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# Bags, Liquorice and Traditional Cereal Products: Three Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Harran-Urfa Region of Southeastern Turkey

**ABSTRACT** The three texts presented in this article were recorded in the Turkish city of Şanlıurfa and reflect an Arabic minority variety that belongs to the so-called Shawi dialects. Due to its isolation from other Arabic dialects, this variety has retained many features typical of the Bedouin-type dialects of the Syrian Desert and North Arabia (e.g. the consistent use of the dialectal  $tanw\bar{u}n$ ). Text 1 explains the different kinds of bags that are used for wheat, cotton, etc. Text 2 is about the production of a liquorice drink which is especially popular during Ramadan. Text 3 is a rather long description of how, in former times, the women of the region prepared various kinds of crushed wheat (bulgur) and how traditional bread is baked.

**KEYWORDS** Arabic dialectology, Bedouin-type, field research, Harran-Urfa Region, Şanlıurfa, Shawi dialects, Southeastern Turkey

# 1 Introduction

The term 'Shawi-Arabic' refers to a bundle of closely related dialects spoken in various regions of the Fertile Crescent. Typologically similar dialects are found in many rural parts of Iraq, which is why the Shawi and the rural Iraqi *gilit*-type dialects are often grouped together as 'Syro-Mesopotamian (fringe) dialects' or pre-SAnazī<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This label indicates that the Shawi tribes entered the region before the large camel-breeding tribes like the SAnaza (and Šammar).

dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 24; Palva 2006: 606). The presence of an Arabicspeaking community in what is today the Turkish province of Sanliurfa may go back to the 11th century or even earlier (Oppenheim 1939: 226 f.). The semi-nomadic sheep and goat herders elsewhere called Shawi<sup>2</sup> have been present for centuries in the Plain of Harran, south of Urfa, between the city and the Syrian border. Today, these Anatolian Shawi dialects are spoken in Urfa itself, in the historical town of Harran, and in numerous small villages scattered over the plain. Due to the lack of official statistics, the number of Arabic speakers in that region can be only roughly estimated to be between 200,000 and 300,000 people. For almost a century—since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923—this Arab minority has been rather isolated from other Arabic speakers because the border to Syria was difficult to cross for ordinary people. Since Turkish is the only language of education and media used in the region, for decades the Shawi dialects here have been virtually isolated from any influence of Modern Standard Arabic. Because of this linguistic isolation, several linguistic changes that have recently been observed in the Bedouin-type dialects of Syria and the Gulf have not taken place in Harran-Urfa Arabic.

# 2 Grammatical notes

In the following, several characteristics of Harran-Urfa Bedouin Arabic will be briefly described. Only features that are present in the texts are discussed: the examples are referred to by section number.

#### **Phonology**

- The Old Arabic diphthongs have been monophthongised:  $ay > \bar{e}$  ( $x\bar{e}t$  'cord'),  $aw > \bar{o}$  ( $f\bar{o}g$  'above').
- Word-final -a# tends to be raised, particularly in non-emphatic, non-guttural contexts: e.g. Salīğe 'sack,' but ḥunṭa 'wheat' (1.1). There seem to be, however, other factors involved because the pronominal suffixes 3FSG and 1PL occur both as -ha and -he: e.g. xām-ha 'its cloth' (1.4) vs. nsammī-he 'we call it' (1.1), and -na and -ne: bēnāt-na 'among us' vs. ?īdēn-ne 'our hands' (2.9).
- The interdentals  $\underline{t}$ ,  $\underline{d}$  and  $\underline{d}$  are generally retained in all positions.

<sup>2</sup> The term Shawi is an exonym used for sheep and goat breeders by other Arabic speakers in Syria and Iraq. In the Harran-Urfa region, people who do not belong to the community speak Turkish or Kurdish and therefore the term Shawi is not known there.

- Old Arabic (OA) g has shifted to q: e.g. ītifarraq < yatafarrag 'it opens (intr.)' (1.8),</li>
   yqassil < yugassil 'he washes' (3.3), qirbāl < girbāl 'sieve' (3.24).</li>
- g(<q) and k have been affricated in front vowel environments: e.g. ğarye [dʒɛrye] < garya < qarya 'village' (1.2), ywağğis' < yuwaqqis' it removes' (2.7); but guţun < quţn 'cotton' (1.6). The affricated g has completely merged with original ğ that has been retained as an affricate (e.g. ğurn 'stone basin'). Examples for k > č: čibīre < \*kibīra < kabīra 'big' (1.5). In wuruč 'side' (1.8), the vowel shift to u (OA wirk ~ warik 'hip') under the influence of the initial w has apparently happened after the shift k > č.
- The dialect exhibits the so-called gahawa syndrome: e.g. in elatives ?aḥala < ?aḥlā 'better' (2.8), and in the imperfective verbs of Form I: ysazil < OA yaszil 'it separates' (3.24), yqadi < OA yaġdī 'to become' (3.37), ?axabiz < ?axbiz 'I bake' (3.44).</p>

#### Morphology

- Gender distinction is consistently made in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons of verbs and pronouns. The suffix 3FPL is subject to a kind of vowel harmony: *b-galab-hin* 'inside them' (3.11), but *nṣuff-hun* 'we put them in rows' (3.10).
- The numeral '100' is usually *?imye* (1.3/1.6).
- Conjunctions: *Saman* + pronominal suffix 'because' (2.10/3.5), *Sugub-ma* 'after' (3.17),
   čan + pronominal suffix 'if' (3.46).
- Compound prepositions: *b-galəb* 'inside,' e.g. *b-galb al-ḥunṭa* 'inside the wheat' (3.7); 

  \*b-sāgit 'together with' (3.28).
- The existential particle is šī (3.7/3.19), NEG māmiš or māmin.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Syntax**

- The dialectal *tanwīn* is consistently used as a nominal linker between indefinite nominal heads and adjectival attributes, e.g. *Sirǧ-in qalīḍ* 'a thick root' (2.1). The *tanwīn* is also used for linking two identical nouns to express repetition, e.g. *nšīl-hin ǧidir-in ǧidir* 'we pull(ed) it up pot by pot' (3.13), *nimli w-³nfarriq w-³nḍall ǧurn-un ǧurun ndugg* 'We fill and empty it and thrash (the wheat) basin by basin' (3.21). Another of its functions is to link indefinite heads with a following relative clause, as in *Sala maṭraḥ-in ndugg-u* 'to a place where we thresh it' (3.19) and *nahār-in šī hawa* 'the day there is wind' (3.24).
- The feminine ending -t is retained in (1) definite attributive phrases and (2) in the heads of relative clauses: <sup>4</sup> al-ḥunṭit al-ǧidīde 'the new wheat' (3.47); ?arīd aš-šakilt

<sup>3</sup> See Procházka (2018: 279).

<sup>4</sup> For this phenomenon, cf. also Procházka (2021) and Retsö (2009: 21-22).

al ašrab-ha 'I want (to see) the thing (lit. shape), which I drink' (2.11); al-huntit at ttisawwal 'the wheat that has been soaked' (3.5).

Plural heads that do not denote humans usually exhibit agreement with feminine plural: e.g. hadannīč yiṣnasūn-hin yxayyṭūn-hin sala basad-hin 'they produce and sew them (viz. the sacks) up together' (1.5), \*nhutt-hun fa-l-hağar 'we put them (viz. the cauldrons) on stones' (3.10).

# 3 Lexical notes

Here, only lexemes found in the texts are explained; for an overview of the most important lexical features of Harran-Urfa Arabic, see Procházka (2014).

- To express 'in the language X,' the preposition b- plus the ethnonym is used: e.g. b-at-turuk 'in Turkish' (2.1); b-al-Sarab 'in Arabic.'
- šūše PL šuwaš 'bottle' (2.9) is a loan from the local Turkish dialect word süse (vs. Standard Turkish şişe).
- The noun *fāl* 'time' is typical for this and some other Shawi dialects, e.g. *awwal fāl* 'first time' (3.1).
- The noun  $g\bar{a}$ s 'land' (3.2) is feminine and has replaced ?ard in this meaning. The latter is used only in the sense of 'place.'
- For 'roof,' the compound noun *fog ad-dār* is used (3.9).
- Adverbs: b-sās < \*bi-sāsatihi 'immediately' (3.17), guţma 'a little' < OA qaţma 'piece' (3.45).
- As can be seen from Text 3, the word *Seš < Sayš* 'life' is used for bulgur, which has long been the staple food in the region (cf. Egyptian and Khuzestan Arabic seš 'bread,' Gulf Arabic Sēš 'rice').
- Sometimes the meaning of the Turkish equivalent influences the semantic range of Arabic words. Because the Turkish verb sürmek means both 'to drive' and 'to last,' the Arabic verb sāg is also used in both meanings, though only the first is attested in other Arabic varieties: ysūg-illu nahārēn talāt w-yibas 'It takes only two or three days until it dries.' (3.17).
- Under the influence of Turkish, light verb constructions can sometimes be found, particularly with Turkish loans as the nominal element: hazəm ysāwi 'it digests' (2.6)<sup>5</sup>; ?axallī ysāwi dinlenme 'I let it rest' (3.43).

<sup>5</sup> The noun *hazəm* is used here in the word's Turkish meaning 'digestion' (*hazım*).

# 4 Texts

The transcription is mostly morpho-phonemic with some exceptions: the glottal stop /2/ is indicated after a pause or between two vowels if clearly articulated; and the allophone [ə] of the phoneme /i/ is consistently noted.

Epenthetic vowels inside the word are not specially marked as such; but the epenthetic vowel at the beginning of a word (and also after the definite article) is indicated by a superscript  $^{\circ}$ .

#### Text 1: Bags and sacks

The recording was made in Urfa on 7 May 2010. The speaker is the second author of this article, Ismail Batan. He was born in a poor neighbourhood on the edge of the city in 1969. He belongs to the Bani Siğil tribe and his family is originally from the village of Qōran (Turkish Uzunyol), situated 9 km southwest of Ḥarrān. The speaker is fluent in Turkish, but has only a basic education. Because for a while he worked as a truck driver to neighbouring Arab countries, he is somewhat familiar with Iraqi and Syrian dialects and sometimes uses forms he learned there (e.g. *mīye* instead of the local *?imye* '100'; see below 1.3).

1. ʔiḥna hēne, ʔal-Ṣalīģe<sup>6</sup> ta-ngūl, ʔal-ḥunṭa wēya ʔaš-šiŚīr wēya<sup>7</sup> kull šakle nḥuṭṭ-u b-al... ʔaṭ-ṭōrba nsammī-he, ṭōrba, čwāl ta-ngul-il-he bi-de<sup>8</sup> ngul-l-he ʕalīğe. 2. riḥit ʕala xālt-i ʕa-ġ-ġarye w čān tinṭī-ni ʕalīġit ḥunṭa, ʕalīġe. Ṣind wurč al-ʕarab, duwal al-ʕarab, ʔal-ʕIrāg as-Sūrīye ygūlūn kīse. ʔiḥna nsammī-he ʕalīġe. 3. ʔasġar min ʕalīġe ngul-l-he pōšēte, pōšēt, pōšētit xubuz, ʔakbar m-al-pōšēte ʕalīġe, ʔakbar m-al-ʕalīġe ngul-l-he farde, <sup>9</sup> farde, fardit ḥunṭa. ʔal-farde fōg al-mīyit kīlo, fōg al-mīye, min ²tfūt al-imye, ²nsammī-he ʔawwali b-al-ʕarṣa ybīʕūn ḥanāṭi, <sup>10</sup> ysawwūn-he min šaʕr al-maʕaz. 4. m-aš-šaʕar ysāwūn al-fardāt al-fa... ʔal-awwalīyāt al-awwalīyīn alḥaz gāmat. hadīcč ²nsammī-he farde. yaʕni ḥitt xām-ha m-aš-šaʕar al-ma... al-ʕaniz mitil as-šaʕar, yaʕni t-turki ygūl keçi kılından. 5. mitil bēt aš-šaʕar hadannīc yiṣnaʕūn-hin yxayyṭūn-hin ʕala baʕaḍ-hin w čibīre hiyye ṣṣīr, ²nsammī-he farde, farde. 6. w-al-guṭun, ʔal-guṭun al yḥuṭṭūn-u bi-...

<sup>6</sup> This term is derived from the root *γ-l-q* 'to hang'; it is also attested in other Shawi dialects (Lentin 2013: 165). Cf. also Iraqi Arabic *γillāga* 'basket' (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 320).

<sup>7</sup> Turkish veva 'or.'

<sup>8</sup> Local Turkish for bir de 'also.'

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Iraqi farda 'heavy cloth sack usually used as a packsaddle on beasts of burden' (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 348).

<sup>10</sup> Plural of hunta in the sense of 'kinds of wheat, kinds of cereals.'

al-³hnīye¹¹ nsammī-he bandaǧ,¹² bandaǧ guṭun, zād yāxuḍ imyit kīloʷ, ʔal-guṭun yaʕni, ʔal-guṭun lā ngūl li-ʕalīǧt-u bandaǧ-u, farde wa-lā kīse, bandaǧ, bandaǧ guṭun ḥaša. 7. zād luwwa maʕdan tara yizraʕūn-u w yiǧi m-ač-Čīn w yiǧi min Bangladēš, yiǧi min Bangladēš, yiǧi b-al-matrāt w hēne yigṭaʕūn-he, ṭūl-ha mīye w sittīn, mīye w sittīn yxayyṭūn wuruč min-he, 8. wuruč ʕayrə yxallūn-ha maftūḥa, yxayyṭūn-ha b-xēṭ ib-xēṭ al-guṭun w yʕabbūn-ha guṭun nsammī bandaǧ guṭun. ʔal-guṭun yōmin yrūḥ ʕa-l-fabrīġa, yaʕni huwwa w čīgīt-u, yikšimūn al-xēṭ m-al-kenār¹³ w min fōg-ha w yiftaḥūn-u hīċiḍ ²b-sāʕ ītifarraq bandaǧ al-guṭun. 9. ṭalʕit aškāl ʕalāyiǧ bandaǵ al-guṭun w-al-kīse, ʔaaa, w-al-ʕalīǵe w-ač-čwāla, ʔal-farde nsammī-hin ʕalāyiǵ hīċiḍ. w-ziǵīr-u pōšēte, ʔal-ʕīrāgīyīn al-ʕarab ygūlūn ʕillāga. humma ygūlūn ʕillāga ʔiḥna ngūl-l-u kīse l-al-²ċwāla, ʔihna nsammī-he pōšēte yaʕni ʔasas al-pōšēte zād kilme turkīye mī-hi ʕarabīye.

1. Here, let's say, we have the sack and we put wheat, barley and everything (like this) in it. We call it tōrba, 14 sack; and we also call it falīģe. 2. (In the past) I went to my aunt in the village and she used to give me a sack of wheat, a Salīge. With the Arabs, in the Arab countries, in Iraq and in Syria, they say kīse. We call it falīģe. 3. [SP When it is smaller than a *Salīģe?*] When it is smaller than a *Salīģe*, we call it *pōšēte* or *pōšēt*, like a bag of bread. A falīģe is bigger than a pōšēte, and what is bigger than a falīģe we call farde, large sack, like a sack of wheat. The farde contains more than 100 kilos, more than 100. When it exceeds 100, we call it like this. Formerly, they sold different kinds of wheat in it at the corn exchange. They used to make it from goat hair. 4. The people in former times made the large sacks from hair and these we call farde. Even their cloth is made of goat hair, like the hair. The Turks say it's from keçi kılı. 5. They (i.e. the big sacks) are like the black tents: they produce and sew them up together. And they become big. We call them farde. 6. As for the cotton, we put the cotton in things we call bandağ, a sack of cotton which also contains 100 kilos. When it is for cotton, we do not call it faliğe or farde or kīse, we call it bandağ, a sack for cotton. 7. There is a production for it. They grow it and it comes from China and Bangladesh. From Bangladesh it comes in panels (lit. in metres) and here they cut it into size. Its length is 160 cm, 160 cm, and then they sew up its side. 8. They leave one side open; this side is later sewed up with a cotton string. They fill it with cotton and we call it a sack of cotton. When the cotton and its seeds are brought to the factory, they tear the cord from the sides and from above and open it like this. The sack of cotton opens immediately. 9. Many types of sacks have come up: the sack of cotton, the bag, the middle-sized

<sup>11</sup> The word *hnīye* 'thing' is used as a substitute for any noun which does not come to the mind of the speaker at the moment (like thingamabob, thingummy etc.). There is also a verb *yihni* that is often attested in the texts.

<sup>12</sup> This word is a loan from the local Turkish dialect: bendek 'large sack' (Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü 1963: 626).

<sup>13</sup> Turkish kenar 'margin, side.'

<sup>14</sup> The word *tōrba* is a loan from Turkish *torba* 'sack, bag.'

sack, the (normal) sack, the large sack. We call them sacks. The small one is called pōšēte. The Iraqi Arabs say Sillāga. They say Sillāga: we (also) say kīse to the čwāla. We call it pōšēte, which is actually a Turkish word; it's not Arabic. 15

#### Text 2: Liquorice

This text was recorded the same day from the same speaker as Text 1.

1. hāḍa ʔiḥna nsammī ʕirǵ as-sūs, ʕala... ʕirǵ as-sūs – ʕirǵ as-sūs – ʕirǵ as-sūs, hāḍa ʔassūs yhafrūn-u m-al-asfal, min Sirğ-u yitluSūn-u w b-al-makīne yi-yi... ykassrūn-u mitil ta-ngūl press gibi. 16 hāda ?aslənda 17 Sirğ-in qalīd w b-at-turuk insammī ?ihna hēne ygūlū-l-u yambalı, yambalı. 18 2. ?iḥna Sa-l-Sirğ as-sūs nāxud hāda kīlo hāda kīlo Sirğ as-sūs, kīlo<sup>w</sup>, ?arba? līrāt al-kīlo<sup>w</sup>, insawwī bī ?iḥna ?ašər marrāt hemen hemen, mayy as-sūs fašər marrāt b-al-bēt. 3. al-mugrib b-irmadān miyyit ģrām firg as-sūs fā... ysīr – SAyše, uskuti bāba, 19 SAyše uskuti! SAyše uskuti, ugSudi, ugSudi, Halīme zād ugSudi! 4. b-irmadān miyyit ģrām yhuttūn-u b-al-tabsiyye w-yhuttūn salē taliģ, tāsit būz<sup>20</sup> ənsammī būz, yḥuṭṭūn al-būz fōg as-sūs, yḍall ymūſ ymūʕ ymūʕ fōgu, fōg hāḍa ymūʕ al-būz l-al-maġrib. 5. lummun-ma yiṣīr al-būz ymūs min fōg-u, w-inṣaffī b-as-süzgāġe, inşaffī, w-inḥuṭṭ ʕalē ʕād indaḥḥiġ ʕala təxn-u, guṭmut mayye w-aš-šurūb ṣār. nuṣṣ litrit al-uxra mayy inkabb inhutt fōg-u ysīr litre w-nuss; Sala miyyit ģrām litre w-nuss. 6. Sugub-ma nşaffî b-as-süzgāğe nišrab-u Sa-l-magrib inhuţţ Salē uxra būz, – SAyše, uskuti ʔabūy! – al-maġrib nišrab-u b-irmaḍān, hāḍa, ʕugub... baʕdēn-ma nifṭaṛ yōmin nišrab-u ymawwi? al-ačil, ya?ni ḥazəm²¹ ysāwi. 7. w miššān ač-člē, ač-člē, al-böbrek yasni, al-hağara<sup>22</sup> b-ac-clē ywaggis al-hagar, ywaggis al-hagar, ymawwis al-hagar al-mayyt as-sūs hādi, w-šifāt-he čitīre yasni čitīr yinšifi yasni, iš-ma tsidd mā txalaş. 8. Urfa kull-u b-irmaḍān yišrab mayyt as-sūs, al-pepsi-kōla mā nišrab-ha, ʔabad! mayyt as-sūs Sidna (ʔagˈla) ʔaḥsan m-al-pepsi. aḥa... yaSni ʔaḥala, aḥsan inḥibb-he. [...] w b-atturuk zād ysammūn-he yambalı. 9. b-as-sūg yḥaddrūn-he ybīsūn-he b-aš-šuwaš, ḥādre. baʕadৣ, baʕadৣ maʕmalčiyye b-al-bēt yḥuṭṭ-l-u, hīċid ysawwi dabaw-in ċibīr yḥuṭṭ ʕašər kīlawāt min hal-mayy as-sūs, msawwī ybīs min-he, yasni masāš xubuz, siḥna, əhnīt

<sup>15</sup> He is right insofar as the Arabs of Urfa have taken it from the Turkish word *poşet*, which in turn is a loan from the French *pochette*.

<sup>16</sup> Turkish postposition gibi 'like.'

<sup>17</sup> Turkish aslında 'actually.'

<sup>18</sup> In standard Turkish it is called meyan kökü.

<sup>19</sup> He addresses his daughter by calling her 'daddy'; this is very common.

<sup>20</sup> Turkish buz 'ice.'

<sup>21</sup> See 'Lexical notes.'

<sup>22</sup> Usually the word is pronounced hğara.

as-sūg mā nāxuḍ-he, baʕaḍ-ne ʔiḥna nsawwī b-īdē-ne b-al-bēt. 10. niʕmil ihnīt b-al-bēt aḥsan insawwi aš-šakle ʕal īdē-ne, ʾnšūf-ha b-iʕyūn-ne šinu šī bī-he. ʔiḥna ʔal-ʕarab, gerči kull šakle, ḥatta l-al-pepsi kōla uxṛa, ʕaman-ni mā\_šūf yōmin išnōn ysawwūn-he mā\_ḥibb-he. 11. ʔarīd aš-šakilt al ašṛab-ha, ʔal akul-ha ʔašūf-ha b-ʕēni, yaʕni šnōn tiṣīr šnōn tin... tistawi. min hāḍa nḥibb ʾškāl-ha al b-īdē-ne, w-salāmt-ak w-al-ʕāfye – xurf Aḷḷa ʕalē-k – w ʕalē-k!

1. This we call liquorice, liquorice – liquorice – liquorice. They dig this root from beneath (the ground). They get it from (the plant's) root and then they grind it with a gadget, something like, let's say, a press. Actually, it is a thick root; in Turkish we call it... here they say yambalı. 2. We buy one kilo of liquorice. From this one kilo of liquorice, which costs four lira, we can make a liquorice drink about ten times, ten times (we can make it) at home. 3. In Ramadan, at sunset, (we take) one hundred grams of liquorice and it becomes... Aicha, shut up, Aicha, shut up! Shut up, Aicha, and sit down! Halime, sit down too! 4. In Ramadan they take a hundred grams, put it on a tray and put ice on it; a cup of ice. We call it buz (in Turkish). They put the ice on the root and it slowly melts on it; the ice melts on it until sunset. 5. When the ice has melted upon it, we drain it through a strainer and, according to its thickness, put a little bit of water on it and it becomes syrup. We add another half litre of water, pour it on it, and it becomes one litre and a half. Out of hundred grams (of root) one litre and a half (of syrup), 6. After we have drained it through a strainer, we again put ice on it and drink it at sunset. - Aicha, shut up! - In Ramadan we drink it at sunset. When we drink it after breaking the fast, it softens the food <sup>23</sup>, it (helps) digest it. 7. It's (also good) for the kidneys, the kidneys, kidney stones; it removes nephroliths. The liquorice syrup removes the stone: it makes the stone melt. It's a cure for many things; many things are cured by it—as many as you list; you could not finish (listing all its cures). 8. The whole of Urfa drinks liquorice syrup; we don't drink Pepsi Cola. Never! We regard liquorice syrup better than Pepsi; we like it more. In Turkish they call it yambalı. 9. At the market they prepare it and sell it in bottles, readymade. Some people, who know it well, take large amounts (home), ten kilos of liquorice, make (syrup) and sell it, just to make some extra money. 24 We do not buy it from the market; we make it at home with our own hands. 10. We prepare it at home. It's better to do it with your own hands, so we can see with our own eyes what is in it. Actually, we Arabs (have reservations against) everything... even for Pepsi Cola. Because I don't see how they make it, I do not like it. 11. I want to see with my own eyes how things I drink and eat are prepared. Therefore I like that we do it ourselves. Enjoy it! – Thank you! - You're welcome.

<sup>23</sup> Literally: it makes the food melt.

<sup>24</sup> Literally: income for bread.

#### Text 3: All around the wheat: on bread and different types of bulgur

The recording was made in Urfa on 23 November 2014. The speaker is Amīna who was born 1974 in the town of Tall Abyaḍ (Turkish Akçakale) on the border of Syria. She also belongs to the Bani Siğil tribe. Amīna finished eight years of primary school and is fluent in Turkish.

1. šnōn ²tsāwīn al-xubuz? – walla, ?al-xubuz awwal fāl xōğe nğīb ta-ngūl iḥne... ?asōlif al-awwalīn alla ?alhaz? ?asōlif al-awwalīn alla ?alhaz? ?asōlif <sup>25</sup> al-awwalīn, ?al-awwalīn w-alhaz zād. ?awwal fāl m-al-awwalīn ta-ndaššin.²6 2. ?al-awwalīn ihne ta-ngūl bēt ahal-i ta sōlif sal ahal-i, angīb ihne ?arbas xamis tičyāl, ništiri l-hunta, ništiri l-hunta, čādin al Sind-u gāS zāten huntit-u tālSe mn-ač-čōl. <sup>27</sup> 3. w-al mā Sind-u yrūh ītimawwan yištiri ?arbas xaməs tičyāl ḥunṭa. hādiyye nǧīb al-ḥunṭa. al yrīd yunxul-ha, yuṭlus min-he ğuwāš w-mā yqassil-he 4. w-al yrīd zād yṣawwul-ha ʔaṣ-ṣuwal,²8 yaʕni qasīl al-ḥunṭa, 7ihna ngūl-ill-u s-suwal. ²nsawwil yaſni čēlēn talāt ²nsawwil hunta. 5. al-huntit at ttisawwal xubuz-he ysīr fadar Saman-he ttigassal, w-al-huntit al mā ttisawwal ysīr xubuz-he mitīn Saman-he mā ššūf mayye. 6. hadīč Saman-he ttigassal ssīr geyšek,<sup>29</sup> xubuz-he, əngūm sād ta-ngūl sala hnīt ahal-i, əngūm ənşawwul, əngūm ənşawwul arbas xaməs tičyāl. 7. ³yḍall b-al-mayyāt w-³yṭūf yuṭluʕ minn-u al-³xrayān, ʔism al hīċiḍ šī yabanği 30 šī b-galb al-hunta 8. yutluf minn-u ta-ngūl aš-šifīr, yutluf minn-u ?ağ-ğuwāš, ³ngassl-u nišhal-u zēn, ʔal-hunta kull-he ngassil-he w-nišhal-he. ٩. w-ˀnhutt-ha fōg ad-dār w-²nšurr-ha ʕa-š-šamis b-al-gēḍ hāḍa. w lummun-ha tibas, nuṭluʕ min-he ta-ngūl čēl čēlēn l-al-³hnīye l-al-xubuz, w-čēl zādēn hāḍe ham ʕa-l-³kbab ģirīš. 10. ham zād la-ḥunṭit al-ačil al-burqul, 31 burqul al-sēš w-burqul ač-čīge. 3ngīb-he, 3ngīb-he ?al-3gdūra, 3gdūrt al-ḥadīd, əngīb-in-ne hemen hemen al-bēt itnasaš ģidir, basad-hum xaməstasəš ģidir, nşuff-hun hīčid w-²nḥuṭṭ-hun ʕa-l-ḥaǧar 11. w-²nʕabbi b-gaḷəb-hin al-ḥunṭa ta... ta-ngūl al qassalnā-ha, al <sup>ə</sup>mṣawwala nsabbi b-galəb... w-<sup>ə</sup>nḥuṭṭ salē-he mayye w-ninṭī-he n-nār. 12. <sup>a</sup>ngūm anwizz-he b-ḥaṭab guṭun yā b-gišš, <sup>32</sup> iš-ma ligēne l-wgūd aš-ši. w-lummun-ha tistawi, ʔal-ḥunṭa, ʕugub-ma tistawi ygūlūn hāḍi ygūlū-l-he silīge.<sup>33</sup> ḥitt ag-ḡīrān yḡūn

<sup>25</sup> A typical Bedouin word, cf. Holes (2001: 245).

<sup>26</sup> Used in Iraqi Arabic in the more restricted sense of 'to use for the first time' (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 158).

<sup>27</sup> In Harran-Urfa Arabic, čöl < Turkish çöl 'steppe,' means 'open land' and even 'outside.'

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Lane (1863: 1749): ṣawwala 'to extract a thing by means of water; to soak a thing to extract the juice or bitterness.'

<sup>29</sup> Turkish gevşek 'soft, elastic.'

<sup>30</sup> Turkish yabancı 'strange(r).'

<sup>31</sup> The form burqul suggest an origin in the local Turkish  $bur\dot{g}ul$  rather than Standard Turkish bulgur.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mayadin (E Syria) gešš 'whole straw' (Lentin 2013: 166).

<sup>33</sup> Derived from the root s-l-g < s-l-q 'to boil.'

yišḥadūn as-silīģe. yģībūn əmmāsīn 'mā tinṭīn-ni silīģe?' 13. hā ?awwali mā sid-ne ihne mardiwānāt<sup>34</sup> mitil alhaz fōg ad-dār, nirgi ta-ngūl Sala mardiwān al-xašab w-²nǧīb-in-ne mrise w-saṭəl w-nnāwiš Sād nšīl-hin ğidir-in ğidir. 14. Sād ənšīl-hin ğidir-in ğidir ydall yğībinn-u ta-ngūl hināk yinţabix ta-ngūl min... Sišrīn mitraw ygallţinn-u lē hēn l-itum bāb ad-dār. 15. ta-ngūl wəḥde zād fōg ad-dār rāčbe tinṭi ²tnāwiš al-ˀmrise ar rabīʕit-he b-al... b-as-satəl w-nšīl-u kull-u fōg ad-dār as-silīģe nšīl-he hārra. w-³nšurr-ha ʕa-l-hawa vgubb buxār-ha vgubb w-rīhit-he timli l-balad. 16. rīhit-he zēne zād al-hunta vōmin tinṭabix, ʔī alle ṣṣīr-il-he rīḥe, ʔaha, w-an-nās min hāḍa yištammūn ar-rīḥe w-yiǧūn zād vrīdūn silīģe nfarriģ Sād min-he ta-ssīr baraktivye. 17. ?aha w-nšurr-u Sugub-ma vibas lummun fād andall ansūt-u fa-š-šamis nahārēn talāt waktin b-al-gēd, 7ad-dinye b-ad-dinye hārra. <sup>ə</sup>b-sāf yibas ysūg-ill-u nahārēn talāt w-yibas. 18. fugub-ma tibas as-silīģe hādi nutluf m-al-²msawwala nutluf fin-ne zād falīģe m-al-²msawwala hādi nfazil-he fayre<sup>35</sup> hāḍi ʕād as suwwēne stuwa w-yibis w-šinnā [< šilnā], 19. hāḍa nǧīb-u nāxḍ-u ʕa-l-ˀhnīye, fala matrah-in ndugg-u šī ğurun hīčid ³hnīt al-awwalīn yafni ğurun ʔaẓ-gurun m-alhağar, w-luwwa hnīye al-mīğane, 20. hāda kullu ndall hā-w-hā ndall andugg lummun ²tgūm-ill-u hīčid mitil al-²hnīye yaſni ygūm-ill-u ʔaġ-ġuwāś, lummun ˀġwāśt-u tgūm alhunta lummu ğuwāšit-he trayviš <sup>ə</sup>tgūm-il-he ğuwāše. 21. <sup>ə</sup>ngūl <sup>ə</sup>stuwa ngūm Sād <sup>ə</sup>nfarrq-u ha-l-Səlu ğuwāš-u b-īdē-ne hīčiḍ yihnin m-ağ-ğuwāš, nimli w-ʾnfarriq w-ʾnḍall ğurn-un ğurun ndugg, lummun nigdi dូīč al-ḥunṭa kull-he tౖnaʕāš ğidir ē. 22. w-kull-he ʕād ˀnšurr-ha ?uxra nšurr-ha ?umm-i ššurr-ha b-nōba al hīčid Sa-l-... ta-ngūl Sa-l-hasāyir Sa-l-xālīyāt, 36 fa-l... fa-s-sūh 'ššurr-ha w-lumm-he tibis. 23. uxra w-'tgūm fād 'ddarrīhe fa-l-hawa, ²ddarrī-he tgūm waktin ²ššūf ad-dinye hawa tgūl "al-yōm arīd adarri ḥunṭət-i." 24. nahār-in šī hawa tdarri ?al-ḥunṭa tigaf Sād hīčid w-timli ta-ngūl al-qirbāl ya da alligan timlā (= timlī) w tigaf al-hawa waktin tigaf sād addarri al-hawa sād ydall yidrub ysazil al-ḥunṭa m-aǧ-ǧuwāš aǵ-ǵuwāš yasni al-qābuq. 37 25. hā sugub sād tsabbī-he uxra kull-ha zēn uxra <sup>3</sup>ššurr-ha ta-ngūl w-waktin waktin tindagg uxra <sup>3</sup>nbill-he mayye. 26. Sugub-ma tibis nirmī-he min fōg ad-dār waktin angūm andugg-ha b-galb ağ-ğurn uxra nbill-he mayye ta-tgūm ²trayyiš. 27. ?ā ngūm sād uxra nšurr-ha, sugub-ma sād tihnī-he uxra nšurr-ha, w nšurr-ha tibas zēn w-ºnʕabbī-he b-al-ʕalāyiġ. hadౖīč ʕal al mū matbūxa, al mū matbūxa, ?al-huntit al mī matbūxa, bass əmqassale. 28. hadīč zādēne wāhad-he tindagg miššān al-3kbab w-al-bastirma. hadīč zād tindagg wāhad-he sayre, hadīč mā tinxaliṭ ³b-sāgit hāda. 29. hāda zād fād ndarrib-hin fād fa-ġ-ġa... fa-ġ-ġārūše, ?at tuğruš al-burqul tuğurš-u Sād ta-ngūl nrīd-u Sēš °šgadd xayye °trīdīn Sēš? walla ?arīd-ill-i xall timan gdūra ta-yṣīrin čīge, ?ač-čīge trūḥ aktar mi-l-fēš. 30. wa-t-tālyāt zād ta-ysīrin zād fēš, 7al-hurma fād tiğruš yafni ssāwi ham xašin ham <sup>ə</sup>ssāwi ta-ngūl nāsim miššān ač-čīge. 31. 7ā, 7uxra nģīb-u sa-l-bēt, 7uxra ətgūm tunxul-u 7umm-i tsazl-u

<sup>34</sup> Turkish merdiven 'staircase.'

<sup>35</sup> Turkish ayrı 'separate.'

<sup>36</sup> Turkish halı 'carpet.'

<sup>37</sup> Turkish kabuk 'husk, peel.'

²tʕazil al-hunta, ²mn-as-ṣrēṣra, ²mn-al... ²mn-al-ġirīš al-burqul, ʕēš al-burqul. 32. yaʕni nsāwī-hin talt ʾgsam. tʕazl-u uxra tʕabbi b-al-ʕalāyiğ, hāda l-aċ-ċīge w-hāda ta-ngūl l-al-Sēš, Pal-burgul hāda l-al-burgul w-aş-şrēşrit at tuṭluS yinṭī-he l-al-ḥalāl. 38 33. hadīč annuwāsim at tuṭlus, ʔaṣ-ṣrēṣra ygūlū-l-he, hadīc an-nāsme ninṭī-he l-al-ḥalāl yasni, ʔē hnīye yaγni miššān al-ačil. tā hiyye w-ğuwāš-he w-balā-ha w-qaḍab-ha w-balā-ha kull-u l-al-halāl hāda. 34. ?aha, w-tutlu\$ al-hunta hadīč \$ād al-hunta ?al... ad daggēnā-ha b-ağğurun al wāhad-he yasni ?al-hunta al mī matbūxa. 35. hādi zād əngūl xayye tara ?al-Salīģe hādi bass <sup>a</sup>nsāwi Salīģe, 7al-Salīģe hādi zād tara hī ģirīš, ģirīš ḥunṭa ngūl-il-he hadīč zād <sup>a</sup>thutt-ha wāhad-he w-tuğruš-he. 36. hādi zād miššān al-bastirma w-al-akbab, ³nǧīb-he zād ʕa-l-bēt zād tunxul-ha ʔumm-i, w-tʕabbī-he b-al-ʕalīǧe. hādi ššīl miššān alburqul. 37. hādi zād burqul ³rhamt abū-y yištahī mā-ysāwi ta-ngūl wiģa? mi?de ?ēš alburqul yqadi zēn, mā-yōģis al-misde. 38. saman sa-l-sīd sāyir ač-čīge b-sās tistawi, Saman-he Sa-l-Sīd ṣāyir mū miţil al-ḥadir, qiymetli yaSni. 39. Jağ-ģirīš zādēne başţirmat-u zād ssīr zēne w-kbabt-u ssīr zēne, hāda, w-al Sizalnā Sād l-al-xubuz, hadāk zād ta-ngūl b-al-bēt Sala gədar al-Sēle. 40. yaSni al-yōm ənrīd ənrūh nithan, nāxud-in-ne Salīģe w-nrūh nithan-he Sa-t-tāhūne yithanūn-he w-yǧībūn-he. 41. Sugub-ma yiǧībūn-he ta-ngūl nuss-ha ?arīd axabiz-ha ?āni ?arudd-he b-ligan an-naylōn, nuss-ha w-ahutt Salē-he miliḥ. 42. malāt ḥafint-i Sala hnīt-u Sala quwām-ha hiyye ?aSaģin-he ?aSaģin-he zēn, lummun ašūf-ha tgūm ²ḍḍall ha-l-gadd al-bālōn at tuṭluʕ min hēne tistawi. 43. ʔal-ʕaǧīn vistawi yrīd hēl yrīd tasab, lummun yistawi ?axallī ysāwi dinlenme, ?ahaddir sāģ-i ?ahaddir... tahīn-i w... ?aha, w-aǧīb nār-i kull šakilt-hin. 44. yaʕni ?ahaddir-he, w-agūm ናād axabiz, axabiz aḍall agaṭṭiና รād alawwiz awwal fāl asāwi yumāq, ومام, w-aǧīb ṭaḥīn adardir Salē ʔaṭ-ṭaḥīn w-axabz-u. 45. w-ankut-u Sād axalli guṭma yitni m-aṭ-ṭaḥīn w-ʕa-ṣ-ṣāğ ahni ʔad̯all asāwī w-hād̤a zād ʕād ˀnšīl-u ta-ngūl ʕala gədar al-bēt. 46. čan-ni msāwye al-ligan hāḍa yāzī-ni<sup>40</sup> hemen hemen fōg aš-šahrēn, ʔal-ligan, nuṣṣ al-ʕalīge ?āni tāzī-ni šahrēn Saman-ne ništari m-al-firin hā! 47. w-alhaz Sad al-huntit al-ģidīde ?alḥaz mā dall ḥada ybarqil. kull an-nās trūḥ tištari l-ḥunṭa ḥādir al yrīd ʕēš yištari ʕēš. 48. ?ar-rāyid yāxud b-al-markēt, ar-rāyid yāxud b-ºčuwālāt zād šī yinbās, ahl al-garāye zād ṣāyrīn alḥaz mitmaddnīn<sup>41</sup> ṣāyrīn mā ʕād ḥade ybarqil. 49. mā ʕād ḥade ydugg, mā ſād ḥadannīč kull-hin yihnin, ʔan-nās alḥaz ³trūh hemen pēšin tištari ʕalīģit burqul w-Salīģit čīge. 50. ?ahaw Salīģit hitt tahīn-he zād hādir at-tahīn ygūlūn əflān marga zēn yrūḥūn ygībūn mā dallat at-tmuwwan. 51. ?awwal b-al-awwal an-nās gāmat ºǧgīb, ?alawwalīn yasni barakt al-awwalīn rāḥat an-nās gāmat awwal b-al-awwal ³ǧǧīb. 52. ?amma l-ḥarīm zād miššān raḥatlig 42 al-ḥarīm, ?al-ḥarīm zād raḥat mū miṯil awwali w-at-tasab zād zēn yasni.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Holes (2001: 124): 'legally accounted property: crops, food; camel-herds.'

<sup>39</sup> Turkish yumak 'ball, knot.'

<sup>40</sup> The verb yāzi 'to be enough (for)' is very typical, cf. Procházka (2014: 345).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Turkish medeniyet 'civilisation.'

<sup>42</sup> Turkish rahatlık 'convenience.'

1. How do you make the bread?—Look, for the bread we first bring, let's say ... Should I talk about the past or about today? (2x) I will talk about the past; the past and also the present. First, let us start with the past. 2. In former times, let's say in my family—I will talk about my family—we used to bring four, five sacks. We bought wheat, we buy the wheat. The one who owns land has wheat anyway from the fields; 3, the one who hasn't land stores up provisions and buys four, five sacks of wheat. Then we bring the wheat. One who wants to sift it to remove the chaff does not wash it. 4. (But) the one who also wants to soak it; the soaking means 'washing of the wheat.' We call it suwal. We soak two to three čēls of wheat. 43 5. The bread made of wheat that has been soaked becomes soft because it has been washed 44 (and therefore is moist). The bread made of wheat that has not been soaked becomes hard because it has not come in contact with water. 45 6. This (wheat), because it has been washed, becomes smooth and (likewise) the bread (made from it). My family, let's say, soak it. We soak four, five sacks. 7. It stays in the water and the black seeds float: they come out. The name of this means there is something in it that is not part of it; it is inside the wheat. 8. Let's say, the barley comes out, and the barn also comes out. We wash and sieve it well. We wash and sieve the whole wheat, 9. We put it on the roof and spread it in the sun; in summer we do that. When it has been dried, we take one or two čēls for the bread. And there is also one  $\check{cel}$  for the *kbab* (made of) fine wheat flour (called  $\check{gir}\check{is}$ ). 46 10. And also for the wheat used for eating, the bulgur; bulgur for cooking and bulgur for (making) čīge. 47 We bring the cauldrons, the iron cauldrons. We bring, each family, about twelve cauldrons, some bring fifteen cauldrons. And we put them on stones in rows. 11. Then we fill them with the wheat that we have washed. We funnel the rinsed (wheat), pour water on it, and put it on the fire. 12. We heat it with the straw or stalks of cotton, whatever we find as heating fuel. And when the wheat is done, after it is cooked, it is called silīğe. And even the neighbours come and ask for the silīğe. They bring vessels and say, 'Won't you (F) give me silīge?' 13. Look, in former times we had no stairs to the roof like now. We climbed onto the roof with a wooden ladder and then took a rope and a bucket and, by passing it on from one to the other, pulled it up pot by pot. 14. We pulled it up pot by pot. They (F) brought it—let's say it was cooked there—from twenty metres they brought it here in front of the door 48 of the house.

<sup>43</sup> čēl is a local measure of capacity: 1 čēl of wheat is 184 kilos. Cf. Iraqi Arabic čēla 'a container of no standard size used by merchants to measure out grain, etc.' (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 88).

<sup>44</sup> Actually, not the bread itself, but the wheat from which the bread is made is washed.

<sup>45</sup> Literally: it has not seen water.

<sup>46</sup> Called kibbe in the Levant, içli köfte in Turkish: balls made of bulgur, onions and minced meat.

<sup>47</sup> This word comes from Turkish *çiğ köfte* 'raw kofta'; originally a kind of beef tartare, the local dish is usually vegetarian and made from extra fine bulgur. The region of Şanlıurfa is famous for *çiğ köfte* which are usually served rather spicy.

<sup>48</sup> Literally: to the mouth of the door. Reflexes of *famm* > \*tamm with an initial vowel are characteristic of the Shawi dialects, see Behnstedt and Woidich (2011: map 47).

15. Let's say one has climbed up to the roof and passes the rope over to her friend, and in the bucket we pull the silīge up to the roof. We then pull it up (when it is) still hot. And we spread it in the open air and its aroma spreads and fills the village. 16. When the wheat is cooked, it smells very nice. Yes, it really gets a (good) fragrance. Therefore the people smell it and come to ask for siliğe. And we distribute some of it to secure a blessing, 17. Yes, we spread it and after it has dried... We still keep turning it over in the sun for two or three days. It's summer and the weather is hot and so it dries immediately. It takes only two or three days until it dries. 18. After the silīge has dried, we take something from the soaked wheat. We put aside one sack of the soaked wheat, the one which we had made. It is done and dry and we take it. 19. We take this and bring it to this... to a place where we thrash it. There was a basin in former times, a basin. (They bring it) to the basin made of stone where there is also the large wooden hammer. 20. And we keep hitting it until this thing comes out, until the chaff comes off. When its chaff comes off, when it peels off the wheat, then the chaff comes off. 21. We say, 'It's finished!' and start to empty this pile of chaff with our hands. And they (the hands) become like this 49 from the chaff. We fill and empty it and thrash (the wheat) basin by basin until we have finished all this wheat—twelve cauldrons! 22. And we spread all this again (in the open air). My mother used to spread it at once—let's say she spread it on mats, on carpets, on kilims until it again dried. 23. Then she winnowed it in the wind. She winnowed it when she saw that it was windy and then said, 'Today I will winnow my wheat.' 24. The day there was wind, she winnowed the wheat by standing like this. And she filled the sieve or she filled the large basin and standing in the wind, she winnowed. And the wind separated the wheat from the chaff, from the husk. ǧuwāš means husk. 25. Then she fills it again 50 and when everything is fine, she spreads it again. And when it is crushed again, she wets it with water. 26. After it has dried, we throw it from the roof; and when we hit it again in the stone basin, we wet it with water so it becomes soft. 27. Yes, and then we spread it again. After we have spread it again and after it has completely dried, we fill the sacks with it. This (kind) is not cooked, the wheat that is not cooked, only washed. 28. It is also crushed for making kbab and başţirma. 51 It is crushed extra in order to be mixed with the other. 29. Then we send it to the mill which shreds the bulgur, shreds it. Let's say we want to make (rough ground) bulgur for cooking: (they say) 'How much bulgur do you want, sister?'—'I also want to leave eight cauldrons to get fine ground bulgur.' The fine bulgur needs more (wheat) than the rough ground bulgur for cooking. 30. And what comes after also becomes bulgur for cooking. The

<sup>49</sup> She wants to say that their hands get very dusty.

<sup>50</sup> She fills the sieve with wheat.

<sup>51</sup> This is a local dish made of bulgur and meat which is roasted in ghee (local Turkish bastırma). The word is thus not related to Standard Turkish pastırma that is a seasoned, air-dried cured beef.

woman shreds it, she makes both rough ground bulgur and fine bulgur for the cige. 31. Yes, then we bring it home and again my mother sieves it; she divides it, she divides the wheat into the bad quality<sup>52</sup>, the fine bulgur, and the more rough one, the bulgur for cooking. 32. We make three types (of bulgur). She separates them and fills sacks: this is bulgur for čige, and this bulgur for cooking, and this bulgur for fodder that she gives to the animals, 33. These small little things which come out, they call it srēsre; we give these tiny grains to the animals, yes, for eating. This and the chaff, all the bad things which are in it are for the animals. 34. And the (pure) wheat remains, the wheat which we have crushed in the stone basin. This alone, the uncooked wheat. 35. We say, 'My sister, only this sack, we make only one sack; this sack is only for girīs.' We call it *girīš* wheat. This we put aside and crush it. 36. This is also for *bastirma* and for kbab. We take it home and my mother sieves it and fills it into the sack, And she takes this out for the bulgur. 37. This is also bulgur; my late father liked it very much because it does not cause pain in the stomach. The bulgur dish is digestible and does not cause stomachache. 38. But the čīge was made only on holidays; on holidays it was made because, unlike today, it was precious. 39. The girīs and the bastirma which was made of it were also good; and likewise the kbab. This and also what we had separated for the bread. This (wheat) was also (kept) at home in an amount the family could afford. 40. We said, 'Today we want to go milling: we will take one sack and let it be ground at the mill.' They ground it and brought it (home). 41. After they had brought it home—let's say I want to make bread from half of it. I put (one half) back into the plastic vessel and put salt into the other half. 42. A handful (of salt) for this amount; then I make the dough. I knead it well until I see that it has become this size. Like a balloon, like this it raises (because of the yeast). 43. The dough needs strength, it wants effort. When it is done, I let the dough rest. I prepare my baking iron, I prepare my flour, and I make (lit. bring) my fire, all this. 44. I prepare (everything) and then I start baking. I bake (but) first I cut off (chunks) and make pieces of dough, I make dough balls. Then I take flour; I dust it with the flour and bake it. 45. I remove the dust and let it remain (lit. wait) a little bit with the flour. And then I bake it on the baking iron and we make as much as the family needs. 46. If I make (all that is in) this vessel, it is enough for me for two months. This vessel equals half a sack and it suffices two months because we also buy (bread) from the bakery. 47. Today, nobody makes bulgur out of the new wheat. Everyone buys the wheat (i.e. flour) ready (for baking) and those who want bulgur buy bulgur. 48. There are those who want to buy it from the supermarket and those who want to buy it in sacks (i.e. from the wholesaler). It is sold (as they like it). Even the village people have become civilised 53 and no longer make bulgur. 49. Nobody crushes (wheat): all this is gone. Now the people go and just buy a sack of bulgur and a sack of čīge. 50. Even a (whole) sack of flour is always available.

<sup>52</sup> The word also means 'cricket.'

<sup>53</sup> She wants to express that modern life has even reached the villages.

The flour, they say this or that brand is good and they go and bring it. There is no storage any longer. 51. In former times the people started to bring it (from the village). In the blessed days of the elders, the people went (to the village) and brought it. 52. But now the woman (does not do it) out of laziness; the (life of the) woman has become comfortable and is not like it was in former times. But the effort itself was also a good thing.

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