Qashqai Turkic

A Comprehensive
Corpus-based Grammar

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14. CORPUS

14.0. Introduction

The corpus, selected from a large amount of data that I collected during my field trips, consists of specimens of the Qashqai oral literature including folktales, funny stories, life stories, asheq narratives, interviews, and folk poems. I collected the folktales from several people, most of them elderly, only in the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe. These texts are similar in linguistic features. However, there may exhibit variations, especially in word usage, from one taleteller to another one. As with other texts, I collected them from diverse sources mostly the informants of other subtribes of the Amaleh tribe. The funny stories and the asheq narrative are retrieved from the Internet. One of lifestories is the transcription of a life story told by a Qashqai man and broadcast on a local radio station.

The texts presented in the corpus reflect the Qashqai spoken in different subtribes of the Amaleh tribe. This tribe, as it is discussed in the Introduction, has been politically dominant. The so-called Amaleh variety is spread in almost all other Qashqai tribes. Thus, this corpus can roughly represent the Qashqai spoken in the whole confederation. The transcription is phonologic, based on the Turcological notation. One of the folktales is given with morphemic glosses that appear in the Appendix. The translations, which follow the texts, are meant to be close to the original and are therefore not always very natural English. After the translation is provided a numbered grammatical annotation for each text; the only exception is Interview 4 which is not annotated. A relatively long funny folktale entitled "Kurdulu vä Mähmädäli" was removed from the corpus to reduce the page count. The examples in the grammar which are referenced "from a folktale" are extracted from this folktale. It has been already published along with 10 other folktales in the book *Qashqay Folktales* (Dolatkhah 2015).

The following list represents the informants from whom I have collected texts.

Belqeys Jahângiri, about 90-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007 and April 2008.

Imamqulu Haddâdi, 60-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, primary school, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007.

Katâyun Parhun, about 80-years-old when interviewed (she passed away in 2009) from the Jamabozorgi subtribe the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007.

Roqayyeh Moxtarxanlu, 77-years-old, from the Moxtarxanlu subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in Shiraz in April 2008.

Parvin Bahmani, 59-years-old, from the Bähmänbäyli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, former teacher, folk music researcher and singer, interviewed in Tehran in April 2008.

Assadollâh Rahimi Mardâni, 60-years-old, from the Rähimli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, retired teacher, self-made researcher, interviewed in Shiraz in April 2008.

Malak-Simâ Dolatkhâh, 60-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, interviewed in the mostly Persian-speaking village Mobârak-Âbâd on the 7th January 2007.

Sa'id Dolatkhâh, 16 years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, a high school student, interviewed in Jahrom in April 2008.

Ahmad-Rezâ Jahângiri, 14-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, a high school student, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in April 2008.

Âshiq Amir-Hossein, 58-years-old, from the Ašïqlär subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Katasbess in the vicinity of Shiraz in April 2008

14.1. Folktales

14.1.1. Folktale 1: Čoɣännär Bäy[37] 'Mister Beetroot'

This folktale was told by Belqeys Jahângiri, 90 year old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village of Khordeh-dareh, on the 6th of January 2007.

(1-4). Xob, kišiniŋ birisi bičaräymiš, ävdän čïxmeyrmiš, tämmälimiš, häyä tämmäl. Arvad gedär bir qonšu ävinä, deyär män niŋ edäm, belä odun-modun sännän onnän aliräm čeräg ediräm yeyir, älä bura oturir, iš germeyr. Deyär : gedäräŋ, älä bu unu apar kemmäǰ ed, gäti[38] där däminä, yanï serkäleyrän ki kili tekilä, towala därdän oyzä de ävin yannï, ruzumuz geddi tut gäti, kiši ki čixdi yazzïya kemmäǰ qulunǰunä, sän däri ičärdän qulf ed, daha däri ačmä tä varä gedä zirin olä, älä o tappï dä tušäsi, gedä gumm olä». Kiši qowzanär gedär kemmäǰi tutä, tutär o gäler där däminä, deyär arvad däri ač.

(5-9). Dedi: adïŋ nädi ? dedi: bilmiräm, dedi: ged här väx adïŋï bulliŋ gäl. Geddi gerdi tä bir yerdä ikki Imamqulu[39] läyin tefäŋ älinnä šikal väräyinnä. Hay huy eddi, šikallär qäšdi. Geddi tutdu beläsini hereft vurdu. Dedi: xob, bir beläyi zad gerdiŋ berkiŋi geti[40] däräynän däräynän däräynän var ged.

(10-14). Sän mänim šikalïmï hïrkïddiŋ. Geddi gerdi bir dowardï, berkini getirdi däräynän däräynän däräynän… Tutdulär beläsini hereft vurdulär. Deyär: oyuruyäŋ sän, kow kow ediräŋ dowardän oyurläyäŋ? Sän beläyi zad gerdin de: ow! ginnä bir ginnä ikki, bäräkät gätirä išä, čox olä.

(15-19). Geddi oyantär, gerdi bir mänim täyin qärri elmiš, šivänǰädi, äzadarligdi, dedi: ow! ginnä bir, ginnä ikki. Burdä dä tox vurdulär. Deyär: bir beläki zad gerdiŋ de: germäyäŋiz ävväl axïr älä bu ossun. Geddi gerdi bir toydï(r), dedi: germäyäŋiz ävväl axïr älä bu ossun. Ordä dä ketäyi yedi.

(20-24). Geddi geddi geddi gerdi tä… bir äšräfi itirmišlär gäzillär, bäččämädräsä gäzir. Birisi, bu bäččämädräsäniŋ dedi: bax bax, iŋer čoɣännärdi! Häräkät eddi, dedi: äy bullum! Gäzdilär, tekišdirdilär, dedi: xub, sän äšräfiyi bulmušäŋ ver! Ddi: yow, adïmï bullum.

(25-29). Adïŋ nädi? dedi: adïm lättä ičinnä. Soyan däyil, käläm däyil, turub däyil? čoyonnäri demellärdi. Dedi: yow, heč birisi däyil. Inni burdä dä vill eddilär. Vardï geddi geddi, daha inni burdä bäxti gätirir.

(30-34). Geddi gerdi bir ävli kečmiš bir erkäni qalmïš, bir ävli kečmiš uš-derd yumurtäsi qalmïš, birisiniŋ bir yayuɣ ayranï qalmïš, birisiniŋ bir saz-o-naɣaräsi qalmïš, xob, biri torbäsi qalmïš. Iɣdi ičinä o allï dalïnä o geddi. Geddi geddi gerdi bir div mänzelidir, bilmerdi divdi, gerer bir kohnä qählädi; häyä, qählädi. Gedär qahläyä gerer yeddi qazan qätar qomušlär, altïsiniŋ altïnï odlär, altï div gäler baš qoyär ičär altïsï dä saqqat olur, biri dä där däminnä gezčiymiš bahïsab. Deyär: adam madam issi gälir, yaylï badam issi gälir, mänim šährimnä iŋer adamïzad issi gälir. Deyär: bu mänim bowam šähridir.

(35-39). Deyär: yow, mänim bowam šähridir. Deyär: gä[41] šärt vuräg, gäl burä, härkäs daš qoydu älinä sïxdï su ollu o aparmïš. Div daš qoydu älinä sïxdï un ollu, o qïrmïzï kiši yumurtäyi ukaladï su ollu. Dedi: gäl tifiräg. O tifirdi yarïm äršin yol geddi, bu yayïɣïŋ aɣzïnï ačanna ikki äršin geddi, ayranï vill eddi.

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[37] Čoɣännär (< Persian. čoqondär) means red beet. The man of the folktale is called čoɣännär, for he has a red face.

[38] The /r/ of the imperative form of *gätir-* 'to bring' is omitted especially in fast speech.

[39] *Imamqulu* is the name of elder son of taleteller, and this folktale was told at his home and in his presence.

[40] The /r/ of the imperative form of *getir-* 'to take' is omitted especially in fast speech (see also footnote 43)

[41] The final consonant /l/ of the verb *gäl-* 'to come' drops in the imperative mood (see also footnotes 43 and 46).

(40-44). Dedi: inni dä ki apardïŋ. Dedi: xob, gäl bašïmïz tikini atag. O bir čäräk baš tiki addï, bu erkäni vill eddi. Dedi: xob, daha niǰ edäg? Här käsdän yel čïxdï säsi čoxtär ollu, älä o aparmïš.

(45-49). Geddi bir äv ičinä, bu div bir šaqquladännä… divdän bir yel čïxdï munu getirdi o dälig bu däligä, atar ottay buttaya. Deyär: sän ordä čoɣännär nä iš geyiräŋ? Deyär: män bu dälig-dušugu tutiräm yel veränna säni yel aparmeyä. Täpiginän vuränna däri qerrär. Bu dä gedär naɣaräyi qoyär bun issinä, här nä vurä.

(50-54). Älä geri qäčirmïš deyirmïš: ävi yanmïšïŋ ossuraɣï säslänir belä! Gedär gerir bir tilki ǰulowunnän gälir. Deyär: hara gedirän? Iŋer čox owqatïŋ tälxdi! Deyär: qurbanïŋ ollum, adamïzad bulunmuš ävimi almïš älimnän.

(55-59). Deyär: gäl bir talä tikiŋnän qaz baɣlä boynumä, baɣlä quyruquŋä tä gedäm alam veräm. Baxdï gerdi gälir. Dedi: xob, tilki kaka, säniŋ bowaŋ mänim bowamä yeddi alabärzäŋi veräsi, bu birisi hanï altïsï daha? Dedi: axxey, bu mäni apayïr verä bowasï bedehinä. Qäšdi ipinän tilkiyi čäkdi, tilki dä onïŋ qulunǰunnän burä owlannï orä owlannï, daša owlannï daɣïllï geddi.

(60-64). Kiši geddi oturdu ämlakïŋ issinä. Gerdi belä ruzegarï xub olir. Gälli etišdi ävinä, dedi: arvad, däri ač tä gäläm. Dedi: aďïŋ nädi(r)? Dedi: aďïm čoɣännär.

(65-67). Arvad, där izimizä ačïlmïš. Gälli arvadï getirdi geddi orä oturdu, yedi, išdi, xoš eddi. Tämam ollu, bu dä Qïrmïzï ämi qessäsi, čoɣännär bäy.

14.1.1.1. Folktale 1: translation

(1-4). Well, there was a man who was poor, he would not leave home [to go after work], he was lazy, yes lazy, [his] wife went to a neighbour and said: what can I do [with him]? I borrow wood and things from you and others to bake bread, he eats, sits right here [and] does not work. [The neighbour] said: you will go, you take this flour, make a kemmäj[42], take it before the door, [and] shake it as if you want to clean off the ashes, [over there] you roll it away, tell [him] may your house be burnt, call our daily food is gone away, take it back! As soon as the man went outside after the kemmäj, lock the door from inside, don't open the door anymore so that he go [and] make efforts; [and let] that very bread [be] his provision; [so that] he go away. The man stood up to go catch the bread, caught it and came back before the door [and] said: wife, open the door!

(5-9). [The wife] said: what's your name? h said I don't know, she said: go! [and] come back whenever you have found your name. He went away, eventually somewhere he met two men like Imamqulu [who] rifles at hand were lying in wait of a game. He made a noise and the game fled. [They] caught him and beat him terribly. They said: well, if you see such a thing, take your hat off and take the valley and go away.

(10-14). You startled [our] quarry. He went [and] saw a herd [of sheep and goats], took his hat off and moved away [crawling through the valleys]. They caught [and] beat him horribly. They said: you are a thief, you walk on pussyfoot to abduct from the herd? if you see this kind of thing, say oh! everyday one, everyday two! [May God give you abundance!]. In order that this [benediction] could bless our business and make it thrive.

(15-19). He went a little further where he saw that an old woman like me[43] had died and there were mourning and they were moaning, he said: everyday one, everyday two! [may God give you abundance!]. They beat him severely. They said: if you see this kind of thing you must say: may you not face (this) any more, may this be the first and last [sorrow] you ever have. He went on after this [and] saw a wedding, he said: may you not face it any more, may it be the first and the last [you ever have]. There again, he was thrashed.

(20-24). He went went went [much far] and saw that… they had lost a gold coin and they were looking for it; the schoolchildren, are looking for it. One of them, one of the schoolchildren said: look! look! he looks like a beetroot. He ran and shouted: I found it! They examined him, they said: right, you've found the gold coin, give it! He said: No, I found my name.

(25-29). What's your name? my name has to do with farming. Isn't it onion, isn't it cabbage, isn't it radish? they did not mention 'beetroot'. He said: It is none of them. Then, they released him. He then went further, and his luck turned…

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[42] *Kemmäǰ,* is a kind of thick bread, often made from barley flour and is reputed as the food of poor people.
[43] Here, the taleteller refers to herself.

(30-34). He went [and at another place] saw a a rope left from a family who had moved, some eggs left from another family who had moved, a butter-churn full of buttermilk from another one, a kettle-drum and a trumpet from another one, and a bag left from another one; he collected [all these things] in the bag, took it on the back and went away. He went went and saw [that] there was a house of demon; he did not know that it was a demon; he noticed only that it was an old castle; err, yes, a castle. He entered the castle and saw that there were seven cauldrons; he set fire under six of them, six demons arrived and started to drink; all of them perished, one of them keeping watch over the door. [The demon] said: it smells of human being, it smells oily almonds; in my town, it smells of a human being. It said: This is the town of my father.

(35-39). [The demon] said: no, it is the town of my father! He said: so, come wager; come here, he who is able to turn a stone into water by force of his hands will win. The demon pressed a stone into flour in his hands; as for the red man, he rubbed an egg in his hands and broke it, [showing that he converted it to water]. Now, let's spit. That one spit about a half meter, and this one opened his churn-skin and squirted buttermilk over two meters.

(40-44). The demon said: this time too, you won. He said: Well, let's throw our hair. That one threw around a kilogram of his hair, this one threw the rope. The demon said: well, what else can we do? He who can break wind most strongly will win.

(45-49). They went into a room, the demon broke wind noisily; and the wind blew the man here and there; threw him in all directions. The demon said: Beetroot, what are you doing up there? He said: I am sealing off all these holes so that the wind does not take you when I fart. The demon kicked down the door [and fled]. The man put the kettle-drum on the roof striking it forcefully.

(50-54). The demon ran away saying: may his house be burned, he who farts so noisily! The demon faced a fox coming from the opposite side. The fox asked: where are you going? You seem to be in a very bad mood. The demon said: may I die for you, the son of Man has come and taken my house.

(55-59). The fox said: come take a hair of yours and attach it to my neck and to your tail, [we will return and] I will retake your house. The man saw them coming. He said: OK, brother fox, your father owes my father seven Alabärzäɲi[44], here is one of them, where are the six others? The demon said: alas! this fox takes me to exchange me against the debts of its father. It fled towing the fox [who was attached to its tail], following the demon, the fox was struck by stones everywhere and perished.

(60-64). The man settled in the property. He noticed that his life had favourably changed. He returned home and said: wife, open the door, I want to return. She asked: what's your name? He said: My name is Beetroot.

(65-67). Wife, the door has opened to us. Then, he took his wife and led her over there [in the castle]; they sat down, they ate, they drank and enjoyed the life. It is finished, that was the story of uncle Beetroot, Mr. Beetroot.

14.1.1.2. Folktale 1: glossed text

(1)   (1-4)

Xob,	*kiši-niŋ*	*bir-i-si*	*bečarä-yimiš.*	*äv-dän*	*čix-me-yrmiš;*	*tämmäl-imiš,*
well	man-GEN	one-POS3-POS3SG	poor-.PF.COP3SG	house-ABL	exit-NEG-IMPF3SG	lazy- PF.COP3SG

mänzur	*tämmäl-imiš,*	*häyä*	*tämmäl.*
it.means	lazy-PF.COP3SG	yes	lazy

(2)

arvad	*ged-är*	*bir-in-nän*	*bir...*	*de-yär*	*män*	*niǰ*	*ed-ä-m?*
woman	go-AOR3SG	one-POS3-ABL	one	say-AOR3SG	I	what	do-SUBJ-1SG

belä	*odun-modun*	*sän-nän*	*onnän*	*alïr-äm*	*čeräg*	*ed-ir-äm*	*ye-yir,*
thus	wood.and.things	you-ABL	he/she.ABL	take-PRS1SG	bread	do-PRS-1SG	eat-PRS3SG

älä	*burä*	*otur-ir*	*iš*	*ger-me-yir.*
EMPH	this.DAT	sit-PRS3SG	work	do-NEG-PRS3SG

(3)

de-yär:	*ged-är-äŋ,*	*älä*	*bu*	*un-u*	*apar*	*kemmäǰ*	*ed,*
say-AOR3SG	go-AOR-2SG	EMPH	this	flour-ACC	take.IMP2SG	thick.bread	do.IMP2SG

gäti	*där*	*däm-i-nä,*	*yanï*	*serkäle-yr-äŋ,*	*towalä*	*där-dän*	*öyz-ä*
bring.IMP2SG	door	front-POS3-DAT	mean	shake-PRS-2SG	roll.IMP2SG	door-ABL	other.side-DAT

de	*äv-iŋ*	*yan-nï*	*ruzu-muz*	*ged-di*	*tut*	*gäti.*
say.IMP2SG	house-POS2SG	burn-PST3SG	subsistence-POS1PL	go-PST3SG	catch.IMP2SG	bring.IMP2SG

kisi	*ki*	*čix-di*	*yazï-yä*	*kemmäǰ*	*quluŋ-u-nä,*	*sän*	*där-i*

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[44]Alabärzäɲi is an imaginary creature in the Qashqay folklore—a demon with white and black striped skin.

man	KI	exit-PST3SG	outside-DAT	a.type.of.bread	after-POS3-DAT	you	door-ACC

ičär-dän qolf ed. daha där-i ač-mä tä vär-ä ged-ä zereη ol-ä.

inside-ABL lock do.IMP2SG any.more door-ACC open-NEG.IMP2SG TA existing-SUBJ3SG go-SUBJ3SG adroit be-SUBJ3SG

älä o tappï dä tušä-si ged-ä gumm ol-ä.

EMPH that thick.bread DA provision-POS3SG go-SUBJ3SG lost be-SUBJ3SG

(4)

kiši qowza-n-är ged-är kemmäǰ-i tut-ä; tut-är o

man lift-PASS-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG bread-ACC catch-SUBJ3SG catch-AOR3SG and

gäl-er där däm-i-nä de-yär arvad där-i ač!

come-AOR3SG door front-POS3SG-DAT say-AOR3SG woman door-ACC open.IMP2SG

(5) *(5-9)*

de-di: ad-iη nä-di? de-di: bil-m-ir-äm. de-di:

say-PST name-POS2SG what-PST3SG say-PST3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG say-PST3SG

ged härväx ad-iη-ï bul-li-η gäl!

go.IMP2SG whenever name-POS2SG-ACC find-PST-2SG come.IMP2SG

(6)

ged-di ger-di tä bir yer-dä ikki Imamqulu läyin tefäη äl-i-nnä

go-PST3SG see-PST3SG TA one earth-loc two Imamqulu like gun hand-POS3sg-loc

šikal väräy-e-nnä.

game look.out-POS3SG-LOC

(7)

häy huy ed-di šikal-lär qäč-di.

HAY HUY do-PST3SG game-PL run-PST3SG

(8)

ged-di tut-du beläsin-i hereft vur-du.

go-PST3SG catch-PST3SG ANPH.3SG-ACC terribly beat-PST3SG

(9)

de-di: xob, bir beläyi zad ger-di-η

say-PST3SG well one such thing see-PST2SG

berk-iη-i geti därä-ynän därä-ynän var ged!

hat-POS2SG-ACC take.IMP2SG valley-INST valley-INST existing.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG

(10) *(10-14)*

sän män-im šikal-ïm-ï hirk-id-di-η!"

you I-GEN game-POS1SG-ACC scare.away-CAUS-PST-2SG

(11)

ged-di ger-di bir dowar-dï,

go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one herd-PST3SG

berk-i-ni getir-di därä-ynän därä-ynän därä-ynän...

hat-POS3SG-ACC take-PST3SG valley-INST valley-INST valley-INST

(12)

tut-du-lär; tut-du, beläsin-i hereft vur-du-lär.

catch-PST3SG-3PL catch-PST3SG ANPH.3SG-ACC terribly beat-PST3SG-PL

(13)

de-yär oγuru-yäη sän? kow kow ed-ir-äη dowar-dän oγurlä-yä-η?

say-AOR rubber-COP you crawling do-PRS-2SG herd-ABL steal-SUBJ-2SG

(14)

sän, beläye zad ger-di-η de: ow, gin-nä bir gin-nä ikki;

you such thing see-PST-2SG say.IMP2SG oh day-LOC one day-LOC two

bäräkät gäter-ä iš-ä, čox ol-ä.

abundance bring-SUBJ3SG work-DAT very become-SUBJ3SG

(15) *(15-19)*

ged-di owan-tär ger-di bir män-im täyin qärri el-miš; šivän-ǰä-di,

go-PST that.side-COMP see-PST one I-GEN like old.woman die-PF3SG whine-EQU-COP

äzadärlig-dï. de-di: ö, gin-nä bir gin-nä ikki.

mourning-PRS.COP3SG say-PST3SG o day-LOC one day-LOC two

(16)

burdä dä tox vur-du-lär.

here.LOC DA sated beat-PST-3PL

(17)

de-yär: ged-di-η bir belä-ki zad ger-di-η, de ger-mä-yä-ηiz

say-AOR3SG go-PST-2SG one such-KI thing see-PST-2SG say see-NEG-SUBJ2PL

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ävväl   axïr   älä   bu   os-sun.
first   last   EMPH   this   become-IMP3SG

(18)
ged-di   ger-di   bir   toy-du,   de-di: ger-mä-yä-ŋiz
go-PST3SG   see-PST3SG   one   wedding-PST3SG   say-PST3SG   see-NEG-SUBJ-2PL

ävväl   axïr   älä   bu   os-sun.
first   last   EMPH   this   become-IMP3SG

(19)
ordä   dä   kitäy-i   ye-di.
there.LOC   DA   beating-ACC   eat-PST3SG

(20)   *(20-24)*
ged-di   ged-di   ged-di   ger-di   tä   bir   dowar   al-an-nï,
go-PST3SG   go-PST3SG   go-PST3SGG   see-PST3SG   TA   one   herd   take-PART-PRS.COP

bir   äšräfi   itir-miš-lär   gäz-il-lär,   bäččämädräsä   gäz-ir;
one   golden.coin   lose-PF3PL   search-PRS3PL   schoolboys   search-PRS3SG

(21)
bir-i-si   de-di: bu   bäčämädräsä-niŋ   birisi:
one-POS3-POS3   say-PST3SG   this   schoolboys-GEN   one.of.them

bax   bax   iŋer   čoγonnär-di.
look.IMP2SG   look.IMP2SG   as.if   beet-PRS.COP

(22)
häräkät   ed-di,   de-di   äy   bul-lum!
movement   do-PST3SG   say-PST3SG   ITRJ   find-PST3SG

(23)
gäz-di-lär,   tekišdir-di-lär,   de-di   xub   sän   äšräfi-yi   bul-muš-äŋ   ver!
search-PST-3PL   look.over-PST-3PL   say-PST3SG   well   you   Ashrafi-ACC   find-PF-2SG   give.IMP2SG

(24)
de-di   yow,   ad-ïm-ï   bul-lum.
say-PST3SG   no   name-POS1SG-ACC   find-PST3SG

(25)   *(25-29)*
ad-ïŋ   nä-di?   de-di   ad-ïm   lättä   iči-nnä.
name-POS2SG   what-PRS.COP   say-PST3SG   name-POS1SG   farm   in.POS3-LOC

(26)
soγän   däyil,   käläm   däyil,   turub   däyil,
onion   NEG.PRS.COP3SG   cabbage   NEG.PRS.COP3SG   radish   NEG.PRS.COP3SG

čoγonnär-i   de-me-llärdi,
beet-ACC   say-NEG-IMPF.3PL

(27)
de-di: yo,   heč   bir-i-si   däyil.
say-PST3SG   no   nothing   one-POS1SG-POS1SG   NEG.PRS.COP3SG

(28)
inni   burdä   dä   vill   ed-di-lär.
now   here.LOC   DA   free   do-PRS-3PL

(29)
var-dï   ged-di   ger-di   bir...   daha   inni   burdä   bäxt-i   gätir-ir,
existing-PST3SG   go-PST3SG   see-PST3SG   one   DAHA   now   here.LOC   destiny-POS3   bring-PRS3SG

(30)   *(30-34)*
ged-di   ger-di   bir   ävli   kič-miš   bir   erkän-i   qal-miš   bir   ävli
go-PST3SG   see-PST3SG   one   family   move.on-PF3SG   a   rope-POS3SG   remain-PF3SG   one   family

keč-miš   uš-derd   yumurtä-si   qal-miš,   bir-i-si-niŋ   bir   yayuγ
move.on-PF3SG   three.four   egg-POS3SG   remain-PF3SG   one-POS3-POS3-GEN   one   churnskin

ayran-ï   qal-miš,   bir-i-si-niŋ   bir   saz-o-naγarä-sï   qal-miš.
sour.milk-POS3SG   remain-PF3SG   one-POS3-POS3-GEN   one   (trumpet.and.drum)-POS3SG   remain-PF3SG

xob,   bir-i   torbä-si   qal-miš,   iγ-di   iči-nä
well   one-POS3SG   backpack-POS3SG   remain-PF3SG   collect-PST3SG   in.POS-DAT

o   al-lï   dal-ï-nä   o   ged-di.
and   take-PST3SG   back-POS3SG-DAT   and   go-PST3SG

(31)
ged-di   ged-di   ger-di   bir   div   mänzel-i-dir,   bil-me-rdi   div-di,
go-PST3SG   go-PST3SG   see-PST3SG   one   demon   house-POS3-PRS.COP   know-NEG-IMPF3SG   demon-PRS.COP

ger-er   *bir*   *kohnä*   *qählä-di,*   *häyä,*   *qählä-di.*
see-AOR3SG   one   old   castle-PRS.COP   yes   castle-PRS.COP

(32)

ged-är   *qählä-yä*   *ger-er*   *yeddi*   *qazan*   *qätar*   *qo-muš-lär,*
go-AOR3SG   castle-DAT   see-AOR3SG   seven   cauldron   row   put-PF3PL

altï-sï-nïŋ   *alt-ï-nï*   *odlä-r,*   *altï*   *div*   *gäl-er*
six-POS3-GEN   under-POS3-ACC   set.fire-AOR3SG   six   demon   come-AOR3SG

baš   *qoy-är*   *ič-är,*   *altï-sï*   *dä*   *säqqät*   *ol-ur*
head   put-AOR3SG   drink-AOR3SG   six-POS3SG   DA   perish   be-AOR3SG

bir-i   *dä*   *där*   *däm-in-nä*   *gözči-yimiš*   *bahïssab.*
one-POS3SG   DA   door   front-POS3SG-LOC   watchdog-COP.PF3SG   with.count

(33)

de-yär: *adammadam*   *is-si*   *gäl-ir,*   *yaɣlï*   *badam*   *is-si*   *gäl-ir,*
say-AOR3SG   human.being   scent-POS3SG   come-PRS3SG   oily   almond   scent-POS3SG   come-PRS3SG

män-im   *šähr-im-nä*   *iŋer*   *adamizad*   *is-si*   *gäl-ir.*
I-GEN   city-POS1SG-DAT   as.if   human   scent-POS3SG   come-PRS3SG

(34)

de-yär: *bu*   *män-im*   *bowa-m*   *šähr-i-dir.*
say-AOR3SG   this   I-GEN   father-POS1SG   city-POS3SG-PRS.COP

(35)   *(35-39)*

de-yär: *yow,*   *män-im*   *bowa-m*   *šähr-i-dir.*
say-AOR3SG   no   I-GEN   father-POS1SG   city-POS3SG-PRS.COP

(36)

de-yär   *gä*   *šärt*   *vur-ä-g,*   *gäl*   *burä,*
say-AOR3SG   come.IMP2SG   bet   beat-SUBJ-1PL   come.IMP2SG   this.DAT

härkäs   *daš*   *qoy-du*   *äl-i-nä*   *sex-di*   *su*   *ol-lu,*   *o*   *apar-miš.*
everybody   stone   put-PST3SG   hand-POS3SG-DAT   press-PST3SG   water   be-PST3SG   that   take-PF3SG

(37)

div   *daš*   *qoy-du*   *äl-i-nä*   *sex-di*   *un*   *ol-lu,*
demon   stone   put-PST3SG   hand-POS3SG-DAT   press-PST3SG   flour   become-PST3SG

o   *qïrmïzï*   *kiši*   *yumurtä-yi*   *ukälä-di*   *su*   *ol-lu.*
that   red   man   egg-ACC   rub-PST3SG   water   become-PST3SG

(38)

de-di: *gäl*   *tifir-ä-g.*
say-PST3SG   come.IMP2SG   spit-SUBJ-1PL

(39)

o   *tifir-di*   *yarïm*   *äršen*   *yol*   *ged-di,*   *bu*   *yayuɣ-iŋ*   *aɣz-ï-nï*
that   spit-PST3SG   half   meter   road   go-PST3SG   this   churnskin-GEN   mouth-POS3SG-ACC

ač-ännä   *ikki*   *äršen*   *ged-di,*   *ayran-ï*   *vill*   *ed-di.*
open-CONV   two   meter   go-PST3SG   ayran-ACC   free   do-PST3SG

(40)   *(40-44)*

de-di   *inni*   *dä*   *ki*   *apar-dï-ŋ!*
say-PST3SG   now   DA   KI   take-PST-2SG

(41)

de-di   *xob,*   *gäl*   *baš-ïmïz*   *tik-i-ni*   *at-ä-k!*
say-PST3SG   well   come.IMP2SG   head-POS1PL   hair-POS3SG-ACC   throw-SUBJ-1PL

(42)

o   *bir*   *čäräk*   *baš*   *tik-i*   *äd-di,*   *bu*   *erkän-i*   *vill*   *ed-di*   (43)
that   a   quarter   head   hair-POS3SG   throw-PST3SG   this   rope-ACC   free   do-PST3SG

de-di   *xob,*   *gäl*   *daha*   *niǰ*   *ed-ä-g?*
say-PST3SG   well   come.IMP2SG   other   what   do-SUBJ-1PL

(44)

härkäs-dän   *yel*   *čix-di,*   *säs-i*   *čox-tär*   *ol-lu,*   *älä*   *o*   *apar-miš.*
everybody-ABL   wind   exit-PST3SG   sound-POS3SG   very-COMP   become-PST3SG   EMPH   that   take-PF3SG

(45)   *(45-49)*

ged-di   *bir*   *äv*   *ičinä,*   *bu*   *div*   *bir*   *šaqqulad-ännä*
go-PST3SG   one   house   inside   this   demon   one   burst-CONV

div-dän   *bir*   *yel*   *čix-di*   *munu*   *getir-irdi*   *o*   *dälig*   *bu*   *dälig-ä,*
demon-ABL   one   wind   exit-PST3SG   this.ACC   take-IMPF3SG   that   hole   this   hole-DAT

at-ar   *ottay*   *buttay-ä.*

throw-AOR3SG   that.side   this.side-DAT

(46)

de-yär   sän   ordä   čoγonnär   nä   iš   gey-ir-äŋ?
say-AOR3SG   you   there.LOC   čoqonnar   what   work   do-PRS-2SG

(47)

de-yär   män   bu   däligdušig-i   tut-ir-äm   yel   ver-ännä
say-AOR3SG   I   this   hole-ACC   catch-PRS-1SG   wind   give-CONV

sän-i   yel   apar-mä-yä.
you-ACC   wind   take-NEG-SUBJ3SG

(48)

täpig-inän   vur-ännä   där-i   qerr-är.
kick-INST   beat-CONV   door-ACC   break-AOR3SG

(49)

bu   dä   ged-är   naγarä-ye   qoy-är   bun   issi-nä,   här   nä   vur-ä.
this   DA   go-AOR3SG   timpani-ACC   put-AOR3SG   roof   on-DAT   every   what   hit-SUBJ3SG

(50)   *(50-54)*

älä   geri   qäč-irmiš   de-yrmiš   äv-i   yan-miš-iŋ   ossuraγ-ï   säslän-ir   belä.
EMPH   backwards   flee-EVIMPF3SG   say-IMPF3SG   house-ACC   burn-PART-GEN   fart-POS3SG   sound-PRS3SG   so

(51)

ged-är   ger-er   bir   telki   ǰulow-u-nnän   gäl-ir.
go-AOR3SG   see-AOR3SG   one   fox   forward-POS3SG-ABL   come-PRS3SG

(52)

de-yär   hara   ged-ir-äŋ?
say-AOR3SG   where   go-PRS-2SG

(53)

iŋer   čox   owγat-ïŋ   tälx-di,
seem   very   times-POS2SG   bitter-PRS.COP

(54)

de-yär   qurban-ïŋ   ol-lu-m   adämizad   bul-un-muš
say-AOR3SG   sacrificed-POS2SG   become-PST-1SG   human.being   find-MP-PF3SG

äv-im-i   al-miš   äl-im-nän.
house-POS1SG-ACC   take-PF3SG   hand-POS1SG-ABL

(55)   *(55-59)*

de-yär   gäl   bir   talä   tik-iŋ-nän   qaz   baγlä   boyn-um-ä
say-AOR3SG   come.IMP2SG   one   lock   hair-POS2SG-ABL   tear.off.IMP2SG   tie.IMP.2SG   neck-POS1SG-DAT

baγlä   quyruγ-uŋ-ä   tä   ged-ä-m   al-a-m   ver-ä-m.
tie.IMP2SG   tail-POS2SG-DAT   TA   go-SUBJ-1SG   take-SUBJ-1SG   give-SUBJ-1SG

(56)

bax-dï   ger-di   gäl-ir.
look-PST3SG   see-PST3SG   come-PRS3SG

(57)

de-di: xob,   telki   kaka,   sän-iŋ   bowa-ŋ   män-im   bowa-m-ä
say-PST3SG   well   fox   brother   you-GEN   father-POS2   I-GEN   father-POS1SG-DAT

yeddi   alabärzäŋi   ver-äsi   bu   bir-i-si   hanï   altï-sï   daha?
seven   Alabarzaŋi   give-NECS3SG   this   one-POS3-POS3SG   which   six-POS3SG   other

(58)

de-di   axxey,   bu   män-i   apay-ïr   ver-ä   bowa-sï   bedeh-i-nä
say-PST3SG   alas   this   I-ACC   lead-PRS3SG   give-SUBJ3SG   father-POS3SG   debt-POS3-DAT

(59)

qäš-di,   ip-inän   tilki-yi   čäk-di   tilki   dä   burä   owlan-nï
flee-PST3SG   cord-INST   fox-ACC   pull-PST3SG   fox   DA   here.DAT   collide-PST3SG

orä   owlän-nï   daš-ä   owlän-nï   daγïl-lï   ged-di.
there.DAT   collide-PST3SG   stone-DAT   collide-PST3SG   be.shattered-PST3SG   go-PST3SG

(60)   *(60-64)*

kiši   ged-di   otur-du   ämlak-ïŋ   issi-nä
man   go-PST3SG   sit-PST3SG   properties-GEN   on.POS3SG-DAT

(61)

ger-di   belä   ruzegar-ï   xub   ol-ir
see-PST3SG   so   time-POS3SG   good   become-PRS3SG

(62)

gäl-li	etiš-di	de-di	arvad,	där-i	ač	tä	gäl-ä-m.
come-PST3SG	arrive-PST3SG	say-PST3SG	wife	door-ACC	open.IMP2SG	TA	come-SUBJ-1SG

(63)

de-di	ad-ïŋ	nä-di?
say-PST3SG	name-POS2SG	what-PRS.COP3G

(64)

de-di	ad-ïm	čoɣännär.
say-PST3SG	name-POS1SG	čoqannar

(65)   *(65-67)*

arvad,	där	iz-imiz-ä	ač-ïl-mïš.
wife	door	face-POS1PL-DAT	open-MP-PF3SG

(66)

gäl-li	arvad-ï	getir-di	ged-di	orä	ye-di	iš-di,
come-PST3SG	wife-ACC	take-PST3SG	go-PST3SG	that.DAT	eat-PST3SG	drink-PST3SG

xoš	ed-di.
nice	do-PST3SG

(67)

tämam	ol-lu;	bu	dä	čoɣännär	bäy	qessä-si.
complete	be-PST3SG	this	DA	čoqannar	Mister	story-POS3SG

14.1.2.   Folktale 2: Dälilär

This folktale was told by Belqeys Jahângiri, around 90 year old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village Khordeh-dareh, on the 6th January 2007.

(1-4). Bir kišiydi bir oɣul varïydï bir qez. Qez geddi oturdu howz issinä, baxdï baxdï baxdï gerdi bu naränǰ ki geydädi šooläsi dušmuš bu howzä. Qez fikr eddi ken gedär ärä, bir oɣulu olur gäler bowasï ävinä germägligä, oɣulu kow kow gäler deyär šayäd bu naränǰdi äl edär getirä dušär howzä ölür. Oturdu qez bäna eddi šivän eddigä.

(5-9). Kakasï gälli gerdi baǰïsï aɣleyir o dä oturdu aɣladï. Nänäsi gälli gerdi ušaɣläri aɣleyir o dä aɣlädi. Bowasï galli, dedi: xob arvad, nämänäyä aɣleyirän? Dedi ušaɣlärim aɣleyirdi män nä aɣlädim. Dedi oɣul ne aɣlädiŋ?

(10-14). Dedi baǰïm aɣleyirdi män nä aɣlädim. Qez säniŋ nässiŋni aɣleyirän? Dedi: män fikrimä gälli ärä gedäräm, bir oɣulum olur gälläm säniŋ ävinä germägligä, oɣulum deyär šayäd bu naränǰ šooläsi howz ičinnä naränǰdi, kow gedär äl edär getirä dušär eler, onïŋ iči aɣleyiräm. Kiši turur äyyä, deyär felan felan olmušïŋ mähälli pesdi, varïsï dälidi. Vardï geddi.

(15-19). Geddi geddi geddi, burdän Ähmäd-mahmududčä yol yornaɣ ornaɣ geddi. Orä gedännä, häyä, bir arvad su dalïnnä gälirdi. Dedi kakam hardän gäyilän? Äz bäs ki yornaɣïdï dedi gordän gäyiläm. Dedi sän bilän allah, mänim bir qïzïm uč gin munnän iläri, gälin qïzïm elmiš, germädiŋ? Demiš bänney xoda, lat o lüt bidehkar älä ordä dar o derrä čäkirdi.

(20-24). Dedi qurbanïŋ ollum kakam, tur tä bu mäški qoyäm yerä, räxtini o pul ävimizdä var veräm aparäŋ. Geddi räxti getirdi yo ävdäyi pulu getirdi yo, kiši dä burdä yox, apardï verdi kiši baɣlädi belinä yo row eddi[45], geddi. Päsin kiši gälli arvad xäbär verdi kiši gordän gäyilli ušaɣïmïŋ räxtini yo ävimizdäyi pulu verdim apardï. Dedi äviŋ yannï haynä apardï? dedi burdän belä apardï. Bir bänney xodanïŋ atï baɣlïydï, dedi atïŋï ver tä män pulu kiši apayïr alam gätiräm.

(25-29). Atï verdi minni dalïnä geddi. Gerdi kiši adlï geridän gayil, geddi čïxdï bir yal issinä owladdï, yanï dävä yanïnnä. Dedi hačannän burdäyän kakam? dedi män sähärgahdän älä burdäyäm. Dedi birisi gälli geddi burdän belä germädiŋ? Dedi bänney xoda, dubba dubba o ikki qïčliydi, dubba bu qïčï getiyirdi onïŋ yerinä vardï geddi, säniŋ atïŋnä derd qïč var, tä munu getirä onu qoyä yerinä onu getirä munu qoyä yerinä o vardï geddi.

(30-32). Dedi, älä bu owsarï verdi älinä, dedi munu saxladtä män gäläm. Kiši owana geddi minni atïŋ dalïnä, atïŋ bir bašïnä vurdu bir quyruɣunä čapdï vardï geddi ävinä. Dedi geddim bir mähälä, burdän dälitär.

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[45] *row ed-* > Persian: *row kardan*, a colloquial form of *râh oftâdan* 'to start moving'