

Five Essays in Lexical Interaction between Spoken Arabic and Turoyo¹

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Turoyo is a Neo-Aramaic language whose home is in the Tur Abdin region, in the south-east of contemporary Turkey. Contacts of local Aramaic varieties with Arabic started no later than around 650 AD. As a result, Turoyo has numerous Arabic borrowings. In the paper, we discuss the etymology of five Turoyo verbs: *šbd* ‘to worship’, *šly* ‘to rise up’, *lbk* ‘to deal with’, *qfy* ‘to find’, *ššf* ‘to weed out.’ As the reader is going to see, these five cases are special in more than one way and pregnant with possibilities for further research into the language contact in Anatolia.

The data used in the paper have been taken from the Verb Glossary of Turoyo in progress, on which the present writers have been working since 2011. See FURMAN and LOESOV 2015 for the description of the project, including the corpus and the entry organization. The textual data cited in the paper are all taken *verbatim* from the Glossary, including our way to present individual tense-aspect forms in “boxes”. All German glosses and translations below have been borrowed from the published field corpus, all of which is due to German scholars. For the references to text sources and other abbreviations used in the study, see a list at the end of the paper.

For the moment, the Glossary includes around two thousand verbal roots. According to a preliminary etymological analysis, some six hundred roots are of Aramaic origin, some seven hundred roots are of Arabic origin, about one hundred roots are of Kurdish origin, and twenty seven roots are of Turkish origin. There are about two hundred and fifty roots of yet unknown provenance.

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1 *ʕbd* I: dienen, beten

A comparison with the Pan-Aramaic² *ʕbd* ‘to make, do’ comes to mind, yet we claim that the *ʕbd* of Turoyo was borrowed from Arabic.³ This is for three reasons:

(1) The only meaning of the Arabic *ʕbd* in the G-stem is ‘to serve, worship’, ‘adore, venerate’, etc., i. e., the verb has a pronounced religious connotation. This is true for both Modern Standard Arabic (AWSG 807 ‘dienen; anbeten, verehren’) and spoken varieties of Anatolia and Syria: *ʕbd*: Gott dienen; beten (von Christen gesagt) [VW II 54]; adorer (Dieu); server avec dévouement [DAS 507]; *ʕbd* I: dienen, anbeten, folgen (relig.) [Khawetna 353].⁴

By contrast, the meaning ‘to worship’ is not attested for the root in pre-Modern varieties of Aramaic. Cf. the data on the I millennium BC Aramaic: Old and Egyptian Aramaic *ʕbd* ‘to do’, ‘to make’ (DNWSI 806–816); Biblical Aramaic *ʕbd* ‘to do’, ‘to make’ (HALOT 1941f.); Qumran *ʕbd* ‘machen’ (BEYER 1984: 649f.).

Consider also the data on the Middle Aramaic varieties. In Syriac, the meaning ‘to worship’ is only marginally attested: in SL 1055, it has the sequence number 21 and shows up only once, in a festal letter of Athanasius: *b-yammā dēn summāqā maʕbar ḥwā l-hon ʔemmaʔ dēn da-šbāw l-meʕbad baʕlā w-la-mḏabbāḥū l-hānnon d-lā ʕtayhon sāʕen ḥwāw* ‘He made them pass through the Red Sea while **they wanted to worship Baal** and dared to sacrifice unto those who were not [gods]’ (CURETON 1848: 42. 21)⁵. The basic meaning of the Syriac root is ‘to make, to do’ (SL 1054ff.).

Mandaic sticks to this sense as well: in DM 2f., ABD I is ‘to do, perform, do work, act, make.’

The same is true of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic: *ʕbd* ‘to do, make, produce, prepare’ (DJBA 836).

Christian Palestinian Aramaic: *ʕbd* ‘to do, make, become’ (CCPA I 279; IIA 254; IIB 282–283; III 129; V 249); ‘fecit, fabricavit’ (LexSyrP 140).

Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: *ʕbd* ‘to do, make, act, designate, determine, spend time, be, become’ (DJPA 391f.).

2 Cf. KOGAN 2005: 519 with previous literature.

3 Cf. TEZEL 2003: 198, which partly anticipates our discussion.

4 Khawetna is a variety spoken in the extreme north-east of Syria and the neighbouring areas of Iraq.

5 Yet *l-meʕbad baʕlā* can be understood here as ‘to manufacture (an image of) Baal’. Cf. Ho 2:10 (Pesh).

Samaritan Aramaic: ‘doing, making, acting; the verb also acts as a copula denoting a change in condition’ (DSA 615).

(2) Turoyo has two reflexes of **ʕbd*. **The first one** is *ʕwd* I ‘arbeiten, funktionieren.’ The basic forms are *ʕowəd* (Inflectum) - *ʕwədle* OR *ʕawəd* (Preterit), all tokens found in the corpus so far are syntactically intransitive, in full agreement with the glosses. The root appears in the C-stem as well, the meaning is ‘arbeiten lassen, Arbeit geben’. While *ʕbd* was the main exponent of the idea ‘to do, to make’ in Ancient and Middle Aramaic, in Turoyo the meaning of its reflex was narrowed down to ‘work, operate.’ In Turoyo, the basic verb for ‘to do’ is *sym* (*soyəm/səmle*). The basic exponent of ‘to work’ is *ʕgl* (*ʕogəl/ʕagəl*) in the village dialects, and *ʕwd* in Midyat. Consider some evidence for *ʕwd* from the Glossary:

Preterit	<i>fayəʕ ʕwədle aʕme ʕamʕo-ʕto = yawme</i> ‘so arbeitete er fünf, sechs Tage bei ihm’; 448; 75/174 ⁶
Preterit Intransitive	<i>i = makina ʕawido</i> ‘die Maschine funktionierte ’; 451
Inflectum	<i>k-ʕowəd w-lo = k-ʕowəd lo = k-sawʕi</i> ‘ soviel er aber auch arbeitete , so wurden sie doch nicht satt’; 453; prs 77/21; <i>i = mus-aqe lə = k-ʕawdo</i> ‘dieses Rasiermesser schneidet nicht’; 453; 103/39; <i>uʕdo k-ʕuwadno ʕam u = taxtūr amerikani</i> ‘jetzt arbeite ich mit dem amerikanischen Doktor’; 5/5; <i>i = makina d-u = ʕqolo d-u = ʕəs ko-ʕudo ǵǵalabe ʕafiro, k-ʕuqlu u = ʕəs ʕafyo</i> ‘das Tonaufnahmegerät funktioniert sehr gut und nimmt die Stimme klar auf’; 13/4
Inflectum-wa	<i>i = saʕa hul l-a = traʕsar b-u = lalyo anǵax ʕudina-wo</i> ‘ wir konnten nur bis zwölf Uhr nachts arbeiten ’; 456; 11/184
Imperativ	<i>hama taw, ʕwad aʕmi</i> ‘nun, dann bleib hier und arbeite bei mir’; 456; 75/170

6 Texts from the Hellmut Ritter’s collection are referred by piece and verse, with no additional sigla, e. g. 75/174 (i. e. the text number 75 from the second Ritter’s volume). If the text in question is cited in Ritter’s Grammatik as well, there goes first the page number of the Grammatik: 448; 75/174, the number 448 referring to RITTER 1990: 448.

A second reflex of **ʕbd* is *ʕbd* I ‘dienen, beten’.⁷

Infectum	<i>kul ha azzeyo, čik b-qelayto w-k-ʕobəd l-u = aloh-ayde</i> ‘jeder ging und kroch in eine Zelle und diente seinem Gott’; 99; 90/82
Infectum-wa	<i>lo = ʕam-wo w-lo = mʕsale-wo, ʕübəd-wo l-u = arwono</i> ‘er fastete nicht und betete nicht, sondern diente dem Kalbe’; 113; prs 151/37; <i>kul dayroyo yaʕni, ʕabodo, k-ʕübar-wo l-qelayto m-ani w-ʕübəd-wo u = yawmo kule</i> ‘jeder Mönch, d. h. Gottesdiener, pflegte in eine von diesen Zellen hineinzugehen und dort den ganzen Tag Gott zu dienen ’; 11/124

It stands to reason that [b] versus [w] in the two cognate roots is important as well, but semantic criterion (1) is by far more decisive, since we are now unable to explain preservation of stops where they are supposed to have shifted to fricatives. Consider for example *ʕobər/ʕabər* ‘eintreten’, *yotu/yatu* ‘sich setzen’ (JASTROW 2002: 185ff.), both being of unquestionable Aramaic origin.⁸ For more examples of the kind, see TEZEL 2003: 198.

(3) An additional reason to suppose the *ʕbd* of Turoyo is an Arabic loan is the fact that the meaning ‘to worship’ does not show up for reflexes of **ʕbd* in any other variety of Aramaic, old or new. In particular, **ʕbd* in Neo-Aramaic keeps the meaning ‘to do’, ‘to make’. Cf. in particular Mlaḥso *ʕbz* ‘arbeiten’ (Jastrow 1994: 155); Barwar *ʔwḏ* ‘to do’, ‘to make’; ‘to treat’; ‘to move’ etc. (Khan 2008: 1107); Jilu *iwada/bada* ‘to do’ (Fox 1997: 133); Bohtan *iwoda* ‘do’, ‘make’ (Fox 2009: 148); Hertevin *ʔwd* ‘machen’ (Jastrow 1988: 205); Sulemaniyya *ʔwl* ‘do’, ‘make’ (Khan 2004: 580); Arbel *ʔwl* ‘do’,

7 In Classical Syriac, the main verb for ‘to worship’ is probably *sgd* (SL 966), while *plḥ* (SL 1196) is also used in this sense. There is a reflex of **plḥ* in Turoyo, *flḥ* (*foləḥ/fləḥle*), which is used in the agricultural sense ‘durchackern.’ The reflex of **sgd* *soḡəd/sḡədle* is known as well. However, its meaning is ‘verehren/anbeten’ and ‘niederknien’ rather than ‘dienen,’ ‘beten’. Reflexes of MEA **sgd* ‘to worship’ are preserved in a part of NENA. Cf. Barwar *sxd, sḡd* ‘to worship’ (KHAN 2008: 1174); *saḡdana, saxḡdana* ‘worshipper’ (KHAN 2008: 1386), contrast Turoyo *ʕabodo* with the same meaning! The same is true of **plḥ*. Cf. Barwar *plx* ‘to serve’ (along with the meaning ‘to work’; KHAN 2008: 1152).

8 For Mlaḥso, consider different reflexes of **ḥ* in *ʕbz* ‘to work’ vs. *ʕvr* ‘to enter,’ both of them being in the same slot within the root (JASTROW 1994: 19).

‘make’ (Khan 1999: 551); Sanandaj *ʔwl* ‘do’, ‘make’ (Khan 2009: 508–509); Challa *ʔwd* ‘do’, ‘make’ (Fassberg 2010: 250).

2 *ʔly*: I: sich erheben, in die Höhe steigen

The verb *ʔly* is not attested in the 1st millennium BC Aramaic, there are only nominal derivatives (DNWSI 853f.). The Middle Aramaic data are as follows: Syriac *ʔly* (Pa) ‘to exalt; to raise up’ (SL 1101); JBA *ʔly* (Pa) ‘to raise the status; to improve; to raise the price’ (DJBA 864); JPA *ʔly* (Pa) ‘to evaluate; to raise the price, to outbid’ (DJPA 408); Samaritan *ʔly* (Pe) ‘to go up’ (DSA 635). The verb is documented in neither CPA nor Mandaic. Since Ancient Aramaic has only nominal derivatives of the root, the *ʔly* of Samaritan is probably a borrowing from Hebrew, while the D-stem *ʔly* of Syriac, JBA and JPA is a denominal verb. In the whole of NENA, the verb *ʔly* is not known at all.

In Arabic, *ʔly* looks as follows. MSA: *ʔly/ʔlw* ‘hoch sein; sich erheben; steigen’ (AWSG 872). The relevant spoken Arabic varieties: *ʔly* II ‘emporwachsen, sich erheben (intrans.); hochheben (trans.)’ (Kinderib 97, VW II 72); *ʔly* ‘hochgehen, sich erheben (intrans.); hochheben (trans.)’ (Khawetna 359); *ʔlw* ‘devenir haut, s’élever’ (DAS 548).

Though *ʔly* is attested in Middle Aramaic, the Turoyo verb must have been borrowed from Arabic. The main piece of proof is that the *ʔly* of Turoyo is well-documented in the G-stem, while it is absent from the rest of Aramaic.

As against the Arabic verb, which means both ‘sich erheben’ (an atelic sense) and ‘steigen,’ (a telic sense), the *ʔly* of Turoyo has only the former meaning (‘to rise, to move upwards’). It is atelic or (when used metaphorically, see below) static, therefore its subject is mostly non-personal. *ʔly* as a verb of atelic motion is to be opposed to *slq* ‘to move upwards towards a landmark/goal.’ It is also unlike *qym* ‘to get up, to stand up’ (mostly with a personal subject).

Consider a few examples from the Glossary:

I: in die Höhe steigen

<p>Preterit Intransitive</p>	<p><i>u = yawmo</i> <i>ʕali</i>, <i>aw = warde</i> <i>b-i = baxça</i> <i>kə-mzayni</i> <i>ag = gelone</i> <i>w-ad = dawme</i> ‘die Sonne stieg, die Blumen im Garten schmückten Rasen und Bäume’; 347, 8/4</p> <p><i>i = brito</i> <i>kula</i> <i>baḥar-wa</i>, <i>mšiḥo</i> <i>xu-ṭayro-we</i> <i>ʕal foto</i> <i>d-am = may</i>. <i>nfəḥle</i> <i>b-ab = baḥare</i>, ʕalyo <i>i = šmayo</i> <i>m-ab = baḥare</i> <i>w-ʕali nune</i> <i>ʕama</i> ‘Die ganze Welt war ein grosses Meer, und Christus schwebte wie ein Vogel über dem Wasser; dann blieser in die Meere, dadurch erhob sich der Himmel aus den Meeren, und auch Fische stiegen mit ihm empor’; prs 151/9–10</p> <p>ʕali <i>taqne</i> <i>b-i = šmayo</i>. <i>məlle-le</i> <i>l-Kalaš</i> <i>ʕali omər: mə ko-ḥozat?</i> <i>i = arʕo</i> <i>áydarbo</i> <i>k-ḥozat-la?</i> – <i>omər: ya ḥaywan</i> <i>d-aloho</i>, <i>i = arʕo</i> <i>ko-mibayno</i> <i>xd-u = miž</i> ‘Er erhob sich ein gutes Stück nach dem Himmel zu und sprach zu Kalasch ‘Ali: Was siehst du? Wie siehst du die Erde? – O du Tier Gottes! Die Erde sieht aus wie ein Nebel’; 112/365</p> <p><i>k-omər</i> <i>qayimo</i> <i>səmla-la</i> <i>dulabo</i> <i>b-as = səhrat</i> <i>diḍa</i> <i>w-rawixo</i> <i>ebe</i>, <i>k-omər</i> ʕalyo <i>barban</i> <i>də-ḡoke</i> <i>d-am = maye</i>, <i>w-ḡiwo</i> <i>ḡiwo</i> <i>d-am = maye</i>; <i>k-omər</i> ʕalyo <i>azzala</i> <i>d-əzzá</i> <i>l-i = walaye</i>. <i>maṭyo</i> <i>l-u = surəḥ</i> <i>d-i = walaye</i> <i>l-i = bərke</i>, <i>naḥito</i> <i>m-u = dulabk-ayḍa</i> <i>qayimo</i> <i>azzá</i> <i>l-i = walaye</i> ‘Die Hexe machte sich auf, verfertigte sich mit ihrem Zauber ein Flugrad, bestieg es und hob sich, immer den Rand des Wasserlaufes entlang, in die Lüfte und kam zu der Stadt. Sie gelangte zu der Stadtmauer, zu dem Teich, stieg von ihrem Flugrädchen ab und ging in die Stadt’; 113/178</p> <p><i>k-omər</i> <i>xd-i = ṭayyara</i> <i>d-u = zaman-ano</i> <i>d-nafiqo</i>, <i>u = ṭayro</i> ʕali <i>laf-i = šmayo</i> <i>hul</i> <i>d-lə = ḥzele</i> <i>i = arʕo</i>, <i>haqqas</i> <i>i = arʕo</i> <i>mḡammo</i> <i>lqul</i> <i>ʕayne</i> <i>maʕlele</i> ‘So, wie heutzutage ein Flugzeug startet, erhob sich der Vogel gen Himmel, bis [der Jüngling] die Erde nicht mehr sah. Er trug ihn empor, so hoch, daß die Erde vor seinen Blicken in den Wolken verschwand’; 61/253</p> <p><i>k-omar</i> <i>l-u = ṭayro</i> <i>mḥele</i> <i>ruḥe</i> <i>b-u = qafaš</i> <i>w-nafəq</i> <i>mine</i> <i>w-fayər</i> <i>w-ʕali</i>. <i>azzeyo</i> <i>maṭi</i> <i>l-aḥ = ḥawron-ayḍe</i> ‘Der Vogel warf sich gegen den Käfig, kam heraus, flog und erhob sich in die Luft, und schloß sich seinen Gefährten an’; 62/143</p>
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Infectum	<p><i>u = tōz qum raġlā-d-aḥ = ḥəyewin-atte k-ḥole l-i = šmayo</i> ‘der Staub von der Füsse ihrer Reittiere erhebt sich zum Himmel’; 355; 29/125; 30/89</p> <p><i>l-u = gab m-ani ab = bote taḥt u = ġīmām-ne. m-u = sābab-ano lo = k-maḥwən kāyso. k-maḥwən xd-u = xāyāl w-xd-aq = qaḥawoto k-ḥolən laf i = šmayo</i> ‘jenseits von diesen liegen die Häuser im Dunst. Deshalb sind sie nicht gut zu sehen. Sie sehen aus wie Schattenwesen und heben sich wie Festungen zum Himmel’; 4/81–82</p> <p><i>kət-li mede k-ḥobər siṭo b-i = arḥo w-k-ḥole siṭo m-i = arḥo, lat-le lo = ġinaḥat w-lo = danwo</i> ‘Ich weiss etwas, das geht eine Spanne weit in die Erde hinein und kann sich eine Spanne über die Erde erheben; es hat weder Flügel noch einen Schwanz’; prs 255/35</p> <p><i>hawī b-imomo, w-w-illa ḥzele k-ote, qəbli d-ak = kowan-ayde, k-ote ḥaġāġ w-toz g-ḥole l-i = šmayo</i> ‘Es wurde Tag. Da sah er plötzlich, daß südlich von seinen Zelten eine Staubwolke eher ankam, die sich bis zum Himmel erhob’; 30/89</p>
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3 *lbk* I: sich beschäftigen, sich abmühen, sich befassen (‘mit’ *b-*, *ḥam-*)

The verb is deeply entrenched in the language:

Preterit	<i>lbəkla b-aġ = ġule w-ṭrela-lan d-lo = muklo</i> ‘Sie hat sich mit der Kleidung beschäftigt und uns ohne Essen gelassen’; p.c. Ido Talay (Midən)
Infectum	<i>emux ko-ləbko b-mede w-ko-ṭəḥyo ruḥa</i> ‘deine Mutter beschäftigt sich mit etwas und vergisst sich dabei’; p.c. Ido Talay
Infectum-wa	<i>lūbak-wo d-noqəl ak = kefe ... m-xaṣra l-xaṣra</i> ‘er (der Hund) mühte sich damit ab , Steine von einer Stelle zur anderen zu schleppen’; 113; 1/53; (Midyad)

Detransitive

Preterit	<i>azzá i = ḥmarto l-i = raḥyo, ḥuzyole l-u = ḥmoro, fsiḥ. ṭrela i = raḥyo ḥaruto w-lbik ḥam i = ḥmarto</i> ‘die Eselin ging zur Mühle; als der Esel sie erblickte, freute er sich, liess die Mühle in ihrem schlechten Zustande und beschäftigte sich mit der Eselin; 126; prs 165/8; (Midyad)
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Lbk forms an exclusive isogloss between Turoyo and Anatolian Arabic (+Khawetna): *lbk* ‘sich zu schaffen machen’ (Kinderib131), *lbk* VIII ‘beschäftigt, aufgehalten werden’ (VW II 388); *lbk* VIII ‘sich beschäftigen, beschäftigt sein’ (Khawetna 383). This sense of *lbk* is not attested in DAS (Syrian Arabic).

According to SL 668ff, the most common meaning of Syriac *lbk* is ‘to hold,⁹ to seize, take possession of.’ According to AWSG 1141, the MSA *lbk* looks as follows: *labaka u* I und II mischen, mengen; in Unordnung bringen, vermengen, verwirren (𐤀 s.th.); – *labika a*, I, V und VIII in Unordnung geraten.

Thus both the meaning and the phonological shape¹⁰ of *lbk* in Turoyo make it clear that the verb is a borrowing from Anatolian Arabic.

Note that semantically transparent reflexes of the Syriac-like *lbk*¹¹ have come down to us in NENA, and they display the expected phonetic realizations: *lwx* ‘to catch fire, ignite, flash; to attack suddenly’ (MACLEAN 1901: 144); *lwx* ‘to catch fire, to blaze’ (KHAN 2008: 1140).

In NENA there is a root *blg* with the meaning identical to the *lbk* of Turoyo: *blg* ‘to be busy, engaged’ (Maclean 1901: 33); ‘to be busy, to be occupied’ (Oraham 1943: 54); *bliga* ‘busy, occupied’ (Khan 2008: 1251). Is it *pace* Maclean 1901: 33, who believes *blg* is a borrowing from Arabic *blġ* III ‘allzusehr tun; sich anstrengen,’ AWSG 110) of the same origin as the *lbk* of Turoyo? Yet Maclean 1901: 144 has a regular reflex of the Arabic *lbk* with its MSA-like sense: *lbk* ‘to disturb, confuse’ (Alqosh).

4 *qfy* II ‘sich suchen, auftreiben’

is an exclusive isogloss between Turoyo and Anatolian Arabic. In the latter, *qfw* II is ‘suchen, finden’ (VW II 125), ‘sich suchen, auftreiben’ (Kinderib 116f.).¹²

9 The basic verb for ‘to hold’ in Classical Syriac is probably *ʔhd*.

10 I.e., *b and *k appear as stops not fricatives.

11 One of the derived meanings of the verb is ‘to catch fire’ (SL 669).

12 Note that in Turoyo ‘to look for’ is *krx* and ‘to find’ is *hzy*.

Preterit	<i>bāle mqafeli čara l-ate</i> ‘aber ich machte ein Mittel dagegen ausfindig ’; 1/46; 2/8; <i>kət-li niya d-dūřanno naqla ħreto liřannu mqafelan b-i = qrito d^o-Kfarze maħkiyono mahər</i> ‘ich habe die Absicht, noch einmal zurückzugehen, weil wir in dem Dorfe Kfarze einen geschickten Erzähler gefunden haben ’; 14/10
Infectum	<i>ğālabē myaqro profasōr Ritter <...> abəř meni d^o-mqafeno kmo = maħkiyone zōr d-ħəkkoyat mə-Mədyad aw m-aq = qəryawoto ħatta d^o-msağanno ħəs dətte</i> ‘der sehr verehrte Professor Ritter <...> bat mich <...> einige starke Geschichtenerzähler aus Miđyađ oder den Dörfern ausfindig zu machen , deren Stimme ich <...> aufnehmen sollte’; 11/1; <i>k-qoyəm k-korəx b-aq = qəryawoto, b-ad = dukoto, d^o-mqafe u = zlām-ano d-səmle hawxa buwe, d-mūsak-le</i> ‘dann geht er herum in den Dörfern, in den Orten, um den Mann zu finden , der ihm das angetan hat, und ihn zu packen’; 6/72
Infectum -wa	<i>i = naqqa d-řūğázno-wo, mqaféno-wo u = řibe</i> ‘wenn ich müde war, suchte ich immer Schibe auf’; 11/245
Imperativ	<i>abri, zux l-u = bayto, mqafay-lan ħaşode</i> ‘mein Sohn, geh nach Hause, suche uns Schnitter’; 6/8

Detransitive

Infectum	<i>m-u = řamo w-řulmo, lo = k-miqafe dukto b-tu wařəta. kulle malye</i> ‘wegen des vielen Volks und der vielen Leute ist in keinem Verkehrsmittel Platz zu finden ’; 4/61; <i>bale, u = dūř b-ab = bote modarn w-bas, k-miqafe</i> ‘aber Brausen sind nur in modernen Häusern zu finden ’; 9/5
Infinitive	<i>bas, u = tuhwiy-atte l-i = maħkame, u = msoko d-u = wakilo, u = qəřoyo d-as = suhde, məd-kət-we řuglo yarixo, m?atarno, baxino řmanto w-fayətno minayye</i> ‘aber die Leute dem Gericht übergeben, einen Anwalt nehmen, Zeugen ausfindig machen , das war eine lange Angelegenheit. So ärgerte ich mich denn, weinte ein wenig und verzichtete auf die Sachen’; 2/80

In Syriac, *qpy* is ‘to heap up, collect’ (G-stem), ‘to draw off’ (D-stem), SL 1390f. In MSA, *qfw* is ‘folgen’ (I); ‘hinterdrein schicken’ (II), AWSG 1048. The root has not been found in NENA. Thus we propose that the meaning

‘to look for, to find’ had appeared in Anatolian Arabic in the course of inner-Arabic development of the *qfw* root known in MSA, and then it was borrowed into Turoyo. The Syriac *qpy* ‘to heap up, collect’ has probably nothing to do.

5 ʕʕf I: jäten (= ‘to weed out’)

Below are the lexical data that have been gathered in the Glossary:¹³

Preterit	ʕʕfle ‘er jätete’; 71
Infectum	<i>ánnaqla mād-ko-yoʕe bayn u = zād hēš hiye arbaʕ = ʕawʕote, k-uzzín am = more d-u = zād ko-ʕuʕfi-le</i> ‘Wenn [das Unkraut, m] zwischen dem Getreide vier Ginger hoch gewachsen ist, gehen die Besitzer des Getreides hin und jäten es ’; 94/82; <i>bəttər b-ʕaʕro = yawme hrene, disa k-uzzín ko-ʕuʕfən-ne, w-u = gel-atte ko-saymi-le ffile</i> ‘Nach weiteren zehn Tagen geht man wieder hin und jätet ; aus den Unkräutern macht man Wickel’; 94/114
Infinitive	<i>bāle mād-fīyaš-wo d-lo təštiyo, d-lo hšof, d-lo dworo, mede ġālabe kāyso l-awi</i> ‘da er aber doch nicht regelmässig begossen, gejätet und umgegraben wurde, kam nichts rechtes dabei heraus’; 123; 1/42; <i>me-ʕafro hul ʕaʕriye k-uzzayo, ko-mašigo aġ = ġule d-an = noše; w-k-uzzá l-u = ʕgofo</i> ‘sie geht vom Morgen bis zum Abend, wäscht den Leuten die Wäsche, geht zum Jäten ’; 123; 77/40, 85; 115/5

This is an isogloss between Turoyo, Anatolian Arabic, and Kurmançî.

The verb ʕʕf ‘to weed out’ is to our knowledge unknown in the rest of Aramaic, both Middle and Modern.¹⁴ It is absent from MSA as well, yet it is

¹³ ʕʕf and hšf which appear in the examples are phonetic variants of the root ʕʕf.

¹⁴ What comes to mind in view of the semantics of the root is the Proto-Semitic word for ‘grass’ whose consonants are *ʕšb, see HALOT s.v. The MSA reflex is ʕušb- ‘(grünes) Gras, Kraut, Pflazen’ (AWSG 841), with various derivatives, the verb for ‘weed out’ not being one of them. It should be pointed out that MSA has a compound substantive *ʔaʕašāb dārra* lit. ‘harmful herbage,’ (AWSG 841) i.e., ‘weeds,’ but it looks irrelevant for our study. Yet note that there is a verb ʕšb II in Syrian Arabic: ‘ramasser de l’herbe verte’ and ‘sarcler, désheber’ (DAS 529). It looks like denominated from *ʕušb- ‘grass,’ nonetheless a semantic influence of our ʕʕf is not to be excluded. Note that the verb ʕʕf II ‘to weed’ is attested in Khawetna. (The main verb for ‘to weed’ in Classical Syriac is probably ʕdd,

attested in Anatolian Arabic and Khawetna: ʕʕf ‘jäten’ (VW II 280), ʕʕf ‘jäten’ (Kinderib 94); ʕʕf II ‘Unkraut jäten’ (Khawetna 358).

In Kurmancî, there is *aşêf* ‘a weed’, action noun ‘weeding,’ and a compound verb *aşêf kirin* ‘to weed’ (CHYET 2003: 11).

We suggest relating ʕʕf to the MEA G-stem action noun ʕʕāpā ‘clarity’ (SL 1146), ‘purgatio segetum’ (TS 3005–3006). The action noun and its cognate *mʕašpāʔit* ‘clearly, lucidly’ (SL 805) are attested, according to SL and The-saurus Syriacus, only in Syriac-Arabic lexicographic medieval works: lexicons of Hasan Bar-Bahlul (the tenth century) and Jesus Bar-Ali (second half of the ninth century). According to Arabic glosses in these Syriac lexicographic works, ʕʕāpā has two meanings. One of them is related to agricultural activity. Here, ʕʕāpā is explained as “shelling corn from sweepings” (*tanqiyatu ad-dağali mina-l-ğallati*). On the other hand, ʕʕāpā, according to the Lexicons, could be understood in the figurative meaning “clarity”, “evidence” (*tabyīnun wa-kaşfun*). The cognate adverb *mʕašpāʔit* (TS 3006) is explained via Syriac glosses *mgalyānāʔit*, *qrīhāʔit*, which mean ‘obviously, clearly, plainly.’¹⁵ The Arabic glosses are as follows: *ğaliyan* ‘obvious’, *dāhīran* ‘apparent’, *mubīnan* ‘clearly’.

Thus there may have been an Aramaic verb *ʕʕp (whose further etymology is unknown to us) with both a general meaning ‘to make clear’ and a narrow one ‘to shell’, which is compatible with the idea of “weeding out”. Since we do not trace down a root ʕʕf with an appropriate meaning in pre-modern Arabic¹⁶ and assume that the root existed in Classic Syriac, the verb ʕʕf would have been preserved in Turoyo (but not in NENA)¹⁷ and borrowed from Aramaic into local varieties of Arabic. An Iranian etymology of this root is unlikely. To our knowledge, the root is absent from the rest of Iranian.

No one of the available Turoyo derivatives of ʕʕf (*ʕaşfo* ‘Hacke’; *ʕsofo* ‘jäten’) is the direct source of the Kurdish noun *aşêf*, therefore Kurmancî must have borrowed it from a variety of spoken Arabic, though in the available Kurmancî lexicographic tools there are no straightforward candidates.

which is believed to be a reflex of the PS *ʕʕd ‘to mow, harvest,’ see LS 511, SL 1070 and HALOT s.v. ʕʕd.).

15 *mʕašpāʔit* means also ‘to be shaped with an axe’ (*quomodo ascia dolatur*) and is likely related to *ʕešpā*.

16 Cf. ʕʕf IV ‘avoir de la repugnance pour la nourriture par suite de maladie ou d’indisposition’ (BK 263).

17 E. g., ‘to weed’ in Barwar is *ʔyd* (KHAN 2008: 1109).

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Abbreviations

AWSG	Wehr 1985
BK	Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860
CCPA	Müller-Kessler – Sokoloff 1996-1999
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
DAS	Barthélemy 1969
DJBA	Sokoloff 2002
DJPA	Sokoloff 1992
DM	Drower - Macuch 1963
DNWSI	Hoftizer - Jongeling 1995
DSA	Tal 2000
HALOT	Köhler et al. 1994-2000
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
Khawetna	Talay 2003
Kinderib	Jastrow 2005
LexSyrP	Shulthess 1903
LS	Brockelmann 1928
Pesh	Peshitta