Jastrow, Otto. 2022. *Der arabische Dialekt der Christen von Kaʿbīye (Diyarbakir)*. Semitica Viva 60. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XVII, 310 pp. ISBN 978-3447-11753-1.

Mesopotamian Arabic can be divided into two major groups, which are native to what is now Iraq, southeastern Turkey, parts of northern Syria and southwestern Iran. The dialects of Turkey are considered the best researched. After the shibboleth word for 'I said' (OA *qultu*), Mesopotamian Arabic distinguishes between the so-called *qəltu* and *gilit* dialects. The distinction between these two dialect types is particularly relevant for Iraq.

qəltu-Arabic, as the older language layer, is mainly the dialect of the non-Muslim language communities that meanwhile largely or completely have emigrated. The Arabic (and Aramaic) dialects of the Jews from Iraq can therefore usually only be studied outside of their original homelands. If there are still speakers, they are mostly very old—in the best-case scenario—fluent speakers. Iraq's Christian Arab and Yazidi communities have suffered from displacement in recent decades. At least the northern Iraqi Aramaic Christian communities in the autonomous region of Kurdistan are still alive.

The language situation in central and southern Iraq is historically different due to the Mongol invasions. The dialect of Baghdad, as spoken by Muslims, has now become a prestige language and is understood throughout the country. Overall, research on the Bedouin *gilit*-dialects of Mesopotamia is less extensive than *qəltu*-research.

Jastrow divides the *qəltu* dialects into four groups according to geographical aspects: in addition to the Anatolian group, these are the Tigris group, the Euphrates group and a group of Jewish dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan, which he added to the classification after their discovery (Jastrow 1990).

The volume of language material that Jastrow was able to collect during his field research in Mesopotamia between 1967 and 1970 is considerable and groundbreaking for modern Arabic dialectology. This applies in particular to the dialects of Anatolia. In Jastrow (1978), the description of the Mardin region and the surrounding area is given special consideration.

Jastrow presents a study on the dialect of the Christians of Kaʕbīye with the monograph under review, which can be considered a supplement to his previous publications on *qəltu*-Arabic in Anatolia. He now gives all the material he has available on the group of Diyarbakır dialects, including a sketch of the dialect of the city of Diyarbakır proper.

The *qəltu* speakers of the Diyarbakır group are exclusively Jews and Christians. The Christians lived in Diyarbakır city and in the surrounding villages of Kaʕbīye (today with Turkish name *Bağıvar*), Qarabāš (today *Karabaş*), Čārūxīye (today *Çarıklı*), Qətərbel (today *Yukarıkılıçtaşı*) and Təlġāz (today *Doğu Çanakçı*). Jews inhabited Diyarbakır city, Urfa, Siverek and Çermik. The dialects of the Diyarbakır group are now considered extinct.

The grammatical description is based on interviews which Jastrow conducted in spring 1968 in Diyarbakır with older women who were forced to leave Kaʕbīye in their youth. Some texts were recorded in Beirut. One speaker (Sayde) lived in Kaʕbīye until the age of twelve and speaks a mixture of the dialects of Kaʕbīye and Diyarbakır (p. 12–13). This means that the language community had ceased to exist for more than fifty years at the time of the recording in the late 1960s. The same applies to the Jewish language community of Diyarbakır. The Jewish population left the area during the Ottoman period or moved to the state of Israel after its founding, as mentioned in texts 17.4.2 and 17.4.3 (p. 134, 136).

Jastrow writes the grammar description with an introduction (p. 1–21). The fate of the Arabic-speaking Christians in Diyarbakır and the nearby villages is discussed. The historical background is based on first-hand information on persecutions, expulsions and massacres of parts of the Christian population from 1915 onwards (p. 1–2). Jastrow presents the circumstances and scope of his field research in some detail (p. 2–6). A section on the language of the texts, their genres and language style as well as data on his informants follows (p. 6–11). The language samples are mostly pure Kaʕbīye Arabic (p. 13–14).

The author proposes a new classification of the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, based on the concept of peripherality, centered around the conservative dialect of Mardin (p. 15–21). In this model, the geographic periphery is largely correlated with the structural. Jastrow considers a reorganization necessary due to the new discovery of *qəltu*-dialects in southeastern Anatolia in the last twenty years. Noteworthy are new data from the locations Sine and Nōṛšēn. The peripheral dialects of Kaʕbīye and Sine in the west thus contrast the dialects of the Sason-Muş group with Hasköy and Nōṛšēn on the eastern periphery and share linguistic features not found in the central dialect of Mardin, Āzəx (which is now considered a separate dialect) and Siirt (p. 16–18). In addition, Jastrow points out some features that can be used to contrast the Anatolian and Iraqi *qəltu*-dialects (p. 19). A hallmark distinguishing feature is the isogloss in the pronouns and flexional suffixes 2/3 c.pl. While Anatolian dialects have *n*-forms, Iraqi have *m*-forms throughout: *hənne* (Mardin, Kaʕbīye) vs. *həmmi* (Jewish-Baghdadi) 'they', *baytən* (Mardin), *bayten* (Kaʕbīye)

vs. *bḗtəm* (Jewish-Baghdadi) 'their house', *ǧītən* (Mardin), *ǧīten* (Kaʿbīye) vs. *ǧītəm* (Jewish-Baghdadi) 'you (pl.) came'. Other characteristic features are the *verbum existentiae* (among the Anatolian dialects only Āzəx has *(k)īkū* 'there is', *māku* 'there is not', corresponding with Iraqi *aku/māku*; on the other hand Kaʿbīye p. 300/4 *fīnu* or p. 158/52 *fī*, negated p. 158/52 *māfī*, p. 154/41 *mā fīnu*, past p. 146/20 *kāfī*, p. 150/30 *kāfīnu* 'there was'), the pronominal suffix of the 3 m.sg. *-nu*, which in Anatolia occurs only in the peripheral dialects of Nōṛšēn and Kaʿbīye (generalized after all vowels, see below) and the indefinite article (Kaʿbīye p. 164/15 *faqed maṛa xətyāre* 'an old woman', Diyarbakır *faqad*, Christian-Baghdadi *faġəd*). Following the concept of the 'Mesopotamian-Levantine dialect continuum' introduced by Talay (2014), the Diyarbakır dialects which are considered the western reaches of this dialect area, according to Jastrow, represent the transition from the Mesopotamian to the Levantine language type (p. 21). Its most striking feature is the shifting of the interdental spirants to plosives and the short imperfect (in Kaʿbīye in addition to the short form there is an unstressed long form p. 292/27 *yə́ḍḥakōn w yədṛəbo čā́lǧi* 'they laugh and make music').

The presentation of the phonology and morphology of the dialect of Kaʿbīye is clear and concise, as Jastrow has consistently demonstrated. In addition to phonology (p. 25–44), nominal and verbal morphology (p. 45–95) are dealt with in detail; a smaller section is devoted to syntax (p. 114–120).

Special features of the *qəltu*-dialects of Diyarbakır include: the mentioned shift of the interdental spirants to the plosive sounds (p. 264/12 (*bʿṯ) ana tabʿatki* 'I will send you (f.)', p. 150/28 (*ḍrb) kāyəḍrə́ben* 'he kept hitting them', p. 304/7 (*kḏb) təgdeb* 'you (m.sg.) cheat') and changes in the distribution of *ə* (< **i, *u*) and *a* (p. 30–31; 43). In unstressed final syllables of the type -CVC, *ə* is realised as [e], which also affects the anaptyctic vowel (p. 264/14 *əben* 'son'). The consequences are also visible in the vowelism of the verbal stems, where the vowel sequence is *a - e* in the perfects of patterns II (*sakken, ysakken* 'wait'), III (*dēxel, ydēxel* 'bring in, let enter'), V (*tʿallem, yətʿallem* 'learn'), VI (*tqātel, yətqātel* 'quarrel, fight'), and X (*staġber, yəstaġber* 'enquire, ask') (p. 56–61). Also, in patterns VII and VIII there is a uniform inflection basis for perfect and imperfect in Kaʿbīye with *a* in the second syllable (VII *nqatal, yənqátal* 'be killed', VIII *ftaham, yəftáham* 'understand'). In this respect, this dialect differs from all Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, where two different inflectional bases predominate.

In addition, the following features are also characteristic of Kaʿbīye Arabic: the neutralisation of the opposition ʿ : ḥ in the final syllable and before an unvoiced consonant (p. 35–36; 41, 64: **ṭləʿtu → ṭlaḥtu* 'I went out', **bāʿ → bāḥ* 'he sold', *wəqeḥ* 'he fell', *wqaḥtu* 'I fell', *wəqʿo* 'they fell'). In the verb 'give', ḥ has generalised from a contact form: p. 178/12 *ḥṭawli* 'give me!', p. 276/2 *yəḥṭi* 'he gives' → p. 304/3 *ḥaṭa* 'he gave'. The pronominal suffix of the 3 m.sg. is *-nu* after a vowel, otherwise *-u* (p. 288/11 *ḍarsu* 'his tooth', but p. 292/28 *abūnu* 'his father', p. 254/6 *axadtūnu* 'I took it', p. 286/9 *tīwaddawnu* 'that they bring him', p.

280/6 ꜥanaynu 'his eyes', p. 266/17 kībānu 'his stomach', p. 276/2 ywaddīnu 'he carries him away'). It is the result of a faulty parsing or reinterpretation of plural forms like p. 302/10 yədbaḥūnu 'they slaughter him'.

Kaꜥbīye shares with the other Mesopotamian *qəltu*-dialects the *umlaut* from *ā* to *ē*, which is conditioned by an *i* or *ī* in the following or preceding syllable (e.g. in the broken plurals of the type CCēC, CCēCīC/CwēCīC and CCēyer/CCēCi such as p. 262/7 *kilāb* → klēb 'dogs', p. 142/11 rğēl 'men', p. 172/6 ḥ(ə)ğēyer 'stones', p. 176/7 skēkīn 'knives'; or else p. 286/8 ğēhel 'young', p. 290/21 wēḥed 'one', etc., but p. 166/19 ᵓmwāḍīḥ 'places', p. 290/20 snādīq 'trunks') as well as the suffix of the 2 f.sg. -ki (p. 172/9 kəbaqālki 'it is left for you', p. 176/10 šā-ḥmētki 'for your mother-in-law', p. 294/31 īdki 'your hand', p. 294/32 ādānīki 'your ears', etc.). According to Jastrow, the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are 'generally preserved' in Kaꜥbīye (p. 31-32), while monophthongized in some lexemes (p. 272/33 faṛasayn 'two horses', p. 294/29 ᵓltaqayta 'you met her', but p. 294/30 kēf 'merry goings-on', p. 272/5 mōḍaḥ 'place').

The copula of the 3rd sg. shows no gender distinction in Kaꜥbīye, unlike in Mardin (m. -*we*, f. -*ye*; e.g. bəntu-ye 'she is his daughter') or Āzəx (m. -*u/-we*, f. -*i/-ye*). In Kaꜥbīye Arabic the forms -*ye* (after a vowel) and -*we* (after -*u*) are gender-indifferent positional variants (āġa-ye 'he is an agha', əxtu-we 'she is his sister', p. 46–47; also note p. 210/44 bōrg-ye 'it is clear', p. 296/37 ꜥaš-ᵓsnīn-ye 'it is ten years', p. 244/3 xayr-we 'it is good', p. 244/7 ayš-ye 'what is it?'). Total assimilation usually occurs with a preceding consonant: p. 274/6 ġalīṭ-ṭe 'it is fat', p. 276/1 ṭayyeb-be 'that would be good', p. 294/31 əndaḥ-ḥe 'where is she?', p. 300/3 xatan-ne 'he is a bridegroom', p. 302/1 laḥḥad-de 'it is Sunday'.

Interesting is a verb derived from the expression *šī sawa* 'he made something' (p. 69), which takes inflectional prefixes in the imperfect tense and is used as a *passe-partout* word: p. 248/6 yšīsawawnu 'they make him something (i.e. honour him)', p. 300/6 tətšīsay 'that you (m.sg.) do something'. However, a juxtaposition with the unfused form is still encountered: p. 154/40 mā … šīnsayk 'we are not allowed to harm you', p. 278/8 w šī tsayen 'she kisses them', p. 302/9 šī tīsawnu 'they will do him something'. For this verb and contaminated forms such as (*ᵓkl) ntakal, yəntákal 'be eaten, be edible' (p. 200/17 mā yəntaklo 'one cannot eat them') and (*rwḥ) *istarāḥa → staraḥ, yəstáraḥ 'recover, get well' (p. 246/10 tīstáraḥ 'he will get well', p. 280/6 tīstarḥo ꜥanaynu 'so that his eyes will get well') Jastrow employs the term 'hybrid verb' (p. 63, 65).

A list of 'smaller word classes' (prepositions, adverbs and others, p. 103–113) proves to be helpful. Etymological information is not given here, but can be found elsewhere (gōra 'quite, fairly' according to p. 208 fn. 2 < Turkish göre).

Typing errors are insignificant. They appear more frequently in chapter 17 'Der Dialekt von Diyarbakır (The Dialect of Diyarbakır)' (p. 121–138, others see below). This latter is to be understood as an annex: Jastrow outlines the related

dialect of the city of Diyarbakır based on tape recordings that he made with three speakers during his field research in the region.

Diyarbakır Arabic turns out to be a 'rather urban dialect' which shares some similarities with the Mardin dialect (p. 121–123), but also with a number of affinities with Kaʿbīye as distinct from the Mardin dialect (p. 124–125). Some unique features of Diyarbakır compared to the dialects of Kaʿbīye and Mardin are: the interrogative pronoun 'which?' *ayman*, the verb modifier for current present *wə-*, verb modifier past *kən- ~ kān*, the *verbum existentiae* in the past *kənfī ~ kān fīyu*, the invariable indeterminate article *faqad* (indetermination is unmarked in Mardin, Āzəx and Siirt) and the adverbs *awəl* 'earlier, before' and *áyšṭōr ~ áyšṭawm* 'how?' (p. 126–127). The strategy of forming a future tense using the verb 'want' is not uncommon in terms of language typology. The 'intentional future tense' (p. 127) in Diyarbakır, formed with the prefix *ard-* (*rwd), which puts a stronger emphasis on intention, fits this pattern well.

The twenty-one texts from Kaʿbīye comprise more than half of the monograph (p. 140–307). A part of the extensive collection of texts, with explanations, has already been published in Jastrow (1981: 316–371), including the four-part report on the 'fall of Kaʿbīye' ('Der Untergang von Kaʿbīye', here p. 140–181), which is an important contemporary document. However, the larger part of the corpus is made up of newly published texts from Kaʿbīye. According to Jastrow, the textual material on Kaʿbīye has thus tripled (p. 5). In detail, these are the texts: VI 'Erinnerung und Gegenwart (Memory and present)' (p. 194–215), VII 'Hochzeit in Kaʿbīye (Wedding in Kaʿbīye)' (p. 214–219), VIII 'Einheimische Lebensmittel (Local food)' (p. 220–225) and various, shorter text samples under IX 'Was könnte ich dir noch erzählen? (What else could I tell you?)' (p. 226–237). In the chapter 'Saydes Erzählungen (Sayde's stories)' the texts X to XIV (p. 240–272) are new, as well as XVI 'Ein guter Anfang oder ein gutes Ende (A good beginning or a good end)' (p. 276–279), XVIII 'Es gibt schlechte und gute Frauen (There are bad and good women)' (p. 284–298), XIX 'Handwerk hat einen goldenen Boden (Trades are gold in every land)' (p. 298–302) and XXI 'Späte Gerechtigkeit (Late justice)' (p. 304–307).

The text samples in the dialect of Diyarbakır city are significantly smaller in number (p. 130–138). They are based on 70 minutes of audio material and are valuable in that the dialect has not been previously described. Here we learn about the Jewish population of Diyarbakır, whose Arabic dialect is said to have hardly differed from that of the Christians of Diyarbakır. Their language is little, if at all, documented, the same applies to the dialects of the Jewish communities in the cities of Çermik, Siverek (Arabic *Swērák*) and Urfa. Since Jastrow was not able to work through the new Kaʿbīye and Diyarbakır texts on site with native speakers, they contain some uncertain transcriptions and translations. Also note that text 1 on the 'fall of Kaʿbīye' (p. 140–159) was pieced together by the author and partly reassembled. It contains fragments from more than one recording.

However, the fact that forty years later the bulk of the text corpus can be reprinted almost without any changes attests to the quality of Jastrow's previous work.

Since the commentary apparatus was retained, it would have made sense to place the Diyarbakır texts after the Kaʿbīye texts. Thus word explanations would already be given at the first occurrence (e.g. p. 134/6 *sōṇa* 'besides, moreover', which is only commented on p. 152; similarly p. 144/17 *zāṭán* 'anyway, in any case', commented p. 226; or p. 150/31 *dāḥā* 'more, yet more; already; (with negation) not again, not anymore', glossed p. 156 and 196; and p. 246/11 *fǝ-daxl-ek-ana* 'I plead with you', which is only annotated in *fǝ-daxlek* 'please!' p. 282/10).

The bibliography (p. 309–310) contains the relevant titles in the field of *qǝltu*-Arabic dialects. Curiously, Sasse's Munich thesis from 1971 'Linguistische Analyse des arabischen Dialekts der Mḥallamīye in der Provinz Mardin (Südosttürkei) (Linguistic analysis of the Arabic dialect of the Mḥallamīye in the province of Mardin)' is not included.

Jastrow's work invites further investigations in the area of language contact. As mentioned in the introduction (p. 7–8), the influence of Turkish and Kurdish is high. In addition to the obvious word borrowings, some of which are explained in the commentary, the Arabic texts from Kaʿbīye, due to the proximity to the city of Diyarbakır, have numerous verbs, phrases and also syntactic structures that suggest a borrowing from Turkish. This includes a number of smaller words that are very common, such as *hala* 'doch' (to reinforce the imperative) < Turkish *hele*, or *hǝnīye ~ hanī ~ hǝnī* (p. 188/16, 250/8, 306/6) < Turkish *hani* 'where?; well then' and probably also *yāho ~ yāhu*, which adds mood to a statement like *yahu* in spoken Turkish (ultimately of Arabic origin, at the beginning of direct speech p. 146/19, 148/25, 150/30, 184/7, 186/14, 260/5, 274/9, 294/28, 298/1, 304/7). The particle *wāy* 'lo and behold' (p. 116, 140/1) functions as a presentative, not unlike Turkish *vay* 'you don't say!'. Kaʿbīye Arabic *waḥḥ* 'how so?, oho!' (p. 250/9, 288/17, 292/23) resembles Turkish *vah*, *eyvah* 'oh, oh dear', just as the onomatopoeia for barking is similar (p. 262/7 *haw haw haw* 'woof woof', Turkish *hav hav*). Echo word formation with the onset *m-* appears to be an areal linguistic phenomenon which has its origin in Turkish as is commonly believed (p. 190/22 *ḍayʿāwīye mayʿāwīye* 'villagers and the like', p. 208/41 *taxtāyāt maxtāyāt* 'wooden boards and so on', p. 210/50 *qāzāx māzāx* 'sweaters and so on', p. 274/5 *ʿūdayn mūdayn* 'wood and such', etc.).

The newly formed Arabic verbs *razzel/yrazzel* (p. 216/5 'embarrass' < Turk. *rezil etmek*), *sargen/ysargen* (p. 140/1 'banish, deport' < Turk. *sürgün etmek*) or *sakter/ysakter* (p. 150/28 'wish sb. in hell' < Turk. *siktir etmek*) are a consequence of language contact, an explanation that most likely also applies to the following passages from the published texts:

p. 130/1 *ši lē kǝǧā fǝ-ṛāsna* 'what happened to us' < Turkish *başına gelmek*,

p. 130/4 *ōrūč kān kǝmasku* 'they were fasting' < Turkish *oruç tutmak*,

p. 138/14 *ṣṣǝra šānna ǧā* 'it's our turn' < Turkish *birine sıra gelmek*,

p. 140/4 *yəǧi mbāli* and 290/20 *yəǧi l-ʾmbālek* 'come to one's mind', cf. Turkish *aklına gelmek*,

p. 142/7 *ayš ṣāro!* 'what trouble they had (literally: what they became)' < Turkish *nasıl oldular*,

p. 148/24 *sāǧ salīm* 'safe and sound' < Turkish *sağ selim*,

p. 150/26 *aḷḷa yǧīb šəǧlek w šəǧlu ṛ-ṛās* 'God let your and his work succeed' < Turkish *Allah işini rast getirsin*,

p. 166/21 *šī lē kaṛayna hīč nēs mā kaṛānu* 'what we have experienced, nobody has experienced before', cf. Turkish syntax,

p. 194/2 + 3 *qəsmən mō yṣīr* and 212/54 *mā kəsār qəsmən* 'be bestowed on, be in one's destiny' < Turkish *kısmet olmak*,

p. 206/34 *mən masa* 'the previous evening' < Turkish *akşamdan* lit. 'from the evening',

p. 206/37 *čənki nēs fī təqaḥ nēs fī mō təqaḥ* 'because it works for some people, it doesn't work for some people', cf. Turkish *düşmek*,

p. 208/41 *yaʿni mən ġbayz fəṛən dāḥā ṭayyəb ysīr* 'it tastes better than the bread from the bakery', cf. Turkish syntax,

p. 244/3 and 246/9 *xayr-we (āge)?* 'what's the matter, what is it?' < Turkish *hayırdır?*,

p. 244/7 *ənt dardek ayš-ye?* 'what's the matter with you?' < Turkish *derdin ne?*,

p. 252/1 *yatīm baqa* 'become an orphan, be orphaned' < Turkish *yetim kalmak*,

p. 252/3 *akal māl lē abūy* 'he has appropriated my father's property' < Turkish *malını yemek*,

p. 260/6 *īdu mō twaddi tīqtə́la* 'he cannot bring himself to kill her' < Turkish *eli varma(ma)k* 'manage, be able to do',

p. 272/5 *ṣānǧi yəmsə́ga* 'she was gripped by birth pangs' < Turkish *sancısı tutmak*,

p. 280/2 *šəǧli mō yəǧi ṛ-ṛās* 'I do not succeed', see above,

p. 286/7 *təqaḥ mbālu* 'occur to', cf. Turkish *aklına düşmek*,

p. 286/8 *ana mō-ḍreb īdi* 'I can't touch him' and 294/31 *ḍṛəbi īdki* 'put your hand in' < Turkish *elini vurma(ma)k*.

Finally, here are some notes on errata and corrigenda, including a few suggestions. The typos found usually do not go beyond the absence of a háček or macron in the transcriptions. They cannot diminish the value of this accomplished and important contribution to Arabic dialectology:

p. 19 reference '0.2.2.1', correct: 0.3.2.1,

p. 59 '2. sg.c. *ḍrabna, nəkser*', correct: 1. pl.c.,

p. 78 'Plusquampräteritum', correct: Plusquamperfekt,

p. 128 'sie sammelten, pflegten zu machen (they collected, used to make)', correct: 'pflegten zu sammeln',

p. 129 reference '17.4.3,4', correct: 17.4.2,4,

p. 146/19 *cūt kāno*, correct: *čūt kāno* 'there were two',

p. 146/20 *kāyūlūlu*, correct: *kāyqūlūlu* 'he was called',

p. 148/25 *cūt*, correct: *čūt* 'two',

p. 151/28 'Er gab schikanierte sie (he gave bullied them)', correct: 'Er gab ihnen keine Lebensmittel (he gave them no food)',

p. 156/48 (fn. 5) *ḥarči* 'all sorts' of unknown etymology, cf. Persian *har-či* 'whatever, everything',

p. 176/10 *ḫtaynu*, correct: *ḫṭaynu* 'give it',

p. 192/27 *taʿdda*, correct: *taʿadda* 'assault sb.',

p. 196/8 (fn. 3) *ṣalča* is certainly Turkish *salça* 'tomato/pepper paste', not 'sauce',

p. 206/33 *w aqʿad āge w aftaḥ āge zġār zġār, maḥ yōxlāwi (?)* 'then I sit down and open very small dumplings with (?)' is < Turkish *hamur açmak* 'roll out dough', uncertain form *yōxlāwi* probably is Turkish *oklava* 'rolling pin',

p. 208/41 (fn. 1) *čōp*: Surely Turk. *çöp* is meant as 'blade of grass, stick' instead of 'garbage, waste' here,

p. 208/43 *ṣuf*, correct: *ṣūf* 'wool',

p. 208/43 *ʿas nōṭāt*, correct: *ʿaš nōṭāt* 'ten lira',

p. 242/2 *qāl əmkān māfi* 'she said: Absolutely.', correct: 'he said: No way!' < Turkish *imkânı yok* 'impossible! no way!',

p. 248/3 (fn. 4) *yazlam pozulmáz* is not Turkish *yazmam bozulmaz* 'my document cannot be annulled', but rather *yazılan bozulmaz* 'what is written (= fated) cannot be annulled', as the speaker glosses in Arabic *ktībe lē nkatbet dāḥā mō təxṛeb*,

p. 250/8 *səġel*, correct: *šəġel* 'work',

p. 256/15 *cīplāx*, correct: *čīplāx* 'naked',

p. 260/5 *sī mā*, correct: *šī mā*,

p. 262/9 *ḷale*, correct: *ḷāle* 'dumb',

p. 294/32 (fn. 3) *čēz < *ǧhēz < ǧihāz* 'dowry', alternatively < Turkish *çeyiz*?,

p. 304/5 *qāmo ṛaḥo*, correct: *ṛāḥo* 'they went'.

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