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The Central dialect of Khalaj

Abstract

This study presents a brief overview of the Central Khalaj dialect of Khalaj, a Turkic language spoken in Central Iran with preserved archaic features and limited social usage. The historical origins of the language are also briefly presented, along with its current sociolinguistic situation and challenges it faces in maintaining vitality. The study predominantly presents transcribed and annotated Khalaj texts, derived from fieldwork conducted in Bahārestān to document the linguistic features of the Central Khalaj variety, shedding light on efforts to preserve this language through documentation. Sample texts from fieldwork are presented, offering insights into Khalaj folktale and wedding ceremony narratives. Additionally, the lack of a standardized orthography for Khalaj is addressed, and the transcription conventions used for this study are described. This study serves as an informative introduction to the study of the Khalaj language and efforts made to document its linguistic features for preservation and research purposes.

Key words: Khalaj, Central dialect, endangered languages, archaic features, fieldwork

Halaççanın merkez ağzı

Öz

Bu çalışmada, Orta İran'da konuşulan, arkaik özellikleri korunmuş ve toplumsal kullanımı sınırlı bir Türk dili olan Halaççanın merkez ağzı kısaca tanıtılmakta, dilin tarihsel kökenleri, mevcut toplumdilbilimsel durumu ve canlılığını koruma açısından karşılaştığı zorluklar ele alınmaktadır. Çalışma, Halaççanın dilbilgisel özelliklerini belgelemek ve böylece dili koruma çabalarına ışık tutmak amacıyla, ağırlıklı olarak, Bahārestān'da yürütülmüş olan saha çalışmasında elde edilen ve çevriyazısı ile satırarası analizi sunulan metinleri incelemektedir. Saha çalışmasından seçilen örnek metinler, Halaç halk masalları ve düğün törenleri üzerine olan anlatılara dair bilgiler sunmaktadır. Halaçça için standart bir yazımın olmadığı belirtilerek makalede kullanılan çevriyazı kuralları açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışma, Halaç dilinin incelenmesi ve dilbilimsel özelliklerinin koruma ve araştırma amacıyla belgelenmesi adına gösterilen çabalara giriş niteliğinde bilgilerle katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Halaçça, merkez ağzı, yok olma tehlikesi altında olan diller, eskicil özellikler, saha çalışması

The Khalaj Turkic language

Khalaj (ISO-3: klj, Glottolog: turk1303) is a Turkic variety which has preserved many archaic features, e.g. primary vowel length, and archaic lexemes and morphemes (Doerfer 1971). According to Doerfer (1971) and Johanson (2021), Khalaj may have originated from the dialect of the relatively isolated Central Asian Arghus, who once lived on the periphery of the East Old Turkic Kaghanate. Khalaj is spoken in the valleys between Hamadān and Qom in Central Iran. It has approximately 40,000 to 66,000 speakers.

Khalaj is restricted to family communication in a limited web of social networking, with Persian or Azeri being dominant in other social domains. It is not used as a medium of instruction at schools, and it is rarely used in social media or written communication in general. Written material in Khalaj includes a few poem collections, translations, and some folkloric stories. The liturgical languages of the community are basically Arabic and Persian. Decreasing use of Khalaj puts pressure on the maintenance of the language. For more about the ethnolinguistic vitality situation, see Akkuş & Sağın-Şimşek (2022).

Doerfer (1988: 276) classifies seven main Khalaj dialectal varieties, based primarily on their phonological and lexical peculiarities.

Western Borzābād, and Khaltābād

Northern Vāsheqan, Mihr-e Zemin, and Chāhak

Northeastern Mushakiya, Espit, Sefidālā, Ahmadābād, Bāgh-e Yek, Salaf-

chegān, etc.

Southern Shānegh

Central Bahārestān (former Kharrāb)

Central east Moujan, Sorkhādeh, Mansurābād, etc.

Main mixed

This article deals with the documentation of linguistic features of the spoken Central Khalaj (Bahārestān; former Kharrāb) variety.

Fieldwork in Bahārestān

In 2018, Mehmet Akkuş, one of the authors, began to study possible Iranian and Oghuz contact influences in Khalaj. He studied Doerfer & Tezcan's (1994) seminal Khalaj documentation texts. Wanting to hear the particular Khalaj features he emailed Göttingen State and University Library, requesting permission to listen to audio-recordings, which were compiled as an output of the Göttingen expeditions led by Doerfer and his students between 1968 and 1973. Ultimately, it was not possible to listen to those invaluable Khalaj audio-recordings. This encouraged Akkuş to carry out self-funded fieldwork in Central Iran in an attempt to video-record Khalaj for the first time. However, owing to the COVID-19 pandemic, the planned fieldwork had to be postponed. Once the disastrous effects of COVID-19 eventually faded away, he finally managed to carry out fieldwork in all Khalaj-speaking settlements over the course of three months, from July to September 2021. Prior to fieldwork, he got into contact with Afshin (Omid) Arabgol, the speaker of the text presented here. His father is Mosayeb Arabgol, who was Doerfer's source person, transcriber, language consultant, and guide for the Göttingen expeditions. Inheriting his father's legacy, Afshin Arabgol contributed to the fieldwork as both a source and a guide for language documentation.

Bahārestān is a village in the Markazī province, in Central Iran, about 150 km southwest of Tehran. The largest Khalaj settlements in the vicinity are Mazra-i Nou, Salafcheghān, and Talkhāb.

Sample texts. The speakers

The first text (7 minutes, 10 seconds) was video-recorded by Akkuş in Bahārestān on 8th August 2021 with Afshin (Omid) Arabgol. It is a Khalaj folktale entitled Šānäzär Matali, narrating the adventures of a boy with fennecaphobia, i.e. fear of foxes, spiced with a pinch of agoraphobia, fear of open places that might cause panic.

Afshin (Omid) Arabgol was 50 years old at the time of the video-recording. He could speak Khalaj as his heritage language (HL), Persian as the official *lingua franca* (LF) in Iran, as well as Azeri, a *regional lingua franca* (REFL) in northwestern Iran. At the time when Akkuş conducted the fieldwork, he was living with his extended family in Bähārestān where nearly 175 Khalaj speakers were residing. He and his sisters compiled his father's Khalaj and Persian poems into a collection which was published in Perso-Arabic script (Figure 1). They could write and read Khalaj in Perso-Arabic script, but not in Latin script.

The second text (7 minutes, 22 seconds) was audio-recorded by the second author, Soheila Ahmadi, in 2022. The speaker is Tāvus Mollayi, aged 90 years old at the time of the recording, who spoke Khalaj and Persian. She is Afshin (Omid) Arabgol's mother, and was living with him in Bähārestān at the time. She explains the phases of Khalaj wedding ceremonies.

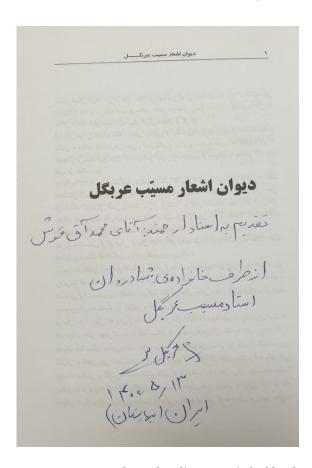


Figure 1. Mosayeb Arabgol's *Diwan*'s half-title page, with a personal note (in Persian) written by the Arabgol family

Lacking a standard orthography, Khalaj has been written sporadically in Latin and Perso-Arabic scripts. For this survey, two transcriptions have been prepared. First, the conventions of Doerfer and Tezcan (1994), similar to those in Johanson (2021) and the epoch-making *Fundamenta* notation, are employed. As for the second transcription given in italics, we made use of the conventions, notations, and abbreviations for morphological analysis employed in Johanson (2021), Johanson

& Csató (eds.) (2022), Johanson (ed.) (2023) and the one recommended for authors of the journal *Turkic Languages*. This second transcription is given in the interlinear analysis.



The speaker of Šānäzär Matali

Text 1. Male speech: Šānäzär Matali

LINK: Khalaj Audio 1
LINK: Khalaj Video

Afshin (Omid) Arabgol

1. Sinnäm pänjåh såle.

Sinn-äm pänjåh sål-e.

age-POSS1SG fifty year-COP3SG

'I am 50 years old.'

2. Šäyōrum bī matal bīläyizkä hayïqam: Šånäzär matali.

Šä-yo:r-um bi: matal bi:lä-yiz-kä hay-ï-ka-m Šånäzär want-INTRA-1SG one tale PRON-2PL-DAT say-IMP-IMP-1SG Šånäzär matal-i.

tale-POSS3SG

'I will tell you a story: Šånäzär's story.'

3. Bī oyul-ämiš, ātï Šånäzär-ämiš.

Bi: oyul ä-miš, a:t-ï Šånäzär ä-miš.
one son COP-POST3SG name-POSS3SG Šånäzär COP-POST3SG

'There was a boy named Šånäzär.'

4. Bu tulkidä xäyli qorqar-ämiš.

Bu tulki-dä xä:yli kork-ar ä-miš.

this fox-ABL very get afraid-AOR COP-POST3SG

'He was very afraid of foxes.'

5. Tulki qorqusida tuonor ičidä hinmäz-ämiš.

Tulki korku-si-da tuonor ič-i-dä hin-mäz

fox fear-POSS3SG-ABL oven interior-POSS3SG-ABL go.out-NEG.AOR

ä-miš.

COP-POST3SG

'He did not go out of the oven due to the fear of foxes.'

6. Nänäsi här nä biläsiyä häyr-amiš: "Šånäzär hinäk taşqar. Sän bī jåhiläy. Käräk yovayäy iš artīča, išläygäy, kiši aligäy, qålluq olugäy".

Nänä-si här nä bilä-si-yä häy-r

mother-POSS3SG every what PRON-POSS3SG-DAT say-AOR

a-miš: Šånäzär hin-äk tašķar. Sän biz jåhil-äy.

COP-POST3SG Šånäzär come.out-IMP outside you one young-COP2SG

Käräk yo-va-yä-y iš art-ï-ča, išlä-y-gä-y,

necessary IMP-go-OPT-2SG work behind-POSS3SG-LOC work-IMP-OPT-2SG

kiši al-i-gä-y, ķål-luķ ol-u-gä-y.

woman take-IMP-OPT-2SG child-DER be(come)-IMP-OPT-2SG

'His mother says everything to him: "Šånäzär, come out! you are young! You need to go after a job, work, get married, and have children".'

7. Bu hayr-ämiš: "Män tulkidä qorqam, tuonorda hinmäm tašqar".

Bu hay-r ä-miš: "Män tulki-dä kork-am,

this say-AOR COP-POST3SG I fox-ABL fear-AOR1SG

tuonor-da hin-mä-m tašķar".

oven-ABL come.out-NEG-AOR1SG outside

'He said: "I am afraid of foxes, so I do not want to come out of the oven"."

8. Bī kien nänä där hämsåyä yaniča danišïr-ämiš ke "Oylum tuonorda hinmōr, bilämi azarläyyor".

Bi: kien nänä där hämsayä yan-i-ča daniš-ïr one day mother door neighbor near-POSS3SG-LOC speak-AOR

ä-miš ke "Oylu-m tuonor-da hin-mo:r,

COP-POST3SG CONJ son-POSS1SG oven-ABL come.out-NEG.AOR3SG

bilä-m-i azarläy-yor".

PRON-POSS1SG-ACC torment-INTRA3SG

'One day the mother talks to her neighbors saying "My son does not come out of the oven, he torments me".'

9. Bī hämsåyälärčä bī qiz vār-ämiš.

Bi: hämsåyä-lär-čä bi: kiz va:r ä-miš.

one neighbor-PL-LOC one girl existing COP-POST3SG

'There was a girl among these neighbors.'

10. Xäyli bilgili-yo zīrink qiz-ämiš.

Xä:yli bil-gili yo zi:rink kiz ä-miš.

very know-der conj bright girl cop-post3sg

'She was a very knowledgeable and bright girl.'

11. Haur: "Mäni alī oyluya, män sänī oylūy išlämäk artī, tirilik eydisi šäiyam".

Ha-ur: "Män-i al-ï oyl-u-ya, män say-AOR3SG I-ACC take-IMP son-POSS2SG-DAT I

sän-i: oyl-u:y išlä-mäk art-i,

you-GEN son-POSS2SG work-DER behind-POSS3SG

tir-i-lik eydi-si šä-i-ya-m".

stand-DER-DER owner-POSS3SG make-IMP-OPT-1SG

'She says "Take me to your son (as his wife) so that I can make him a hardworking guy"."

12. Haur: "Häyyorum oylu:m tulki qorqusida tuonorda hinmor".

Ha-ur: "Häy-yor-um oyl-u:m tulki korku-si-da

say-AOR3SG say-INTRA-1SG son-POSS3SG fox fear-POSS3SG-ABL

tuonor-da hin-m-o:-r".

oven-ABL go.out-NEG-INTRA3SG

'She says "I am (repeatedly) saying that my son does not go out of the oven because of his fear from foxes".

13. Haur: "Sän nä išī vār? Mäni alï oylu:ya, män iši keräm".

Ha-ur: "Sän iš-i: va:r? Män-i пä job-POSS2SG existing-3sG say-AOR3SG you what I-ACC al-ï iš-i: ker-ä-m". oyl-u:y-ya, män son-POSS2SG-DAT take-IMP I iob-ACC see-AOR-1SG

'She says "Why do not you understand me? Take me to your son (as his wife), I will do my best".

14. Nänä haur: "Olta!"

Nänä ha-ur: "Ol-ta!"

mother say-AOR3SG be(come)-IMP3SG

'The mother says: "Let it be!"

15. Qizi alur Šånäzärkä.

*Ķiz-i al-ur Šanāzār-kā.*girl-ACC take-AOR3SG Šanāzār-DAT
'She takes the girl to Šanāzār (as a wife).'

16. Kidän tutalar-o kidän ke tämåm olur såbäy qiz kälir, Šånäzärkä qïɣlar-o haur: "Šånäzär hinäk tašqar, sän taqï kiši eydisi olmušäy. Käräk yovayäy, išläygäy".

Kidän tut-a-lar kidän ke ol-ur 0 tämam wedding hold-AOR-3PL and wedding CONJ complete be(come)-AOR3SG såbäv Šanäzär-kä kiz käl-ir. kïy-lar ha-ur: Šanäzär-DAT tomorrow girl come-AOR3SG call-AOR.3PL and say-AOR3SG "Šanäzär hin-äk tašķar, sän kiši taķï eydi-si Šanäzär come.out-IMP2SG owner-Poss3sG out you more woman ol-muš-ä:v. išlä-y-gä-y". Käräk yo-va-yä-y, necessary IMP-go-OPT-2SG work-IMP-OPT-2SG be(come)-POST-2SG

'They hold a wedding. After the wedding, the girl comes and calls Šanäzär and tells him "Šanäzär, come out! You have a family now. You have to go to work".

17. Haur: "Män tulkidä gorgam tuonorta da hingili dagam".

Ha-ur: "Män tulki-dä kork-am tuonor-ta da say-AOR3SG I fox-ABL fear-AOR1SG oven-ABL PTCL hin-qili dak-am".

hin-gili daķ-am".

come.out-PN not-COP1SG

'He says "I am afraid of foxes, so I am not the one who comes out of the oven"."

18. "Xolåsa nä išī vār?"

Xolåsa nä iš-i: va:r?
in.short what job-POSS2SG existing
"In short, mind your own business!"

19. Bo kiši tähåmmul šair turur-o såbäysiyä varur Šånäzärkä haur: "Šånäzär bī ålumlå kälitmišäm biläyä".

tähåmmul Во kiši ša-ir tur-ur 0 make-AOR3SG $stand\hbox{-}AOR3SG$ this woman tolerance and såbäy-si-yä var-ur Šånäzär-kä ha-ur: "Šånäzär go-AOR3SG following.day-POSS3SG-DAT Šånäzär-DAT say-AOR3SG Šånäzär kälit-miš-äm ålumlå bilä-y-ä". bi: PRON-2SG-DAT apple bring-POST-1SG one

'This woman patiently wakes up in the following day and says to Šånäzär: "Šånäzär, I have brought an apple for you".

20. "Alï yepi!"

"Al-i" ye-pi!"

take-IMP2SG eat-IMP2SG
"Take it and eat it!"

21. Šånäzär äliy uzātur tuonor qullida, ålumlå käträr, yier.

Šånäzär äl-i-y uza:t-ur tuonor Šånäzär hand-POSS3SG-ACC stretch-AOR3SG hole ķulli-da, ålumlå kätr-är, yi-er. scuttle-ABL apple take-AOR3SG eat-AOR3SG

'Šånäzär stretches his hand out of the scuttle of the oven, takes the apple and eats it.'

22. Haur: "Håwul arti?"

Ha-ur: "Håwul ar-ti?" say-AOR3SG good DIST.COP-TERM3SG

'She asks: "Was it good?"'

23. Haur: "Hiyä!"

Ha-ur: "Hiyä!" say-AOR3SG yes 'He replies: "Yes!"

24. Haur: "Bī dånå ta äkki garï åntär gōmïšam. Onu ta kätri yepi!"

Ha-ur: "Bi: dånå ta äkki ķarï ån-tär say-AOR3SG piece PTCL span far-COMP one two ko:-mïš-am. 0-nu kätr-i ye-pi!" ta put-POST-1SG it-ACC PTCL take-IMP2SG eat-IMP2SG

'She says: "I have placed another one two spans further. Take it too and eat it!"."

25. Haur: "Män yäkigäm tašqar tulki bilämi yier".

Ha-ur: "Män yä-ki-gä-m tašķar tulki say-AOR3SG I IMP-come-OPT-1SG outside fox bilä-m-i yi-er".

PRON-1SG-ACC eat-AOR3SG
'He says: "(If) I come out, a fox will eat me":

26. Haur: "Yäk, yov, kätri, ålumläy yepi!"

Ha-ur: "Yä-k, yo-v, kätr-i, say-AOR3SG IMP2SG-come IMP2SG-go take-IMP2SG ålumlä-y ye-pi!"

apple-ACC eat-IMP2SG
'She says: "Come, go, take it, eat your apple!".

27. Šånäzär hinär, täzär, varur, ålumlå käträr-o učar tuonor ičiyä.

Šånäzär ålumlå hin-är. täz-är, var-ur, Šånäzär come.out-AOR3SG run-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG apple kätr-är uč-ar 0 tuonor ič-i-yä. take-AOR3SG and jump-AOR3SG hole inside-POSS3SG-DAT

'Šånäzär comes out of the hole, runs, goes, takes the apple, and jumps into the hole.'

28. Uorda ålumlå yier.

*Uorda ålumlå yi-er.*there apple eat-AOR3SG
'He eats the apple there.'

29. Haur: "Håwul arti?"

Ha-ur: "Håwul ar-ti?"

say-AOR3SG good DIST.COP-TERM3SG

'She asks: "Was it good?".

30. Haur: "Hiyä!"

Haur: "Hiyä!" say-AOR3SG yes 'He replies: "Yes!":

31. Haur: "Bī dånå da häsār ortasiča qōmïšam".

Ha-ur: "Bi: dånå da häsa:r orta-si-ča ko:-mïš-am".
say-AOR3SG one piece PTCL garden middle-POSS3SG-LOC put-POST-1SG
'She says: "I have placed another one in the middle of the garden"."

32. Haur: "Taķī ōra varmam".

Ha-ur: "Taķī o:ra var-ma-m".
say-AOR3SG more there go-NEG.AOR-1SG
'He says: "I do not go there anymore".

33. Haur: "Yov, kätri, yepi Šånäzär".

Ha-ur: "Yo-v, kätr-i, ye-pi Šånäzär". say-AOR3SG IMP2SG-go bring-IMP2SG eat-IMP2SG Šånäzär 'She says: "Go, take it, and eat it, Šånäzär".

34. "Kerdiy nä håwul arti bō ålumlålår".

"Ker-di-y nä håwul ar-ti bo: ålumlå-lår".
see-TERM-2SG what good DIST.COP-TERM3SG this apple-PL
"Have you seen how nice these apples were?".

35. Šånäzär varur häsār ortasida ta ōnu käträr-o täzär tuonor ičiyä, yier.

Šånäzär var-ur häsaːr orta-si-da ta oːnu middle-POSS3SG-ABL Šånäzär go-AOR3SG garden PTCL it.ACC kätr-är täz-är tuonor o ič-i-yä, yi-er. take-AOR3SG and run-AOR3SG hole inside-POSS3SG-DAT eat-AOR3SG 'Šånäzär goes, takes it from the middle of the garden, runs into the hole, and eats it.'

36. Haur: "Bī dånå da iešikčä qōmïšam, häsār ieškičä".

Ha-ur: "Bi: dånå da iešik-čä ķo:-mïš-am, say-AOR3SG one piece PTCL door-LOC put-POST-1SG

häsa:r iešk-i-čä".

garden door-POSS3SG-LOC

'She says: "I have placed another one on the door of the garden"."

37. Šånäzär haur: "Sän šäy mäni tulki xordäyä vierigäy?"

Šånäzärha-ur:"Sän šä-ymän-itulkiŠånäzärsay-AOR3SGyouwant-AOR2SGI-ACCfox

χordä-yä vier-i-gä-y?"

bait-DAT give-IMP-OPT-2SG

'Šånäzär says: "You want to give me to a fox as a bait"."

38. Haur: "Nå, yäk, yov sän onï ta kätri, yepi, täzip tuonorka dubår".

Ha-ur: "Nå, yä-k, yo-v sän on-ï ta say-AOR3SG well IMP2SG-come IMP2SG-go you it-ACC PTCL

kätr-i, ye-pi, täz-ip tuonor-ķa dubår".

bring-IMP2SG eat-IMP2SG run-IMP2SG hole-DAT again

'She says: "Well, come, go yourself, bring it too, eat it, and rush into the hole again"."

39. Šånäzär täzä täzä varur, oni ta häsār ieškidä käträr, kälirtir tuonor ičiyä, yier.

Šånäzär täz-ä täz-ä var-ur, onï ta

Šånäzär run-conv run-conv go-aor3sg it.acc ptcl

häsa:r iešk-i-dä kätr-är, käl-ir-t-ir

garden door-POSS3SG-ABL take-AOR3SG bring-CAUS-CAUS-AOR3SG

tuonor ič-i-yä, yi-er.

oven inside-POSS3SG-DAT eat-AOR3SG

'Šånäzär goes running, takes it from the garden gate, brings it to the oven, and eats it.'

40. Haur: "Šånäzär ägär šäygäy bī digär tä biläy vierim".

Ha-ur: "Šånäzär ägär šäy-gä-y bi: digär

say-AOR3SG Šånäzär if want-OPT-2SG one other

tä bilä-y vier-im".

PTCL PRON-2SG give-AOR2SG

'She says: "Šånäzär, if you want one more, I can give it to you"."

41. Haur: "Niere qōmišäy?"

Ha-ur: "Niere ko:-miš-äy?" say-AOR3SG where put-POST-2SG 'He asks: "Where have you placed it?".

42. Haur: "Häsār ieški tašqar iča qōmišam kučača".

Ha-ur:"Häsa:riešk-itašķar-ï-časay-AOR3SGgardendoor-POSS3SGoutside-POSS3SG-LOCķo:-mïš-amkuča-ča".place-POST-1SGstreet-LOC

'She says: "I have placed it outside the door of the garden, in the street"."

43. Haur: "Taqï ōra varmam".

Ha-ur: "Taķi o:ra var-ma-m".
say-AOR3SG more there go-NEG.AOR-1SG
'He says: "I do not go there anymore".

44. Haur: "Yäk! Yov, Kätri!"

Ha-ur: "Yä-k! Yo-v! Kätr-i!"
say-AOR3SG IMP2SG-come IMP2SG-go bring-IMP2SG
'He says "Come! Go! Bring it!":

45. Šånäzär varur ålumläy kučädä kätrigä, bo qiz häsār ieški vāyur.

Šånäzär var-ur ålumlä-y kučä-dä kätr-i-gä, Šånäzär go-AOR3SG apple-ACC street-ABL bring-IMP-OPT bo kiz häsaːr iešk-i vaː-yur. girl garden door-ACC bind-AOR3SG 'Šånäzär goes to take the apple from the street, and the girl locks the door of garden.'

46. Haur: "Yallåh yov išī artiča!"

Ha-ur: "Yallåh yo-v iš-i: art-i-ča!" say-AOR3SG tally.ho IMP2SG-go work-ACC behind-POSS3SG-LOC 'He says: "Tally ho, go to work!":

47. "Sän kiši eydisi olmišäy, kiši almišäy".

"Sän kiši eydi-si ol-miš-äy, kiši al-miš-äy".

you woman owner-POSS3SG be(come)-POST-2SG woman take-POST-2SG
"You have become the husband of a woman, you have taken a wife".

48. "Yov! Axï išläy!"

"Yo-v! Αχϊ iš-lä-y!"

IMP2SG-go finally work-DER-IMP2SG
"Go! Do finally work!".

49. Haur: "Män išlämä bäläd dagam. Nä išlägäm?"

Ha-ur: "Män iš-lä-mä bäläd daķ-am. Nä išlä-gä-m?" say-AOR3SG I work-DER-VN familiar not-1SG what work-OPT-1SG 'He says: "I am not familiar with working. What should I do?":

50. Kiši damda bī dånå torbå pärtläyir Šånäzärkä.

Kiši dam-da bi: dånå torbå pärtlä-yir Šånäzär-kä. woman roof-ABL one piece bag throw-AOR3SG Šånäzär-DAT 'The woman throws a bag to Šånäzär.'

51. Haur: "Bo torbäy kätri, yov, käzi biyåbånčå. Här näsä bulduy hatï bo torbågå".

Ha-ur: "Во torbä-y kätr-i, käz-i yo-v, say-AOR3SG this bag-ACC bring-IMP2SG IMP2SG-go wander-IMP2sG biyåbån-čå. Här nä:sä bul-du-y hat-ï botorbå-kå". find-TERM-2SG desert-LOC every what throw-IMP2SG this bag-DAT 'She says: "Take this bag, go wander in the desert. Whatever you find, throw it into the bag".

52. Šånäzär kälir, šūrū šār käzmäkkä.

Šånäzär käl-ir, šu:ru: ša:-r käz-mäk-kä. Šånäzär come-AOR3SG start make-AOR3SG wander-VN-DAT 'Šånäzär starts wandering around.'

53. Käzär käzär, bī dånå båqa bulur: bäččätär båqa.

Käz-är käz-är, bi: dånå båka bul-ur:
wander-AOR3SG wander-AOR3SG one piece turtle find-AOR3SG

bäččä-tär båķa.
small-COMP turtle

'He wanders around and finds a turtle, a smaller turtle.'

54. Munu hatar tuonorqa.

Mu-nu hat-ar tuonor-ka.
this-ACC throw-AOR3SG hole-DAT
'He throws this into the hole.'

55. Kälir bī haz käzär, bī haz yīp bulur.

Käl-ir bi: haz käz-är, bi: haz yi:p bul-ur. come-AOR3SG one little wander-AOR3SG one little thread find-AOR3SG 'He comes, wanders around a little, and finds a piece of rope.'

56. Bu yīpi ta hatar torbåqå.

Bu yi:p-i ta hat-ar torbå-kå. this rope-ACC PTCL throw-AOR3SG bag-DAT 'He throws this rope into the bag, too.'

57. Kälir häy biyåbånčå säslänir.

Käl-ir häy biyåbån-čå säs-län-ir.

come-AOR3SG hi desert-LOC voice-DER-AOR3SG

'He comes, and calls out a cry in the desert.'

58. Käzär, bī zådī bī yumurqa bulur

Käz-är, bi: zåd-i: bi: yumurḥa bul-ur.
wander-AOR3SG one thing-DET one egg find-AOR3SG
'He wanders, and finds a thing, an egg.'

59. Yumurqayi ta hatar torbåqå.

Yumurṣṣa-yi ta hat-ar torba-ṣṣa.
egg-ACC PTCL throw-AOR3SG bag-DAT
'He also puts the egg into the bag.'

60 Bī haz digä kälir ilgär-o käzär. Kerär bī dånå bō såzlardä tišmiš, munu ta käträr, hatar torba ičiyä.

Bi: haz digä käl-ir ilgär o käz-är.

one little other come-AOR3SG further and wander-AOR3SG

Ker-är bi: dånå bo: såz-lar-dä tiš-miš

see-AOR3SG one piece this reed-PL-ABL fall-POST3SG

mu-nu ta kätr-är, hat-ar torba ič-i-yä.

this-ACC PTCL bring-AOR3SG throw-AOR3SG bag inside-POSS-DAT

'He goes a little further, and wanders. He realizes that one of those reeds has fallen down, and throws it into the bag, too.'

61. Hatar torba ičiyä-o ienjiemiš-ämiš, kälirť yōrur bī sūv påyiča bī jōv påyiča ke sū vārramiš.

Hat-ar torba iči-yä o ienjie-miš ä-miš.

throw-AOR3SG bag inside-POSS3SG-DAT and get.tired-POST3SG COP-POST3SG

Käl-ir-t' yo:r-ur bi: su:v på-yi-ča bi:

come-AOR-COP sit-AOR3SG one water foot-POSS3SG-LOC one

jo:v på-yi-ča ke su: va:rr ä-miš.

river foot-POSS3SG-LOC CONJ water existing COP-POST3SG

'He throws it into the bag, and he gets tired. He comes and sits down by a slough, at a river in which there is water.'

62. Kerär bī näfär munda ilgärtär kälmiš bōra. Bī kåläk käsmiš yiemiš.

Ker-är bi: näfär mun-da ilgär-tär

see-AOR3SG one man this-ABL foreward-COMP

käl-miš bo:ra. Bi: kåläk käs-miš yie-miš.

come-POST3SG here one melon cut-POST3SG eat-POST3SG

'He realizes that another person had come here previously. He apparently chopped a melon and ate it.'

63. Bū kåläk kåsi ističä tämåm gudyulår hïgïlmiš

Bu: kåläk kås-i ist-i-čä tämåm kudyu-lår

this melon peel-POSS3SG on-POSS3SG-LOC all fly-PL

hïk-ïl-miš.

gather-REFL-POST3SG

'Flies have swarmed on the peel of the melon.'

64. Pitin tuolar o qudyudå.

Pitin tuol-lar o kudyu-då. all be.full-PL that fly-ABL

'All of it was full of those flies.'

65. Šånäzär älī käfilä bī dånå vurur bu kås istidä, kåläk kåsi istidä, sānōur kerär qïrq dånå qudyu hilärmiš.

Šånäzär äl-i: käf-i-lä bi:dånå vur-ur bu Šånäzär hand-GEN once palm-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP hit-AOR3SG this kås ist-i-dä kåläk kås-i ist-i-dä. sa:n-o:ur on-POSS3SG-ABL peel on-POSS3SG-ABL melon peel-POSS3SG think-INTRA3SG dånå ker-är ķïrķ kudyu hil-är-miš. see-AOR3SG fly die-CAUS-POST3SG forty piece

'Šånäzär hits with his palm once on the peel, the peel of the melon, and he thinks that he has killed forty flies.'

66. Uoda yazar bī tāš ističä: "Šånäzär bī vurar, qïrq äzär".

Uo-da vaz-ar hi: ta:š ist-i-čä: there write-AOR3SG one stone on-POSS-LOC "Šånäzär bi: vur-ar, ķïrķ äz-är". Šånäzär strike-AOR3SG forty smash-AOR3SG one

'He writes on a stone: "When Šånäzär strikes, he smashes forty"."

67. Yōlqa tišer varur, yōlqa tišer varur-o ï'na bu jur ki käzär-ämiš bī qalåqa ierär.

Yo:l-ka tiš-er var-ur, yo:l-ka tiš-er road-DAT fall-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG road-DAT fall-AOR3SG jur ki var-ur ï'na bu go-AOR3SG and that.is this kind CONJ käz-är ä-miš ybi: ķalå-ķa ier-är. wander-AOR3SG COP-POST3SG one castle-DAT arrive-AOR3SG

'He hits the road and goes, he hits the road and goes. While he has been wandering around he arrives at a castle.'

68. Mehmet: "Qaloq?"

Mehmet: "Ķaloķ?"

'Mehmet: "Kalok?"

69. Qalå, qalå!

"Kalå, kalå!" castle castle "Castle, castle!"

70. 'Mehmet: "Áhá!"

Mehmet: "Áhá!"

Mehmet: "Ahá!"

71. Bī qalåqa ierär: bidīk qalå.

Bi: kalå-ka ier-är: bidi:k kalå.

one castle-DAT arrive-AOR3SG big castle
'He arrives at a big castle.'

72. Bu iešik hāčuq-āmiş. Šånäzär kirär bō iešiktä ičgär.

Bu iešik ha:čuk a:-miš.

this door open COP-POST3SG

Šånäzär kir-är bo: iešik-tä ičgär.

Šånäzär enter-AOR3SG this door-ABL inside

'This door was open. Šånäzär enters through the door.'

73. O qalå bī diev māl-ämiš.

O kalå bi: diev ma:l ä-miš.

that castle one giant property COP-POST3SG

'That castle was a giant's property.'

74. Bī diev māl-ämiš-o Šånäzär varur ičgär, ieški vāyur-o varur kerär näččä qazɣan buo'da qänäyyōr.

Šånäzär Bi: diev ma:l ä-miš 0 var-ur and Šånäzär one giant property COP-POST3SG go-AOR3SG ker-är ičgär, iešk-i va:-yur 0 var-ur inside door-ACC bind-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG and see-AOR3SG

näččä ķazyan buo'da ķä:nä-yyo:r.

some boiler here boil-INTRA3SG

'That castle was a giant's property. Šånäzär enters the castle and ties the door up. Then, he sees a number of boilers boiling.'

75. İčičä hikmäk zåd dävollär.

İč-i-čä hikmäk zåd däv-o-llär.

inside-POSS3SG-LOC food thing cook-INTRA-3PL

'Food is cooking inside them.'

76. Bō qazyanlarda bī haz qäzå hikmäk čäkär, yier-o iezi varur uzānur.

Bo: kazyan-lar-da bi: haz käzå hikmäk čäk-är,

this boiler-PL-ABL one little food bread pull-AOR3SG

yi-er o iez-i var-ur uza:n-ur.

eat-AOR3SG and PRO-POSS3SG go-AOR3SG lie.down-AOR3SG

'He takes some food and bread from the boilers, eats them, and himself goes and lies down.'

77. Diev tä kälir biyåbånda bō sūv istiyä ke sūv içigä yäkägä qalåsiya.

Diev tä käl-ir biyåbån-da bo: su:v ist-i-yä

giant PTCL come-AOR3SG desert-ABL this water drink-IMP-OPT

ke su:v ič-i-gä yä-k-ägä ķalå-si-ya.

CONJ water upper-POSS3SG-DAT IMP-come-OPT castle-POSS3SG-DAT

'The giant comes from the desert for water. He returns to his castle so that he could drink water.'

78. Sūvī ke ičār-āmiš bī dā kerār buoda yazmiš: "Šånāzār bī vurar, qīrq āzār".

Su:v-ï ke ič-är ä-miš bi:dä ker-är

water-ACC CONI drink-AOR3SG COP-POST3SG suddenly see-AOR3SG

buo-da yaz-miš: "Šånäzär bi: vur-ar, kïrk äz-är".

here write-POST3SG Šånäzär one hit-AOR3SG forty smash-AOR3SG

'Having drunk the water, he sees that it is written: "When Šånäzär strikes one he smashes forty".

79. Haur: "Xodå yå! Män bīdä munī yir yätišmägäm".

Ha-ur: "Xodå-yå! Män bi:dä muni: yir yätiš-mä-gä-m".

say-AOR3SG God-VOC I more this.GEN place catch-NEG-OPT-1SG

'He says: "God please help me! I cannot stand this place anymore"."

80. "Bu dubårå näsä-r? Bī dånå vurur girg dånå äzär."

"Bu dubårå nä:sä-r? Bi: dånå vur-ur kirk

this again what-COP3SG one piece strike-AOR3SG forty

dånå äz-är."

piece smash-AOR3SG

"What is this again?" He strikes one, and smashes forty"."

81. Kälir-o galåsi ieškiyä kerär ådäm-i zåd īdi kälir, käliyor.

Käl-ir o ķalå-si iešk-i-yä ker-är,

come-AOR3SG and castle-POSS3SG door-POSS3SG-DAT see-AOR3SG

ådämizåd i:d-i käl-ir, käl-iyor.

human.being smell-POSS3SG come-AOR3SG come-INTRA3SG

'He comes to the door of his castle, and sees that the smell of a human being comes, is coming.'

82. Haur: "Bilmäm tiştim Šånäzär yiriyä?"

Ha-ur: "Bil-mäm tiš-ti-m

say-AOR3SG know-NEG.AOR1SG happen.to.be-TERM-1SG

Šånäzär yir-i-yä?"

Šånäzär place-POSS3SG-DAT

'He says: "I don't know if I happen to be at Šånäzär's place?"."

83. İeški vurur-o tippirlatur haur: "Kim mänim qalåmčå-r?"

İešk-i vur-ur o tïppïrla-t-ur ha-ur:

door-ACC hit-AOR3SG and knock-CAUS-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG

"Kim mänim kalå-m-čå-r?"

who I.GEN castle-POSS1SG-LOC-COP3SG

'He hits the door, knocks and asks: "Who is in my castle?".

84. Šånäzär kerär diev käldi.

Šånäzär ker-är diev käl-di.

Šånäzär see-AOR3SG giant come-TERM3SG

'Šånäzär understands that the giant came.'

85. Haur: "Qōyïr bī haz qōmpuz yepidim".

Ha-ur: "Ķo:y-ïr bi haz ķo:mpuz ye-pi-dim".

say-AOR3SG put-IMP3SG one little food eat-IMP-IMP1SG

'He says: "Give a little food, let me eat"."

86. "Bī haz äläki dåd-u bīdåd säs sädå šädim kerdim dievi qorqutubilim yå nå?"

bi:dåd "Bi: haz äläki dåd и säs sädå voice sound little and unjust one bogus just šä-di-m ker-di-m diev-i kork-ut-u-bil-i-m make-TERM-1SG see-TERM-1SG giant-ACC fear-CAUS-CONV-KNOW.AUX-AOR-1SG nå?" уå or no

"When I have made some fake noises I see if I can frighten the giant or not!".

87. Haur: "Mänäm Šånäzär!"

Ha-ur: "Män-äm Šånäzär!" say-AOR3SG I-COP1SG Šånäzär 'He says: "I am Šånäzär!":

88. Diev haur: "Ey dåd-u bīdåd bäd yierkä tištim".

Diev ha-ur: "Ev dåd и bi:dåd giant say-AOR3SG INTRJ just and unjust tiš-ti-m". bäd yier-kä place-DAT happen.to.be-TERM-1SG bad

"The giant replies: "Alas! I have just happened to come to a bad place"."



The speaker of Wedding tradition

Text 2. Female speech: Wedding tradition

LINK: Khalaj Audio 2

1. Bōra biz Xäläčäk, xōb! Xäläčäk Xäläčī te räsmi būrï räsmi būrï ke qïz almača varurlär gäšäng sāwčuluqqå hayïmïz sāwčuluq

Bo:ra biz Xäläč-äk, χo:b! Xäläč-äk Xäläč-i: te here we Khalaj-COP1PL well Khalaj-COP1PL Khalaj-DER PTCL

räsm-i boz-rï räsm-i boz-rï ke kïz tradition-POSS3SG this-cop3sg tradition-POSS3SG this-COP3SG girl CONJ al-ma-ča var-ur-lar, sazwčuluk. gäšäng sazwčuluk-kå hay-ï-mïz take-VN-LOC go-AOR-3PL good bride.taking-DAT say-AOR-1PL bride.taking We are all Khalaj here, well! The Khalaj way of bride-taking is as follows: they go to bride-taking - well we call it sazwčuluk.

2. Sāwčilīg ietālār-o agd-o nāy tā hāsabi ietālār, haylār bugarti.

Sazwčilik iet-ä-lär akd näy 0 0 bride taking do-AOR-3PL and contract and what tä häsab-i iet-ä-lär, hay-lär bu-karti. account-POSS3SG do-AOR-3PL say-AOR3PL too this.much

'They perform the bride taking and then they make contracts and some calculations, and agree.'

3. Käräk aqd ietgä qäbul ietär-o hatar-o kälilär alular taqi.

Käräk akd iet-gä ķäbul iet-är 0 necessary contract do-OPT3SG acceptance do-AOR3SG and hat-ar käl-i-lär al-u-lar takï. throw-AOR3 and come-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL more

'They must make contracts so that they take the bride and return.'

4. Kälilär alular qizi alular-o kälilär širini ičälär, šam-o čayi ičälär-o säbäsiyä otax kältilär.

Käl-i-lär al-u-lar kiz-i al-u-lar o take-AOR-3PL come-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL girl-ACC and käl-i-lär širini ič-ä-lär. šam čav-i 0 come-AOR-3PL sorbet drink-AOR-PL dinner and tea-ACC ič-ä-lär kält-i-lär. 0 säbä-si-yä otaχ and tomorrow-POSS3SG-DAT drink-AOR-3PL present bring-AOR-PL

'They come and take the girl, and come and drink sorbet, eat dinner and drink the tea, and the following day they bring gifts.'

5. Hayïmiz: otaq. Otaq kältilär kälin häviyä, kälin häviyä otaq kältilär-o kär käsik kältilär-o meš mäyva kältilär ta ullar moddäti qalur-o kidän olur.

Hay-ï-miz: otaķ. Otaķ kälti-lär kälin say-AOR-1PL gift gift bring-AOR-3PL bride

häv-i-vä, kälin häv-i-vä otak käl-ti-lär house-POSS3SG-DAT bride house-POSS3SG-DAT gift bring-AOR-3PL meš mäyva kär käsik käl-ti-lär käl-ti-lär 0 0 fruit and the like bring-AOR-3PL and clothes bring-AOR-3PL and ta ullar moddät-i kal-ur kidän ol-ur. and thev period.of.time remain-AOR3SG and wedding be(come)-AOR3SG 'We call it gift. They bring gifts to bride's home, to bride's home they bring gifts, and they bring clothes, they bring fruits and the like (nuts and dried fruits) and after a while, the wedding takes place.'

6. Kidän ke... kidänimiz tä räsmimiz burï: ävväl varular lõti hartiča lõti kältilär.

Kidän ke... kidän-imiz tä räsm-imiz bu-rï: wedding-POSS1PL tradition-POSS1PL this-COP3SG wedding CONJ PTCL ävväl var-u-lar lozti hart-ï-ča lozti first go-AOR-3PL music.player rink-POSS3SG-LOC music.player kält-i-lär.

'Our traditions for a wedding, our wedding is as follows: first they go to the music-

7. Beyin lōti kältilär čaštta say ta kidän olur.

players rink, they bring music players.

bring-AOR-3PL

Beyin lo:ti kält-i-lär čašt-ta say ta today music.player bring-AOR-3PL noon-ABL after PTCL kidän ol-ur.
wedding be(come)-AOR3SG

'(If) they bring players today, wedding takes place after noon.'

8. Lōti balugga ke varid olur, o häsarga ke varid olur, čala čala kälür.

Loːti baluk-ka varid häsar-ka ke ol-ur, 0 music.player village-DAT CONI arrived be(come)-AOR3SG this garden-DAT ke varid ol-ur, čal-a čal-a käl-ür. be(come)-AOR3SG CONI arrived play-conv play-CONV come-AOR3SG

'When the players have arrived at the village, when they have arrived at the garden, they come playing their instruments.'

9. Vaqti ke čala čala käldi, tähvil ke alïlar, häyrilik olarqa häyrlär-o tähvilkä olur-o lōtilär nahar yimädkälär taqi, hikmäk yimädkälär, kälilär hikmäkläri yierlär-o tirilär yovaqalar kidäy hämmam yetigälär.

Vakt-i ke čal-a čal-a käl-di. tähvil time-POSS3SG CONJ play-conv play-conv come-TERM3SG hand.over ke al-ï-lar, heyri-lik olar-ka hä-yr-lär 0 take-AOR-3PL good-DER they-DAT say-AOR-3PL CONI and tähvil-kä al-ur 0 loːti-lär nähar yi-mä-d(i)k take-AOR-3PL music.player-PL encounter-DAT and lunch eat-NEG-VN ä-lär hikmäk yi-mä-dik äl-är, käl-i-lär takï, COP.3PL COP-3PL more food eat-NEG-VN come-AOR-3PL hikmäk-lär-i vo-va-ka-lar kidäv vie-r-lär tir-i-lär bread-PL-ACC eat-AOR-3PL and stand.up-AOR-3PL IMP-go-OPT-3PL groom hämmam yet-i-gä-lär.

bathhouse take-IMP-OPT-3PL

'When the players have come playing their instruments, they are encountered. They welcome them, and encounter them. (Then), the musicians come without having had lunch, they have not eaten any food. They come and have lunch. And then they stand up and they take the groom to the bathhouse.'

10. Kidäy häräkilär... ha xärcluq yietilär, xärcluq yietilär-o xärcluqu uoda yietilär-o kiersiturlär-o bi längä hun- nä bilim här kimčä vudca oluqa, bī yilqi-yo omaqa ät-o noxud-o bu häq-o häsabda... yietilär kälin häviyä xärclik hayulär uya.

Kidäv häräk-i-lär... ha xärc-luk vet-i-lär. χärc-luk groom raise-AOR-3PL ehm money-DER take-AOR-3PL money-DER yet-i-lär 0 χärc-luk-u uoda yet-i-lär 0 money-DER-ACC take-AOR-3PL and there take-AOR-3PL and kiersit-ur-lär biz bil-im längä hun пä and measure.of.40kg flour show-AOR-3PL one what know-VOL1SG kim-čä ol-ï-ka, här vučan biz yilķi yo be(come)-IMP-OPT3SG every who-LOC breath one sheep and häķ o-ma-ka ät 0 noxud bu 0 become-NEG-OPT3SG chickpea and meat and this right and häsah-da yet-i-lär kälin häv-i-yä χärc-lik account-ABL take-AOR-3PL bride house-POSS3SG-DAT money-DER

hay-u-lär u-ya. say-AOR-PL it-DAT

'They lift up the groom, ehm, they charge money and they show 40 kgs of flour – how can I put it delicately – if they have, they take a sheep, if not, they take meat and chickpeas and alike (lit. right and amount) to the bride's house. They call it "χärclik".

11. Kälin häviyä čayi yietilär-o hulnular kälilär-o kidäy yietirlär hämmam.

holn-u-lar Kälin häv-i-yä čav-i yet-i-lär 0 bride house-POSS3SG-DAT come.back-AOR-3PL tea-ACC take-AOR-3PL and käl-i-lär kidäy vet-ir-lär hämmam. come-AOR-3PL and take-AOR-3PL bathhouse groom

'They take the tea to the bride's house and they come back and take the groom to the bathhouse.'

12. Kidäy ägä saydušla yietilär hämmam tämam-i balïq jämiyätilä.

Kidäy ägä sayduš-la yet-i-lär hämmam groom if groomsman-WITH.POSTP take-AOR-3PL bathhouse tämam-i balïķ jämiyät-i-lä.

all-IZ village folk-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP

'Together with all the village folk they take the groom possibly with his groomsman to the bathhouse.'

13. Uoda yietilär hämmam, hämmamča da bī kot kädgirilär muya, šalvar taqi kädgirmäzlär.

Uoda yet-i-lär hämmam, hämmam-ča da biz kot there take-AOR-3PL bathhouse bathhouse-LOC PTCL one jacket kädgir-i-lär šalvar takï ти-уа kädgir-mä-z-lär. clothe-AOR-3PL clothe-NEG-AOR-PL this-DAT trousers more

'They take (him) to the bathhouse; in the bathhouse they clothe him in a jacket and they do not clothe him in trousers. (They do not clothe him in a new jacket with his old trousers.)'

14. Qizil kiš būyniya vāyilar-o äli tä vurur howz suwiya-o čil barmaqī.

kiš Kizil buzyn-i-ya vaːy-i-lar äl-i 0 neck-POSS3SG-DAT tie-AOR-3PL hand-Poss3sG red garment and tä vur-ur howz suw-i-ya čil barmak-iz. 0 water-POSS3SG-DAT finger-POSS3SG PTCL hit-AOR3SG pool and little

'They tie a red garment around his neck, and (then) he splashes his little finger in the water of the pool.'

15. Bu ta mäsälän howz suwiya nierä howz suwiya vurur hämmam howz suwiya.

Ви ta mäsälän howz nierä suw-i-ya howz this for.example PTCL pool water-POSS3SG-DAT where pool suw-i-ya vur-ur hämmam howz suw-i-ya. water-POSS3SG-DAT hit-AOR3SG bathhouse pool water-POSS3SG-DAT

'He, for instance, splashes (his finger) in the water of the pool, the water of the pool of the bathhouse.'

16. Hämmam howzu suwiya vurur-o kälilär xorus učurturular.

Hämmam howz-u suw-i-ya vur-ur 0 bathhouse pool-POSS3SG water-POSS3SG-DAT hit-AOR3SG and käl-i-lär χorus učur-tur-u-lar. come-AOR3-3PL fly-caus-aor3-3pl rooster

'He splashes the water of the pool of the bathhouse, and they fly a rooster.'

17. Hinärlär hämmamda-yo ekki sayduš kidäyčä olur-o jämiyät uoda turur-o xorusu učurtururlar-u kuh bayaliyä källä bayaliyä.

Hin-är-lär hämmam-da ekki sayduš kidäy-čä come.out-AOR3-3PL bathhouse-ABL and two groomsman groom-LOC ol-ur 0 *jämiyät* uoda tur-ur 0 be(come)-AOR3SG and people there stand-AOR3SG and učurtur-ur-lar kuh bayal-i-yä källä χorus-u и edge-POSS3SG-DAT hill rooster-ACC fly-caus-aor-3pl and mountain bayal-i-yä.

'They come out of the bathhouse, and the two groomsmen go with the groom. The village folk stands there and they fly the rooster to the edge of a height.'

18. Källäčä varur ekki näfär yorur, xorusu ta salqayrlär, xorusu ta salqayrlär bullar buoda bieš alta näfär olur jävan.

Källä-čä var-ur ekki näfär yor-ur, χorus-u hill-Loc go-AOR3SG two person sit-AOR3SG rooster-ACC ta salka-yr-lär, xorus-u salka-yr-lär bu-llar ta **PTCL** keep-AOR-3PL rooster-ACC PTCL keep-AOR-3PL this-PL buoda bieš alta näfär ol-ur jävan. five six person be(come)-AOR3SG here young

here five six person be(come)-AOR3SG young

 ${}^{\prime}$ Two people go on the hill and sit there. They keep the rooster, they keep the rooster there. There are five or six youngsters there.'

edge-POSS3SG-DAT

19. Cävan-o aqulluq-o mäsälän ziring-o täzgili-yo qazlular.

Ĭävan akul-luk mäsälän 0 for.instance mind-DER young and and ziring täz-gili kazl-u-lar. 0 VΟ clever and run-DER and race-AOR-3PL

'The ones who are young and wise, for example clever and nimble, race (to the rooster).'

20. Ïnä buoda bätik mä'lum olur kim xorusu alur.

Ϊnä buo-da bätik mä'lum ol-ur kim then here-ABL after known be(come)-AOR3SG who al-ur. xorus-u rooster-ACC take-AOR3SG

'After that, it becomes clear who catches the rooster.'

21. Bī nāfār ziringtār-ār taqi kāllākā ierār, nāfāsi ke qalur, bī haz qup qup varur-o iezi ītākirur-o āli uzatur u xorusqa xorusī alur.

Biz näfär källä-kä ziring-tär-är takï ier-är, reach-AOR3SG clever-COMP-COP3SG one person more hill-DAT näfäs-i ke kal-ur, bi: haz kup kup breath-POSS3SG stay-AOR3SG little with.face.below CONI one äl-i iztäkir-ur var-ur 0 iez-i 0 and PRO-POSS3SG reach-AOR3SG and hand-ACC go-AOR3SG χorus-ka uzat-ur и xorus-i: al-ur. stretch-AOR3SG that rooster-DAT rooster-ACC take-AOR3SG

'A youngster who is more clever reaches at the hilltop. When he is short of breathing he goes with bowed head and reaches, he stretches his hand to the rooster, and takes the rooster.'

22. Kälitilär xorusu hämmamda, hämmamda ke hinmišlär, učurturmišlär taqi kälitilär-o häräkilär kidäyläri kälilär.

Kälit-i-lär χorus-u hämmam-da, hämmam-da ke bathhouse-ABL bring-AOR-3PL rooster-ACC bathhouse-ABL CONJ hin-miš-lär. učur-tur-miš-lär takï kälit-i-lär 0 come.out-POST-3PL fly-CAUS-POST-3PL again bring-AOR-3PL and häräk-i-lär kidäy-lär-i käl-i-lär.

raise-AOR-3PL groom-PL-ACC come-AOR-3PL

'They bring the rooster from the bathhouse. Once they come out of the bathhouse, they let the rooster fly, they lift the groom and come.'

23. Kälilär varurlar ävväl kälin hävčä yorur täxt ističä-yo biläsiyä bī däsmal-o bī jūrab saydušlarqa kälir bī käsik-o bī källäyänd-o bī ta bī zād ta kidäykä kälür bī zād ta kiersätgilikkä vierilär timä ya yänd vierür ya bī iezi zad vierülär.

Käl-i-lär var-ur-lar ävväl kälin häv-čä yor-ur täχt bride come-AOR-3PL go-AOR-3PL first house-Loc sit-AOR3SG throne ist-i-čä yo bilä-si-yä bi: däsmal 0 hi: over-POSS3SG-LOC and PRON-POSS3SG-DAT one handkerchief and one sayduš-lar-ka käl-ir bi: *ju:rab* biz käsik bridesmaid-PL-DAT sock come-AOR3SG cloth and one one källäyänd biz ta bi: zaːd ta kidäv-kä sugar.bowl and one **PTCL** one thing **PTCL** groom-DAT käl-ür biz zaːd kiersät-gilik-kä vier-i-lär timä ta come-AOR3SG show-VN-DAT give-AOR-3PL cash one thing PTCL vier-ü-lär. ya yänd vier-ür biz iez-i zad ya or sweet give-AOR3SG or one PRON-3SG thing give-AOR-3PL

'They come and go. First the bride sits at home on a throne; they bring her a handkerchief and a sock for the bridesmaids, a clothes and a sugar-bowl and something else for the groom, and they also give something to the person who shows them (gifts), too; they either give some cash or sugar or something else.'

24. Uorda kälilär muni ietgärilär nänäsi häviyä, yanda kälilär kälini yietirlär.

Uorda käl-i-lär mu-ni yetgär-i-lär nänä-si there come-AOR-3PL this-ACC mother-POSS3SG take-AOR-3PL häv-i-yä, yanda käl-i-lär kälin-i viet-ir-lär. house-POSS3SG-DAT again come-AOR-3PL bride-ACC take-AOR-3PL

'They come from there and take the groom to his mother's house, they come again and take the bride.'

25. Kälinkä tä bī qizil kiş hatalar bašuya-o girilär nänäsi häviyä, yanda kälilär kälini yietirlär.

Kälin-kä tä bi: kizil kiš hat-a-lar baš-u-va bride-DAT PTCL red garment throw-AOR-3PL head-POSS3SG-DAT one gir-i-lär 0 nänä-si häv-i-yä, yanda and enter-AOR-3PL mother-POSS3SG house-POSS3SG-DAT again käl-i-lär kälin-i vet-ir-lär. come-AOR-3PL bride-ACC take-AOR-3PL

'They throw a red garment on the bride's head and enter her mother's house and take her away.'

26. Kälinkä tä bī qizil kīš hatalar bašuya-o äynäsi-yo näsi kidäy hävidä kälir, čador-o äynä-yo kīš hatalar-o jämiyyät yiqulur-o bieš muya sayduš tutamīz ke dur-o päri tutalqa gäšäng bullar yolga tišälär varular hämmamga

Kälin-kä tä biz kizil kiːš hat-a-lar bride-DAT red throw-AOR-PL **PTCL** one garment baš-u-ya 0 äynä-si yo nä-si kidäy head-POSS3SG-DAT mirror-POSS3SG and what-Poss3sG and groom häv-i-dä käl-ir. čador 0 ävnä kiːš VΟ come-AOR3SG house-POSS3SG-ABL tent and mirror and garment ти-уа hat-a-lar *jämiyyät* yikul-ur bieš n throw-AOR-PL and people gather-AOR3SG five and this-DAT sayduš ke tut-al-ka tut-a-mi:z gäšäng bridesmaid keep-AOR-1PL CONJ [unintelligible word] keep-IMP-OPT good bu-llar yol-ka tiš-ä-lär var-u-lar hämmam-ka. this-PL road-DAT fall-AOR-3PL go-AOR-3PL bathhouse-DAT

'They throw a red garment on the bride's head and take her mirror and her belongings from the groom's house. (They take) a tent (wrapper for bed clothes) and a mirror. They throw the garment (over her) and the people gather and we get five bridesmaids for her to surround her properly; these set out for a walk and go to the bathhouse.'

27. Hämmamqa varular-o u täškilatu ke mäsälän kidäy viermiš, bu ta vierur bī barmaqi vurur-o nie suwqa vurur-o kälilär hämmam ieşkiyä-yo hämmam ieškiyädä bieš saydušla hinär-o aynä tä buda qoyular kälilär nänä häviyä ietkirilär taqi kälin käräk yovuqa nänä häviyä.

Hämmam-ka var-u-lar täškilat-u и ke n organization-ACC bathhouse-DAT go-AOR-3PL and it CONJ mäsälän kidäy vier-miš, bu ta vier-ur for.instance groom give-POST3 this PTCL give-AOR3SG hi: barmak-i vur-ur 0 nie suw-ka vur-ur one finger-ACC hit-AOR3SG and what water-DAT hit-AOR3SG käl-i-lär hämmam iešk-i-yä hämmam 0 VO and come-AOR-3PL bathhouse door-POSS3-DAT and bathhouse iešk-i-yä dä bieš savduš-la hin-är door-POSS3SG-DAT PTCL bridesmaid-WITH.POSTP come.out-AOR3SG five tä koy-u-lar käl-i-lär nänä 0 aynä buda that put-AOR-3PL mirror **PTCL** here come-AOR-3PL mother häv-i-yä ietkir-i-lär taķï kälin käräk house-POSS3SG-DAT take-AOR-3PL bride again necessary

yo-v-u-ķa nänä häv-i-yä.

IMP-go-IMP-OPT mother house-POSS3SG-DAT

'They go to the bathhouse, and she carries out the ceremony that, for example, the groom did. She also dips her finger into the water and they come out to the entrance of the bathhouse with five bridemaids, and they also apply the mirror here. They come and take her to her mother's house. Now the bride has to go again to her mother's house.'

28. Šam bäzi kälin vār kälir u da kidäy hävičä hikmäk yier. Bäzi kälin vār uoda šam qayrilalar.

Šam häzi kälin va:r käl-ir come-AOR3SG dinner sometimes bride go-AOR3SG she da kidäy häv-i-čä hikmäk yi-er. Bäzi house-POSS3SG-LOC PTCL groom bread eat-AOR3SG some kälin da šam kayr-ir-lar. va:r и bride PTCL cook-AOR-3PL go-AOR3SG she dinner

'For dinner, sometimes brides come to the groom's house to eat. Some brides go and prepare dinner there.'

29. Šamlarī yielär-o tämåşaqå kälilär bōra.

Šam-lar-i:yi-e-lärotämåša-kåkäl-i-lärbo:ra.dinner-PL-POSS3SG.ACCeat-AOR-3PLandwatch-DATcome-AOR-3PLhere'They eat their dinner and come to the groom's house for admiration.'

30. Mäsälän bī väqt ōyïn mōyïn ollar ta kälärtilär kidäy häviyä.

Mäsälän biz väkt ozyïn mozyïn ollar käl-är-ti-lär t.a for.instance one time dance.and.such they PTCL come-AOR-TERM-3PL kidäy häv-i-vä. groom house-POSS3SG-DAT

'For example, once they used to have a dance ceremony. They also used to come to the groom's house.'

31. Yanda xinä vurmaqå täzä täzä varrïrtïlar iez hävläriyä.

Yanda χinä vur-ma-kå var-ïr-tï-lar täz-ä täz-ä again henna hit-VN-DAT run-CONV run-CONV go-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL iez häv-lär-i-yä. hose-PL-POSS3SG-DAT own

'They again used to quickly go to their own houses to the henna ceremony.'

32. Ävväl kidäyinki vurärtilär; bäd tä källärtilär kälininki vuratïlar-o tämåm-i ollar ta xinäy tä uoda äjazä alïrtïlar.

Ävväl kidäy-in-ki vur-är-ti-lär; bäd tä first groom-GEN-REL hit-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL after PTCL

käl-är-ti-lär kälin-in-ki vur-a-tï-lar o tämåm-i come-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL bride-GEN-REL hit-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL and all-IZ

ollar ta yinä-y tä uoda äjazä

this.PL PTCL henna-ACC PTCL there permission

al-ïr-tï-lar.

take-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL

'First, they used to gloat the groom's henna and then they used to come and gloat the bride's henna. After the henna ceremony is over, they used to ask for permission.'

33. Här kim šīsä bō kälinkä pūl viersä, yazartïlar ke n'oqarta pūl viermiš.

Här kim šiː-sä boː kälin-kä puːl every who want-HYP3SG this bride-DAT money

vier-sä, yaz-ar-tï-lar ke n'okarta pu:l vier-miš. give-HYP3SG write-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL CONJ how.much money give-POST3SG

'Whoever wanted to give money to the bride, they used to write how much these folks gave.'

34. Bō viermiš ke mäsälän sābī tälāflūq hipīgälär.

Bo: vier-miš ke mäsälän this give-POST3SG CONJ for.instance

saːb-ï tälaːf-luːk̞ hi-piː-gä-lär.

owner-IZ bride's.money-DER spend-IMP-OPT-3PL

'Such and such a person has given such an amount of money so that they, for example, will spend it.'

35. Xinä vururlar-o taqi nähar olur uoda bī växt päs äz šamta bī loqmä yiertillär.

Xinä vur-ur-lar 0 taķï nähar henna hit-AOR-3PL and more morning ol-ur uoda biz väχt päs be(come)-AOR3SG **PREP** there one time äz šam-ta biz lokmä yi-er-ti-llär.

PREP dinner-ABL one bite eat-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL

'They applied the henna and then, the morning comes, they would sometimes eat something.'

36. Häz yån hävčä vierärtilär häz yån hävčä viermäzärtilär.

Häz yån häv-čä vier-är-ti-lär häz little side give-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL little house-LOC häv-čä är-ti-lär. yån vier-mä-z give-NEG-AOR COP-TERM-3PL side house-Loc

'Sometimes they used to deliver it in a house, and sometimes they didn't.'

37. Eye viersälär, yiertilär.

Eye vier-sä-lär, yi-er-ti-lär.

if give-HYP-3PL eat-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL

'If they gave (to eat), they used to eat it.'

38. Uoda yīlär-o tirilär kälilär taqï mäsälän kidän tämåm olur.

Uoda yiz-lär 0 tir-i-lär käl-i-lär there eat-AOR-3PL and stand.up-AOR-3PL come-AOR-3PL takï mäsälän kidän tämåm ol-ur. wedding completed more for.instance be(come)-AOR3SG

'They eat there and then get up and come; it means, the wedding is over.'

39. Buoda taqï qalma yox. Hič yīrčä yox.

Buoda taķī ķal-ma yoχ. Hič yi:r-čä yoχ.

here more stay-VN non.existing no place-LOC non.existing-3SG 'No one stays here any more. Not anywhere.'

40. Yatular-o nähår tiezi tirilär.

Yat-u-lar o nähår tiez-i tir-i-lär. sleep-AOR-3PL and morning early-POSS3SG get.up-AOR-3PL 'They sleep and get up early in the morning.'

41. Nähår tiezi tirilär-o mäsälän īš mīšläri bitirärlär-o häräkilär mäsälän xinäyi yūlar.

Nähår tiez-i tir-i-lär mäsälän 0 morning early-POSS3SG get.up-AOR-3PL and for.instance izš mizš-lär-i bitir-är-lär häräk-i-lär 0 chore.and.such-PL-ACC finish-AOR-3PL lift-AOR-PL and

mäsälän yuz-lar. χinä-yi

wash-AOR-3PL for.instance henna-ACC

'They get up early in the morning and do their chores, for example, and they take off (their clothes) to wash off the henna.'

42. Ävväl kidäyinki yūlar; bäd aftaw-o lägn-o yanda bī kiši häräkir varur kälininki yūr.

Ävväl kidäy-in-ki yuz-lar; bäd aftaw 0 first groom-GEN-REL wash-AOR3PL then pitcher and lägn yanda biz kiši häräk-ir var-ur basin take.off-AOR3SG and again woman go-AOR3SG one

kälin-in-ki yuː-r.

wash-AOR3SG bride-GEN-REL

'First they wash the groom's henna, and then a woman takes the pitcher and basin and goes to wash the bride's."

43. Kälininki yūlar-o kälilär taqï uora tämam olur-o tämam olur.

Kälin-in-ki yuz-lar 0 käl-i-lär taķï uora bride-GEN-REL wash-AOR-3PL and come-AOR-3PL more there tämam ol-ur tämam ol-ur. 0 completed be(come)-AOR3SG and completed be(come)-AOR3SG

'They wash the bride's, and it is completed there; it is completed.'

Kälilär bora bäna šaylär čalgalï. 44.

> Käl-i-lär bora bäna ša-y-lär čal-ķalï. play-conv come-AOR-3PL here begin-AOR-3PL 'They come here, and they begin to play.'

45. Čaštqa bī haz qalmiš bāna šaylār qābapūšanluq čalqali āsåsi kālitgāli.

Čašt-ka hi: haz kal-mïš bäna ša-y-lär noon-DAT little stay-POST3SG start-AOR-3PL one käbapu:šan-luk čal-kali äsås-i kälit-gäli. clothing-DER furniture-ACC take-CONV play-conv

'A little before noon, they start the *kabapushanlik* playing and bring the furnitures.'

46. Kälilär bī čādor šäb hačalar-o bī väqt käräk varmïšallar Qahan bī yik tit almïšallar.

Käl-i-lär biz šäb hač-a-lar biz čaːdor 0 väķt come-AOR-3PL night open-AOR-3PL and one tent one time

käräk var-miš a-llar Kahan bi: vik tit al-miš COP-3PL Kahan take-POST necessary go-POST one measure berry a-llar. COP-3PL

'They come, open a big tent (wrapper for bed clothes) and sometimes they had to go and take a load of berry from Kahan.'

47. Kältilär bošlar čādor istiyä uča bošqåb bošqåb vierärtilär xalqä qädimčä

boš-lar Kält-i-lär čazdor ist-i-yä boškåb u čay bring-AOR-3PL empty-AOR-3PL top-POSS3SG-DAT then plate tent bošķåb vier är-ti-lär χalķ-ä ķädim-čä. plate give.AOR COP-TERM-3PL folk-DAT past-LOC

'They bring it, empty it on a tent and in the olden days they gave it plate by plate to the people.'

48. Bädän ke bī haz ney oldi gīdä tä qatar-artilär.

Bädän ke biz haz ol-di giːdä tä after CONJ one little be(come)-TERM3SG elderberry PTCL kat-ar ar-ti-lär. mix-AOR COP-TERM-3PL

'Later, after a while, they used to mix it with elderberry.'

49. Badäm ta qatar-artilär ämmå ästakam bošqåbi čä vierärtilär xalqqa

Badäm ta kat-ar ar-ti-lär ämmå ästakam almond PTCL mix-AOR COP-TERM-3PL but glass bošķåb-i-čä vier är-ti-lär χalk-ka. plate-POSS3SG-LOC give-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL people-DAT

'They also used to mix it with almonds, but they gave them to people in glasses and plates.'

50. Bo nietä alïlar-o qäbapūšanluqča käski kädgirilär-o taqï kidän ke tämåm olmuš, käsiki kädgirilär-o hadaqï altïča qoyular.

Во nietä al-ï-lar käbapu:šan-luk-ča this what take-AOR-3PL and groom-clothing-DER-LOC käsk-i kädgir-i-lär takï kidän ke 0 cloth-ACC dress-AOR-3PL and wedding more CONJ

tämåm ol-muš. Käsik-i kädgir-i-lär o hadaķ-ī completed be(come)-POST3SG cloth-ACC dress-AOR-3PL and foot-ACC

alt-ï-ča ķoy-ï-lar.

beneath-POSS3SG-LOC put-AOR-3PL

'They take this thing and put on his clothes in *kabapushanlik* and the wedding is over. They put on the clothes and put them beneath his feet.'

dress-AOR-3PL

51. Bašīča tav vierālār-o ākki dāfā-o ič dāfā- kidāy kāsiki kādgirilār.

Baš-ï-ča äkki tav vier-ä-lär 0 däfä head-POSS3SG-LOC give-AOR-3PL swing and two time 0 ič däfä kidäy käsik-i kädgir-i-lär.

groom cloth-POSS3SG

'They swing it over his head twice and thrice and put on the groom's clothes.'

52. Ävväl tä bo bōd äliyä kadgirtilär.

three time

Ävväl tä bo bo:d äl-i-yä kädgir-t-i-lär.

first PTCL this right hand-POSS3SG-DAT dress-CAUS-AOR-3PL

'First, they dress him along his right hand.'

53. Hadaqï altïča qoyïlar.

and

Hadak-ï: alt-ï-ča koy-ï-lar.

foot-GEN beneath-POSS3SG-LOC put-AOR-3PL

'They put it beneath his feet.'

54. Yanda ū bī tavuta vierilär. Hemån kälitilär nie ke kädgirilär.

Yanda u: bi: tavuta vier-i-lär.

again it one swing give-AOR-3PL

Hemån kälit-i-lär nie ke kädgir-i-lär.

likewise bring-AOR-3PL what CONJ dress-AOR-3PL

'They swing it again, likewise they bring what they put on.'

55. Kädgirilär, bo tämåm olur-o išläri tämåm olur taqï nähår taqï yimädkällär.

Kädgir-i-lär, bo tämåm ol-ur o iš-lär-i

dress-AOR-3PL this completed be(come)-AOR3SG and work-PL-POSS3SG

tämåm ol-ur takï nähår takï yi-mä-d(i)k ä-llär. completed be(come)-AOR3SG lunch eat-NEG-VN COP-3PL more more 'They dress him up and this is completed and their work is completed; they haven't had lunch yet.'

56. Bädän ke nähår yīdilär tirirlär varular kälin hartiča.

Bädän ke nähår yiz-di-lär tir-ir-lär after CONI lunch eat-TERM-3PL stand.up-AOR-3PL kälin var-u-lar hart-ï-ča. bride behind-POSS3SG-LOC go-AOR-3PL

'After they have had their lunch, they stand up and go after the bride.'

57. Kälin hartiča varular, kälinkä käsik yietilär-o näy yietilär uoda šey niesär āti?

Kälin hart-ï-ča käsik var-u-lar, kälin-kä yet-i-lär 0 behind-POSS3SG-LOC go-AOR-3PL bride bride-DAT cloth take-AOR-3PL and näy vet-i-lär uoda šey nies är a:t-ï? take-AOR-3PL thing COP3S name-POSS3SG what there what G

'They go after the bride, dress the bride and take things there. What is it's name?'

58. Kälinkä käsik mäsik yietilär, kädgirilär-o kīši hatalar-o kältilär kidäy häviyä.

Kälin-kä käsik mäsik vet-i-lär, kädgir-i-lär kiːš-i 0 bride-DAT cloth.and.such take-AOR-3PL dress-AOR-3PL and garment-ACC hat-a-lar kält-i-lär kidäy häv-i-yä. throw-AOR-3PL and bring-AOR-3PL house-POSS3SG-DAT groom 'They bring clothes and such for the bride, they dress her and throw the red garment (over her) and bring her to the groom's house.'

59. Kidäy häviyä tä kälitilär bī qurbanluq ta ey šä hilirilär.

Kidäy häv-i-yä tä kälit-i-lär, biz groom house-POSS3SG-DAT **PTCL** bring-AOR-3PL one hilir-i-lär. kurbanluk ta šä ey sacrifice-DER PTCL if want.AOR3SG kill-AOR-3PL

'When they bring her to the groom's house, if wanted they sacrifice (a sheep).'

60. Här kim här kim ke olïga hilär-är, omaga hilärmäz.

Här kim här kim ke ol-ï-ķa

every who every who CONJ be(come)-IMP-OPT3SG

hilär-är, o-ma-ka hilär-mä-z.

kill-COP3SG be(come)-NEG-OPT3SG kill-NEG-AOR3SG

'Those who can afford it, do so. Others don't.'

61. Kältilär kälinuy äkki ällä yapišular änaru väyur damda kidäy ietä kälin hiraqqa värur.

Kält-i-lär kälin-uy äkki äl-lä yapïš-u-lar

bring-AOR-3PL bride-ACC two hand-WITH.POSTP grab-AOR-3PL

änar-u vaː-yur dam-da kidäy

pomegranate-ACC throw-AOR3SG roof-ABL groom

(unintelligible word) kälin hïraķ-ķa vaːr-ur.

bride far-DAT go-AOR3SG

'They bring the bride and hold her with both hands, the groom throws the pomegranate from the roof (house top) and the bride walks away.'

62. Änaru uorda vāyur, ey tutti båšida, ey tutti båšida, tiemi här jur olur vurular bäzi änar tä yier biläsidä bäna šaylar däst vuruqalar kidäykä.

Änar-u uorda vaː-yur. Ey tut-ti

pomegranate-ACC there throw.to.a.target-AOR3SG oh catch-TERM3SG

båš-i-da! Ey tut-ti båš-i-da! Tiemi

head-POSS3SG-ABL if catch-TERM3SG head-POSS3SG-ABL now

här jur ol-ur vur-u-lar. Bäzi änar tä

every kind be(come)-AOR3SG hit-AOR-3PL some pomegranate PTCL

yie-r. Bilä-si-dä bäna ša-y-lar däst vur-u-ķa-lar

hit-AOR3SG PRON-POSS3SG-ABL begin-AOR-3PL hand hit-IMP-OPT-3PL

kidäy-kä.

groom-DAT

'He throws the pomegranate from there. Oh, it has hit her head! Oh, it has hit her head! Now, no matter what, they throw it. Sometimes a pomegranate hits the bride. They begin to applaud him, the groom.' (This is actually a joke and the groom should be careful not to hurt the bride. It comes from a Persian proverb: *gorbe ra dām-e hejle koštān (lit. killing the cat beside the bridal chamber)*.

63. Bäzi änar tä yier häz yan kidäyinkä qoläytär olur.

Bäzi änar tä yie-r häz yan

sometimes pomegranete PTCL hit-AOR3SG little side

kidäy-in-kä ķoläy-tär ol-ur.

groom-GEN-DAT close-COMP be(come)-AOR3SG

'Sometimes the groom gets closer (to the bride) to hit her with pomegranate.'

64. Häz yan kidäykä äslän hayur yäkältä här nä änar var vierum biläsiyä.

Häz yan kidäy ke äslän hay-ur yä-käl-tä

sometimes side groom CONJ never say-AOR3SG IMP-come-PTCL

här nä änar va:r vier-um bilä-si-yä.

every what pomegranate existing throw-AOR1SG PRON-POSS3SG-DAT

'Some groom says that come closer so that I can throw all the pomegranate I have at you.'

65. Kältilär-o gäšäng äkki qolida yapïšular-o kältilär tämåm šäylär taqï.

Kälit-i-lär o gäšäng ekki kol-i-da yapïš-u-lar

bring-AOR-3PL and good two arm-POSS3SG-ABL grab-AOR-3PL

o kält-i-lär tämåm šä-yr-lär taķï.

and bring-AOR-3PL all do-AOR-3PL more

'Grabbing her two arms, they bring the bride, and it is completed, well.'

Short overview of the specific characteristics of the variety, illustrated mainly with examples from the text

Sound system

Vowel types

The quality and quantity of Khalaj vowels are discussed by Doerfer (1971, 1988) and Ščerbak (1997). The vowel types of the Central dialect are presented in Table 1a and 1b. In Table 1a, the short rounded front vowel \ddot{u} is only pronounced by the older female speaker.

Table 1a. Vowel inventory of the Central dialect in International Phonetic Alphabet symbols

	Front			Central		Back				
	Unrounded		Rounded				Unrounded		Rounded	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
Close	i	i:	у				ш	ш:	и	u:
Mid	е	e:							0	0:
Open	æ	æ:			а	a:			p	p:

Table 1b. The vowel types in Turcological transcription

	Front			Central		Back				
	Unrounded		Rounded				Unrounded		Rounded	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
Close	i	iː	ü				ï	Ï.	и	uː
Mid	e	eː							0	O.
Open	ä	äː			á	άː			å	åː

As shown in Tables 1a-1b, the Khalaj vowel system is relatively large, with a length contrast.

Due to contact-induced change, the Central dialect, spoken in the vicinity of Persian-speaking settlements, lacks the front round vowels \ddot{u} and \ddot{o} in male speech. However, \ddot{u} has been sporadically preserved in female speech, particularly in third person agrist forms, e.g. FS23: $K\ddot{a}l$ - $\ddot{u}r$ '(They) come'. An intergenerational difference is interesting since \ddot{u} is represented in Doerfer's folkloric texts, compiled from the same village in 1968. The 90-year-old female speaker may have preserved these front rounded vowels. These sounds are maintained in the northern dialects, in contrast to the Central variety (see Akkus 2021).

The Central dialect's vowel system does not retain \ddot{u} and \ddot{o} . These front rounded vowels have been delabialized probably as a result of prolonged contact with Iranian languages, since Iranian vowel inventories mainly lack such front rounded vowels. The \ddot{u} sounds of cognate Azeri and northern Khalaj varieties are represented in the Central dialect by i, and \ddot{o} by e, e.g. MS13: ker- 'to see', MS65: $hil\ddot{a}r$ - 'to kill', and MS16: $kid\ddot{a}n$ 'wedding', MS27: hin- 'to come out', MS71: bidik 'big'. These two front rounded vowels are delabialized as in several other Irano-Turkic varieties, as well.

The vowel inventory contains *i*, *e*, *ä*, *ï*, *u*, *o*, *å*, and *å* with length contrasts. Two *a* vowels are distinguished, an open central *ā* and an open rounded *å*, as discussed by Doerfer (1971), e.g. in MS19: *ålumlå* 'apple', MS22: *håwul* 'good'. The slightly rounded *å* of the Turkic unrounded vowel *a* appears to be conventionalized in the Khalaj sound inventory via the introduction of Iranian lexical copies, e.g. MS80: *dånå* 'piece', MS81: *zåd* 'thing', and MS86: *yå* 'or', as is also typical of some other Irano-Turkic varieties, e.g. Khorasan Oghuz.

Khalaj is considered as one of the very few Turkic languages that retains the hypothetical Proto Turkic vowel length (Doerfer, 1971, 1987, 1988), as in MS3: *a:t-i* 'his name'. It is observed that (long) front vowels in the Central dialect are also rather frequently diphthongized, e.g. in MS8: *kien* 'day', MS61: *lenjie-miš-ä-miš* 'He got tired'. These examples show that long monophthongs *ü:* are evidently split, diphthongized, and delabialized especially if they are in anlaut position. Since Persian and other neighboring Iranian languages lack front rounded vowels, this is most probably due to contact influence.

Consonant types

A special feature of the Khalaj consonant inventory is that labio-dental v is labialized in the neighborhood of round vowels v > w, e.g. MS22: $h \dot{a} w u l$ 'good'.

Morphology

Khalaj preserves some archaic morphemes in both declension and conjugation, and thus occupies a special place in Turkic language history.

Declension

The plural suffix is {+lAr}, as in most Turkic languages, e.g. MS60: *såz-lar-dä* 'from the reeds'. Nominal case suffixes are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Case suffixes in the Central dialect

Nominative	Ø
Genitive	{+i:(n)}, {+U:y}
Accusative	$\{+(n)I\}$
Dative	{+KA}
Locative	{+čA}
Ablative	{+DA}

The locative suffix is {+čA}, as opposed to {+DA} in other Turkic languages, e.g. MS31: *orta-si-ča* 'in the middle', MS42: *kuča-ča* 'in the street'. However, the locative suffix {+DA} is also observed in some fossilized lexemes with demonstratives, e.g. MS66: *uo-da* 'there', MS78: *buo-da* 'here'.

Instrumental and comitative meanings are expressed by the enclitic postposition {+(I)lA}. The forms are {+lA}, e.g. FS61: *äl-lä* 'with hand', MS65: *äl-i: käf-i-lä* 'with his palm'.

The ablative suffix is as in Old Turkic {+DA}, e.g. MS4: *tulki-dä* 'from the fox', MS7: *tuonor-da* 'from the oven'.

The suffix-initial consonant in the dative varies between k, y and k, e.g. MS19: Sånäzär-kä 'to Sånäzär', MS13: S0S10: S10 your son', MS38: S10 to the oven'. However, the dative suffix S10: S11 is employed after the possessive constructions, e.g. MS27: S12: S10 to the inside'.

Table 3. Possessive suffixes in the Central dialect

1sg	{+(I)m}
2sg	$\{+(U)(y)\}$
3SG/PL	{+(s)I}
1PL	$\{+(I)mIz\}$
2PL	$\{+(y)Iz\}$

Possessive suffixes in Khalaj are typically Turkic, e.g. MS8: oylu-m 'my son', MS13: oyl-uy-ya 'to your son', MS3: a:t-i 'his name', MS6: $bil\ddot{a}-si$ 'he/she', FS6: $kid\ddot{a}n-imiz$ 'our wedding', MS2: $bil\ddot{a}-yiz-k\ddot{a}$ 'to you all'. Contrary to Doerfer (1988: 69), possessive suffixes of the second person singular are $\{+U(y)\}$ and $\{+y\}$. There seems to be a fluctuation in using or not using possessive suffixes.

Persian comparative suffix has {+tAr} has been globally copied into the Central dialect, e.g. MS24: *ån-tär* 'further', MS53: *bäččä-tär båķa* 'smaller turtle', MS62: *Mun-da ilgär-tär käl-miš* 'He came earlier than this'.

Examples of the personal pronouns are MS7: *män* 'I', MS11: *män-i* 'me+ACC', MS6: *sän* 'you', MS12: *sän-i* 'you+ACC', FS28: *u* 'he/she/it'.

Anaphoric use of *bilä* with possessive suffixes is also frequent, e.g. MS25: *bilä-m-i* 'me', MS40: *bilä-y* 'you', MS6, FS23: *bilä-si-yä*. The reflexive pronoun is *iez*, e.g. MS76: *iez-i* 'himself'.

Conjugation

Aorist

Table 4. Aorist forms in the Central dialect

Person	Singular	Plural
1	{-(y)Am}	{-(y)ImIz}
2	$\{-(y)A(y)\}$	$\{-(y)Iz\}$
3	$\{-(y)Vr\}$	{-(y)AlAr}

In the singular, the marker of the first person is {-(y)Am} and of the second person is {-(y)A(y)}. In the plural, the personal endings of the first and second plural persons are {-miz} and {-siz}. Examples are MS7: Kork-am 'I fear', MS16: Käl-ür 'He comes', MS27: Hin-är, täz-är, var-ur 'He comes out, runs, goes', MS37: Šånäzär ha-ur 'Šånäzär says', MS45: Bo kiz häsa:r iešk-i va:-yur 'This girl binds the door of the garden', MS16: Kidän tut-a-lar '(They) hold a wedding ceremony'. The consonant r can be dropped, e.g. FS4: Käl-i-lär 'They come', FS14: Vay-i-lär 'They tie up'.

The negative marker is {-mA-}, e.g. MS32, MS34 Var-ma-m 'I do not go'.

Focal intraterminal

Table 5. Intraterminal forms in the Central dialect

Person	Singular
1	{-(V)yo:r(r)um}
2	{-(V)yo:ruy}
3	{-(V)yo:r}

No plural form occurs in the sample text. Examples are, e.g. MS2: $\S\ddot{a}$ -yo:r-um 'I am wanting', MS74: $\K\ddot{a}$: $n\ddot{a}$ -yyo:r 'It is boiling'.

Postterminal

Table 6. Postterminal forms in the Central dialect

Person	Singular	Plural
1	{-mIšAm}	
2	{-mišäy}	
3	{-miš}	{-miš-lär}

The finite postterminal verb form is built with {-mIš}, for instance, MS24: Koː-miš-am 'I placed it', MS62: Käs-miš yie-miš 'He cut (it) and ate it', FS22: Učur-tur-miš-lär 'They let (it) fly'. The postterminal forms are used in the sample text as markers of a specific discourse type, u.e. a tale. In other contexts when they co-occur with terminal past forms the {-mIš} forms correpond to perfects, e.g. Koː-miš-am 'I have placed it'. Khalaj postterminals function like Persian perfects, as pointed out by Johanson (2021: 654). They are not evidentials. Postterminal constructions formed with copular particles, {-mIš} är-ir, are also attested in the variety, e.g. FS46: var-miš a-llar Ķahan biː yik tit al-miš a-llar 'They had to go and take berry from Kahan'.

Modality

The modal forms include the grammaticalized series of imperatives and optatives.

The imperative constructions include a great number of variations and irregularities, contrary to other Turkic languages. There is no bare stem imperative form in Central Khalaj. All the imperatives are constructed with postverbal constructions. No verb, even in objectless constructions, shows suffixless imperatives. These constructions are regarded to be extremely archaic (see Doerfer 1987, Johanson 2021). However, they could potentially be innovations, as well.

In Central Khalaj, the most frequent type of imperatives "employs the postconsonantic marker {-i} and the postvocalic marker {-y} ~ {-yi}" (Johanson 2021: 675), e.g. MS13: *Al-ï oyl-u:-ya!* 'Take (me) to your son!', MS26: *Kätr-i!* 'Take it!', MS51: *Käz-i!* 'Wander around!', *Hat-ï!* 'Throw (it)!'. According to Johanson this construction goes back to "a transformativizing construction formed with the old auxiliary $i\delta$ - 'to send', 'to release'" (Johanson 2005a: 675).

The imperative morpheme $\{-pi\} \sim \{-pA\}$ occurs with a few monosyllabic vowel-final stems, e.g. MS20 *Ye:-pi* 'Eat!', which might "go back to an old postverbial construction (b) $i\delta$ -" (Johanson 2021: 675).

The imperative of verbs *käl-* 'to come' and *käl-it-* 'to bring' are constructed with the preposed element {yV-}: MS26: *Yä-k!* 'Come!', *Yetü-kä!* 'Bring!'. The imperative of *var-* 'to go', e.g. MS26: *Yo-v!* 'Go!', is "a translocative construction indicating motion away from the deictic center" (Johanson 2021: 676).

The optative suffix is {-GA}, e.g. MS49: *Nā išlā-gā-m?* 'What would I do?'. Hypothetical sentences are constructed with the optative suffix {-GA}, e.g. MS40: *Šånāzār āgār šāy-gā-y bi: digār tā bilā-y vier-im* 'Šånāzār, if you want more, I can give it to you'.

The spoken text reveals that there is an imperative-optative modal construction in the Central dialect, constituting both imperative and optative markers, e.g. MS25: *Män yä-ki-gä-m tašķar* 'I would come out', MS45: *Šånäzär var-ur ålumlä-y kučä-dä kätr-i-gä* 'Šånäzär goes to take the apple from the street'. Imperative and the optative show significant functional overlap. Macdonell (1916: 348 as cited in Baum 2005: 17) describes the imperative as follows: "The impv. does not express commands only, but also a desire in the widest sense, such as a wish, a request, advice, a direction". He adds about the optative: "The second person is much less common. It is almost exclusively used to express a wish or a request addressed to a god; ... We might here often rather expect the impv., which indeed frequently either precedes or follows the opt. ... The third person is used in the three different senses of wish, precept, or supposition". Johanson claims that the Khalaj optative marker {-GA} has survived, in Karakhanid, East Middle Turkic, and Chaghatay, with the additive innovative function that the Khalaj marker is "added to extended that go back to postverbial constructions" (Johanson 2021: 676). These postverbial constructions function as imperatives. In marking optative mood, Khalaj seems to add its optative marker {-GA} to the postverbial imperative stems, e.g. *Hay-ï-ka-m* I would say'.

Modal expressions include *käräk* 'must', 'necessary' used with the imperative plus optative form of the main verb, e.g. MS6: *Käräk yo-v-ayä-y iš art-ï-ča, kiši al-i-gä-y, ķål-luķ ol-u-gä-y* 'You need to go after a job, work, get married, and have children'.

Non-finite verb forms are a converb in {-(y)A}, e.g. MS39: *Šånäzär täz-ä täz-ä var-ur* 'Šånäzär goes running', and verbal nouns {-gili}, MS10: *bil-gili* 'knowledgeable (literally the one who knows)', e.g. MS17: *hin-gili* 'the one who goes out' and {-mAk}, e.g. MS49: *käz-mäk-kä* 'to wandering'.

Examples of the use of the infinitive in {-mA} are, e.g. MS11: sayisla-ma 'to think', MS17: bol-ma 'to be(come)'.

Syntactic features

The basic word order of major constituents in Khalaj is SOV, e.g. MS58: *Käz-är, bi: zådi: bi: yumurka bul-ur* 'He wanders and finds an egg' while scrambling is also frequently used in the spoken variety, e.g. MS54: *Munu hatar tuonorka* 'He throws this into the hole', and MS65: *Šånäzär äli: käfilä bi: dånå vurur bu kås istidä, kåläk kåsi istidä, sa:no:ur kerär kirk dånå kudyu hilärmiš* 'Šånäzär hits with his palm once on the peel, the peel of the melon, and he thinks that he has killed forty flies'.

In expressions of necessity the word order follows the Persian model, and the optative suffix {-GA} accompanies the necessitative constituent *käräk* (Persian *bayed* 'must'), e.g. MS6: *Käräk yo-v-ayä-y iš art-ï-ča, kiši al-i-gä-y, ķål-luķ ol-u-gä-y* 'You need to go after a job, work, get married, and have children'.

Khalaj employs either Turkic possessive constructions with a genitive attribute + noun order, e.g. MS65: *äl-i: käf-i-lä* 'with his palm' or rarely an Iranian izafet construction, e.g. MS81: *ådäm-i zåd* 'a stranger man'. Compounds are of the Turkic type, e.g. MS5: *tulki korku-si-da* 'due to the fear of foxes'.

In the Central Khalaj variety, Turkic postpositions are predominantly used, e.g. MS6: *iš art-ï-ča* 'after a job', MS8: *hämsayä yan-i-ča* 'near a/the neighbor', MS27: *tuonor ič-i-yä* 'to the inside of oven'.

Double morphology is also witnessed. For instance, in marking (in)definiteness, Khalaj sporadically employs both typical Turkic indefinite marker *bi:* 'one' and Persian indefinite suffix *-i:*, e.g. MS58: *Käzär, bi: zådi: bi: yumurka bul-ur* 'He wanders and finds an egg'.

Clauses with a nominal predicate are, e.g. MS6: Sän bi: jåhil-äy 'You are ignorant' in 2SG, or the negated form in the 1SG dak-am 'am not', e.g. MS17: Män tulki-dä kork-am tuonor-ta da hin-gili dak-am 'I am afraid of foxes, so I am not the one who goes out of the oven'.

Existential clauses include *var* 'existing', e.g. MS18: *Xolåsa nä iš-i: va:r?* 'In short, mind your own business', FS39: *Buoda taķī ķal-ma yoχ. Hič yi:r-čā yoχ.* 'No one stay here any more. No one stays anywhere.'

Khalaj has copied the Iranic clause-combining strategies. With the integration of free subjunctors and conjunctors of the Iranic type, the typical Iranic right-branching finite clauses have apparently been adopted as a result of the long-lasting language contact, e.g. MS61: *Hat-ar torba iči-yä o ienjiemiš-ä-miš. Käl-ir-t' yo:r-ur bi: su:v på-yi-ča bi: jo:v på-yi-ča ke su: va:rr-a-miš* 'He throws it into the bag, he evidently gets tired. He comes and sits by a slough in which there is water'. The conjunction *ke* is also copied to mark temporality, e.g. MS16: *Kidän tut-a-lar-o kidän ke tämam ol-ur såbäy ķiz käl-ür, Šanäzär-kä ķīy-lar-o ha-ur: "Šanäzär hin-äk tašķar, sän taķī kiši eydi-si ol-muš-ā:y* 'They hold a wedding. After the wedding, the girl comes and calls Šanäzär and tells him "Šanäzär, go outside! You have a family now".'

For coordination the Persianized Arabic "wa" conjunction -(y)o 'and' or typical Persian coordinator yå 'or' is used, e.g. Šånäzär var-ur häsa:r orta-si-da ta o:-nu kätr-är o täz-är tuonor ič-i-yä, yi-er 'Šånäzär goes, takes it from the middle of the garden and runs into the hole, eats it (there)'.

Lexicon

Central Khalaj dialect lexicon preserves archaic items, such as MS11: *eydi* 'owner', MS16: *kidän* 'wedding', MS19: *âlumlå* 'apple', MS65: *kudyu* 'fly'. Even though lexical influence of Persian has been quite strong, the Central dialect mainly retains Turkic core vocabulary, e.g. MS3: *a:ti* 'his name', MS16: *käl-ür* 'he comes', MS61: *su:v* 'water', MS65: *kudyu* 'fly'.

A special word used in the Central dialect is MS16: "ina in the meaning 'that is, already'.

MS: 32 *taķī* 'more', an indigenous particle, seems to function as a loan translation of Persian *digā* 'anymore, no more', which has been selectively copied with its pragmatic functions.

It is noteworthy that there are some unique lexical items in the woman's speech, probably due to her belonging to an older generation: FS20: *bätik* 'after', FS64: *häz yan* 'sometimes'.

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