

# 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 tale-teller 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 the life stories 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 vâ Mähmädâli” 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 Bähmännbâyli 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 Râhimli 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-Hosseïn, 58-years-old, from the Ašiqlâr subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Katasbess in the vicinity of Shiraz in April 2008

(30) (30-32)

De-di, älä bu owsar-i ver-di ä-l-in-ä,  
say-PST3SG EMPH this bridle-ACC give-PST3SG hand-POS3SG-DAT  
de-di mu-nu saxlad tä män gäl-ä-m.  
say-PST3SG this-ACC keep.IMP2SG TA I come-SUBJ-1SG

(31)

Kiši owan-a ged-di min-ni at-iñ dal-in-ä, at-iñ bir  
man that.side-DAT go-PST3SG mount-PST3SG horse-GEN back-POS3SG-DAT horse-GEN one  
baš-in-ä vur-du bir quyruy-un-ä çap-di var-di  
head-POS3SG-DAT hit-PST3SG one tail-POS3SG-DAT gallop-PST3SG existing-PST3SG  
ged-di äv-in-ä.  
go-PST3SG home-POS3SG-DAT

(32)

De-di ged-di-m bir mähäl-ä, bur-dän däli-tär.  
say-PST3SG go-PST-1SG a place-DAT this.place-ABL mad-comp

### 14.1.3. Folktale 3: Qirmizi bäy ‘The Red Man’

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

(1-4). Qadim bir çobanımiş, adı Qirmizi Bäy’imiş. O dizä yadmişimiş dowar yaninä. Diş gerer bir ay başı uñunnä bir gin äyyi uñunnä bir sarı ulluz dä gebäyi issinnä. Häyä, dowarı vill edär o varir gedär.

(5-9). Tä bir şah qızı bir väzir oyuluynän häm-mahdä olmuş ki qäçälär, vähdäläri bu kohnä hamam içiymiş. O gejä väzirä qonay gäler. Väzir oyulu gedä bilmäz. Bu dä ho xäbär yoxiymiş, gedär yatär kohnä hämmam içinä, añinnän yoxiyä dä gedmeyirmiş. Bir gerer tä bir adam deyir: älä! alir gerer bir xorjin pullur.

(10-14). Muddät olur dubärä deyir: älä! bir xorjin äşräfidi, teladi, alir. Muddät olur gerer deyir: gäti. Turur äyyä gerer tä ikki at başı älinnä. Ikki at başı älinnä gäterer o, qoyällär äyiyläri altına minillär o ya Ali sännän mädäd gedällär. Bilmeyir ki bu bir çobannir, väzir oyulu däyil.

(15-19). Geddi geddi geddi šäfaq addi gerdi axzey, işteba gälmiş. Älbätä kakabowasinnän aralanmış owqatı tälxdı. Fikr eddi ki män şah qızıyäm, äyä bikillim geri ifteza olläm. Qiz dedi: bu mäniminän danišäsiydi giläsiydi! Yo, munu demädım!

(20-24). Burdä isädi gerä bu nakaradi. Gerdi bir qowyalı çämänli xub verdi. Häyä, qiz deyär: neçčä danä arvanän olä gätirän burä, jahal qiz jahal oyul olän, deyän, gilän, päsin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Burdä oyul hešnä demädi, heš säs edmädi. Geddi owantär gerdi bir çämänli yowyalı yerdir.

(25-29). Qoyun ämjägli xub yerdir. Dedi xodaya xodaliyñ haqqičä neçčä seyeriñ olaydi. Jahal qiz jahal oyul olañ gätirän burä deyän irleyän päsin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Kiši säs edmädi. Gerdi go wban nä däyil.

(30-34). Geddi, gerdi çäkmäli yerdir, dedi neçčä danä atıñ ola, gälän burä neçčä jahal qiz jahal oyul olañ, irläšän deyän o gilän pässin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Ordän nä rät olännä gerdi bir parä butta başı yo sarı gül beläyi zad var. Dedi axzey! nä bir siri qoyniñ olä gätirän burä. Jahal oyul jahal qiz olän, gilän o irläšän, päsin nä dowar äyyisä gedän ävä. Burdä dedi axzey, häy dedin!

(35-39). Daha billi ki çobannı. Daha burdän geddi. Geddi bir kän qarayına mänzil eddi. Bir çän pul verdi dedi munu apar o kännä bir yemäli gäti yeyäg. Geddi verdi bir turub bälginä o so yanä o arpä tappisina gätirdi.

(40-44). Vurdu başı içinä dedi orä otu! Geddi çelow kəbab allı gätirdi, yedilär o dowara minnilär. Geddilär, nä işiñ var, geddilär bir iray yerä mänzel eddilär. Burdä märzdän çixdilär geddilär bir daha kišvärä, märze bu šahdän çixdilär. Bu jeyaläyi apardi hämmamä, baš o qulayını dizäddi.

(45-49). Ezi bir neçčä danä Imamqulu läyin bullu gätirdi. Beläsini äqd eddi, gälin ollu beläsi içi. Bir qars o bargah addi. Bir jurbuja adamidi yä, bu arvad dä iner şahnume xoda. Xub, äzangu gedmişdi bun issinä äzan deyirdi, dedi: allahu häf märg!

(50-54). Deyir vaqti gezi duşdu bu arvadä o qarsä, dedi allahu häf märg. Şah dedi tutıñ gätiriñ tä män munıñ başını vuräm. Ne allahu äkbär demir, deyir allahu häf märg? Biz dunyayı tazä geriräg; dunya gezimizä inni açılır inni deyir allahu häf märg! Apardılar, dedi täsädduq oläm, burä bir qärs o bargah duşmuş, bir gälinnir bir ğuzmu adamnır, vaxti gezim duşdu tikim biz-biz eddi, dedim allahu häf märg.

(55-59). Xub, dedi gediñ gäteriñ beläsini. Geddilär çobanı gätirdilər. Bir dayımış, alabärzäni dayı. Alabärzäni dayinä, o dayä gedän däyinän gäläniñ başını alabärzäni qazırmiş. Alabärzäni bir vähişi ğanavardı, gäman edam şerdi.

(60-64). Alabärzäni bir daydä, şerdän balaydästi. Gäler, gälännä arvad gerer Qırmızı bāy owqatı tälk gäyil. Demiş nässiñ? Demiş heşnä. Deyär felan felan olmuş, deyiräm nässiñ ä? Demiş şah belämnän şer sidi iseyir, Alabärzäni sidi.

(65-69). Demiş qorxmä, gä burä. Qarar edmiş, demiş ya belämä şer sidi gäti ya arvadıñı allam. Äyä şer sidi gäterdiñ qezimi dä verräm beläñä. Väzer äveniñ nä härnä ay o qızılı var verräm beläñä. Xob, dedi gäl burä; gäl burä qırmızı bāy.

(70-74). Toşa torbä verdi dedi gedärän uğanıñ üssünä ay su gedir suyıñ qarayinä bir beyig çenardı. Çenar puştunnä bir şerdi yatmış, qeçinä bir yarmaçça batmış, älä ordän nalir. Yarmaçça, bir şaxa batmış qeçinä. Şaxa batmıştı häyä, älä ordä nalixir. Gedärän eziñi vurrän çenarıñ puştunä, växti kin xub näfäsini allıñ tutärän yarmaççädän çäkärän, eziñi genä vurrän çenarıñ puştunä.

(75-79). Onnä şer yalar o yalar halinä gäler, onnä dilä gäler. Onnä turrän äyyä salam verrän deyärän bäle män gälmişäm sid içi, şer sidi içi. Gedär o ordä yarmaççayı çaxardir o şer yalar o huşunä gäler o dilä gäler o deyär män şer sidi iseyiräm. Şer nääre çäkär härnä şer varımış gäler. İkkisini ellerellär, gärdän gulu sekällär.

(80-84). Onnä şerläriñ baqqısini dan edällär sayallär, dollurur ayzini dä baylällär. Şerläriñ birisini dä owsarlällär atällär issinä qırmızı bāyi dä minnirillär. Deyär inni var ged. Gäler, bilmeräm daha inni neççä geğä olmuş, gäler, sid gätermiş şer dä gätermiş. Älä minigli gedär şah huzurunä.

(85-89). Şah ki munu gerer deyär bäle beläyin adam älä bizim lazimimizdir şayestädi, qızimi dä verräm beläsini. Üç geğä ginniz toy edär, qızini dä verär älä bu qırmızı bāyä. İnni ikki sultan qızı alır. Väzeriñ nä härnä ay o qızıl varıymış gäterer tekär älä munıñ älinä. Bu gäçär, o ävvälki arvaddän bir oyul girinä gäler.

(90-94). Bir gini arväd başinä baxırmiş, beyig ärväd, kuçık ärväd dä lifäsini, älä kummuğä oyul lä gebäyi issinä gäzirmiş. Gülür, gülännä beyig ärväd deyär be nämänäyä güyläñ? demiş heç, bir seyış verer. Deyär onnä ki män gällim yätdim kohnä hämäm içinä, onnä män diş germişdim gün başım uğunnä, ay äyyim uğunnä, särı ulduz dä gebäyim issinnä. İnni ki fikr ediräm älä bu kummuğä uşäydır. Bäle, dişi tääbir olmuş.

#### **14.1.3.1. Folktale 3: translation**

(1-4). In olden times, there was a shepherd whose name was Qırmızı Bay "Mr. Red". He slept over there next to the herd. He dreamt there was a moon above his head, a sun on the tip of his feet and a yellow star upon his navel. Yes, he abandoned the herd and set off.

(5-9). And the daughter of a king and the son of a vizier had agreed to run away together; the meeting point was in the old hammam. That night, the vizier received visitors. The son of vizier could not arrange to go [to the meeting point]. As for the shepherd, he was not aware [of the event]; he went and slept in the old hammam, and because of hunger he could not sleep. He suddenly heard a human voice saying: here! He took it, and it was a bag of money.

(10-14). Some time passed, [the voice] said again: here! It was a bag of ashrafi,<sup>47</sup> of gold coins; he took it. Some time passed, he heard: bring them! He got up and saw that she had taken two horses [heads of two horses at hand]. She had taken two horses; they mounted them saying O Ali, help us! they went away. She does not know that he is a shepherd, is not the son of the vizier.

(15-19). They went, went, went, [and] at dawn, the girl noticed that, alas, she had made a mistake. Of course, she had just left his brothers and his father [and] is in a bad humour. She thought: I am daughter of the king, if I return, I would be the subject of scandal. The girl told herself: he should talk to me, have fun with me! And, I did not tell this.

(20-24). Here, she wanted to know what he was. She saw a good place of grassy lawns. Yes, the girl said: what if we had some she-camel to take them here to graze and all together, young girls and boys, to laugh, to chat, and to return home at night singing all together. Here, the boy said nothing; he did not make any noise. They went further and saw there was a good grassy place.

(25-29). A good place full of *-qoyun ämjäg*<sup>48</sup>. She said: oh God, by the grace of your divinity, if only we had some cows. We the young girls and boys, in order to bring them here [to graze] chatting and laughing, and in the afternoon, to return home singing together. The man said nothing. She concluded that he was not a cowherd, neither.

(30-34). They went further [and] saw a place covered by *čäk.mäli*<sup>49</sup>, she said: I wish we had some horses, we the young girls and boys, in order to come here and sing and chat and have fun, and in the afternoon, return home singing together. After having passed this place, she saw some *butta bas*<sup>50</sup>, and *sari güb*<sup>51</sup>, and the like. She said, oh; what fun to have a herd of sheep and take them here; To be young, laughing and singing all night and return home with the herd, singing together. Here, he said: wow! How you said well!

(35-39). Finally, she knew that he was a shepherd. Then they left that place. They went and settled outside a town. She gave him a handful of money and said: take this money to that town and bring some food to eat. He went and bought some radishes, some onions, and a few loaves of thick bread of barley.

(40-44). She gave him a blow on the head and said, stay here! She went to the town and bought and brought portions of *čelon-kebab*<sup>52</sup>; they had it and mounted the horses again. They set off, in short, they went to a distant place and settled there. Here, they crossed the border and reached another country. They crossed the border of this king). She took this young man to a hammam and [gave him a neat appearance].

(45-49). She, herself, found some men like Imamqulu and brought them. She married him and became a newlywed for him. She built a castle and set a court. He was a poor man, but the woman was like an angle of God (literally: the princess of God). Then, the muezzin had mounted up the roof and was calling to prayer. He chanted: *Allahu haf marg!* (litt. Allah and seven deaths!).

(50-54). It is said that when he saw this woman and this castle, he said *Allahu haf marg*. The king said, grab and bring him in order that I cut his head! Why doesn't he say *Allahu akbar* [and] says *Allahu haf marg*? We just see the world, it has just opened the door to us. He is chanting *Allahu haf marg!* He was taken to the king. He said: My dear king (lit. that I would be your sacrificed), over there, they have built such a palace; there is a newlywed and a little man; when I saw that all, my hair stood on end and I chanted: *Allahu haf marg*.

(55-59). Then the king said: go bring him to me! They went [and] brought the shepherd. There was a mountain—the mountain of *Alabarzangi*. *Alabarzangi* would cut the head of those who might go to the mountain of *Alabarzangi*, those who wanted to visit that mountain. *Alabarzangi* is a wild animal, I suppose it is a lion.

(60-64). *Alabarzangi* is in a mountain; it is stronger than lion. He returned home; when arrived, his wife noticed that Mr. Red looked sad. She said: what's happened to you? He said nothing. She said: God damn you! I am asking you what's happened? He said: the king asks me some lion's milk—the milk of *Alabarzangi*.

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47 Ashrafi (P. اشرفی) was a gold coin originally minted in Mamluk Egypt in the 15th century and reproduced by the Turkoman Qara Qoyunlu rulers in Iran. It was utilized until early 20th century when it was replaced by Pahlavi gold coins minted by the Pahlavi dynasty (see also B. Fragner in: online Encyclopaedia Iranica, *ASHRAFI*).

48 *qoyun ämjäg*: a herb used as fodder for the cattle

49 *čäk.mäli*: a good meadow full of grass, which is good for horse

50 *butta bas*: an other herb used as fodder for the cattle

51 *sari güil*: an other herb used as fodder for the cattle

52 The most appreciated traditional dish in Iranian society, the main ingredients of which are rice (that makes the *čelon*) and *kebab*, a mixture of meat and spices and onion.

(65-69). She said don't be afraid, come here. [The king] had told him: you bring me some lion's milk, or I will take your wife. If you bring me some lion's milk, I will give you my daughter, too. And I will also give you all the silver and gold (coins) of the vizier's home. So, she said: come here, come here, Mr. Red!

(70-74). She gave him provisions and said: go to the top of the [mountain] where flows the white water, on the bank of which there is a plane-tree. Behind the plane-tree, there is a lion asleep; a splinter has injured one of its feet, it groans of that over there. A splinter has hurt his foot. A splinter has hurt him, yes; it groans over there. You shall go place yourself behind the plane-tree, once you have resumed your breaths, you should pull out the splinter, [then] you shall place yourself again behind the tree.

(75-79). Then, the lion will lick [its injured foot] and will recover, then it will speak. Then, you shall stand up and greet it and say that you have come for some milk, some lion's milk. He went and pulled the splinter from the foot of the lion and the lion licked [its wounds] and recovered and began to speak [and] the man said: I want some lion's milk. The lion yelled and all existing lions came there. They killed two of them and skinned them entirely.

(80-84). Then they set the rest of lions in a row and milked them and filled the two skins [with lion's milk] and tied closed. They harnessed one of the lions, charged it [with the two skins full of milk] and made Mr. Red mount up it. The lion said: now, you shall go. He came [back]. I don't know how many nights it took, he came [back] bringing the lion's milk and a lion, too. He went to the king's court driving the lion.

(85-89). When the king saw that all said: we need such a person, he is worthy, and I will give him my daughter too. He set a wedding ceremony of three days and nights and gave his daughter to that Mr. Red. Now he had the daughters of two sultans as wife. He [the king] gave him all the gold and silver that the vizier possessed as well. This passed, he got a baby boy from the first wife.

(90-94). One day, the wife, the elder one, was delousing his head, and the younger one was delousing his hem pants (*lijā*), and the little boy was playing upon his belly. Mr. Red laughed. The elder wife asked: why are you laughing, then? He said: it's nothing. She insulted him. He said: the night I came and slept in the old hammam, then, in a dream I saw the sun above my head, the moon over my feet and a yellow star upon my navel (belly). Now I think that it [the star] meant this very little child. Yes, his dream came true.

#### 14.1.3.2. *Folktale 3: glossed text*

(1) (1-4)

Qadim bir çoban-imiş, ad-î Qirmizi Bâ-y-imiş.  
old.time a shepherd-EVIMPF3SG name-POS3SG red Mister.-EVIMPF3SG

(2)

O diz-ä yad-mišimiş dowar yan-in-ä.  
that plain-DAT sleep-PPF3SG herd side-POS3SG-DAT

(3)

Diş ger-er bir ay baş-î uĵ-un-nä bir gin  
dream see-AOR3SG a moon head-POS3SG end-POS3SG-LOC a sun  
äyy-i uĵ-un-nä bir sari ulluz dä gebäy-i issin-nä.  
foot-ACC end-POS3SG-LOC a yellow star DA navel-POS3SG on.POS3SG-LOC

(4)

Häyä, dowar-î vill ed-är o var-ir ged-är.  
yes herd-ACC free do-AOR3SG and existing-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG

(5) (5-9)

Tä bir şah qiz-î bir väzir oyul-u-ynän hämmahdä ol-muş  
TA a king daughter-POS3SG a vizier son-POS3SG-INST agreed be-PF3SG  
ki qäç-älär, vähdä-läri bu kohnä hamam içi-ymiş.  
KI flee-AOR3PL meeting.point-POS3PL this old hammam inside.POS-COP.evppf3SG

(6)

O geĵä väzir-ä qonay gäl-er.  
that night vizier-DAT guest come-AOR3SG

(7)

Väzir oyulu ged-äbil-mäz.  
vizier son-POS3SG go-ABIL-NEG.AOR3SG

(8)

Bu dä ho xəbär yox-î-ymiş, ged-är yat-är  
this DA ITJ news inexistent-POS3SG-COP.IMPF go-AOR3SG sleep-AOR3SG  
kohnä hämmam için-ä, aĵin-nän yoxi-yä dä ged-me-ymiş.

old hammam inside.POS3SG-DAT hungry.POS3SG-ABL sleep-DAT DA go-NEG-COP.IMPF3SG

(9)

*Bir ger-er tä bir adam de-yir: älä!*  
one see-AOR3SG TA a person say-PRS3SG ALA  
*al-ir ger-er bir xorjin pul-lur.*  
take-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG a sac money-PRS.COP3SG

(10) (10-14)

*Muddät ol-ur dubära de-yir: älä!*  
duration become-AOR3SG again say-PRS3SG ALA  
*bir xorjin äşräfi-di, tela-di, al-ir.*  
a sac gold.coin gold-PST3SG take-AOR3SG

(11)

*Muddät ol-ur ger-er de-yir: gäti.*  
duration be-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG say-PRS3SG bring.IMP2SG

(12)

*Tur-ur äyy-ä ger-er tä ikki at baş-ï äl-in-nä.*  
stand-AOR3SG foot-DAT see-AOR3SG TA two horse head-POS3SG hand-POS3SG-LOC

(13)

*Ikki at baş-ï äl-in-nä gäter-er o, qoy-äl-lär*  
two horse head-POS3SG hand-POS3SG-LOC bring-AOR3SG and put-AOR-3PL  
*äyiy-läri alt-in-a min-il-lär o ya Ali sän-nän mädäd ged-äl-lär.*  
foot-POS3PL under-POS3SG-DAT mount-AOR-3PL and O Ali you.SG-ABL help go-AOR-3PL

(14)

*Bil-me-yir ki bu bir çoban-nir, väzir oyul-u däyil.*  
know-NEG-PRS3SG KI this a shepherd-PRS.COP3SG vizier son-POS3SG NEG.PRS.COP3SG

(15) (15-19)

*Ged-di şäfaq ad-di ger-di axzey, işteba gäl-miş.*  
go-PST3SG twilight throw-PST3SG see-PST3SG alas mistake come-PF3SG

(16)

*Älbätä kakabowa-sin-nän aralan-miş owqat-ï tälx-di.*  
of.course brother.dad-POS3SG-INST separate.pass-PF3SG times-POS3SG bitter-PST3SG

(17)

*Fikr ed-di ki män şah qiz-ï-yäm,*  
thought do-PST3SG KI I king daughter-POS3SG-PRS.COP1SG  
*äyä bikil-lim geri ifteza ol-l-äm.*  
if return-PST3SG back scandal become-AOR-1SG

(18)

*Qiz de-di: bu män-im-inän daniş-äsiydi gil-äsiydi.*  
girl say-PST3SG this I-GEN-INST talk-PST.NECS3SG laugh-PST.NECS3SG

(19)

*Yo, munu de-mä-di-m!*  
and this.ACC tell-NEG-PST-1SG

(20) (20-24)

*Bur-dä isä-di ger-ä bu na-kara-di.*  
this.space-LOC want-PST3SG see-SUBJ3SG this what-job-PST3SG

(21)

*Ger-di bir qowya-li çämän-li xub yer-di. Häyä, qiz deyär:*  
see-PST3SG a qowya-BENEF grass-BENEF good place-PST3SG yes girl say-AOR3SG  
*neççä danä arvanä-η ol-ä gätir-ä-η burä,*  
some grain she.camel-POS2SG beome-SUBJ3SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT

(22)

*Jahal qiz jahal oyul ol-ä-η, de-yä-η, gil-ä-η,*  
young girl young boy become-SUBJ-2SG say-SUBJ-2SG laugh-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsın nä irlä-ş-ä irlä-ş-ä ged-ä-η.*  
afternoon DA sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG

(23)

*Burdä oyul heşnä de-mä-di, heş säs ed-mä-di.*  
this.place.ABL boy nothing.what say-NEG-PST3SG nothing sound do-NEG-PST3SG

(24)

*Ged-di owan-tär ger-di bir çämän-li qowya-li yer-dir.*



go-PST3SG tht.side-com see-PST3SG a grass-BENEF qowya-BENEF place-PRS.COP3SG

(25) (25-29)

*Qoyun ämjägli xub yer-dir.*  
Qoyun.amjagli good place-PRS.COP3SG

(26)

*De-di xoda-ya xoda-liy-iñ haqq-i-çä neççä seyer-iñ ol-aydi,*  
say-PST3SG God-voc God-DER-GEN right-POS3SG-EQU some cow-POS2SG be-PST.SUBJ3SG

(27)

*Ĵahal qiz Ĵahal oyul ol-a-ñ gätir-ä-ñ burä de-yä-ñ irle-yä-ñ*  
young girl young boy be-SUBJ-2SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT tell-SUBJ-2SG sing-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsin nä irlä-š-ä irlä-š-ä ged-ä-ñ.*  
afternoon DA sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG

(28)

*Kişi säs ed-mä-di.*  
man sound do-NEG-PST3SG

(29)

*Ger-di gowban nä däyil.*  
see-PST3SG cowman DA is.not

(30) (30-34)

*Ged-di, ger-di çäk-mäli yer-dir, de-di neççä danä at-iñ*  
go-PST3SG see-PST3SG pull-DER place-PRS.COP3SG say-PST3SG some grain horse-POS2SG  
*ol-a, gäl-ä-ñ burä neççä Ĵahal qiz Ĵahal oyul ol-a-ñ,*  
be-SUBJ3SG come-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT some young girl young boy be-SUBJ-2SG  
*irlä-š-ä-ñ de-yä-ñ o gil-ä-ñ pässin nä*  
sing-VPL-SUBJ-2SG day-SUBJ-2SG and laugh-SUBJ-2SG afternoon DA  
*irlä-š-ä irlä-š-ä ged-ä-ñ.*  
sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG

(31)

*Ordän nä rät ol-ännä ger-di bir parä butta başi yo*  
that.place.ABL DA pass.be-CONV see-PST3SG a.few.part bush.head.POS3SG and  
*sari gül belä-yi zad var,*  
yellow.flower belä-KI thing existing

(32)

*De-di axzey, nä bir siri qoyñ-iñ ol-ä gätir-ä-ñ burä,*  
say-PST3SG ITJ what a flock sheep-POS2SG be-SUBJ3SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT

(33)

*Ĵahal oyul Ĵahal qiz ol-ä-ñ, gil-ä-ñ o irlä-š-ä-ñ,*  
young boy young girl be-SUBJ-2SG laugh-SUBJ-2SG and sing-VPL-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsin nä dowar äyğ-i-sä ged-ä-ñ äv-ä.*  
afternoon DA herd foot-POS3SG-with go-SUBJ-2SG home-SUBJ3SG

(34)

*Burdä de-di axzey, häy de-di-ñ!*  
this.place.LOC say-PST3SG ITJ ITJ say-PST-2SG

(35) (35-39)

*Daha bil-li ki çoban-ni.*  
DAHA know-PST3SG KI shepherd-PST3SG

(36)

*Daha burdän ged-di.*  
DAHA this.place.ABL go-PST3SG

(37)

*Ged-di bir kän qaray-iñ-ä mänzil ed-di.*  
go-PST3SG a village beside-POS3SG-DAT home do-PST3SG

(38)

*Bir çäñ pul ver-di de-di munu apar o känn-ä*  
a hand.full money give-PST3SG say-PST3SG this.ACC take.IMP2SG that village-DAT  
*bir yemäli gäti ye-yä-g.*  
a food bring.IMP2SG eat-SUBJ-1PL

(39)

*Ged-di ver-di bir turub bälğ-in-ä o*

- go-PST3SG give-PST3SG a radish leaf-POS3SG-DAT and  
soyan-ä o arpä tappi-sin-ä gätir-di  
onion-DAT and barley thick.bread-POS3SG-DAT bring-PST3SG  
(40) (40-44)  
Vur-du baş-i iç-in-ä de-di orä otu!  
strike-PST3SG head-POS3SG inside-POS3SG-DAT say-PST3SG that.place.DAT sit.IMP2SG  
(41)  
Ged-di çelowkâbab al-li gätir-di, ye-dilär o dowara min-nilär.  
go-PST3SG pilaf.and.kebab buy-PST3SG bring-PST3SG eat-PST3PL and again mount-PST3PL  
(42)  
Ged-dilär, nä iş-in var, bir iray yer-ä mänzel ed-dilär.  
go-PST3PL what work-POS2SG existing a far.away place-DAT home do-PST3PL  
(43)  
Burdä märz-dän çix-dilär ged-dilär bir daha kişvâr-ä,  
this.place.LOC border-ABL exit-PST3PL go-PST3PL a other country-DAT  
märz-e bu şah-dän çix-dilär.  
border-EZ this king-ABL exit-PST3PL  
(44)  
Bu jeyälä-yi apar-di hammam-ä, baş o qulay-in-i dizäd-di.  
this young-ACC take-PST3SG hammam-DAT head and ear-POS3SG-ACC make-PST3SG  
(45) (45-49)  
Ez-i bir neççä danä Imamqulu läyin bul-lu gätir-di.  
self-POS3SG a few grain Imamqulu.like find-PST3SG bring-PST3SG  
(46)  
Beläsin-i äqd ed-di, gälin ol-lu beläsi içi.  
ANPH3SG-ACC engagement do-PST3SG bride become-PST3SG ANPH3SG for  
(47)  
Bir qars o bargah ad-di.  
a palace and court throw-PST3SG  
(48)  
Bir jurbuğa adam-idi yä,  
a mean person-IMPF.COP3SG ITJ  
bu arvad dä inçer şahnum-e xoda.  
this woman DA seemingly angel-EZ God  
(49)  
Xub, äzangu ged-mišdi bun iss-in-ä äzan de-yirdi,  
well muezin go-PF.COP3SG roof on-POS3SG-DAT prayer.call say-IMP3SG  
de-di: allahu häf märg!  
say-PST3SG Allah seven death  
(50) (50-54)  
De-yir vaqti gez-i duş-du bu arvad-ä o qars-ä,  
say-PRS3SG when eye-POS3SG fall-PST3SG this woman-DAT and palace-DAT  
de-di allahu häf märg.  
say-PST3SG Allah seven death  
(51)  
Şah de-di tut-in gätir-in tä män  
king say-PST3SG catch-IMP2PL bring-IMP2PL TA I  
mu-niñ baş-in-i vur-ä-m.  
this-GEN head-POS3SG-ACC strike-SUBJ-1SG  
(52)  
Ne allahu äkbär de-m-ir, de-yir allahu häf märg?  
why Allah.is.greater say-NEG-PRS3SG say-PRS3SG Allah seven death  
(53)  
Biz dunya-yi tazza ger-ir-äg; dünya gez-imiz-ä inni aç-il-ir  
we world-ACC fresh see-PRS-1PL world eye-POS1PL-DAT now open-PASS-PRS3SG  
inni de-yir allahu häf märg!  
now say-PRS3SG Allah seven death  
(54)  
Apar-dilär, de-di täsädduq ol-ä-m,  
take-PST3PL say-PST3SG honesty be-SUBJ-1SG  
burä bir qars o bargah duş-muş,

this.place.DAT a palace and court fall-PF3SG  
*bir gälin-nir bir jüzmu adam-nir, vaxti gez-im duş-du*  
 a bride-PRS.COP3SG a mean person-PRS.COP3SG when eye-POS1SG fall-PST3SG  
*tik-im bizbiz ed-di, de-di-m allahu häf märg*  
 hair-POS1SG bizbiz do-PST3SG say-PST-1SG Allah seven death

(55) (55-59)

*Xub, de-di ged-iñ gäter-iñ beläsin-i.*  
 well say-PST3SG go-IMP2PL bring-IMP2SG ANPH3SG-ACC

(56)

*Ged-dilär çoban-ï gätir-dilär.*  
 go-PST3PL shepherd-ACC bring-PST3PL

(57)

*Bir day-imiş, alabärzäni day-ï.*  
 a mountain-PPF.COP3SG Alabarzangi mountain-POS3SG

(58)

*o day-ä ged-än däyin-än gäl-än-iñ*  
 that mountain-DAT go-PART visit-PART come-PART-GEN  
*baş-ïn-ï alabärzäni qaz-irmiş.*  
 head-POS3SG-ACC Alabarzangi cut-EVIMPF3SG

(59)

*Alabärzäni bir vähşi janavar-di, gäman ed-a-m şer-di.*  
 Alabarzangi a wild beast-PST3SG guess do-SUBJ-1SG lion-PST3SG

(60) (60-64)

*Alabärzäni bir day-dä, şer-dän balaydäs-ti.*  
 Alabarzangi a mountain-LOC lion-ABL up.hand-PRS.COP3SG

(61)

*Gäl-er, gäl-ännä arvad ger-er*  
 come-AOR3SG come-CONV woman see-AOR3SG  
*qirmizi bāy owqat-ï tälx gäy-il.*  
 red mister times-POS3SG bitter come-PRS3SG

(62)

*De-miş nä-ss-iñ? de-miş heşnä.*  
 say-PF3SG what-upon-POS2SG say-PF3SG nothing.what

(63)

*De-yär felan felan ol-muş, de-yir-äm nä-ss-iñ ä?*  
 say-AOR3SG so.and.so be-PF3SG say-PRS-1SG what-upon-POS2SG EMPH

(64)

*De-miş şah beläm-nän şer sid-i ise-yir, Alabärzäni sid-i.*  
 say-PF3SG king ANPH1SG-ABL lion milk-POS3SG want-PRS3SG Alabarzangi milk-POS3SG

(65) (65-69)

*De-miş qorx-mä, gä burä.*  
 say-PF3SG fear-NEG.IMP2SG come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT

(66)

*qarar ed-miş, de-miş ya beläm-ä şer sid-i gäti*  
 promise do-PF3SG say-PF3SG or ANPH1SG-DAT lion milk-POS3SG bring.IMP2SG  
*ya arvad-iñ-ï al-l-am.*  
 or woman-POS2SG-ACC take-AOR-1SG

(67)

*äyä şer sid-i gäter-di-ñ qez-im-i dä ver-r-äm beläñ-ä.*  
 if lion milk-POS3SG bring-PST-2SG girl-POS1SG-ACC DA give-AOR-1SG ANPH2SG-DAT

(68)

*väzer äv-en-iñ nä härnä ay o qizil-ï var*  
 vizier home-POS3SG-GEN DA whatever white and golden-POS3SG existing  
*ver-r-äm beläñ-ä.*  
 give-AOR-1SG ANPH2SG-DAT

(69)

*xob, de-di gäl burä; gäl burä qirmizi bāy.*  
 well say-PST3SG come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT red Mister

(70) (70-74)

*toşa torbä ver-di de-di ged-är-än uña-niñ üss-ün-ä*

provisions give-PST3SG say-PST3SG go-AOR-2SG high-GEN on-POS3SG-DAT  
*aγ su ged-ir su-yiŋ qāray-in-ä bir beyig čenar-dī.*  
 white whater go-PRS3SG water-GEN beside-POS3SG-DAT a big plane.tree-PST3SG

(71)

*čenar pušt-un-nä bir šer-di yat-miš, qeč-in-ä*  
 plane.tree behind-POS3SG-DAT a lion-PST3SG sleep-PF3SG foot-POS3SG-DAT  
*bir yarmačča bat-miš, älä ordän nal-ir.*  
 a splinter prick-PF3SG EMPH that.place.ABL groan-PRS3SG

(72)

*Yarmačča: bir šaxa bat-miš qeč-in-ä.*  
 splinter a branch prick-PF3SG foot-POS3SG-DAT

(73)

*šaxa bat-mišti häyä, älä ordä nalix-ir.*  
 branch prick-EVIMPF3SG yes EMPH that.place.DAT groan-PRS3SG

(74)

*ged-är-än ez-iŋ-i vur-r-än čenar-iŋ pušt-un-ä,*  
 go-AOR-2SG self-POS2SG-ACC strike-AOR-2SG plane.tree-GEN back-POS3SG-DAT  
*växti kin xub näfäs-iŋ-i al-li-ŋ tut-är-än yarmačča-dän*  
 when KI well breath-POS2SG-ACC take-PST-2SG catch-AOR-2SG splinter-ABL  
*čäk-är-än, ez-iŋ-i genä vur-r-än čenar-iŋ pušt-un-ä.*  
 pull-AOR-2SG self-2SG-ACC again hit-AOR-2SG plane.tree-GEN behind-POS3SG-DAT

(75) (75-79)

*onnä šer yala-r o yala-r hal-in-ä gäl-er,*  
 that.LOC lion lick-AOR3SG and lick-AOR3SG state-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG  
*onnä dil-ä gäl-er.*  
 that.ABL tongue-DAT come-AOR3SG

(76)

*onnä tur-r-än äyγ-ä salam ver-r-än de-yär-än bäle*  
 that.LOC stand-AOR-2SG foot-DAT hello give-AOR-2SG say-AOR-2SG yes  
*män gäl-miš-äm sid iči, šer sid-i iči.*  
 I come-PF-1SG milk for lion milk-POS3SG for

(77)

*ged-är o ordä yarmačča-yi čax-ard-ir o šer yala-r o*  
 go-AOR3SG and there.LOC splinter-ACC exit-CAUS-AOR3SG and lion lick-AOR3SG and  
*huš-un-ä gäl-er o dil-ä gäl-er o de-yär*  
 intelligence-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG and tongue-DAT come-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG  
*män šer sid-i ise-yir-äm.*  
 I lion milk-POS3SG want-PRS-1SG

(78)

*šer nääre čäk-är härnä šer var-imiš gäl-er.*  
 lion roaring pull-AOR3SG whatever lion existing-PPF3SG come-AOR3SG

(79)

*ikki-sin-i el-ler-el-lär, gärdängulu sek-äl-lär.*  
 two-POS3SG-ACC die-CAUS-AOR-3PL neck.throat tear-AOR-3PL

(80) (80-84)

*onnä šer-lär-iŋ baqqi-sin-i dan ed-äl-lär say-al-lär,*  
 that.LOC lion-PL-GEN rest-POS3-ACC line.up do-AOR-3PL milk-AOR-3PL  
*dol-lur-ur ayz-in-i dä baylä-l-lär.*  
 fill-CAUS-AOR3SG mouth-POS3-ACC DA tie-AOR-3PL

(81)

*šer-läriŋ biri-sin-i dä owsarlä-l-lär at-äl-lär iss-in-ä*  
 lion-GEN3PL one.of-POS3-ACC DA bridle-AOR-3PL throw-AOR-3PL on-POS3-DAT  
*qirmizi bāy-i dä min-nir-il-lär.*  
 red Mister-ACC DA mount-CAUS-AOR-3PL

(82)

*de-yär inni var ged.*  
 say-AOR3SG now existin.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG

(83)

*gäl-er, bil-mer-äm daha inni neččä gejä ol-muš,*  
 come-AOR3SG know-NEG-1SG other now how.many night be-PF3SG  
*gäl-er, sid gäter-miš šer dä gäter-miš.*

come-AOR3SG milk bring-PF3SG lion DA bring-PF3SG

(84)

*älä min-ig-li ged-är şah huzur-un-ä.*  
ala mount-DER-BENEF go-AOR3SG king presence-POS3-DAT

(85-89)

*Şah ki munu ger-er de-yär bääle beläyin adam älä biz-im*  
king KI this.ACC see-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG yes such person EMPH we-GEN  
*lazim-imüz-dir şayestä-di, qız-ım-ı dä ver-r-äm beläsin-ä.*  
necessary-POS1PL-PRS.COP3SG deserved-PRS.COP3SG daughter-POS1SG DA give-AOR3SG ANPH.3SG-DAT

(86)

*Üç gejä ginniz toy ed-är,*  
three night day wedding do-AOR3SG  
*qız-i-ni dä ver-är älä bu qırmızı bāy-ä.*  
daughter-POS3SG-ACC DA give-AOR3SG EMPH this red Mister-DAT

(87)

*Inni ikki sultan qız-ı al-ir.*  
now two sultan daughter-ACC take-AOR3SG

(88)

*Väzer-in nä härnä ay o qızıl var-iymiş*  
vizier-GEN DA whatever white and golden existing-EVIMP.COP3SG  
*gäter-er tek-är älä munin äl-in-ä.*  
bring-AOR3SG pour-AOR3SG EMPH this.GEN hand-POS3SG-DAT

(89)

*Bu gäch-är, o ävvälki arvad-dän bir oyul gir-in-ä gäler.*  
this pass-AOR3SG and first.KI wife-ABL a son hook-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG

(90) (90-94)

*Bir gin-i arväd baş-ın-a bāx-irmiş, beyig arväd,*  
one day-INDEF woman head-POS3-DAT look-EVIMPF3SG big woman  
*kuçik arväd dä lifä-sin-ä, älä kummujä*  
small woman DA waist-POS3-DAT EMPH little  
*oyul lä gebäy-i iss-in-ä gāz-irmiş.*  
son DA navel-POS3SG on-POS3-DAT walk-EVIMP3SG

(91)

*gül-ür, gül-ännä beyig arväd de-yär be nāmānā-yä güy-län?*  
laugh-AOR3SG laugh-CONV elder woman say-AOR3SG QW what-DAT laugh-PRS2SG  
*de-miş heç, bir seyiş ver-er.*  
say-PF3SG nothing one curse give-AOR3SG

(92)

*deyär onnä ki män gällim yätdim kohnä hāmām içinä,*  
say-AOR3SG that.LOC KI I come-PST1SG sleep-PST1SG old hammam inside.DAT

(93)

*onnä män diş ger-mişdi-m gün bāş--im uş-un-nä,*  
that.LOC I dream see-PPF-1SG sun head-POS1SG above-POS3-LOC  
*ay äyy-im uş-un-nä, sārī ulduz dä gebäy-im iss-in-nä.*  
moon foot-POS1SG above-POS3SG-LOC yellow star DA navel-POS1SG on-POS3-LOC

(94)

*inni ki fikr ed-ir-äm älä bu kummujä uşay-dir.*  
now KI thought do-PRS-1SG EMPH this little child-PRS.COP3SG

(95)

*bäle, diş-i tääbir ol-muş.*  
yes dream-POS3SG interpretation be-PF3SG