

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 Mâhmâdâli” 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 Bâhmänbâyli 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

(89)

tämam ol-lu.

complete be-PST3SG

14.1.7. Folktale 7: Gilikčä ‘The Yarn Ball’

This folktale was told by the late Katâyun Parhun, then around 90-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the city Jahrom of the province of Fars (200 kms to the southeast of Shiraz), the 8th January 2007.

(1-4) Bir kişiniñ arvadı elmişimiş, o arvaddän tāk qez varıymış. Bir arvad daha alir. Bu qızä bu axirki arvadı korlig veyirmiş⁵⁶. Bir qäşän zeyfäymiş dä älä o qez, qäşänimiş.

(5-9) Bu zänbowanıñ ezinnä dä bir qez varıymış, bir luk-o-pukumuş. Arz edäm bu qızı yollär bilmeräm harä, dayä odunä bilmeräm gäçciyä, bir işä yollär. Bu qez gedär gerer tä, bilmeräm odun yiyirmiş nä iş geyirmiş, bir şikäftdi, içinnä belä bir zad säslänir. Gedär, vaxti ki gedär gerer tä xodaya bir div, divdir! näye howl o välä divdir! Bu deyär oy qez ! gäl, gäl iläri.

(10-14). Qez gälli ; deyär gä burä otu⁵⁷ mänim başıma bax. Bu qorxar, bu qez deyäbilmäz ke gälmiräm. Gäler oturur o deyär gä başımı arrid. Başınıñ nä jannarı täh çıyanıymış, mälmäligimiş, qumqummäg o beläye zadımış. Häyä, tutirmiş bäddäxliginän ya ellerä ya vill edä...

(15-19). Div deyirmiş nämänä gerdiñ? Deyär: heşnä bir kummujä jannardı, qorxirmiş. Vill edär. Häyä, inni yadımä duşdu. Gilikčä varıymış äyirmiş, pämmä yä, häyä pämmä.

(20-24). Beläye lulä lulä gilikčä edillär, bu gilikčäyi äyirmiş. Bir yel gäler munıñ gilikčäsini geterer gedär. Baxär geyä, baxär baxär gerer tä apardı o kämärdä bir şikäftdi dä qaddi onıñ içinä. Duşär qulunjunä. Bu bowaarvadisinnan qorxirmiş.

(25-29). Varır gedär gerer tä gilikčä dä yoxdur o gäterdi älä bu şikäft içinä. Bir boynu yoyun div oturmuş, qärä divdi, divdir. Deyär qorxmä gäl iläri, gä gilikčän älä burdä. Gäler o, deyär gäl otur başıma ävväl bax. Gäler oturur başına baxar.

(30-34). Bir parä beläye beläye jannarıymış, tutirmiş ellerä ho bilmermiş, atirmiş oyana. Deyär bu mänim başımıñ jannar varı? Deyär häyä, bir ikki kummujä jannardı, adını demäz, atirmiş dizä. Xub bir parä belä edär o deyär ordä bir çärxdi, çärxiñ issinä gilikčäni qomuşäm, ged geti. Bu çärxiñ nä altinnä munıñ zäxiräsiymiş.

(35-39) Belä donyanıñ pulu, telası, gowhäri, munıñ altunnäymiş. Alä o gedär geterer o baxar gerer xodaya, gänje qarun älä yatmış ki, hesab yoxu. Bu deyir başını uxarı edmäz. Geterer gäler. Deyär län ol!

(40-44). Gilikčäsini geterer. Gäterer qızı qoyar älä o çärxiñ issinä. Čärxi oyunnurur gerer tä älä gilikčä ki getermeş duşdu. Munu oyunnurä ki mäzännä⁵⁸ härnä var čixä. Yanı bu teladän o zaddän getermiş, getirä? getermämiş, äl vurmämiş.

(45-49). Deyär qez ged, ged ki harda ixilän, čänäñnän ay geyärä, allıñnän nä gin geyärä... Bu aynän ginä qurs, älä onnän qalmış, eşeddiñ? Qez gedär, älä bu yazzidä ixilär. Inni älä oräsi dä yadımnan čixir. Ixiler o allınnän elahidän gin, čänäsinnän ay geyärer.

⁵⁶ *korlig ver-* (lit. to give blindness) is composed of *kor* < P. *kur* ‘blind’ + the suffix *-IG* and verb *ver-* ‘give’; it means ‘to harass’, ‘to maltreat’. To my knowledge, this compound verb is used only in Qashqay.

⁵⁷ *ot* is the imperative of the second person singular of the verb *oturmak* ‘to sit’. As in several other verbs ending in the consonant /r/, this consonant drops in imperative mood of the second person singular.

⁵⁸ *mäzännä*, from Arabic *zann* ‘supposition, guess’, means supposedly. The usage of this word as adverb is very frequent in the speech of the elderly Qashqay speakers.

(50-54). Älä aynän ginä qurs deyiñ. Gäler; “felanî käsini qizi beläyin olmuş”, belä, belä, bu dasetan olur. Bu dä bir şah varläriymiş, kädxoda varläriymiş, ehlan olur, gerellär muştäri olullar qizä. Muştäri olullar qizä. Bu arvad ki bu qizä korlig veyirdi, deyär sän niñ eddiñ belä ollıñ?

(55-59). Qez deyär män giligčäyi getirdim geddim o felanî yerä... Gäççi yaninnäymiş dä, giligčä äyirirmiş ä, gäççi yaninnäymiş. Gäççiyi apardı orä, häyä, orä oturmuşdum gilikčämi äyirdim yel apardı yo... Munu, dasetanini deyär bu bowası arvadınä. Bu dä qizinä gilikčä verer o yollar.

(60-64). Deyär sän ged älä orä otu gilikčäni äyer şayäd säniñkini dä apardı. Xob munıñ qizi dä gedär. Gedännä orä gilikčäsini yel aparır o gedär älä o şikäftän çaxardä gerer tä div oturmuş. Deyär gäl başıma bax. Bu div dä beläyi zad içiyimiş.

(65-69). Gedär deyär: “buy buy säniñ başıñıñ jannarı ilannır, bilmeräm, ilanqassiyidi, bilmeräm, qumqummägdı, munnäri män tutäbilmiräm, näye edäm? qäräbejikdi”. Onnä deyär xub, ossun. Ged gilikčäni getir. Gedär gilikčäsini geterä gerer tä bu gänje qariniñ issinnä. Härnä jeb varyıymış zad varyıymış dollurur bu teladän o gowhärädän o bu äsädän.

(70-74). Giligčäsini geterer gäler. Gälännä qoyär çärx issinä gerer tä bir badman xert o pert tekilli, tela o gowhär o älä bu gänje qarunnän. Deyär: qez gedän älä felan yerdä ixilän, çänänän eşşäyiñ färşi geyärsin allinän nä siki. Inni bähze kimsä deyir allinnä eşşäg siki vardı. Bu qizinçi dä beläki olur.

(75-79). Bu şah oyulu muştäri olur o ilärki qizä. Bu qizini qatirmış tänur altına, käsirmiş o yosirmiş o dizädirmiş. Onu dä qaym edmişimiş ki bu ez qizini şayäd beläyi verä... Bir xurus varyıymış, xurus gäler. Älä bu qezi ki qaym edmişimiş o äviñ altına, xurus gäler älä äviñ issinä buñ veyirmiş.

(80-84). Deyirmiş: “*quyulıyu, fatma xanım tu tänur, bibili jänim ällini qičini yosir*”. Gerellär tä xurus beläyi deyir. Heç, xurus beläyi deyir, tä isir bu qizi verä. Şah oyulu dä gäler deyär ki... Gedällär toy edällär o oyan o buyan o, gälällär älä munu aparallar dola bula edällär geterellär gedällär.

(85-89). Orä gedännä şah oyulu deyär: o qezi ki män eseräm bu däyil. Män bu qizi isämiräm, aparıñ geri, äterellär geri. Tä arvadı ävdän çaxardällär. Tekällär tä gerellär bir ävdir, bilmeyräm, munıñ altınna bir pişuft varımış qizi qadmişimiş orä. Çaxardällär qizi gäterellär aparıllär verellär şah oyulunä.

(90-93). Onıñ nä qizini gäterellär verellär geri. Arvadı dä bilmeräm ellerellär o yannirillär, käfdän aparıllär, älä bu bowası arvadını. Xob dossumuz o ossun, duşmänimiz dä älä bu arvad ossun. Tämam ollu.

14.1.7.1. Folktale 7: translation

(1-4). The wife of a man was dead; from her, he had only a daughter. He took another wife. This second woman used to harass the girl. She was a beautiful one this girl, she was beautiful.

(5-9). And this stepmother, too, had a daughter; she was a fat and stupid one. Then, the stepmother sent her stepdaughter, I do not know where, to mountains to collect firewood or to graze goats, I do not know, she sent her to do something. This girl went, I do not know whether she was busy collecting firewood or doing something else, and she saw that there was a cave in which something was making a noise. She went into the cave; arrived there she saw, oh my God, a demon, what a horrible demon! This said: O girl, come, come forward.

(10-14). The girl entered; he said: come and sit here and search my head. The girl was afraid, she could not refuse to do that. She entered and sat down. He said: come and delouse my head. Among the beasts of his head were centipedes, lizards, chameleons and things like that. Yes, she caught them with so much difficulty and killed some and dropped some others...

(15-19). The demon said: what did you see? She said: nothing, there was just a small beast; he was afraid. The demon released her. Ah, now I remember it. She had a yarn ball, she spun cotton, yes, cotton.

(20-24). Such yarn balls are made in rolls. She was spinning a yarn ball, a gust of wind came and took her yarn ball. She looked at the sky, she looked again and again, and she saw that [the wind] took it into a cave that was in the rock. She set to follow it. She was afraid of her stepmother.

(25-29). She followed and saw that the yarn ball was gone; it had disappeared into the cave. There was a stiff-necked demon sitting there, a black demon, it was a demon. He said: do not be afraid, come here, your yarn ball is here. She entered, and the demon said: come and sit down here and have a look first at my head! She entered and sat down and looked at his head.

(30-34). There were some beasts like this and that, she caught them but, as she could not kill them, she only threw them away. He said: is there any beast in my head? She said: yes, there are some beasts; she did not tell him the name of the beasts; she threw them away. Well, she was busy doing this job for a while; then he said: over there, there is a spinning wheel on which I have put your yarn ball, go take it. Under this wheel, it was his treasure.

(35-39). There were money, gold and jewellery of the whole world beneath the wheel. She went to take her yarn ball, she saw, oh my God, the treasure of Korah, innumerable! It is said that this girl did not turn her head up. She took her yarn ball and wanted to go away, he said: wait!

(40-44). She took her yarn ball. He brought the girl and placed her on that wheel. He spun the wheel and saw that it was only the yarn ball with her. He wanted to turn the wheel, I suppose, to make everything she had taken fall. As if she had taken from money and things; had she taken any? she had taken nothing; she had not even touched them.

(45-49). He said: go girl; may the sun grow from your forehead and the moon from your chin wherever you fall. "Bound to sun and moon", this idiom comes from that story; have you heard it? have you heard it? The girl went and fell outside over there. What happened then? I do not remember well. She fell and by the grace of God, the sun grew on her forehead and the moon on her chin.

(50-54). Say that she was bound to the sun and the moon. She came back. "such a thing has happened to the daughter of Mr. so-and-so", and in this way, the story spread. They had a king there, or a headman, the news was announced, they came to see the girl, they wanted her for marriage. They wanted the girl for marriage. The woman (the stepmother) who used to harass the girl said: what did you do to become like that?

(55-59). She said: How did you become so? The girl said: I took the yarn ball, I went to that place... She had been grazing the goats, she had been spinning the yarn ball, yeah, she had been grazing the goats. I led the goats there, yes there, I was busy spinning my yarn ball, a gust of wind took it, and... She told that, she told her story to her stepmother. She gave a yarn ball to her own daughter too and sent her.

(60-64). She said: you go there and sit at that place and spin your yarn ball, maybe [the wind] will take yours, too. So, the daughter of this woman went too. When she arrived there, the wind took her yarn ball and ... she went to fetch it in the cave, she saw the demon sitting there. He said: Come here and look at my head. The demon apparently existed for this kind of things.

(65-69). She went therein and [looking at the head of the demon] said: wow, the beasts in your head are snakes, err... lizards, err... chameleons, I cannot catch them, how do I do? There are some beetles. Then he said: alright Go and take your yarn ball! She went to take her yarn ball, she found herself upon the treasure of Korah. She filled her pockets with gold, jewels and the things alike.

(70-74). She took her yarn ball and came back. Once come back to the demon, he put her on the wheel and saw so many things dropping from her: gold, jewels and other things of this very treasure of Korah. He said: go girl, may grow a donkey's vulva on your forehead and its penis on your chin wherever you fall. Nowadays, some say: I have gotten a penis of donkey on my forehead. So was what that happened to this girl.

(75-79). The son of the king wanted the first girl. She hid her own daughter in the oven, and cut and scratched her [wounds] in order that she recover. As for the stepdaughter, she had hidden her in the hope to give her own daughter to the son of the king. She had a rooster. The rooster crowed on the roof of the room beneath which she had locked the stepdaughter.

(80-84). The rooster would sing: cock-a-doodle-doo, Fatma Xanim is in the oven, Bibili Janim rubs her forehead and her chin. They saw the rooster saying such a thing. Saying so, the rooster wanted make people know that the she would like to give her own daughter to the son of the king. The son of the king came and said that ... They arranged the wedding, there was a great excitement everywhere, and they came to the girl and put make-up on her and fetched her.

(85-89). Once arrived there, the son of king said: the girl whom I want is not this one, I do not want this girl, take her back home. They brought her back home. And they took the stepmother out of the house. They searched the house and found a room, I do not know, beneath this room there was a hiding place in which she had locked the stepdaughter. They took out the girl and brought her and gave her to the son of king.

(90-93). They brought the daughter of the stepmother and gave her back. As for the woman, I do not know if they killed her or burnt her, they put and end to her life, the stepmother I mean. Well, may our friend be that one and our enemy be this very woman. That is over.

14.1.7.2. *Folktale 7: glossed text*

- (1) (1-4)
bir | *kişi-nin* | *arvad-ı* | *el-mişimiş* | *onnän* | *täk* | *qez* | *var-ı-ymiş* |
 one | man-GEN | woman-POS3SG | die-PPF3SG | she-ABL | sole | girl | existing-POS3SG-PF3SG
- (2)
bir | *arvad* | *daha* | *alir.*
 a | wife | other | take-AOR3SG
- (3)
bu | *qez-ä* | *bu* | *axir-ki* | *arvad-ı* | *korlig* | *vey-irmiş.*
 this | girl-DAT | this | last-KI | woman-POS3SG | blindness | give-EVIMPF3SG
- (4)
bir | *qäşän* | *zeyfä-ymiş* | *dä* | *älä* | *o* | *qez,* | *qäsän-imiş.*
 one | pretty | woman-PF.COP3SG | DA | EMPH | that | girl | pretty-PF.COP3SG
- (5) (5-9)
bu | *zänbowaniñ* | *ez-en-nä* | *dä* | *qez* | *var-ımış* | *bir* | *lukopuk-umuş.*
 this | stepmother-GEN | self-POS3SG-LOC | DA | girl | existing-PF3SG | one | fat.and.idiot-PF.COP3SG
- (6)
ärz | *ed-ä-m,* | *bu* | *qiz-i* | *yoll-är* | *bil-me-r-äm* | *härä*
 petition | do-SUBJ-1SG | this | girl-ACC | send-AOR3SG | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | where
day-ä | *odun-ä,* | *bil-me-r-äm* | *gäççi-yä* | *bir* | *iş-ä* | *yoll-är.*
 mountain-DAT | wood-DAT | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | goat-DAT | one | work-DAT | send-AOR3SG
- (7)
bu | *qez* | *ged-är* | *ger-er* | *tä* | *bil-me-r-äm* | *odun* | *iy-irmiş*
 this | girl | go-AOR3SG | see-AOR3SG | TA | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | wood | collect-EVIMPF3SG
- (8)
nä | *iş* | *gey-irmiş* | *bir* | *şikäft-di* | *iç-i-nnä*
 what | work | do-EVIMPF3SG | one | cave-PRS.COP3SG | inside-ACC-LOC
belä | *bir* | *zäd* | *säslän-ir,*
 so | one | thing | sound-PRS3SG
- (9)
ged-är | *växti* | *ki* | *ged-är* | *ger-er* | *tä* | *xodaya* | *bir* | *div-dir,*
 go-AOR3SG | while | KI | go-AOR3SG | see-AOR3SG | TA | oh.God | one | demon-PRS.COP3SG
näye | *howl-o-välä* | *div-dir!* | *bu* | *de-yär* | *oy* | *qez*
 how | terrible | demon-PRS.COP3SG | this | say-AOR3SG | oh | girl
gäl | *iläri!*
 come.IMP2SG | forward
- (10) (10-14)
qez | *gäl-li* | *de-yär* | *gä* | *burä* | *otu* | *män-im* | *baş-ım-ä* | *bax,*
 girl | come-PST3SG | say-AOR3SG | come.IMP2SG | here | sit.IMP2SG | I-GEN | head-POS-DAT | look.IMP2SG
- (11)
bu | *qorx-är* | *bu* | *qez* | *de-yäbil-mäz* | *ki* | *gäl-m-ir-äm,*
 this | fear-AOR3SG | this | girl | say-can-NEG.AOR3SG | KI | come-NEG-PRS-1SG
- (12)
gäl-er | *otur-ur* | *o* | *de-yär* | *gä* | *baş-ım-i* | *arrud*
 come-AOR3SG | sit-AOR3SG | he | say-AOR3SG | come.IMP2SG | head-POS-ACC | clean.IMP2SG

- (13)
baş-ı-niñ *nä* *ǰannar-ı* *täh* *čian-imiš* *mälmäleǰ-emiš*
 head-POS-GEN DA animal-POS3SG all millipede-COP.PF3SG lizard-COP.PF3SG
qumqummäg *o* *beläye* *zad-imiš*,
 chameleon and such thing-COP.PF3SG
- (14)
häyä *tut-irmiš* *bäddäxliǰ-inän* *ya* *el-ler-ä* *ya* *vil* *ed-ä*.
 yes catch-EVIMPF3SG misfortune-INST or kill-CAUS-SUBJ3SG or free do-SUBJ3SG
- (15) (15-19)
div *de-yirmiš* *nämänä* *ǰer-di-ŋ?*
 demon say-EVIMPF3SG what see-PST-2SG
- (16)
de-yär *hešnä* *bir* *kummuǰä* *ǰannar-dı* *qorx-irmiš*,
 say-AOR3SG nothing.what one small animal-COP3SG fear-EVIMPF3SG
- (17)
vill *ed-är*.
 free do-AOR3SG
- (18)
häyä *inni* *yad-ım-ä* *duš-du*,
 yes now memory-POS1SG-DAT fall-PST3SG
- (19)
gilikčä *var-ı-yimiš* *äyr-irmiš*, *pämmä* *yä* *häyä* *pämmä*,
 roll.of.coton existing-POS3SG-PF3SG spin-EVIMPF3SG coton ITJ yes coton
- (20) (20-24)
beläye *lulä* *lulä* *gilikčä* *ed-il-lär*, *bu* *gilikčä-ye* *äyr-irmiš*.
 such roll roll roll.of.coton do-PRS-3PL this roll.of.coton-ACC spin-EVIMPF3SG
- (21)
bir *yel* *ǰäl-er* *muniŋ* *gilikčä-si-ni* *ǰeter-er* *ǰed-ä*,
 one wind come-AOR3SG this.GEN roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG
- (22)
bax-är *ǰey-ä* *bax-är* *bax-är* *ǰer-er* *tä* *apar-di*
 look-AOR3SG sky-DAT look-AOR3SG look-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA take-PST3SG
o *kämär-dä* *bir* *şikäft-di* *dä* *qad-di* *o-niŋ* *ič-i-nä*
 that rock-LOC one cave-PRS.COP DA enter-PST3SG that-GEN inside-POS3SG-DAT
- (23)
duš-är *qulunǰ-u-nä*
 fall-AOR3SG after-POS3SG-DAT
- (24)
bu *bowaarvad-ı-sin-nän* *qorx-irmiš*.
 this stepmother-POS3SG-GEN-ABL fear-EVIMPF3SG
- (25) (25-29)
var-ir *ǰed-är* *ǰer-er* *tä* *gilikčä* *dä* *yox-dur*
 existing-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA roll.of.coton DA inexistent-COP3SG
o *ǰäter-di* *älä* *bu* *şikäft* *ič-i-nä*
 and bring-PST3SG EMPH this cave inside-POS3SG-DAT
- (26)
bir *boyn-u* *yoyun* *arvad* *otur-muš* *qärä* *div-di*, *div-dir*.
 one neck-POS3SG robust woman sit-PF3SG black demon-COP3SG demon-COP3SG
- (27)
de-yär *qorx-mä* *ǰäl* *iläri*, *ǰä* *gilikčä-ŋ* *älä* *burdä*
 say-AOR3SG fear-NEG.IMP2SG come.IMP2SG forward come.IMP2SG roll.of.coton-POS2SG EMPH here.LOC
- (28)
ǰäl-er *o* *de-yär* *ǰäl* *otur* *baş-im-ä* *ävväl* *bax*.
 come-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG sit.IMP2SG head-POS1-DAT first look.IMP2SG
- (29)
ǰäl-er *otur-ur* *baş-ı-nä* *bax-är*.
 come-AOR3SG sit-AOR3SG head-POS3SG-DAT look-AOR3SG

- (30) (30-34)
o bir parä beläyi beläyi jannar-imiš
 and one part such such animal-COP.PF3SG
tut-irmiš el-ler-ä-ho-bil-m-ermiš at-irmiš oan-ä
 catch-EVIMPF3SG die-CAUS-A-ITJ-BIL-NEG-EVIMPF3SG throw-EVIMPF3SG that.side-DAT
- (31)
de-yär bu män-im baš-im-iñ jannar var-i?
 say-AOR3SG this I-GEN head-POS1SG-GEN animal existing-POS3SG
- (32)
de-yär häyä bir ikki kummujä jannar-di.
 say-AOR3SG yes one two small animal-PRS.COP3SG
äd-i-ni de-mäz at-irmiš diz-ä
 name-POS3SG-ACC say-AOR.NEG3SG throw-EVIMPF3SG outside-DAT
- (33)
xub, bir parä belä ed-är o de-yär ordä bir čärx-di
 well one part so do-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG there.LOC one wheel-PRS.COP
čärx-iñ issi-nä gilikčä-ñ-ni qo-muš-äm ged geti
 wheel-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT roll.of.coton-POS2SG-PRS.COP put-PF-1SG go.IMP2SG take.IMP2SG
- (34)
bu čärx-iñ nä alt-i-nnä muniñ zäxirä-si-yimiš.
 this wheel-GEN DA under-POS3SG-LOC this.GEN treasury-POS3SG-PF.COP
- (35) (35-39)
belä donya-niñ pul-u, telä:si, gowhär-i muniñ alt-i-nnä-yimiš.
 such world-GEN money-POS3SG gold-POS3SG jewel-POS3SG this.GEN under-POS3SG-LOC-PRS.COP
- (36)
älä o ged-är geter-er o bax-er ger-er
 EMPH that go-AOR3SG take-AOR3SG and look-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG
xodaya gänj-e qarun älä yat-miš ki hesab yox-u.
 oh.God treasure-EZ Qarun EMPH sleep-PF3SG KI count inexisting-POS3SG
- (37)
bu de-yir baš-i-ni uxari ed-mäz.
 this say-PRS3SG head-POS3SG-ACC upwards do-AOR.NEG3SG
- (38)
geter-er gäl-er.
 take-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG
- (39)
de-yär läñ ol!
 say-AOR3SG cripple be.IMP3SG
- (40) (40-44)
gilikčä-si-ni geter-er.
 roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG
- (41)
gäter-er qez-i qoy-är älä o čärx-iñ issi-nä
 bring-AOR3SG girl-ACC put-AOR3SG EMPH that wheel-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT
- (42)
čärx-i oyun-nur-ur ger-er tä älä gilikčä ki geter-miš duš-du.
 wheel-ACC spin-CAUS-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA EMPH roll.of.coton KI take-PF3SG fall-PST3SG
- (43)
munu oyun-nur-ä ki mäzännä härnä var čix-ä
 this.ACC spin-CAUS-SUBJ3SG KI supposing whatever existing come.out-SUBJ3SG
- (44)
yanı bu tela:dän o zad-dän geter-miš
 meaning this gold-ABL and thing-ABL take-PF3SG
geter-ä? getir-mä-miš, äl vur-mä-miš
 take-SUBJ3SG take-NEG-PF3SG hand beat-NEG-PF3SG

- (45) (45-49)
de-yär qez ged, ged ki härdä ixil-ä-η
 say-AOR3SG girl go.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG KI where collapse-SUBJ-2SG
čänä-η-nän ay geyär-ä all-iη-nän nä gin geyär-ä
 chin-POS2SG-ABL moon grow-SUBJ3SG forehead-POS2SG-ABL DA sun grow-SUBJ3SG
- (46)
bu ay-inän gin-ä märg? onnän qal-miš ešid-di-η?
 this moon-INST sun-DAT death that-ABL remain-PF3SG hear-PST-2SG
- (47)
qez ged-är, ger-el-lär tä bir beläyen hesab-dir.
 girl go-AOR3SG see-AOR-3PL TA one such count-PRS.COP3SG
älä bu yazzi-dä ixil-är.
 EMPH this outside-LOC collapse-AOR3SG
- (48)
inni älä orä-si dä yad-im-nän čix-ir
 now EMPH there-ACC DA memory-POS1SG-ABL come.out-PRS3SG
- (49)
ixil-er o all-in-nän elahi-dän gin, čänä-si-nnän ay
 collapse-AOR3SG and forehead-POS3SG-ABL God-ABL sun chin-POS3SG-ABL moon
- (50) (50-54)
älä ay-nän gin-ä qurs de-yiη...
 EMPH moon-INST sun-DAT disc say-IMP2PL
- (51)
gäl-er, felani käs-iη qez-i beläyin ol-muš,
 come-AOR3SG and.so person-GEN girl-POS3SG such become-PF3SG
belä belä bu dasetan ol-ur
 such such this story become-AOR3SG
- (52)
bu dä bir šah var-läri-yimiš kädxoda var-läri-yimiš
 this DA one king existing-POS3PL-PF alderman existing-POS3PL-PF3SG
ehlan ol-ur ger-el-lär, muštäre ol-ul-lär qez-ä.
 announcement be-AOR3SG see-AOR-3PL customer be-AOR-3PL girl-DAT
- (53)
moštäre ol-ul-lär qez-ä,
 customer become-AOR-3PL girl-DAT
- (54)
bu arvad ki bu qez-ä korlig vey-irdi,
 this woman see-AOR3SG this girl-DAT blindness give-IMPF3SG
de-yär sän niη ed-di-η belä ol-li-η?
 say-AOR3SG you how do-PST-2SG such become-PST-2SG
- (55) (55-59)
qez de-yär män giligčä-ye getir-di-m ged-di-m o felani yer-ä
 girl say-AOR3SG I roll.of.coton-ACC take-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG that and.so earth-DAT
- (56)
gäčče yan-i-nnä-yimiš dä bu giligčä äyr-irmiš ä
 goat side-POS3SG-LOC-PF3SG DA this roll.of.coton spin-EVIMPF3SG ITJ
gäčče yan-i-nnä-yimiš.
 goat side-POS3SG-LOC-PF3SG
- (57)
gäčče-yi apar-di-m orä häyä orä otur-mušdu-m
 goat-ACC take-PST-1SG there yes there sit-PPF-1SG
kirman, gilikčä-m-i äyr-irdi-m yel apar-di o...
 spindle roll.of.coton-POS1-ACC spin-IMPF-1SG wind take-PST3SG and
- (58)
munu dasetan-i-ni de-yär bu bowa-si arvad-i-nä.
 this.ACC story-POS3SG-ACC say-AOR3SG this father-GEN woman-POS3SG-DAT

(59)

bu də qez-i-nä gilikčä ver-er o yol-lär
this DA girl-POS3SG-DAT roll.of.coton give-AOR3SG and send-AOR3SG

(60) (60-64)

de-yär sän ged älä orä otu
say-AOR3SG you go.IMP2SG EMPH there.DAT sit.IMP2SG
gilikjä-η-i äyer šayäd sän-iη-ki-ni dä apar-di.
roll.of.coton-POS2SG-ACC spin.IMP2SG maybe you-GEN-KI -ACC DA take-PST3SG

(61)

xob munin qez-i dä ged-är
well this.GEN girl-ACC DA go-AOR3SG

(62)

ged-ännä orä gilikčä-si-ni yel apar-ir o ged-är älä
go-CONV there roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC wind take-AOR3SG and go-AOR3SG EMPH
o šikäft-dän čax-ard-ä ger-er tä div otur-muš,
that cave-ABL exit-CAUS-SUBJ3SG see-AOR3SG TA demon sit-PF3SG

(63)

de-yär gäl baš-ım-ä bax
say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG head-POS1SG-DAT look.IMP2SG

(64)

bu div dä beläyi zad içi-ymiş
this demon DA such thing for-PF.COP3SG

(65) (65-69)

ged-är de-yär: buy buy sän-iη baš-iη-iη jannar-i
go-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG buy buy you-GEN head-POS2SG-GEN anima-POS3SG
ilan-nür... bil-me-r-äm ilänqassiyi-di bil-me-r-äm qumqummäg-di
snake-PRS.COP know-NEG-PRS-1SG lizard-PRS.COP know-NEG-PRS-1SG chameleon-PRS.COP
munnär-e män tut-ä bil-me-ir-äm, näyi ed-äm? qäräbejik-di.
these-ACC I catch-SUBJ3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG how do-SUBJ-1SG beetle-PRS.COP

(66)

onnä de-yär xub, os-sun,
then.LOC say-AOR3SG well be-IMP3SG

(67)

ged gilikčä-η-i getir.
go.IMP2SG roll.of.coton-POS2SG-ACC take.IMP2SG

(68)

ged-är gilikčä-si-ni geter-ä ger-er tä
go-AOR3SG roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-SUBJ3SG see-AOR3SG TA
bu gänj-e qarın-iη issi-nä
this treasury-EZ Qarun-GEN over.POS2SG-DAT

(69)

härnä jeb var-i-ymiş zad var-i-ymiş
whatever pocket existing-POS3SG-PF3SG thing existing-POS3SG-PF3SG
dol-lur-ur bu tela-dän o gowhär-dän o bu äsas-dän.
fill-CAUS-AOR3SG this gold-ABL and jewel-ABL and this things-ABL

(70) (70-74)

giligjä-si-ni geter-er gäl-er,
roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG

(71)

gäl-ännä qoy-är čärx is-si-nä ger-er tä bir badman xert o
come-CONV put-AOR3SG wheel on-POS3SG-DAT see-AOR3SG TA one three.kilos junk and
pert tekil-li tela o gowhär o älä bu gänj-e qarın-nän.
junk pour-PST3SG gold and jewel and EMPH this treasure-EZ Qarun-ABL

(72)

de-yär qez ged-ä-η älä felan yer-dä ixil-ä-η
say-AOR3SG girl go-SUBJ-2SG EMPH such earth-LOC collapse-SUBJ-2SG
čänä-η-nän eššäy-iη färs-i geyär-sin all-iη-nän nä sik-i.
chin-POS2SG-ABL donkey-GEN vulva-POS3SG grow-IMP3SG forehead-POS2SG-ABL also penis-POS3SG

- (73)
inni bāze kimsä de-yir all-üm-nä eššäg sik-i var-dü.
 now some person say-PRS3SG forehead-POS1SG-LOC donkey penis-POS3SG existing-PRS.COP
- (74)
bu qiz-iñ-ki dä beläki ol-ur
 this girl-GEN-KI DA such become-AOR3SG
- (75) (75-79)
bu šah oyl-u muštäre ol-ur o ilär-ki qiz-ä,
 this king son-POS3SG costumer become-AOR3SG that fore-KI girl-DAT
- (76)
bu qiz-i-nü qat-irmiš tänur alt-i-nä
 this girl-POS3SG-ACC put.into-EVIMPF3SG four under-POS3SG-DAT
käs-irmiš o yos-irmiš o dizäd-irmiš
 cut-EVIMPF3SG and scratch-EVIMPF3SG and make-EVIMPF3SG
- (77)
onu dä qaym ed-mišimiš ki bu ez qiz-i-nü
 she.ACC DA hide do-PPF3SG KI this self girl-POS3SG-ACC
šayäd beläyi ver-ä,
 maybe so give-SUBJ3SG
- (78)
bir xurus var-i-ymiş, xurus gäl-er,
 one rooster existing-POS3SG-PF3SG rooster come-AOR3SG
- (79)
älä bu qez-i-ki qaym ed-mišimiš o äv-iñ alt-i-nä,
 EMPH this girl-INDEF-KI hide do-PPF3SG that house-GEN under-POS3SG-ACC
xurus gäl-er älä äv-iñ issi-nä buñ vey-irmiš.
 rooster come-AOR3SG EMPH house-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT call give-EVIMPF3SG
- (80) (80-84)
de-yirmiš: quyuliyu, fatmä xanım tu tänur,
 say-EVIMPF3SG song.of.rooster Fatima lady in four
bibili jän-üm äll-i-nü qič-i-nü yos-ir.
 Bibili soul-POS1SG forehead-POS3SG-ACC foot-POS3SG-ACC rub-PRS3SG
- (81)
ger-el-lär tä xurus beläyi de-yir.
 see-AOR-3PL TA rooster so say-PRS3SG
- (82)
heç, xurus beläye de-yir, tä ise-yr bu qez-e ver-ä.
 nothing rooster such say-PRS3SG TA want-PRS3SG this girl-ACC give-SUBJ3SG
- (83)
šah oyl-u dä gäl-er de-yär ki...
 king son-POS3SG DA come-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG KI
- (84)
ged-äl-lär toy ed-äl-lär o oyan o buyan o, gäl-el-lär
 go-AOR-3PL wedding do-AOR-3PL and that.side and this.side and come-AOR-3PL
älä munu apar-al-lar dola bula ed-äl-lär geter-el-lär ged-äl-lär.
 EMPH this.ACC take-AOR-3PL dola bula do-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL go-AOR-3PL
- (85) (85-89)
orä ged-ännä šah oyl-u de-yär:
 there.DAT go-CONV king son-POS3SG say-AOR3SG
o qez-i ki män ese-r-äm bu däyil.
 that girl-INDEF3SG KI I want-PRS-1SG this NEG.PRS.COP3SG
- (86)
män bu qiz-i isä-m-ir-äm apar-iñ geri, gäter-el-lär geri,
 I this girl-ACC want-NEG-PRS-1SG take-IMP2PL back take-AOR-3PL back
- (87)
tek-äl-lär tä ger-el-lär bir äv-dir,
 pour-AOR-3PL TA see-AOR-3PL one house-PRS.COP3SG

(88)

bil-me-r-äm muniñ alt-ï-nnä bir pişuft var-ïmiş
know-NEG-PRS-1SG this.GEN under-POS3SG-LOC one crypt existing-PF3SG

qiz-ï qad-mišimiş orä.
girl-ACC put.into-PPF3SG there

(89)

çax-ard-ïl-lär qiz-ï gäter-el-lär apar-ïl-lär ver-el-lär şah oyul-u-nä
exit-CAUS-AOR-3PL girl-ACC bring-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL give-AOR-3PL king son-ACC-DAT

(90) (90-93)

oniñ nä qiz-ï-ni gäter-el-lär ver-el-lär geri,
she.GEN DA girl-POS3SG-ACC bring-AOR-3PL give-AOR-3PL back

(91)

arvad-ï dä bil-me-r-äm el-ler-el-lär o yan-nir-ïl-lär,
woman-ACC DA know-NEG-PRS-1SG kill-CAUS-AOR-3PL or burn-CAUS-AOR-3PL
käf-dän apar-ïl-lär, älä bu bowa-si arvad-ï-ni.
palm.of.the.hand-ABL take-AOR-3PL EMPH this father-POS3SG woman-POS3SG-ACC

(92)

xob doss-umuz o os-sun, duşmân-imiz dä älä bu arvad os-sun.
well friend-POS1PL that become-IMP3SG enemy-POS1PL DA EMPH this woman become-IMP3SG

(93)

tämam ol-lu.
complete become-PST3SG

14.2. Life stories

14.2.1. Life story 1⁵⁹

(1-4) Yaz gerirdiñ ki bu äşayer köç issinä. Arvad häme yol gedir häme kerman älinnä ägirir. Tä genä bir yerä qonir o genä towleyllärdi ta amada edillärdi ki gedälär särhädä. Särhädä dä gedillärdi genä toxumayı başleyllärdi.

(5-9) Towsan yeytäridi, hava azzadidi. Bir çador qarayına ya älä kölgeyä bir qaliçä ya bir gilim ya bir jäjim dar edillärdi toxillärdi. Bir çador vurillärdi deyillärdi bu çador sediräkädür, üş diräk vurillärdi. Beyük çadoridi ki onikki ärşin häddeäqal uzunuydu. Daha muniñ dowruna gärmän verillärdi yo jolowna qapılıx atillärdi.

(10-14) Bähzi kimsä dä qäşänlig içi gur o gompol dizädirdi bayleyrdi bu payäyä, deyillärdi payäbänd. Mäsälän çantä toqqıllärdi o bälädän toqqıllärdi asillärdi bu payalardan qäşänlig içi. Häyä, towsanı xeyli jalibidi, çämänä qonillärdi kop qärä-çador, aq-çador. Mäsälän bu gäççiyi yaz qerxä bilmerdi. Towsan hätmän gedasiydi gäççiyi särhädä qerxälär.

(15-19) vä orda ki qerxillärdi munu kop edäsilärdi bir saf yerä. Bir uzun tärkäynän, geräk tär dä ola, ükküş näfär munu tärkäynän vurirdi serkäleyrdi yo dässä edillärdi. Yo, ägirillärdi ki gärmän o çador dizädälär. Daha bu uç ay towsan härnä toxumalı varlarıydi toxillärdi. Ta genä oba gälä gärmesirä yo qeşlaya.

(20) Tä genä qeşlayda daha qeşidi, daha birisi dä bir kummuja gäbbä eserdi toqquya ya bir jäjim eserdi toqquya säxtliginän toqqirdi.

14.2.1.1. Life story 1: translation

(1-4) In the Spring you would see these nomads in migration. The women walked the *kermän* in hands spinning it. Until they settled down somewhere and again, they would spin [the *kermän*] and prepare themselves to go to the Summer zone. At the Summer zone, they would begin weaving again.

⁵⁹ This text is the transcript of a life story told by a Qashqai man and broadcast on the Radio Yâsuj (circa 2007) as part of a program entitled *Aghur El* "The Glorious Tribal Confederation (lit. the weighty tribal confederation)".