Chapter 16

Arabic and Aramaic in eastern Anatolia

Paul M. Noorlander
University of Cambridge

This chapter offers a brief overview of the word order typology of *Qəltu*-Arabic and Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken by minorities in southeastern Anatolia. Constituent ordering is generally consistent with the typology of VO languages, and representative of the majority of Central Semitic languages. Convergence with local languages, however, has resulted in the development of often post-predicate copulas and a higher rate of OV order, and in some doculects even a complete shift to OV.

1 Introduction

For centuries, Jews, Christians and Muslims have co-existed in the historical region of eastern Anatolia. Jewish (J.) and Christian (C.) communities used to speak their own Aramaic and/or Arabic variety, predating the arrival of Turkish and Kurdish. Aramaic was one of the principal languages in Syria, Anatolia and Mesopotamia before the Islamic period, and following the Arab conquests, most of the Jews and Christians gradually shifted to Arabic, leading to a diversity of regional and communal dialects. Nowadays, Anatolia is characterized by increasing nationalization and homogeneity within a predominantly Turkish-speaking Muslim society. The ethnic cleansing during the First World War alongside continuous persecution and systematic marginalization of minorities led to a massive displacement of these minorities. Virtually all Jews left the region under duress to Israel after 1948.

Linguistically, eastern Anatolia constitutes part of a continuum of Arabic and Aramaic dialects that once extended from Syria-Palestine to modern-day Iraq and Iran. Figure 1 displays a map of the original locations and distribution of several Arabic and Aramaic dialects in Anatolia.

Paul M. Noorlander. 2024. Arabic and Aramaic in eastern Anatolia. In Geoffrey Haig, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: A corpus-based approach to areal typology*, 471–514. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14266361

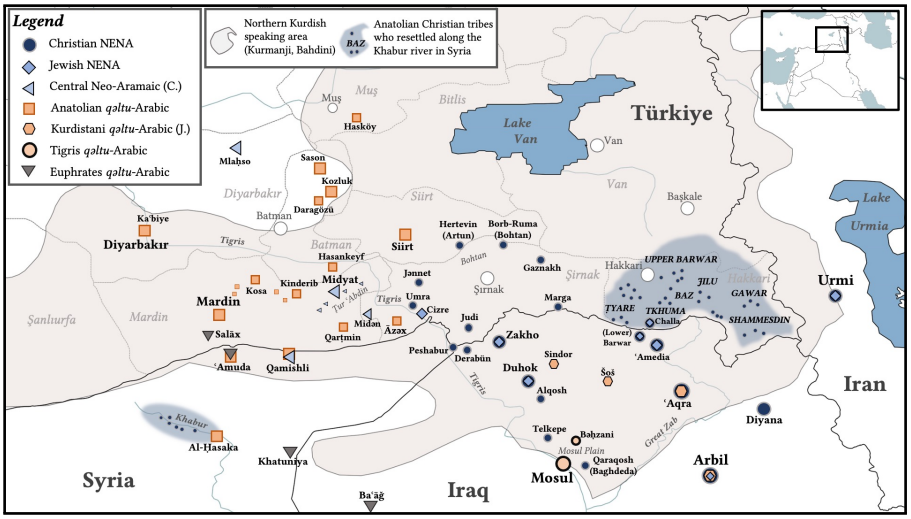

Figure 1: *Qəltu*-Arabic and Neo-Aramaic dialects in southeastern Anatolia

The present outline takes a corpus-based approach to word order following the design of the WOWA corpus (Haig et al. 2022 and Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]) and relies on datasets from within and without WOWA. Those approaches (e.g. Dahlgren 1998; El Zarka & Ziagos 2020) that exclude pragmatically-driven fronting or topicalization to clause-initial position from word order statistics may reach different conclusions than the current chapter. Table 1 lists the WOWA datasets in *Qəltu*-Arabic, as well as Central and Northeastern Neo-Aramaic, used in this chapter with their respective sources.[1] These datasets were designed for the corpus-based analysis of non-subject arguments (see Dahlgren 1998 for a corpus-based study of subjects in Arabic, and Molin 2021 for that in NENA) and their respective position before or after the predicate in accordance with the framework and coding guidelines of the WOWA databank.[2] The sets for Barwar and J. Dohok, though dialects originally spoken in northwestern Iraq, are, for all practical purposes, considered also representative of the majority of NENA dialects in eastern Anatolia (see Noorlander 2024 [this volume] for a discussion of NENA in Iran and northeastern Iraq). A handful of object tokens were also counted for the NENA dialect of Bohtan (Fox 2009: 116–137) and Hertevin (Jas-

[1]Numbered texts and numbered segments are separated by colons, e.g. 25:§2 means Text 25, Paragraph 2, and page numbers and segments by periods, e.g. 101.§2, Page 101, Paragraph 2.

[2]See https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/data/_docs/guidelines/wowa_coding-guidelines.pdf

trow 1988), which are not part of the WOWA corpus. Moreover, Arabic data outside of the WOWA corpus were taken from Noorlander (2023) for Kinderib and Daragözü *Qəltu*-Arabic and Cilician Levantine Arabic.

Table 1: Datasets from the WOWA corpus discussed in this chapter

Doculect	Speakers	Total tokens	Analysed tokens	Source
Ṭuroyo, Midyat, CNA	2	1014	778	Noorlander (2022d) based on the digitalization by with Lyavdansky et al. (2020) of Ritter's (1967) texts 1–2, 24, 27
Mlaḥso, CNA	2	824	703	Noorlander (2022c) based on Jastrow (1994: 74–129)
J. Dohok, NENA	4	916	517	Molin (2022)
Barwar, NENA	2	963	963	Stilo (2022) based on Khan (2008a)
Kaʿbiye, *Qəltu*-Arabic	3	788	643	Noorlander (2022a) based on Jastrow (2022: Texts II, IX, XII, XIV)
J. Baghdad, *Qəltu*-Arabic	2	1339	490	Noorlander (2022b)

1.1 Arabic

The Arabic dialects of modern-day Turkey belong to four major groups (Jastrow 2006):

1. *Anatolian Arabic*, i.e. sedentary Mesopotamian, divided into at least four subgroups
    a) Mardin (Muslim, Christian, Jewish);
    b) Siirt (Muslim, Christian);
    c) Diyarbakir (Christian, Jewish);
    d) Kozluk-Sason-Muş (Muslim).
2. *Khawetna Arabic* (Khatuniya), i.e. Bedouin Mesopotamian, stretching from northern Syria into Turkish Mardin (Talay 1999)
3. *Cilician-Antiochian Arabic* (Arnold 1998; Procházka 2002), a type of Levantine Arabic spoken by various ethnoreligious groups, of which Alevis constitute the majority, on the coastal region along the Mediterranean (Turkish Mersin, Adana and Hatay);
4. *Shawi Arabic*, originally Bedouin, in modern-day Urfa (Procházka 2003);

The Anatolian dialects belong to the so-called *qəltu*-subgroup of *Mesopotamian Arabic* that preserves the voiceless uvular stop /q/ and first singular suffix *-tu*, as in *qəltu* 'I said,' against the later arrivals in Mesopotamia of ultimately Bedouin origin which innovated a corresponding velar stop /g/ and lost the final *-u*, thus *gələt* 'I said' (Blanc 1964; Jastrow 1978, 2006; Talay 2012). Today, only a few Muslim speakers of *Qəltu*-Arabic remain in Siirt, Mardin and the mountains between Kozluk-Muş. Outside of Turkey, *Qəltu*-Arabic is also represented by:

- dialects spoken in Syria (Behnstedt 1992);
- Jewish dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan (Jastrow 1990);
- several varieties along the Tigris, including the various ethnoreligious communities of the Mosul Plain (Jastrow 1979) and the Jewish (Bar-Moshe 2019) and Christian (Abu-Haidar 1991) communities of Baghdad;
- and finally Muslim and Jewish communities along the Euphrates, spanning from Hīt in Iraq to Khatuniya in Syria and Salāx in Turkey (Talay 1999).

Anatolian *Qəltu*-Arabic dialects form a continuum with Levantine Arabic (Talay 2014), and, as minorities outside of the core Arabic-speaking regions, they

share similarities with other peripheral varieties of Arabic such as Cypriotic Arabic and Central Asian Arabic (Akkuş 2017); though, the former is of Levantine origin and the latter presumably of Iraqi origin.

The various other Bedouin dialects spoken in Iraq subsumed under Mesopotamian Arabic have more in common with the varieties of Arabia, which includes the Muslim *gələt*-dialects of Baghdad in contradistinction to the Jewish and Christian *qəltu*-dialects of the same city (Blanc 1964) as well as the Arabic of Khuzestan (Leitner 2024 [this volume]).

Overviews of Mesopotamian Arabic are offered by Jastrow (1978) and (Talay 2012), and that of Arabic varieties in Turkey by Jastrow (2006), Arnold (2015) and Procházka (2019). Word order has been an understudied area, although Jastrow (1978: 131–141) and Birnstiel (2022: 204–218) provide comparative studies of copula syntax, for example, and Dahlgren (1998) offers large-scale, corpus-based studies of Arabic word order, especially concerning the position of subjects. A comparative, corpus-based study of object placement in several Anatolian Arabic dialects can be found in Noorlander (2023).

1.2 Aramaic

Aramaic is represented in eastern Anatolia by

- the diverse group of *Northeastern Neo-Aramaic* (NENA) spoken by Jews and Christians of Iranian Kurdistan, Iranian Azerbaijan, Iraqi Kurdistan, and southeastern Anatolia;
- *Central Neo-Aramaic* (CNA) consisting of the Neo-Aramaic dialects known as Ṭuroyo spoken by the Christians of Ṭur ʿAbdin in modern-day Mardin and Şırnak, and the extinct dialect of Mlaḥso (Turkish: Lice) in Diyarbakir (Jastrow 1994).

This chapter focuses on the dialects in southeastern Anatolia, i.e. the dialects of Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso, as well as the NENA dialects in the western periphery. (The eastern periphery is treated in Noorlander 2024 [this volume]).

The Neo-Aramaic dialects of rural Ṭur ʿAbdin and that of the city of Midyat exhibit slight variation, while Ṭuroyo in general is distinct from Mlaḥso. Waltisberg (2016), relying primarily on Ritter (1967), provides a corpus-based overview of Ṭuroyo syntax.

NENA used to be spoken in Christian villages in Şırnak and Siirt, south of the Bohtan river, notably Hertevin (Aramaic name: Artun; Jastrow 1988), Borb-Ruma (i.e. Bohtan, Fox 2009) and Mount Judi (Sinha 2000). The Jewish NENA dialects

of Cizre (Nakano 1973) in Şırnak and of Challa (Fassberg 2010) in Hakkari belong to the so-called *Lishana Deni* cluster whose core region is in northwestern Iraq. The Christian NENA dialects of the tribes in Hakkari used to form a densely populated area, e.g. Tkhuma and Upper/Lower Ṭyare, extending into Turkish Van (Tsereteli 1963), Iranian Azerbaijan, and Iraqi Kurdistan, such as Lower Barwar (Khan 2008a). Several communities originating in Anatolia re-settled in Iraq or along the Khabur river northwest of Al-Hasaka in Syria (Talay 2008, 2009).

Talay (2008) and Khan (2019) provide overviews of the NENA varieties of eastern Anatolia. Individual grammars, for instance, of Barwar (Khan 2008a: 823–950), of Tel Kepe (Mosul Plain; Coghill 2018), of Jewish Zakho (Cohen 2012) and of Jewish Dohok (Molin 2024) offer detailed studies of information structure and word order. Noorlander & Molin (2022) offer corpus-based word order comparisons in Jewish NENA.

2 Word order profile

2.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases display Numeral-Noun-Adjective order, e.g.

(1) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kinderib (Jastrow 2003: 2.5:§19)
fə-θəθ aṛbaʃ xams šəberi zġār
in-three.F four.F five.F straw_basket.PL little.PL
'in three, four, five little straw baskets'

(2) NENA Txuma (Talay 2009: 166.§16)
ʔarpa xamšá plaš-e xelan-e
four five battle.M-PL severe-PL
'four, five severe battles'

(3) CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 130.§137, §139)
tre aḥé… ə=aḥó rab-ó
two brother.M.PL DEF.SG=brother.MSG big-MSG
'the two brothers… the elder brother'

Noun-Numeral occurs with the numeral 'one' in *Qəltu*-Arabic and Ṭuroyo, as exemplified in (4–5). Adjective-Noun order also sporadically occurs (see §3.1.7.).

(4) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: 99)
kaṛm *wēḥəd*
vineyard.MSG one.MSG
ʻa vineyard'

(5) CNA Ṭuroyo, Midən (Jastrow 1985: 275.§9)
barθo *ḥðo*
girl.FSG one.FSG
ʻa girl'

Demonstratives precede the noun everywhere except in CNA where the demonstrative is a suffix added to the determined noun and/or to the adjective that immediately follows it (Waltisberg 2016: 46–47), as shown in (7c), which originated in the patterns Noun-Demonstrative and Noun-Adjective-Demonstrative. Adjectives agree in definiteness with their head nominal in *Qəltu*-Arabic and Ṭuroyo, cf. (6) and (7). Attributive demonstratives in the majority of NENA correspond to prefixal definite articles in CNA, e.g. *u=* < **hū* in (7a) and *a=* < **han* in (7b). The near deixis proclitic attributive demonstratives can also be augmented with a deictic suffix *-ha* in the NENA dialect of Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 33–34), e.g. *ʾád=ʾoda-ha* ʻthis room over here,' which parallels the situation in Kurdish (see Mohammadirad 2024 [this volume]).

(6) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XXI:§7)
ād *əl-ḥāfez* *əl-məskin-∅*
DEM.SG DEF-blind.MSG DEF-poor-MSG
ʻ**this** poor blind beggar'

(7) a. CNA Ṭuroyo, Kfarze (Ritter 1967: 67:§92)
ú=səsy-ayði *ú=kom-o*
DEF.MSG=horse.MSG-my DEF.MSG=black-MSG
ʻmy black horse'

b. CNA Ṭuroyo, Anḥəl (Ritter 1967: 58:§119)
*ám=medon-**ani*** *áḥ=ḥren-e*
DEF.PL=thing.MPL-DEM.PL DEF.PL=other-PL
ʻ**those** other things'

c. CNA Ṭuroyo, Midən (Jastrow 1985: 266.§9)
á=[*tre* *kŭrfe* *kom*]*-**anək***
DEF.PL=two.M snake.MPL black-DEM.PL
ʻ**those** two black snakes'

(8) NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988)
***ʔád**=naša ṭaw-a*
DEM.SG=man.MSG good-MSG
'**this** good man'

(9) NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 122.§87)
***at** abra xen-a*
DEM.SG man.MSG other-MSG
'**this** other boy'

While the morphology of attributive constructions varies considerably, Noun-Genitive order predominates in both Arabic and Aramaic for both genitive nouns and pronouns, e.g.

(10) *Qəltu*-Arabic Āzəx (Jastrow 1981: VI6:§40)
bayt əl-ḥakəm
house.MSG DEF-judge.MSG
'the house of the judge'

(11) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: IV:§16)
bayt abu-y
house.MSG father.MSG-my
'the house of my father'

(12) CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 24:§55)
ú=bayto d-ú=tağər u
DEF.MSG=house.MSG GEN-DEF.SG=merchant.MSG and
í=zangan-ayðe kul-a
DEF.FSG=wealth.FSG-his all-FSG
'the house of the merchant and all his wealth'

(13) CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 126.§126)
beytó d-ə=malkó
house.MSG GEN-DEF.SG=king.MSG
'the house of the king'

(14) NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 156.§583)
l-ʔarʔ-əd bab-ew Yaqo
to-land-CSTR father.MSG-his Jakob
'to the land of his father Jakob'

2.2 Verbal complements

2.2.1 Verb/object

Verb-Object order predominates in all relevant languages,[3] with the exception of Mlaḥso and the NENA dialect of Bohtan (Borb-Ruma), where Object-Verb predominates. Drawing on distinctions made in the WOWA corpus, however, argument type and definiteness are major factors in several VO doculects, as borne out by the statistics in Figure 2 categorized according to referentiality and identifiability, i.e. definite as opposed to indefinite NPs, and argument type, i.e. pronouns as opposed to nouns. "Pronoun," here, comprises independent personal and demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in (15c) for Arabic and (16a) for Aramaic, while all remaining independent pronouns, such as reflexive and indefinite pronouns, are subsumed under "Other," exemplified in (15d) and (16d). In general, Figure 2 shows there is an increasing likelihood for post-verbal position across all doculects if the object is indefinite. Even in the case of Mlaḥso where OV order is largely grammaticalized, indefinite objects are slightly more likely post-verbal than their definite counterpart (see §3.1.1 on variation among speakers and the role of contact in Mlaḥso). This, however, does not mean that definiteness plays a significant role in every dialect. An additional, preliminary study of 96 direct object NPs and their placement in NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: §§86–100, §§166–172, §§307–323, §§419–466) reveals no significant difference between definite and indefinite object NPs: 25 out of 35 (0.71) indefinites are post-verbal and 47 out of 61 (0.77) definites are post-verbal.

(15) a. Definite, OV
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: II:§19)
mō na-ʕṛef ***madṛa*** *əšṭōr ya-ḥṣəd-ū-**nu***
NEG A.1PL-know millet.MSG how A.3-harvest-A.PL-O.3MSG
'We do not know how to harvest **the millet**.'

b. Indefinite, VO
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: II:§5)
tə-t-ṛūḥ-o *tá-ḥṣəd-o* ***madṛa***
FUT-S.2-go-S.PL A.2-harvest-A.PL millet.MSG
'You shall go to harvest **millet**.'

[3] See Dahlgren (1998) on Arabic, Waltisberg (2016: 289–290) on Ṭuroyo, and Noorlander & Molin (2022) on NENA.

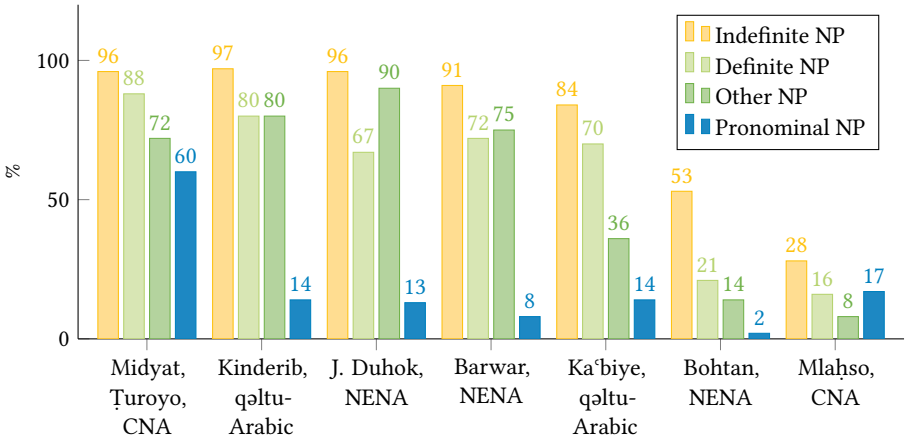

Figure 2: Rate of post-predicate (PP) nominal and pronominal objects

c. Pronominal, OV
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIV:§2)
ənti *ana t-āxəd-ki*
2FSG 1SG FUT-A.1SG.take-O.2FSG
'I will take **you**.'

d. Other, OV
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: II:§7)
kəll-en *qatl-ōn*
all-of.them killed-A.3PL
'They killed **them all**.'

(16) a. Definite, OV
CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 27:§25)
í=hadiy-ayo *gə-mšayáʃ-no-le=yo*
DEF.FSG=gift.FSG-DEM.FSG FUT-send-A.1MSG-R.3MSG=T.3MSG
'I will send him **the present**.'

b. Indefinite, VO
CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 27:§25)
ṭláb-le-le ***hadiye*** *men-i*
asked.PFV-A.3MSG-R.3MSG gift.FSG from-1SG
'He asked **a present** for himself from me.'

c. Pronominal, OV
CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 83:§50)
haθe *ono ló=ḥəzy-o-li*
DEM.F.SG 1SG NEG=SAW.PFV-O.3F.SG-A.1SG
'I did not see **this one**.'

d. Other, VO
CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 27:§54)
mayta-lle ***kul-le***
brought.PFV-A.3PL all-of.them
'He brought **them all**.'

The tokens of object pronouns are low, since they are, by default, expressed with object suffixes on the verb; their independent expression thus attracts attention in the discourse. This notwithstanding, the data indicate their word order preference should not be characterised in the same manner as nouns, suggesting OV order instead in the NENA doculects and Kaʿbiye *Qəltu*-Arabic doculect.

A fronted definite object generally triggers object indexing, i.e. clitic doubling or cross-referencing verbal object suffixes, as illustrated in (15a) for Arabic and (16a) for Aramaic. Topicalization with pronominal resumption is well-known in Arabic linguistics and also occurs in Anatolian Arabic, e.g. see Wittrich (2001: 164–165) for examples of topicalization in the *Qəltu*-Arabic dialect of Āzəx. Moreover, pre-verbal placement is conditioned by specificity in at least the Kozluk-Sason-Muş dialects (Akkuş 2017). The object indexing originally used to be dedicated to topicalization and subsequently developed into a differential object coding strategy. Other studies of Arabic word order (Dahlgren 1998; El Zarka & Ziagos 2020), however, have treated such definite objects – often in clause-initial position – with additional object indexing on the verb as clause-external arguments, and not instances of OV. How frequently this pre-verbal placement occurs, be it due to topicalization or specificity, has not been studied in detail. Preposed objects of any kind – be they topicalized to clause-initial position or simply fronted before the verb – were subsumed under OV in the current approach, and the importance of treating them as such is borne out by the statistics in Figure 2. The additional factor of object indexing requires further investigation, but see Noorlander & Molin (2022) on Jewish NENA and Noorlander (2023) on Anatolian Arabic.

2.2.2 Verb/goal

Lexicalized arguments – in contrast to bound verbal person markers – denoting endpoint roles (see Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]) like the Goal of verbs of (caused) motion, such as 'go' and 'bring,' are generally post-verbal throughout, as given in the first column of Table 2. The second column of Table 2 combines the tokens of *Recipients* of ditransitive verbs like 'give' and *Beneficiaries*, and the last column shows the tokens of *Addressees* of verbs of speech like 'say'. These respective roles are illustrated for Kaʿbiye Arabic and Mlaḥso Aramaic in (17–18). Thus, endpoints are generally treated the same across doculects, except for Recipient/Beneficiaries and especially Addressees in Mlaḥsó, which are pre-verbal more often than in the other doculects (this is an areal phenomenon; see §3.1.4).

Table 2: Rate of post-predicate (PP) goal-like arguments

Doculect	**G**		**R/Ben**		**Addr**	
	n	**PP**	***n***	**PP**	***n***	**PP**
Midyat, Ṭuroyo, CNA	140	97%	24	96%	25	100%
J. Dohok, NENA	112	99%	34	95%	31	100%
Kinderib, *Qəltu*-Arabic	76	100%	21	95%	(5	60%)
Kaʿbiye, *Qəltu*-Arabic	87	92%	29	79%	12	75%
Mlaḥso, CNA	152	97%	42	69%	34	50%

(17) a. Verb-Goal
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIV:§4)
tə-ḥreb *tə-ǧi* ***bayt***
S.2FSG-flee S.2FSG-come house.MSG
'She flees **home**.'

b. Verb-Recipient
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIII:§1)
ana t-a-ḥṭi *bənt-i* ***šān əben*** ***axū-y***
I FUT-A.1SG-give daughter.FSG-my to son.MSG.CSTR brother-my
'I shall give my daughter **to the son of my brother**.'

c. Verb-Addressee
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIV:§24)
əl-xōğa *y-qūl-∅* ***šā-ll-ūlād***
DEF-Khoja A.3M-say-A.SG to-DEF-boy.PL
'The Khoja says **to the lads**.'

(18) a. Verb-Goal
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 108.§25)
ase-lan ***ʕayni beytó***
went.PFV-S.1PL same house.MSG
'We went **to the same house**.'

b. Verb-Recipient
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 163.§117)
ə=brat-ezav *hiv-le* ***lə=nošk-ano***
DEF.SG=daughter.FSG-his gave.PFV-A.3MSG DEF.SG=person-DEM.MSG
'He gave **that person** his daughter.'

c. Addressee-Verb
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 90.§115)
malkó ***el-áv*** *emir-le*
king.MSG to-3MSG said.PFV-A.3MSG
'The king said **to him**...'

Relative object ordering in three-argument clauses depends on construction type. In the *prepositional dative construction*, the prepositional Recipient comes second. In a *double object construction*, both arguments are treated like O, and the Recipient comes first. This alternation is shown in (19) for NENA.[4]

(19) a. Theme(O)-Recipient(Prepositional)
NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: §437)
daḥ *b-yăw-aḥ-la* *ḥakimut-an* ***l-ohá***
how FUT-give-A.1PL-O.3FSG government.FSG-our to-DEM.MSG
'How are we to grant lordship over us **to that one**?'

b. Recipient(O)-Theme(O)
NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: §437)
yăw-á-lehən ***ʔan*** ***čičoke*** *beʔe*
give-A.3FSG-O.3PL DEM.PL chick.PL egg.PL
'She would give **these chicks** eggs.'

[4]For more examples, see (Coghill 2014) and Noorlander (2018: 144–153) for NENA, Waltisberg (2016) for Ṭuroyo, Camilleri et al. (2014) and Birnstiel (2022) for Arabic.

The default order of the prepositional dative construction in both Ṭuroyo (Waltisberg 2016: 298) and NENA (e.g. Noorlander & Molin 2022: 251) as well as Anatolian *Qəltu*-Arabic is *Verb-Theme-Recipient*:[5]

(20) CNA Ṭuroyo, Midyat (Ritter 1967: 27:§30)
húle-le=ste kallat ġalabe ***l-ú-ḥaloq-ano***
gave.PFV-A.3MSG=ADD money.PL much to-DEF.MSG-barber-DEM.MSG
'He gave **the barber** much money.'

(21) a. *Qəltu*-Arabic Kinderib (Jastrow 2003: 6.1:§24)
tə-ʕṭi-∅ rġīf ***lə-ṣāḥdət*** ***ət-tannōṛ***
3F-give-SG flatbread.MSG to-owner.FSG.CSTR DEF-oven
'She gives **the owner of the oven** a flatbread.'

b. *Qəltu*-Arabic Hasankeyf (Fink 2020: 6.4.2:§5)
īlzam yə-ʕṭi-∅ paṛāṭ ***l-əmm*** ***w-abū***
must A.3M-give-A.SG money.PL to-mother.FSG and-father.MSG
'He must give **his mother and father** money.'

c. *Qəltu*-Arabic Hasköy (Talay 2002: I.2.2.:§9)
qən-na n-āxəz pēlāv ***šā*** ***ixṭ-aṭ-na***
wanted.PFV-A.1PL A.1PL-buy shoe.SG for sister-FSG.CSTR-our
'We wanted to buy shoes **for our sister**.'

2.2.3 Become/complement

Final sates of change-of-state verbs, such as 'become,' 'make,' 'turn into (tr./intr.),' tend to follow the predicate:

(22) a. *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaᶜbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIII:§2)
ṣār-∅ kačal
became.PFV-S.3MSG bald
'He turned bald.'

b. *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaᶜbiye (Jastrow 2022: IX:§11)
n-say-en kəde ***pūšiy-āt***
A.1PL-make-O.3PL such headscarf-PL
'We make them **into headscarves**.'

[5]Birnstiel (2022: 218–230) points to the default order of Verb-Recipient-Theme, but this does not seem to hold for all of *Qəltu*-Arabic.

(23) a. CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 112.§50)
kul-én *ve-len* *nayar-ezan*
all-of.them became.PFV-S.3PL enemy.PL-our
'They all became our enemies.'

b. CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 116.§75)
bāṭrāk *Elyás sim-le* *el-áv* ***šammás***
patriarch.MSG Elyas made.PFV-A.3MSG DOM-3MSG deacon.MSG
'Patriarch Elyas made him **deacon**.'

In dialects with a higher rate of OV, such as the NENA dialect of Bohtan, the relative placement of the argument of the verb 'make,' distinguishes between the preverbal direct object and the postverbal endpoint denoting the final state, as reflected in the following example (see Noorlander 2024 [this volume] for parallels in Iran):

(24) a. Object-Verb
NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 55)
xa kaboba *iwad-le*
one kebab.MSG make.IMPV-O.3MSG
'Make **a kebab**!'

b. Verb-Complement
NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 56)
wəd-lo-le ***kaboba***
made.PFV-A.3FSG-O.3MSG kebab.MSG
'She made it **into a kebab**.'

2.2.4 Other obliques

Post-verbal position is the most common for obliques. The first column of Table 3 gives the statistics of place and source constituents, illustrated in (25a) for Arabic and (26a) for Aramaic. Pre-verbal placement, by contrast, is common in Kaʿbiye Arabic, e.g. (25b), and predominates in Mlaḥso, e.g. (26b). Moreover, while all obliques generally behave similarly across doculects, instruments, given in the second column of Table 3, are more likely pre-verbal than other obliques in Ṭuroyo Aramaic.

(25) a. Verb-Oblique
Qəltu-Arabic Kinderib (Jastrow 2003: 7.6:§3)
t-haššəs-a ***fə-l-ṃayy***
A.3FSG-make.swell-O.3F in-DEF-water
'She swells them **in the water**.'

Table 3: Rate of post-predicate (PP) oblique arguments (pronominal and nominal)

Doculect	Place/Source		Instrument	
	n	**PP**	***n***	**PP**
Kinderib, *Qəltu*-Arabic	43	98%	13	92%
Barwar, NENA	177	74%	21	71%
Midyat, Ṭuroyo, CNA	121	88%	22	55%
Kaʿbiye, *Qəltu*-Arabic	82	61%	19	47%
Mlaḥso, CNA	56	34%	13	15%

b. Oblique-Verb
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: II:§16)
fə-l-ṃayye *faṭṭs-uw-a*
in-DEF-water drowned.PFV-A.3PL-O.3FSG
'They drowned her **in the water**.'

(26) a. Verb-Oblique
CNA Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 1:§1)
yətáw-no-wo ***b-Băbak***
be.settled-S.1MSG-PST in-Bebek
'I used to live **in Bebek**.'

b. Oblique-Verb
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 80.§50)
b-ə́-hawše ***d-ə́-deyro*** *yativ-ina*
in-DEF.SG-court.MSG GEN-DEF.SG-church.MSG sat.ANT-S.1PL
'We sat down **in the churchyard**.'

2.3 Other predicates

2.3.1 Copulas

Semitic languages generally lack a verbal copula in present realis clauses. The juxtaposition of a (pro)noun and a nominal predicate are sufficient, and this occurs in all relevant major subgroups of Arabic and Aramaic in eastern Anatolia. The use of pronominal copulas, however, is a hallmark of *Qəltu*-Arabic as well as Central and Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (and a well-documented areal

phenomenon, see §3.2). Their relative position not only varies across dialects, but also depends on clause type. Overall, pronominal copulas exist for all clause types, except past and irrealis clauses, where a copular 'be' verb is preferred, e.g. Arabic *kwn*, Aramaic *hwy*. The paradigmatic organisation of pronouns and copulas is closely intertwined in Central Neo-Aramaic and *Qəltu*-Arabic, as compared for the peripheral dialects in Table 4. It is not unlikely that the pronominal inflection in Mlaḥso was based on an Arabic model. An overview with contrastive illustrations from a sample of the relevant languages is given in Table 5.[6]

Table 4: Comparison of personal pronouns and copula in Sason Arabic and Mlaḥso

	Sason Arabic (Akkuş 2017: 14)		**Mlaḥso, CNA** (Jastrow 1988)	
3MSG	*iyu*	*=ye*	*hiye*	*=yo*
3FSG	*iya*	*=ye*	*hiya*	*=yo*
3PL	*iyen*	*=nen*	*hiyen*	*=ne*

Generally, the negative and relative copula precede the predicate, as does the so-called deictic copula–or "demonstrative" or "presentative" copula–, which asserts an actual state of affairs in the immediately observable present, often with speaker or listener deixis. The latter is thus frequently used after verbs of perception, generally incompatible with questions, and ultimately derived from a deictic particle combined with a pronominal element. These three copula types are illustrated in (27) and (28).

(27) a. Negative copula
Qəltu-Arabic Qartmin (Jastrow 1978: 137)
ma-nne *fə-l-bayt*
NEG-COP.3MSG in-DEF-house.MSG
'**They are not** at home.'

b. Relative copula
Qəltu-Arabic Qartmin (Jastrow 1978: 138)
la-nne *fə-s-suri*
REL-COP.3PL in-DEF-Syria
'(Yazidis) **who are** in Syria'

[6] On copula syntax in *Qəltu*-Arabic, see Jastrow (1978: 131–141) and Birnstiel (2022: 204–218), on that in NENA, see e.g. Khan (2002: 322–330, 2008a 823–842), Cohen (2012: 30–65) and Molin (2024: 140–174), on that in Ṭuroyo, see Waltisberg (2016: 112–122, 208–210, 238–240).

c. Deictic copula
Qəltu-Arabic Qartmin (Jastrow 1978: 140)
kənáʾ *rəfqət-u* *ğaw*
DEIC.COP.3PL companion.MPL-his came.PFV.3PL
'**Look! There they are**, his companions are coming.'

Table 5: Comparison of copula placement in *Qəltu*-Arabic and Central Neo-Aramaic

***Qəltu*-Arabic**				
Siirt[a]	**Kinderib**[b]	**Kaʿbiye**[c]	**Hasankeyf**[d]	
mayye fəlbayt	*mayye fəlbayt*	*fəlbayt maye*	*mo fəlbayt=e*	'She is not at home.'
əlbənt iyy fəlbayt	*əlbənt fəlbayt=ye*	*əlbənt fəlbayt=ye*	*əlbənt fəlbayt=e*	'The girl is at home.'
əlbənt ayysap iyye?	*əlbent aynī=ye?*	*əlbənt əndaḥ=ḥe?*	*əlbənt angəs=e?*	'Where is the girl?'
NENA		**CNA**		
J. Challa[e]	**Bohtan**[f]	**Ṭuroyo**	**Mlaḥso**[g]	
lewa go besa	*lewa bata*	*latyo bú=bayto*	*b-beytó letyo*	'She is not at home.'
brata (ʔila) go besa(=la)	*brata bata=la*	*í=barθo bú=bayto=yo*	*ə=brató b-beyto=yo*	'The girl is at home.'
ʔaya ma=yle?	*awa m=ile?*	*hawo mən=yo?*	*awo mən=yo?*	'What is that?'

These are hypothetical examples to illustrate the patterns.

[a] Jastrow (1978: 137)
[b] Jastrow (1978: 137), Lahdo (2009: 73–76, 172–175)
[c] Jastrow (2022: 47)
[d] Fink (2020: 76–77, 152–153)
[e] Fassberg (2010: 100–101)
[f] Fox (2009)
[g] Jastrow (1994: §35, §62, §142)

(28) a. Negative copula
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 115:§206)
ám=may-ani *dəθxu* ***lan-ne*** *basim-e*
DEF.PL=water.PL-DEM.PL GEN.2PL NEG-COP.3PL nice-PL
'That water of yours **is not** tasty.'

b. Relative copula
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 115:§24)
d-kət-ne *yatiw-e*
REL-EXIST-COP.3PL seated-PL
'(those) **who are** seated'

c. Deictic copula
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 116:§48)
ka-lən=ne *tamo*
DEIC-3PL=COP.3PL there
'**Look**, **they are** there!'

The default position of the copula in affirmative present realis clauses is after the nominal predicate in the majority of the Anatolian *Qəltu*-Arabic varieties as well as in that of Neo-Aramaic. The copula, however, is not necessarily clause-final, as shown in (29b), nor is it obligatory, as shown in (29c). The predicate is expected to be downgraded to the background when following the copula in a focalisation strategy like (29b) where the subject pronoun is in narrow focus for the purpose of identification or specification. The copula can be completely lacking in clauses like (29c), a structure that is akin to the original Semitic non-verbal clause, reflecting *Topic-Comment* order. The frequency of this structure is unknown, and this has not been coded in the WOWA corpus.

(29) a. Default
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 79:§12)
*ono Ḥóre=**no**!*
I Hore=COP.1SG
'I **am** Hore!'

b. Focalisation
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 82:§40)
*óno=**no*** *Šēx* *Dhām*
I=COP.1SG Sheikh Dham
'**It is** I, Sheikh Dham.'

c. Absent
CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 116:§1)
ono Slemā́n Ḥanna Maskobi
I Sleman Hanna Maskobi
'I am Sleman Hanna Maskobi.'

Pre-posed copulas, in turn, are a typical trait of the Arabic dialects of Siirt (Lahdo 2009), comparable to the situation in Levantine Arabic, except for interrogative clauses (Jastrow 1978: 132, and §3.2). Across NENA dialects in the region, pre-predicate placement of the affirmative copula is possible when the predicate serves the purpose of identification or when it expresses a transitory state, in which case the predicate will be most often adverbial, e.g. (30a) (see, for example, Molin 2022: 219–262 regarding J. Dohok, NENA). The latter parallels the structure of the deictic copula, as shown in (30b).

(30) a. Present affirmative copula
NENA J. Challa (Fassberg 2010: 5.6:§17)
ʔā́ya ***=le*** *l-tama*
he =COP.3MSG on-there
'He **is** there.'

b. Present deictic copula
NENA J. Challa (Fassberg 2010: 102)
ʕaqida dexun, ***wəl-le*** *l-axxa*
military.leader 2PL.GEN DEIC-COP.3MSG on-here
'Your leader, **he is** right here.'

2.3.2 Auxiliaries

Tense-Aspect-Mood is generally expressed by preverbal uninflected particles, which may have originated in auxiliaries. Complements of modal and phasal verbs immediately follow, as given in (31). Deictic copulas are also pre-verbal, conveying imminent or ongoing events in the immediately observable present (see §3.2 for examples).

(31) Auxiliary-Verb-Object

a. *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: II:§2)
mo y-ṭiq*-∅* *yə-šreb-∅* *ṃayy əl-fəšqi*
NEG S.3-can-MSG A.3-drink-MSG water DEF-dung
'**He cannot** drink the sewage water.'

b. CNA Midyat, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 24:§12)
hat ***lú-k-qudr-ət*** *∅-mbaṭl-ət* *úw-*
you.SG NEG-IND-can-S.2MSG SBJV-stop-A.2MSG DEF.MSG-
amro *d-aloho*
command.MSG GEN-god.MSG
'You **cannot** thwart God's command.'

2.3.3 Complements of non-finite verbs

The bare object of infinitives regularly precedes the verb in the NENA dialects of Hertevin and Bohtan, illustrated in (32-33) below; cf. by contrast, NENA Barwar (Khan 2008b: B5:§175) *lewa mšurya xala* ***gəlla*** 'It had not started eating **grass**'; see also §2.3.3 in Noorlander (2024 [this volume]). Interestingly, however, in Bohtan the general rate of post-verbal object NPs is 0.33 (out of 93), while this is 0.75 (out of 96) in Hertevin. In Herevin, therefore, only objects of infinitives have shifted to OV.

(32) NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: §318-§319)

a. Object-Verb(Infinitive)
b-dar-aḥ *ʾida* ***gəlla*** *člaʾa*
FUT-throw-A.1PL hand.FSG grass.MSG mow.INF
'We started mowing **grass**.'

b. Verb(Finite)-Object
čléʾ-laḥ-le ***gəll-an***
mowed.PFV-A.1PL-O.3MSG grass.MSG-our
'We mowed our grass.'

(33) NENA Bohtan (Jastrow 1988: §118)

a. Object-Verb(Infinitive)
ani *darəš-i* ***qanyon-e*** *xlowa*
they begin-A.3PL sheep-PL milk.INF
'They started milking **sheep**.'

b. Verb(Finite)-Object
oyün=se xolü-∅ ***qanyon-e***
he=ADD milk-A.3MSG sheep-PL
'He too was milking sheep.'

3 Areal issues

Turkish and Northern Kurdish have been the dominant languages in eastern Anatolia since recent times, and Aramaic-Armenian bilingualism presumably also occurred (Jastrow 1994: 3). Aramaic and Arabic have been in contact with each other from the beginning and both at various stages with Persian – and Greek –in Antiquity. Moreover, Aramaic and *Qəltu*-Arabic varieties of Anatolia and the Mediterranean Region were an integral part of dialect continua stretching from the Levant through Anatolia to Mesopotamia (Jastrow 2007). Intra-Semitic contact and Semitic-Iranian contact therefore has a long and complex history.[7]

Finding themselves between mainstream Arabic, a prototypical example of a head-initial language, and Turkish, that of a head-final language, the relevant Arabic and Aramaic varieties exhibit numerous hallmarks that can be characterized against the backdrop of these two spheres of influences. At the same time, these contact-induced typological traits cannot be disentangled from language-internal developments. Iranian languages like Kurdish, in turn, have a more mixed word order typology, being in several respects rather similar to Semitic, except for the more rigid preverbal object position, the fixed clause-final copula placement, and the higher number of postpostions, which exhibit distinctly head-final syntax. While the influence of such neighbouring V-final languages – be they Iranian or Turkic – is undeniable, intensive exposure to contact with such languages may not always radically change word order typology. For example, the Arabic and Aramaic varieties – originally – spoken in Iranian Khuzestan are still characterized as VO (Häberl 2011: 735; El Zarka & Ziagos 2020), suggesting that, if this characterization is correct – which is still a matter of debate –, word order can be remarkably stable. This notwithstanding, local OV languages doubtless affected the peripheral Anatolian Arabic dialects belonging to the Diyarbakir or Kozluk-Sason-Muş cluster and the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Mlaḥso in Diyarbakir and that of Bohtan in Siirt. Furthermore, a higher rate of OV can be indicative of greater word order flexibility for pragmatically driven configurations, which could yet need not result from contact, and this is presumably the situation in the majority of NENA dialects. In fact, it is plausible that continuous interaction with the wider Arabic-speaking world reinforced more rigid VO syntax, thereby serving as an anticatalyst against a shift to OV or more flexibile word order, although much more comparative data is needed to establish

[7]For areal perspectives on Anatolia, see inter alia Haig (2001, 2014, 2017); Matras (2009: 270); Haig & Khan (2019); Khan (2019); Donabedian & Sitaridou (2021); on Aramaic and Kurdish specifically, see Noorlander (2014), and on Arabic in Anatolia, e.g. Talay (2007), Procházka (2020) and Akkuş (2020).

how frequently, for instance, object topicalization occurs across Arabic dialects. Thus, the rather inflexible VO syntax in Ṭuroyo may well be the result of Arabic influence, and not necessarily an archaic feature. The greatest extent of Arabic influence on NENA, in turn, is observed on the Mosul Plain in northern Iraq (Khan 2002; Coghill 2020).

3.1 Kurdish and Turkish influence

3.1.1 Object/verb

The data suggest that a combination of both the area-specific contact situation and the language-specific syntax of definite objects reinforced OV dominance. Figure 3 shows the relative frequencies in percentages of post-predicate objects in several Arabic and Aramaic dialects with the variables of definiteness and indefiniteness. The more rigid VO varieties are found on the left of the figure, with higher rates of VO overall in Jewish Baghdadi *Qəltu*-Arabic (Noorlander 2022b), and the more rigid OV varieties on the right, with the lowest rates of VO overall in Mlaḥso Neo-Aramaic (Diyarbakir). The difference between definite

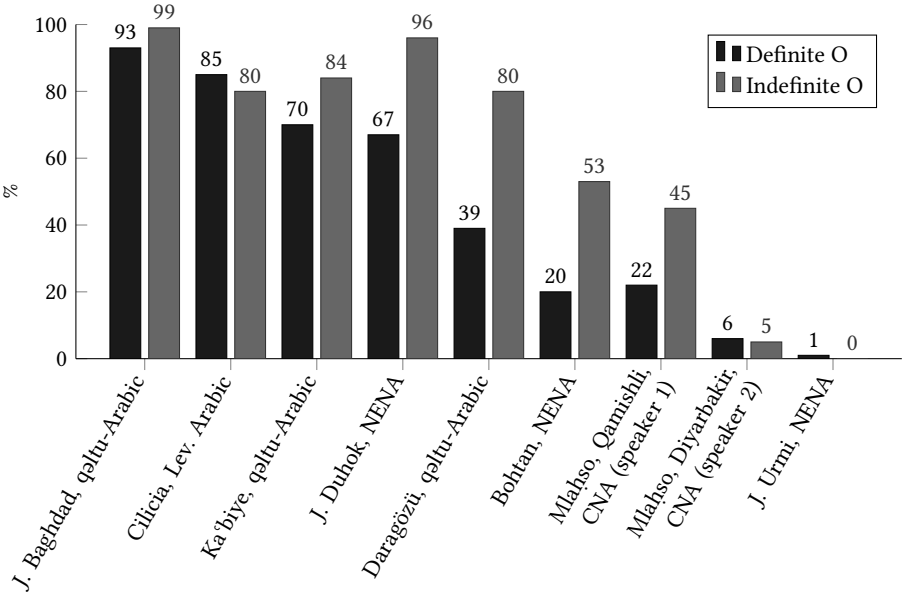

Figure 3: The rate of post-predicate (PP) definite and indefinite objects in Arabic and Aramaic

and indefinite objects, as indicated by the first and second bars, respectively, is smallest in those dialects closer to the ends of the spectrum.

Starting from right (OV) to left (VO), significant variation is observed among Mlaḥso speakers. Speaker 2 recorded in Diyarbakir, has conventionalized OV order consistently, showing extensive imposition of Turkic and/or Iranian, much like the Jewish NENA dialect of Urmi (Noorlander 2024 [this volume]). This is different from the other idiolect of Mlaḥso, Speaker 1, recorded in Qamishli, where the slightly higher rate of VO order is likely due to interference with Arabic and/or Ṭuroyo. In the NENA dialect of Bohtan (Borb-Ruma), the high rate reflects a conventionalization of OV word order, but definiteness remains a factor, and indefinite objects are lagging behind in the VO-to-OV shift. Definiteness is even a stronger factor in the *Qəltu*-Arabic dialect of Daragözü, which is part of Kozluk-Sason-Muş group of Anatolian Arabic, where the OV/VO split depending on definiteness is largely grammaticalized: OV order for definite objects against VO order for indefinite objects. While the same tendency is also reflected in especially the Jewish NENA dialect of Dohok (Molin 2022) and to some extent also in the *Qəltu*-Arabic variety of Kaʿbiye, these two varieties waver more strongly towards VO. Finally, the statistics are also given for Cilician Levantine Arabic[8], showing, like Jewish Baghdadi, no significant difference, presumably due to contact with mainstream Arabic.

Historically, the complete syntacticization of OV as in Central Asian Arabic (e.g. Seeger 2002; Jastrow 2004) and in Jewish NENA of Iran (e.g. Khan 2020; Noorlander & Molin 2022; Noorlander 2024 [this volume]) is only sporadically observed in Anatolia, and definiteness remains a major factor in regulating object placement. While VO is certainly the more archaic order, alternative pragmatically driven configurations were presumably part of Central Semitic syntax as a whole, but perhaps not with equal frequency across the entire subgroup. The shift to OV in Central Asian Arabic is generally explained in terms of the conventionalization and thus increase in frequency of a former topicalization strategy, e.g. *That man – I saw him yesterday*, due to the exposure to intensive contact with Uzbek and Tajik (e.g. Versteegh 1984: 452; Ratcliffe 2005; Souag 2017: 56); the same holds for OV in NENA under Kurdish influence (Haig 2015: 410–412). These explanations are consistent with the data as well as with the view of contact-induced word order convergence as a result of the extension of a preexisting parallel construction (e.g. Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2008[9]; Heine 2008).

[8]Contact with Turkish could still play a role here, see Noorlander (2023).

[9]I am indebted to G. Haig for directing my attention to this reference.

3.1.2 Possessum/existential

Possessum placement in locative-existential predicative possession correlates with object placement, as illustrated in (34–35). Lower rates of post-predicate possessums correlate with lower rates of post-predicate objects. The dialects are contrasted in Figure 4 where the line indicates the frequency of post-predicate possessums across dialects decreasing significantly from core into periphery, and the bars indicate the frequency of post-predicate definite objects.

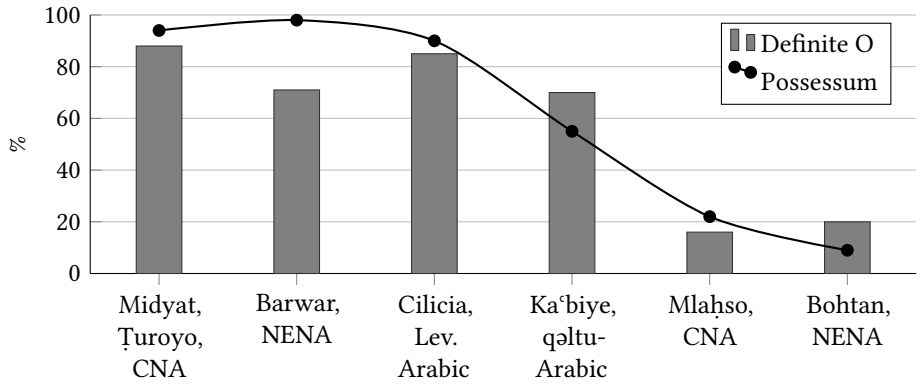

Figure 4: The rate of post-predicate definite and indefinite objects in Arabic and Aramaic

(34) a. Existential-Possessum
Cilician Arabic Çukurova (Procházka 2002: 2.4:§1)
kān *il-a* ***ibin***
PST.COP.3MSG to-3FSG son.MSG
'She had **a son**.'

b. Possessum-Existential
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIV:§12)
ənti *mādām* ***bayt*** ***abu*** *lə-ki*
you.FSG because house.MSG father.MSG to-2FSG
'because you have **a father house**'

(35) a. Existential-Possessum
CNA Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 27:§1)
kət-wo *šulṭono* *kət-wo-le* ***bəstono***
EXIST-PST sultan.MSG EXIST-PST-A.3MSG garden.MSG
'There was once a sultan who had **a garden**.'

b. Possessum-Existential
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: §71)
karme *hito* *el-əna*
vineyards.PL EXIST to-1PL
'We have **vineyards**.'

Sporadically, existential possessors – otherwise predicative – can even be expressed adnominally as they are in Kurdish (cf. Fox 2009: 116 fn. 103) and Turkish, cf. (36) and (37) with (38) and (39).

(36) Northern Kurdish
bira-yek=î ***min*** *he-ye*
brother-INDEF=EZ.MSG my EXIST-COP.3SG
'**I have** a brother.'

(37) Turkish
*oğlu-**m*** *yok*
son-my NEG.EXIST
'**I have** no son.'

(38) CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 106.§12)
*aḥ-**i*** *hito*
brother.MSG-my EXIST
'**I have** a brother.'

(39) NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 4.1:§1)
oyün iwa *baxt-**əw**=u* *abr-**əw***
he PST.COP.3SG wife.FSG-his=and son.MSG-his
'He **had** a wife and a son.'

3.1.3 Light-verb complements

Similarly, the non-referential complement of light verb constructions follows the verb where VO predominates, as given in (40–42).[10]

(40) T. *banyo etmek*
Qəltu-Arabic Mardin (Jastrow 1981: I.1:§60)
t-a-ği *a-sawiy-u* *ḇāṇyo*
FUT-S.1SG-come A.1SG-do-O.3MSG bathroom
'I shall come to wash him.'

[10]For more examples, see e.g. Talay (2007: 184); Akkuş (2020: 150); Procházka (2020: 97).

(41) T. *telefon etmek*, K. *telefon kirin*
CNA Midyat, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 7:§13)
səm-li talafőn l-ú= ḥakimo d-áḥ= ḥəyewən
did.PFV-A.1SG telephone to-DEF.MSG= doctor.MSG GEN-DEF.PL= animal.PL
'I called the vet.'

(42) T. *idare etmek*
NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 156.§505)
∅-ʔod-aḥ-be ʔidara
SBVJ-do-A.3MSG-by.it management
'so that we come through it'

The complement regularly precedes the light verb in dialects with a higher OV rate:

(43) T. *keyf etmek*, K. *kêf kirin*
Qəltu-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: XIII:§4)
kēf saw-ōn
joy did.PFV-A.3PL
'They celebrated.'

(44) K. *kar kirin*
CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 106.§17)
l-á=ṭay-e kar sim-no
for-DEF=muslim-PL labour do-1MSG
'I shall work for the Muslims.'

(45) Russ. *sobraniye*
NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 4.2:§2)
sabroni yawd-i
meeting do-A.3PL
'They held a meeting.'

3.1.4 Addressee/verb & verb/goal

The Addressee placement in Mlaḥso also converges with Kurdish word order typology. In Mlaḥso the post-predicate rate of addressees is only 56% (18/32), whereas this rate is a 100% in Ṭuroyo (Midyat; 26/26). Mlaḥso also shows a higher rate of Beneficiary-Verb order (11/23) as opposed to Verb-Recipient order (16/17). Addressee-Verb and Beneficiary-Verb order as opposed to Verb-Goal order corresponds to the Northern Kurdish word order pattern in the same region (Haig

2022). Imposition from Iranian – rather than Turkish – is thus the most likely explanation for this syntactic split in Mlaḥso. Oblique-Verb order in Mlaḥso (§2.2.4) could be due to contact with either Iranian or Turkish.

3.1.5 Wh-in-situ

Wh-elements, or interrogatives, regularly remain in-situ in Kurdish, as given in (46a) for direct objects and (46b) for goals, although the latter can also undergo fronting as in (46c) (Haig 2022: 339). The same order would be obtained for Turkish, although, here, most arguments, including goals, regularly precede the predicate contrary to Kurdish (see Haig et al. 2024 [this volume]).

(46) Northern Kurdish

a. Object *wh*-in-situ
tu *di-zan-î* *min* ***çi*** *kir*
A.DIR.2SG IND-know-A.2SG A.OBL.1SG what did.PST
'You know **what** I did.'

b. Goal *wh*-in-situ
tu *di-č-î* ***kîve***
A.DIR.2SG IND-go-S.2SG where
'**Where** are you going?'

c. Goal *wh*-fronted
tu *kîve* *di-č-î*
A.DIR.2SG **where** IND-go-S.2SG
'**Where** are you going?'

Generally, wh-fronting occurs in the relevant Arabic and Aramaic dialects, as expected for VO typology. Occasionally, the wh-element stays in situ, as illustrated in (47). In the NENA dialect of Bohtan – and the CNA dialect of Mlaḥso – the object interrogative, stays in situ in line with their OV typology, as shown in (48). When wh-fronting occurs, the clause-initial slot remains open for a topical element, which usually is the subject. The resulting order of Subject-Interrogative-Predicate converges with that found in Northern Kurdish and Turkish, as illustrated in (48–50) below, and in §3.2.

(47) CNA Midən (Ritter 1967: 115:§7)
adlalyo g-əzz-ano ***l-ayko***
tonight FUT-go-S.1PL to-where
'**Where** shall we go tonight?'

(48) NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 4.3:§38)
yad-ət *ona* ***moy*** *wid-ena*
know-A.2MSG I what do.PERF-A.1MSG
'You know **what** I have done.'

(49) CNA Midən (Ritter 1967: 73:§273)
hat ***mə*** *ko-saym-ət*
you.SG what IND-do-A.2MSG
'**What** are you doing?'

(50) *Qəltu*-Arabic Hasköy (Talay 2002: I.2.4)
ina ***šəna*** *āsi*
I what A.1SG.do
'**What** should I do?'

3.1.6 Postpositions?

The relevant Aramaic and Arabic dialects in contact with OV languages have maintained prepositional marking. In one case, however, the NENA dialect of Borb-Ruma (Bohtan) developed a postposition *=ləl* out of the preposition *lal-* (Fox 2009: 101–102), e.g. (51a). There is, however, no direct correspondence to a postposition in any of the neighbouring languages, which, in fact, would not generally use a posposition with inanimate goals, cf. (52b). When it attaches to the predicate, this is presumably an instance of convergence with the Northern Kurdish directional particle *=e* (Fox 2009: 101–102), cf. (51a) with (52a).

(51) a. Postposition
NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 126:§139)
üzü-Ø-wa *matwota=****ləl***
go.ANT-S.3MSG-PST **village**.PL=DRCT
'He had gone **to the villages**.'

b. Directional particle
NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009: 118:§35)
duwa *yar-o=****lal*** ***gawr-aw***
woman.FSG say-A.3FSG=DRCT man.MSG-her
'His mother says **to her husband**...'

(52) a. Directional particle and oblique
Bahdini, Northern Kurdish
ez *di-çû-m=**e*** ***mal-ê***
1SG.DIR IND-go-S.1SG=DRCT house-OBL.F
'I'm going **home**.'

b. Directional particle and oblique
Bahdini, Northern Kurdish
min *got=**e*** ***Mesûd-î***
1SG.OBL say.PST=DRCT Masoud-OBL.M
'I said **to Masoud**.'

3.1.7 Other OV correlates

Several other phenomena are related to the head-final typology of especially Turkish, which are again imposed more strongly in the northern and western periphery. A case in point is copula placement: in Mlaḥso Neo-Aramaic and the *Qəltu*-Arabic dialects of Diyarbakir and Kozluk-Sason-Muş areas, the post-predicate position has been conventionalised for also the negated copula. In the dialect of Hasankeyf, in turn, the exact parallel to Kurmanji occurs: the negator itself is pre-predicate but the copula post-predicate (see 5 in §2.3.1). This tendency is reflected in the statistics of the doculects: the rate of post-predicate copula complements is only 3% (2/65) in Mlaḥso (CNA) and 5% (4/79) in Kaʿbiye (Qəlṭu-Arabic) against 20% (14/71) in Ṭuroyo (CNA) and 35% (54/156) in C. Barwar (NENA).

While it is difficult to determine the language which ultimately provided the model for the development of post-predicate copulas in these Semitic languages, it is reasonable to assume an interplay of language-internal changes as well as contact-induced reinforcement and areal diffusion. The placement of a pronoun serving as the subject of a non-verbal clause, for instance, was not entirely fixed and its post-predicate position was part of the repertoire of Central Semitic. The starting point could have been interrogative clauses, as in the *Qəltu*-Arabic dialect of Siirt: the copula otherwise precedes the predicate but it is placed after the interrogative, which incidentally converges with Northern Kurdish syntax, as compared in (53–56). *Subject-Interrogative-Copula* is the common order in the majority of other varieties of Anatolian Arabic besides Neo-Aramaic. One can contrast this with the dialects of Arabic that did not develop an analytical copula, such as (55).

(53) Northern Kurdish (p.c. with Ergin Öpengin)
ev çi-qas=e
DEM what-value=COP.3SG
'How much is this?'

(54) CNA Ṭuroyo
hano məq-qa=yo
DEM.MSG what-value=COP.3MSG
'How much is this?'

(55) *Qəltu*-Arabic Āzəx (Jastrow 1978: 135)
hāza b-áš-qad=u
DEM.MSG at-what-value=COP.3MSG
'How much is this?'

(56) *Gələt*-Arabic Khawetna (Talay 1999: 54)
b-əš-qadd hāða
at-what-value DEM.MSG
'How much is this?'

The further extension of this post-predicate position to other contexts and its increasing obligatorisation was presumably not only due to contact with clause-final copula languages such as Iranian *par excellence*, but also embedded in a cluster of changes in the verbal system, and this applies especially to Aramaic. See Noorlander & Stilo (2015) for further parallel developments in the verbal system of Eastern Neo-Aramaic, which is completely derived from original verbal adjectives and enclitic pronouns that used to be mobile clitics, for example in Syriac (e.g. Noorlander 2018: 15), and that of other languages in the area, such as Northern Kurdish, where present tense endings, e.g. *-im* as in *diçim* 'I go,' are identical to the original verb 'to be,' e.g. *=im* as in *li vir=im* 'I am here'.

Moreover, Adjective-Noun order would be highly marked in all relevant Semitic languages but typical of Turkic. Incidentally, the Turkish loan adjective *dēri* 'another, last, next,' i.e. Turkish *diğeri* 'the other,' has been transferred with its corresponding Adjective-Noun order, e.g.

(57) *Qəltu*-Arabic Āzəx (Wittrich 2001: 121)
dēri yaʷm
next day.MSG
'the next day'

(58) CNA Ṭuroyo
deri yawmo
next day.MSG
'the next day'

In Kaʿbiye *Qəltu*-Arabic, Adjective-Noun order sporadically occurs under the influence of Turkish (Jastrow 2022: 7–8), cf. (59) and a tentative Turkish rendering in (60). Further research is necessary to investigate its frequency and distribution.

(59) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: VI:§45)
ktir kwayyəs faqad ṣūf y-ṣīr-∅
very nice INDEF wool.MSG S.3M-become-S.SG
'It will become some very nice wool.'

(60) Turkish
çok güzel bir yün ol-acak-∅
very nice INDEF wool become-FUT-S.3SG
'It will become some very nice wool.'

Similarly, there are numerous cases of pre-predicate final states of change-of-state verbs (§2.2.3) as shown in example (59) in peripheral dialects like Kaʿbiye Arabic due to Turkish influence. Thus, the rate of post-predicate final states is 60% (15/25) in Kaʿbiye (*qəltu*-Arabic) and 67% (24/36) in Mlaḥso (CNA) against 90% (18/20) in C. Barwar (NENA) and 100% (20/20) in Ṭuroyo (CNA).

Finally, in both Aramaic and Arabic, the standard of comparison, introduced with the source preposition *mən-* 'from,' seems to *precede* the adjective in Diyarbakir, as it does in local Turkish and Northern Kurdish varieties, which is consistent with the higher rate of OV order. The same also holds for Sason Arabic (Akkuş 2020: 144–145).

(61) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: IX:§19)
***mən sáyn-na**=ste ʔáxrab=we*
from language-our=ADD worse=COP.3MSG
'It is even worse **than our language**.'

(62) CNA Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994: 112.§48)
*hay-ó ṭaw **m-á=ṭay-e**=zi tə*
become.PERF-S.3SFG Muslim.MSG from-DEF.PL.Muslim-PL=ADD more
ḥarb-ó
bad-MSG
'She became Muslim, worse **than the Muslims** themselves.'

The opposite Adjective-Standard order predominates elsewhere, cf. (63–64) (and see Waltisberg 2016: 50–51, 117–118 for more examples), even in the NENA dialect of Bohtan (Borb-Ruma) where OV order is the most common, as shown in (65).

(63) *Qəltu*-Arabic Mardin (Jastrow 1981: I2:§32)
ʕamm-i agbaṛ ***mən abū-y*** *kān*
uncle.MSG-my bigger from father.MSG-my COP.PST.3MSG
'My uncle was older **than my father**.'

(64) CNA Midən, Ṭuroyo (Ritter 1967: 83:§39)
ono rab-∅ ***mín-ux****=no*
I big-CMPR from-2MSG=COP.1SG
'I am older **than you**.'

(65) NENA C. Bohtan (Fox 2009: 95)
ay brota ṭo qaryan-ita=la ***mənn-ət d-aw***
DEM.FSG girl.SG more short-FSG=COP.3FSG from-CSTR GEN-DEM.MSG
abra
boy.MSG
'This girl is shorter **than that boy**.'

3.2 Levant-Anatolia continuum

Several typological features indicate diffusion into eastern Anatolia from the Levant and Mesopotamia, resulting in many parallels between Aramaic and Arabic (see e.g. Weninger 2012 and Procházka 2020), and to some extent also Iranian, to name a few: First of all, differential object indexing (also known as clitic doubling) possibly combined with the preposition *l-* is a feature shared by Aramaic (e.g. Coghill 2014; Noorlander 2021: 290–294, 307–308, 350–370) and Arabic (e.g. Souag 2017); this, however, correlates with pre-posed objects especially in Anatolian *qəltu*-Arabic and Ṭuroyo. The correlation between differential object indexing and word order requires further investigation, but see also §3.1.1 on definiteness, of which indexing may be an epiphenomenon.

Verb-Goal and Become-Complement order is shared by Semitic and Kurdish more widely (Haig 2015, 2022), more specifically Verb-Addressee placement converges with Bahdini, i.e. southeastern varieties of Northern Kurdish (Haig 2022: 354–359).

In nominal syntax, Arabic adjectives such as *ʔawwəl* 'first,' *θēni* 'next, another,' *ġēr* 'other,' and *flān* 'so-and-so' are borrowed with their respective

Adjective-Noun order in Neo-Aramaic (see also Waltisberg 2016: 40–41), e.g. NENA Hertevin (Jastrow 1988) *plan dokta* 'such-and-such a place', NENA Bohtan (Fox 2009) *fəllan mota* 'such-and-such a village', and oftentimes also in Kurdish, e.g. *filan kes* 'such-and-such a person'. Noun-Numeral order for the numeral 'one', as illustrated in (4–5), as well as the development of a prefixal definite article have presumably been reinforced in Ṭuroyo through contact with Arabic. In Mlaḥso, when only the genitive noun is marked for definiteness, this is presumably based on an Arabic model, cf. (11) and (13) in §2.1.

Semitic and Iranian converge in Noun-Attribute order. Here, the attachment of proclitic determiners to the following adjective in Aramaic (see Waltisberg 2016 for more examples), as shown in (68) and (69), converges not only with the *ezafe* in Northern Kurdish, e.g. (66), but also with the definite article in Arabic dialects, e.g. (67).

(66) Northern Kurdish
biray=ê *min=**ê*** *mezin*
brother=EZ.MSG my=EZ.MSG big
'my elder brother'

(67) *Qəltu*-Arabic Kaʿbiye (Jastrow 2022: III:§3)
axū-y ***lə**-gbīr-∅=ste*
brother.of.MSG-my DEF-big-MSG=ADD
'my elder brother'

(68) CNA Midyat (Ritter 1967: 11:§36)
ʔaḥun-i ***ú**=rab-o*
brother.MSG-my DEF.MSG-big-MSG
'my eldest brother'

(69) NENA Upper Barwar (Talay 2009: 516.§2)
xon-i ***ʔó**=goṛ-a*
brother.MSG-my DEM.MSG-big-MSG
'my eldest brother'

The effects of convergence with both Arabic and Iranian can be further illustrated by the divergent usage patterns of post-predicate person markers. This pronominal series, often cliticized to the immediately preceding predicate, occurs across Arabic and Aramaic dialects to indicate both the present affirmative copula *and* the pronominal theme-object in ditransitive constructions (e.g. Retsö

Table 6: Comparison of copula placement in *Qəltu*-Arabic and Central Neo-Aramaic

Syrian Arabic	***Qəltu*-Arabic**		
Cilician	**Mosul**	**Mardin**	
ʕaṭa-ni hinni	*ʕaṭá-nī=yəm*	*ʕaṭá-nī=nne*	'he gave them to me'
hinni fəl-bayt	*hīyəm fəl-bēt*	*fəl-báyt=ənne*	'they are at home'
	NENA	**CNA**	
	Qaraqosh	**Ṭuroyo**	
	kewí-li=na	*kobí-li=ne*	'they give them to me'
	ṭawe=na	*ṭáwwe=ne*	'they are good'

1987, Birnstiel 2022). The first is partly modelled on the clause-final copula in the neighbouring Iranian languages. The second, however, suggests close interaction with the Arabic-speaking Levant and Arabia. While the post-predicate copula is a feature common to all languages of the West Asian transition zone (e.g. Haig 2017: 404–405), there are notable differences, such as the pre-predicate placement of negated copulas and relative copulas (see §2.3.1) in the majority of both Aramaic and Arabic dialects. In Syriac, however, the enclitic copula and the bound pronominal objects of the third person plural were also identical in form, cf. *šappirin=ennun* 'they are beautiful' and *qṭal=ennun* 'he killed them', derived from *hennun* 'they'. This copula-object syncretism, compared in Table 6, applies especially to the *Qəltu*-Arabic and Neo-Aramaic dialects of Mardin (Grigore (2007)) and Siirt provinces in Turkey and that of the Mosul Plain (Jastrow 1979; Khan 2002) in Iraq, but is also common in the Levant and Ḥejaz (Retsö 1987). The Mardini dialects in Syria have enclitic pronouns only for the third person in both the copula and the object marking function (Isaksson & Lahdo 2002). They are confined to the object marking function in Mosul *Qəltu*-Arabic (Jastrow 1979). Other *Qəltu*-Arabic dialects do not have such enclitic copulas, notably in Iraq and Syria, although they may be restricted to the negative copula, e.g. *Gələt*-Arabic Khawetna *ma-hi* 'she is not' (Talay 1999: 54–55).

Pre-predicate deictic copulas are a shared feature of Arabic, Aramaic and southeastern Northern Kurdish (Bahdini), compared in Table 7. Deictic copulas characterized by an initial deictic morpheme *k-* occur across *Qəltu*-Arabic dialects, Ṭuroyo and the NENA dialects of the Mosul Plain, denoting a situation in the immediately observable present or the imminent future. The Bahdini future particle *=ê*, derived from *dê* and *wê* – presumably eroded forms of the 3sg. present

Table 7: Comparison of deictic copula and Auxiliary-Verb order

	Bəḥzani *Qəltu*-Arabic (Jastrow 1978: 139)	**Qaraqosh NENA** (Khan 2002)	**Midyat CNA**	**Bahdini Kurdish**
Copula-Predicate 'He is at home.'	*kū fəl-bayt*	*kile b-beθa*	*kəlé bú=bayto*	*ew=ê li malê*
Auxiliary-Verb 'He is eating/he is about to eat.' (Arabic/Aramaic).' 'He will eat.' (Kurdish)	*kū ∅-yakəl*	*kile k-axəl*[a]	-1 *kəlé k-oxəl*[b]	*ew=ê bi-xwe*[c]

[a]The verbal forms in Neo-Aramaic are in the realis/indicative, lit. 'Here he is, he eats', as opposed to the irrealis/subjunctive in Arabic and Kurdish.

[b]The verbal forms in Neo-Aramaic are in the realis/indicative, lit. 'Here he is, he eats', as opposed to the irrealis/subjunctive in Arabic and Kurdish.

[c]The future particle *=ê* in Bahdini Kurdish does not inflect for number/gender in contradistinction to the *ezafe* copula *=ê* that does inflect for number/gender.

form of 'want' – may also have been influenced by preverbal TAM markers in the same region. At the same time, the morpheme attaches to the subject pronoun and effectively inflects it for TAM similarly to the pre-predicate *ezafe*-based copula and similarly to the pre-predicate deictic copulas in Arabic and Aramaic. For a discussion of the situation in Bahdini Kurdish, see Chyet (1995: 247–249) and Haig (2017: 405–407). Since Neo-Aramaic dialects in general have a plethora of deictic copulas, it is conceivable that these deictic copulas spread from Aramaic into *Qəltu*-Arabic – unless they are a parallel development – and possibly from Semitic even also into Bahdini varieties of Northern Kurdish.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DEIC	deictic
2	second person	DEM	demonstrative
3	third person	DIR	direct case
A	agent	DOM	Differential Object Marking
ADD	additive		
ANT	anterior tense	DRCT	directional
CMPR	comparative	EXIST	existential
COP	copula	EZ	ezafe
CSTR	construct state	F	feminine
DEF	definite article	FUT	future

GEN	genitive
IND	indicative
M	masculine
n	total number of tokens
NEG	negator
O	object
OBL	oblique case
PERF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PP	post-predicate
PST	past
R	recipient
REL	relative
S	subject (intransitive)
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
T	theme
CNA	Central Neo-Aramaic
NENA	Northeastern Neo-Aramaic
V	verb
LOC	locative
Lev.	Levantine
ABL	ablative
BEN	beneficiary
ADDR	addressee
INSTR	Instrumental
WOWA	= Haig et al. (2022)
ZAL	Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by the generous contribution of the European Research Council. I am grateful to Nikita Kuzin for giving me access to several texts from the Ṭuroyo corpus and to Masoud Mohammadirad and especially Geoffrey Haig for their helpful comments.

References

Abu-Haidar, Farida. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Akkuş, Faruk. 2017. Peripheral Arabic dialects. In Elabbas Benmamoun & Reem Bassiouney (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of Arabic linguistics*. London/New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315147062-26.

Akkuş, Faruk. 2020. Anatolian Arabic. In Christopher Lucas & Stephano Manfredi (eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change*, 135–158. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Arnold, Werner. 1998. *Die arabischen Dialekte Antiochiens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Arnold, Werner. 2015. Die arabischen Dialekte der Christen in der Türkei. *Mediterranean Language Review* 22. 105–117.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. 2019. *The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Behnstedt, Peter. 1992. Qəltu-dialekte in Ost-Syrien. *Zeitschrift fur Arabische Linguistik* 24. 35–59.

Birnstiel, Daniel. 2022. Copulas and target phrase positioning in the Arabic dialects of Kurdistan. In Hiwa Asadpour & Thomas Jügel (eds.), *Word order variation*, 197–234. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. DOI: 10.1515/9783110790368-010.

Blanc, Haim. 1964. *Communal dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Camilleri, Maris, Shaimaa Elsadek & Louisa Sadler. 2014. A cross dialectal view of the Arabic dative alternation. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 61(1). 3–44. DOI: 10.1556/ALing.61.2014.1.1.

Chyet, Michael. 1995. Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish: An interdisciplinary consideration of their influence on each other. *Israel Oriental Studies* 15. 219–252.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2014. Differential object marking in Neo-Aramaic. *Linguistics* 52(2). 335–364. DOI: 10.1515/ling-2013-0065.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2018. Information structure in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe. In Evangelia Adamou, Katharina Haude & Martine Vanhove (eds.), *Information structure in Lesser-described languages*, 293–327. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2020. Neo-Aramaic. In Christopher Lucas & Stephano Manfredi (eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change*, 371–402. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Cohen, Eran. 2012. *The syntax of Neo-Aramaic: The Jewish dialect of Zakho*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press. DOI: 10.31826/9781463234737.

Dahlgren, Sven-Olaf. 1998. *Word order in Arabic*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Donabedian, Anaïd & Ioanna Sitaridou. 2021. Anatolia. In Evangelia Adamou & Yaron Matras (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language contact*, 404–433. Milton Park/Abingdon/Oxon: Routledge.

El Zarka, Dina & Sandra Ziagos. 2020. The beginnings of word order change in the Arabic dialects of Southern Iran in contact with Persian: A preliminary study of data from four villages in Bushehr and Hormozgan. *Iranian Studies* 53(3–4). 465–488. DOI: 10.1080/00210862.2019.1690433.

Fassberg, Steven E. 2010. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Čalla*, vol. 54. Leiden: Brill. DOI: 10.31826/9781463211615-005.

Fink, Andreas. 2020. *Der arabische Dialekt von Hasankeyf am Tigris (Osttürkei)* (Semitica Viva). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv11sn58j.

Fox, Samuel Ethan. 2009. *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Bohtan*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press. DOI: 10.31826/9781463217327.

Grigore, George. 2007. *L'arabe parlé à Mardin: Monographie d'un parler arabe"périphérique"*. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Häberl, Charles G. 2011. Neo-Mandaic. In Stefan Weninger, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck & Janet C. E. Watson (eds.), *The Semitic languages*, 725–737. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110251586.725.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2001. Linguistic diffusion in present-day East Anatolia: From top to bottom. In A. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: Problems in comparative linguistics*, 195–224. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2014. East Anatolia as a linguistic area? Conceptual and empirical issues. In Lale Behzadi, Patrick Franke, Geoffrey Haig, Christoph Herzog, Birgitt Hoffmann, Lorenz Korn & Susanne Talabardon (eds.), *Bamberger orientstudien*, vol. 1, 13–35. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press. file : / / /C : /Users/ba4as01/Downloads/Bost1HerzogopusseA2.pdf.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2015. Verb-goal (VG) word order in Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic: Typological and areal considerations. In Geoffrey Khan & Lidia Napiorkowska (eds.), *Neo-Aramaic and its linguistic context*, 407–425. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2017. Western Asia: East Anatolia as a transition zone. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of areal linguistics*, 396–423. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2022. Post-predicate constituents in Kurdish. In Yaron Matras, Geoffrey Haig & Ergin Öpengin (eds.), *Structural and typological variation in the dialects of Kurdish*, 335–377. Cham: Springer International Publishing. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-78837-7_8.

Haig, Geoffrey & Geoffrey Khan. 2019. *The languages and linguistics of Western Asia: An areal perspective*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Haig, Geoffrey, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils Schiborr. 2024. Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: Data, theory, and methods. In Geoffrey Haig, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: A corpus-based approach to areal typology*, 3–54. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14266331.

Haig, Geoffrey, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr. 2022. *WOWA — Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Heine, Bernd. 2008. Contact-induced word order change without word order change. In Peter Siemund & Noemi Kintana (eds.), *Language contact and contact languages*, 33–60. Amsterdam: Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/hsm.7.04hei.

Isaksson, Bo & Ablahad Lahdo. 2002. Three border towns between Turkey and Syria: ʿĀmūda, Dərbēssiyye and Rās əl-ʿAyn. In Werner Arnold & Harmut Bobzin (eds.), *„Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, 311–335. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 1978. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte. Vol. 1: Phonologie und Morphologie*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Jastrow, Otto. 1979. Zur arabischen Mundart von Mossul. *ZAL* 2. 76–99.

Jastrow, Otto. 1981. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte. Vol. 2: Volkskundliche Texte in elf Dialekten*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Jastrow, Otto. 1985. *Laut- und formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im Tur ʿAbdin*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 1988. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Hertevin (Province Siirt)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 1990. *Der arabische Dialekt der Juden von ʿAqra und Arbīl*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 1994. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Mlaḥsô*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 2003. *Arabische Texte aus Kinderib*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 2004. Uzbekistan Arabic: A language created by Semitic-Iranian-Turkic linguistic convergence. In Éva Ágnes Csató, Bo Isaksson & Carina Jahani (eds.), *Linguistic convergence and areal diffusion: Case studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic*, 133–189. London/New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203327715.

Jastrow, Otto. 2006. Arabic dialects in Turkey: Towards a comparative typology. *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 16. 153–164.

Jastrow, Otto. 2007. Where do we stand in the research on the Anatolian qəltu dialects? *Romano-Arabic* 7. 63–69.

Jastrow, Otto. 2022. *Der arabische Dialekt der Christen von Kaʿbīye (Diyarbakir)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2002. *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Qaraqosh*. Leiden: Brill.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2008a. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Urmi*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2008b. *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar*. Leiden: Brill. DOI: 10.1163/ej.9789004167650.i-2198.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2019. The Neo-Aramaic dialects of eastern Anatolia and northwestern Iran. In Geoffrey Haig & Geoffrey Khan (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Western Asia: An areal perspective*, 190–236. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2020. Contact and change in Neo-Aramaic dialects. In Bridget Drinka (ed.), *Historical linguistics 2017: Selected papers from the 23rd international conference on historical linguistics, San Antonio, Texas, 31 July – 4 August 2017*, 387–407. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Lahdo, Ablahad. 2009. *The Arabic dialect of Tillo in the region of Siirt (south-eastern Turkey)*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Leitner, Bettina. 2024. Khuzestani Arabic. In Geoffrey Haig, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: A corpus-based approach to areal typology*, 413–430. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14266357.

Lyavdansky, Alexey K., Nikita Kuzin, Yulia Furman, Sergey Loesov, Maksim Kalinin, Sergey Koval, Eugene Barsky & Y. Kirpianovich. 2020. *Ṭuroyo corpus*. http://neo-aramaic.web-corpora.net/turoyo_corpus/search (5 July, 2022).

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mohammadirad, Masoud. 2024. Zagros region: The Kurdish-Gorani continuum. In Geoffrey Haig, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: A corpus-based approach to areal typology*, 245–279. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14266347.

Molin, Dorota. 2021. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Dohok: A comparative grammar*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge. (Doctoral dissertation).

Molin, Dorota. 2022. NE Neo-Aramaic (Jewish Dohok). In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA — Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa (5 July, 2023).

Molin, Dorota. 2024. *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Dohok: A comparative-typological grammar*. Leiden: Brill.

Nakano, Aki'o. 1973. *Conversational texts in Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Gzira dialect)*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages, Cultures of Asia & Africa.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2014. Diversity in convergence: Kurdish and Aramaic variation entangled. *Kurdish Studies* 2(2). 201–224.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2018. *Alignment in Eastern Neo-Aramaic languages from a typological perspective*. Leiden: Leiden University. (Doctoral dissertation).

Noorlander, Paul M. 2021. *Ergativity and other alignment types in Neo-Aramaic: Investigating morphosyntactic microvariation*. Leiden: Brill.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2022a. Arabic (Christian, Kaʿbiye). In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA – Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2022b. Arabic (Jewish, Baghdad). In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA – Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2022c. Central Neo-Aramaic (Mlaḥso). In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA – Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2022d. Central Neo-Aramaic (Ṭuroyo, Midyat). In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA – Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2023. Object verb orderings in Arabic dialects of Anatolia: A quantitative approach to contact-induced word order change. *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 77. 32–52. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13173/ZAL.77.2.032.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2024. Neo-Aramaic in Iran and northeastern Iraq. In Geoffrey Haig, Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand, Donald Stilo, Laurentia Schreiber & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *Post-predicate elements in the Western Asian Transition Zone: A corpus-based approach to areal typology*, 431–469. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14266359.

Noorlander, Paul M. & Dorota Molin. 2022. Word order typology in North Eastern-Neo-Aramaic: Towards a corpus-based approach. In Hiwa Asadpour & Thomas Jügel (eds.), *Word order variation Semitic, Turkic and Indo-European languages in contact*, 235–258. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Noorlander, Paul M. & Donald Stilo. 2015. On the convergence of verbal systems of Aramaic and its neighbours. Part I: Present-based paradigms. In Geoffrey Khan & Lidia Napiorkowska (eds.), *Neo-Aramaic in its linguistic context*, 426–452. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463236489-027.

Procházka, Stephan. 2002. *Die arabischen Dialekte der Çukurova (Südtürkei)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Procházka, Stephan. 2003. The Bedouin Arabic dialects of Urfa. In Ignacio Ferrando & Sánchez Sandoval. Juan José (eds.), *Association internationale de dialectologie Arabe (AIDA) 5th conference proceedings Cádiz, September 2002*, 75–88.

Procházka, Stephan. 2019. The Arabic dialects of Eastern Anatolia. In Geoffrey Haig & Geoffrey Khan (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Western Asia: An areal perspective*, 159–189. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. DOI: 10.1515/9783110421682-005.

Procházka, Stephan. 2020. Arabic in Iraq, Syria, and southern Turkey. In Christopher Lucas & Stefano Manfredi (eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change*, 83–114. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Ratcliffe, Robert R. 2005. Bukhara Arabic: A metatypized dialect of Arabic in Central Asia. In Éva Csató, Bo Isaksson & Carina Jahani (eds.), *Linguistic convergence and areal diffusion. Case studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic*, 141–160. Routledge Curzon. DOI: 10.4324/9780203327715.

Retsö, Jan. 1987. Copula and double pronominal objects in some Semitic languages. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 137. 219–245.

Ritter, Helmut. 1967. *Ṭūrōyō: Die Volksprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdîn A. Texte I–III*. Beirut: Steiner.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2002. Zwei Texte im Dialekt der Araber von Chorasan. In Werner Arnold & Hartmut Bobzin (eds.), *„Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, 629–646. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 1994. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 2008. The limits of convergence in language contact. *Journal of Language Contact* 2(1). 213–224.

Sinha, Jasmin. 2000. *Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Bēṣpən*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Souag, Lameen. 2017. Clitic doubling and language contact in Arabic. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* (66). 45–70. DOI: 10.13173/zeitarabling.66.0045.

Stilo, Donald. 2022. NE Neo-Aramaic (Christian) Barwar. In Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan & Nils N. Schiborr (eds.), *WOWA – Word Order in Western Asia: A spoken-language-based corpus for investigating areal effects in word order variation*. Bamberg: Bemberg University. multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/.

Talay, Shabo. 1999. *Der arabische Dialekt der Khawētna. Vol. 1: Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Talay, Shabo. 2002. Der arabische Dialekt von Hasköy (Dēr Khāṣ), Ostanatolien, II: Texte und Glossar. *ZAL* 41. 46–86.

Talay, Shabo. 2007. The influence of Turkish, Kurdish and other neighbouring languages on Anatolian Arabic. *Romano-Arabica* 7. 179–189.

Talay, Shabo. 2008. *Die neuaramäischen Dialekte der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordostsyrien: Einführung, Phonologie und Morphologie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Talay, Shabo. 2009. *Neuaramäische Texte in den Dialekten der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordostsyrien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Talay, Shabo. 2012. Arabic dialects of Mesopotamia. In Stefan Weninger, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck & Janet C. E. Watson (eds.), *The Semitic languages: An international handbook*, 909–920. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110251586.909.

Talay, Shabo. 2014. The Mesopotamian-Levantine dialect continuum. In Tal Davidovich, Ablahad Lahdo & Torkel Lindquist (eds.), *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt: Semitic studies festschrift in honour of Bo Isaksson on the occasion of his retirement*, 179–188. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctvc2rm3d.17.

Tsereteli, Konstantin. 1963. Образцы современной ассирийской речи (ванские тексты). In G. Sh. Sharbatov (ed.), *Семитские языки: сборник статей I*, 202–218. Moskva: Nauka.

Versteegh, Kees. 1984. Word order in Uzbekistan Arabic and universal grammar. *Orientalia Suecania* 33. 443–453.

Waltisberg, Michael. 2016. *Syntax des Ṭuroyo*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv11qdtvj.

Weninger, Stefan. 2012. Aramaic-Arabic language contact. In Stefan Weninger, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck & Janet C. E. Watson (eds.), *The Semitic languages: An international handbook*, 747–755. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110251586.747.

Wittrich, Michaela. 2001. *Der arabische Dialekt von Āzəx*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.