəl?   'what are you eating?'   ne yiyorsun?
       ayš tə-tākəl?   'what will you eat?'   ne yiyeceksin?
       ayš akalt   'what did you eat?'   ne yedin?
       ayš ka-tākəl?   'what were you eating?'   ne yiyordun?
                           'what did you use to eat?'   ne yerdin?
       ayš   ka-tə-   'what were you about to eat?'   ne yiyecektin?
       tākəl?

                           'what would you have eaten?'   ne yerdin?

c) Lexicon

There are two main sources for lexical borrowing into Anatolian Arabic, viz. Turkish (both Ottoman and Modern Turkish) and Kurdish (Kurmancî). To a lesser degree Aramaic words survive in Anatolian Arabic (see Jastrow 2001). While in the larger cities (Mardin, Diyarbakır, Siirt) more Turkish than Kurdish borrowings are found, the opposite is true for rural dialects.

    Here again, the immediate source of borrowing is not always clear since on the one hand Kurdish has many Turkish loans, and on the other hand, Kurdish and Turkish share a number of loanwords from Persian.

There are various time layers of Turkish loans (Ottoman vs. modern Turkish). In the examples in figure (16) I shall concentrate on loans from Turkish and show the degree of integration into the morphological system of Arabic.

(16)   Examples for Turkish lexical borrowings in Anatolian Arabic

Turkish loans with Arabic derivations

zangīn 'rich'   T. zengin

zangane 'riches'   (cf. T. zenginlik)

dəšṃāṇ   'ene-   T. düşman
my'

ḍašṃaṇe 'enmity'   (cf. T. düşmanlık)

Turkish loans with Arabic plural formation:

ōḍa 'room'   T. oda

əwaḍ (pl.)   (cf. T. odalar)

aṛqaḍāš 'friend'   T. arkadaş

aṛqaḍāšīn (pl.)   (cf. T. arkadaşlar)

Turkish verbs:

a) ḍāyan, yḍāyən   T. dayanmak
'to endure'

b) sawa gačinmiš   T. geçinmek
'to get along'

c) sawa idāra 'to man-   T. idare etmek
age, get along'

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