

NISANE: THE LIFE OF A MESOPOTAMIAN PEASANT

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Abstract

Nisane Ergün was born in 1933 in Beqūsyone (Turk. Alagöz). She is a native and fluent speaker of Turoyo, a contemporary form of Eastern Aramaic. Although never formally educated, she is a gifted storyteller. Throughout her entire life, she has been engaged in subsistence farming and animal husbandry, in much the same manner as her Kurdish neighbours and other rural populations throughout northern Mesopotamia. Her life story, here related in her own words, is thus an exercise in narrating history ‘from below’. She is an eyewitness to various dramatic periods in the recent history of Ṭur Abdin.

Introduction

This paper continues our efforts at documenting dialects of Turoyo, a largely unwritten Aramaic variety, as it is spoken now *in situ*, and at the same time it presents an oral history of Ṭur Abdin. The source of the text we publish here is a series of interviews with Nisane Ergün, born 1933 in the village Beqūsyone (Turk. Alagöz). She has spent most of her life in the village Derqube (Turk. Karagöl). The material published here reflects portions of three separate interviews, which were recorded by Sergey Loesov during three 2018 field seasons of the Russian expedition to Ṭur Abdin. We have redacted these portions into a single coherent narrative structured chronologically, in

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the order of their occurrence in the lives of Nisane and her family. The material was selected for its historical value as well as its reflection of Nisane's life experiences throughout the decades that it documents. These cultural and historical aspects of the material are no less significant than its linguistic value, as the recorded speech of one of the eldest surviving fluent speakers of this language, who also happens to be a born storyteller.

During Nisane's childhood the villagers of ʤur Abdin had no elementary state schooling at all, and she did not study at a *mádrāse*, a church school. For this reason, she is illiterate, and her Turkish is extremely limited. She does not speak it fluently and is conversant with only a few common words. In any case, no literary standard exists for ʤuroyo, and for this reason her speech and that of other ʤuroyo speakers is particularly susceptible to influence from other languages. It is this lack of education and general familiarity with the language of the state that has rendered her speech proof against influence from the latter. By contrast, she is fully bilingual in Kurmanji, and her command of that language is rich and fluent. This linguistic situation is representative of the Syriac Christian population of ʤur Abdin at the time of her birth. Subsequent generations of Syriac Christians are more likely to be educated and fluent in Turkish, with varying degrees of fluency in ʤuroyo and Kurmanji, from poor to relatively fluent.

During her long life, Nisane was witness to several important events in the history of the region. These include the famine of 1940–4, the Kurdish insurgencies of the 1990s and 2000s, and the concomitant migration from ʤur Abdin to various European destinations, chiefly (in the case of her extended family) Belgium. She is also only one generation removed from the Sayfo, the genocide of Christians in 1915, and vividly recounts the testimonies of her elder relatives in this regard.

Nisane's vocabulary is representative of the broader lexicon of ʤuroyo, and reflects the contact influence of other regional languages, including some surprising vectors of influence. Arabic loans, for example, are particularly pervasive, relative to loans from other languages, and some of them have become fully nativized, to the extent that they appear in higher registers of speech alongside loans from the liturgical language, Syriac. Because Arabic is no longer spoken in the countryside of ʤur Abdin east of Midyat, and few speakers of ʤuroyo village dialects have any command of that language, these loans are likely of great antiquity. There is also a distinct stratum of Kurmanji words, not as pervasive or domesticated as the Arabic loans,

but no less important for the lexicon of Turoyo. The influence of the local variety of Kurmanji is also reflected by the large number of calques that can be identified in Nisane's speech, as might be expected in the speech of a fully bilingual speaker. Without the homogenizing influence of literacy, Nisane's speech clearly demonstrates the contact between these two primarily unwritten languages. Finally, a much more limited stock of Turkish vocabulary has entered the speech of Nisane, but these words, too, appear in some interesting and unexpected contexts.

Given that there is still no standard dictionary of Turoyo, we supply with lexicographic notes the non-verbal lexemes that are missing from Ritter's *Wörterbuch* (Ritter 1979).² Our data on the Turoyo verbs are taken from our draft *Verb Glossary of Turoyo*. In terms of grammar, Nisane's speech reflects some distinctive features vis-à-vis the only variety of Turoyo whose phonology and morphology have received a full-fledged description, that of Midan.³ The following sections outline some of these features.

Phonology and Morphophonology

Loanwords from Kurmanji preserve the Kurdish unaspirated /k/.⁴ This sound is clearly distinct from the aspirated /k/ found in words of Semitic or Kurdish origin alike. Consider a few examples in which /k/ is synchronically a part of the root in the Kurmanji source words:

<i>aniške</i>	'elbow, corner, shore, (river-)bank'	cf. <i>anişk</i>	'elbow' (Chyet 2003: 7)
<i>ğeniğe</i>	'temple'	cf. <i>ceynik</i>	'temple (anat.)' (Chyet 2003: 89)
<i>haka</i>	'if'	cf. <i>heke</i>	'if' (Chyet 2003: 235)
<i>kadine</i>	'barn for chaff'	cf. <i>kadîn</i>	'hayloft; barn, granary' (Chyet 2003: 294)

² Ritter (1979) is a posthumously published draft. It does not cover verbs and productive deverbal nouns.

³ The dialect of Midan is the only dialect of Turoyo for which a full description of phonology and morphology is now available (see Jastrow 1967 and Jastrow 2002). For this reason, it serves as a yardstick for our observations on the dialect of Beqüşyone. It makes sense that most of the linguistic traits discussed here are not exclusive to the accent of Beqüşyone; they occur in some other varieties as well. Except when conforming to the Leipzig glossing rules, about which see below, we follow the transcription system introduced in Jastrow 2002. Additionally, we introduce a distinction between aspirated *k* and unaspirated *k*, for which see below in this Introduction.

⁴ See Thackston 2006: 4. Thackston uses the symbol *k̄* for this sound. In the traditional romanization schemes for Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, this symbol refers to the fricative allophone of /k/. For this reason, we have opted for *k*.

kavoke ‘dove’ cf. *kevok* ‘pigeon, dove’ (Chyet 2003: 314)
kaviye ‘edge, shore’ cf. *kevi* ‘edge, rim’ (Chyet 2003: 313)

The Turoyo verb appears in two bases, Preterite and Infectum. The 3ms form of the Infectum⁵ has /a/ rather than /ə/ as the reflex of *i in its second syllable.⁶ This is characteristic of the Inflecta bases of roots with a sound last radical in all three stems:

<i>nošaq</i>	‘kiss’	<i>mofaq</i>	‘take out’
<i>mtaras</i>	‘send’	<i>doyaq</i>	‘knock’
<i>mašham</i>	‘explain’	<i>mašyaqan</i>	‘believe’. ⁷

The 1ms detransitive⁸ G-stem Preterite retains the historical long /ī/ in the second syllable of the stem even though it is closed and followed by a syllable of the shape CV. This violates an otherwise iron-clad phonotactic constraint of Turoyo:

<i>grīšno</i>	‘I (m.) was taken out’ ⁹	<i>snīqno</i>	‘I (m.) had a need’
<i>fīihno</i>	‘I (m.) became glad’	<i>qhīrno</i>	‘I (m.) became angry’.

II/y verbs contracted the -Vyə- sequence of their base in closed syllables.¹⁰ This is valid for both G- and D-stems:

<i>tro-sōm</i>	‘may he do!’	<i>tām</i>	‘it was finished’ vs. <i>tayām</i>
	vs. <i>tro soyām</i> in Midən		in Midən,
<i>d-sōmno</i>	‘so that I do’	<i>tāmno</i>	‘I was finished’ vs. <i>tayāmno</i>
	vs. <i>d-soyamno</i> in Midən		in Midən;
<i>tro-mšāl</i>	‘may he ask!’ vs. <i>tro mšayəl</i> in Midən		

Preverbs marking Present and Future

In Turoyo, preverbal particles modify the Inflectum base (*qoṭəl qoṭal* for the G-stem, see above) to encode nuances of tense, mood and aspect. At some earlier stage in the history of the language, the Present tense marker was *ko-*, regardless of the phonological context of the marker. Its source is most likely a presentative particle **kā*. The

⁵ We characterize this base as the ‘Inflectum’ on the grounds that it has multiple modal, temporal and aspectual meanings deriving from the pre-verbal and post-verbal elements as well as its syntactic context.

⁶ This is an isogloss uniting the dialect of Beqūsyone with that of Kfarze (Ritter 1990: 98) as against the dialect of Midən, which has /ə/ in this slot.

⁷ In the C-stem of II-y verbs the middle radical appears in the 3ms Inflectum as /a/: *matəm* ‘finish’.

⁸ Ritter’s ‘Passiv/Reflexiv’.

⁹ Against *grāšno* in most other varieties.

¹⁰ This is another isogloss uniting the dialects of Beqūsyone and Kfarze, cf. Ritter (1990: 510, 514).

Future marker was *gVd*, of unknown etymology. In the present-day dialect of Beqūsyone, a clear-cut phonetic distinction of the two markers has been lost due to phonetic mergers.¹¹

According to our observations, for the following two phonetic environments a simple rule is valid: *k-* encodes both Present and Future in contact with voiceless consonants, while *g-* appears before voiced obstruents and sonorants not clustered with another consonant:¹²

<i>kōmno u=šūglano (ūʕdolramḥəl)</i>	‘I am doing the work (now); I shall do the work (tomorrow)’
<i>gdoʕarno lu=bayto (ūʕdolramḥəl)</i>	‘I am returning home (now); I shall return home (tomorrow)’
<i>gmofaqno maye mu=gubo (ūʕdolramḥəl)</i>	‘I am taking water out of the cistern (now); I shall take water out of the cistern (tomorrow)’

In front of the consonantal cluster *mC-* marking the D-stem, *gə-* appears regularly, referring indiscriminately to situations both in the Present and Future. In this same phonetic context, the preverb *kə-* can also appear, referring explicitly to the Present:

<i>gəməšālno minūx ʕal i</i> <i>=məšāle (ūʕdolramḥəl)</i>	‘I am asking you about this matter (now) I shall ask you about this matter (tomorrow)’
<i>lo ʕal aṭ=ṭālāba kəməšayli</i>	‘they are not asking about insurgents’.

In Ṭuroyo there are seven G-stem verbs whose Inflectum has a vocalic onset, all of which are of high frequency in speech:

<i>obaʕ</i>	‘want’,	<i>obe</i>	‘give’,
<i>odaʕ</i>	‘know’,	<i>oxal</i>	‘eat’,
<i>omar</i>	‘say’,	<i>əzzé</i>	‘go’.
<i>ote</i>	‘come’,		

Phonetically, in the pre-vocalic position we would expect the two preverbs to be kept apart. Given the conditions outlined above, this would be the only slot in which Ṭuroyo still can grammatically distinguish present and future references. In the dialects of Beqūsyone and Kfarze, however, there is still some variation showing a gradual

¹¹ See Jastrow 1967 §132 and §134 on the shape of these markers in Midən.

¹² In both phonetic positions, *ko-* sometimes appears to encode the present tense, in particular in the clausal pause, e.g. *kofəḥmat?* ‘do you understand?’, *hiye koboxe w i=emo kobūxyo* ‘he cries and his mother cries’. Another example is the stock phrase to start a conversation over the phone: *mən kosaymat?* ‘how are you doing?’, lit. ‘what are you doing?’

lack of discrimination of the two markers in terms of their semantics. Thus:

<i>kodaŝno</i> (m.) /		<i>lū=gdaŝno</i> (m.),	
<i>kūdŝono</i> (f.)	‘I know’	<i>lo=kūdŝono</i> (f.)	‘I do not know’
<i>komaŋno</i>	‘I (m.) say’	<i>gdomaŋno</i> ¹³	‘I (m.) shall say’
<i>koteno</i>	‘I (m.) am coming’	<i>gdoteno</i>	‘I (m.) shall come’
<i>kobeno</i> /		<i>lə=gbeno</i> /	
<i>kobono</i>	‘I give’ (m./f.)	<i>lə=gbono</i>	‘I do/shall not give’
<i>kūzzi</i>	‘I am going’	<i>gūzzi</i>	‘I am going’ / ‘I shall go’.

Note that both *kobina* and *gdobina* can mean ‘we give (on a regular basis)’. *Lay gūzzūx?* and *lay kūzzūx?* can both mean ‘where are you going (now)?’ Nonetheless, *gawi kūzzé* is ‘I have diarrhoea’ (lit. ‘my belly is going’), while *gawi gūzzé* can only mean ‘I shall have diarrhoea’. Thus, we witness both merging of the two markers and relics of the original distinction between them.

The Infectum form *howe* ‘be, become’ in collocation with the two preverbs yields *kowe*, used mostly in the sense ‘it is correct, suitable’, and *ktowe* ‘it will be’.

Derivational Morphology

The Kurmanji diminutive suffix *-(i)k-* (Haig and Öpengin 2018: 169) is freely compatible with bases of Aramaic and Arabic origin, both substantives and adjectives:

<i>baytkol</i> / <i>báytako</i>	‘tiny house’	< <i>bayto</i>	‘house’
<i>naŝimko</i>	‘very small/ very little; kiddie’	< <i>naŝimo</i>	‘small, little; child’
<i>karmko</i>	‘tiny vineyard’	< <i>karmo</i>	‘vineyard’
<i>qaŝúnko</i>	‘small kitten’	< <i>qaŝuno</i>	‘cat’
<i>dúkkanko</i>	‘small store’	< <i>dúkkano</i>	‘store’
<i>qaysko</i>	‘small wooden stick’	< <i>qayso</i>	‘wooden stick’

One can use this suffix on both the head and the attributive adjective in a noun phrase: *baytko naŝimko* ‘tiny house’.

Finally, in terms of inflectional morphology, the Passive Preterite of the C-stem in Beqūsyone is MAQTAL, which forms an isogloss with the city variety (Midyat) and certain village varieties, and sets Beqūsyone apart from the Midən variety with its innovative MTAQTAL form: *hūl l-u=yawmo d-maŝmad Mŝiħo* ‘till the day Christ was baptized’.

¹³ Note the *gd-* prefix resurfacing here and elsewhere in front of a vowel.

Morphosyntax

Nisane invariably uses the *l*-agent noun phrase (rather than the unmarked Ø-agent noun phrase) with the *l*-Preterite. This is an archaic feature (the ‘ergative case’), lacking completely from the dialect of Midān and surviving partially in the dialects of Midyat and those of some of the villages, e.g. Kfarze. The relative position of the verb and the agent does not affect the usage: *l-Āloho maqədyole* ‘God made it happen’; *l-u=qamšo tarte=tlat=šnaye xile u=zād* ‘the locust ate up the grain for a few years’; *tlat=kore mhállallan l-aq=qūsnoye* ‘three times the people of Beqūsyone beat us’. Note that non-volitional agents of *l*-Preterites (i.e. those that have no control over their own actions, such as locust in one of the above examples) also take the *l*-. Exceptions such as the following are likely to be topicalization constructions:

veğa aq=qūsnoye, lo=mtahmállallan
 ‘Well, the Beqūsyonians, they could not stand us’.

Interlineary Glossing

We have provided the text with interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses according to the Leipzig rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>), with a few minor modifications in order to conserve space and represent the morphosyntax of the text with greater precision. Preference is given to glossing examples with words rather than category labels, particularly with regard to substantives and adjectives (including those that are historically participles). Additionally, we do not mark non-overt elements. With regard to category labels, we employ all of those recommended by the Max Planck Institute, shortening SG to S, and additionally introduce here the following labels, all of which are commonly met elsewhere in the literature:

COH	= cohortative
DEP	= dependent
EZ	= ezafe
HES	= hesitation
HON	= honorific
INTJ	= interjection
PN	= proper noun
PRST	= presentative

The text as it is published here comprises the product of several recording sessions during 2018. These sessions typically consisted of questions, often posed by our chief informant Ilyas Iran, and Nisane’s

responses. In the interest of space we have redacted the questions from the interview transcriptions, save where Nisane's responses would be obscure without them. In the footnotes, however, we have indicated the original enumeration of these texts as they will appear in our forthcoming volume, *Turoyo: A Selection of Transcribed and Interlinearized Texts, Together with a Glossary and Etymological Notes*. The present text may also be compared with the digital audio recording available at <https://ioc.s.hse.ru/en/nisane>.

1. The Firman¹⁴

The term *Fərmān* 'firman; decree' is a euphemism for the planned but only partially executed genocide of the Christians of Ṭur Abdin, which began in mid-1915. This event is also known as 'the Sword' (*Sayfō*), particularly in the Syriac diaspora, and 'the Convoy' (*Qafle*), among the Christian Arabs of the region, who were not spared the fate of their Armenian and Assyrian coreligionists.¹⁵ Unlike the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Assyrians of territories further east, the Christians of this region successfully resisted removal and extermination. While Nisane was not yet born at the time of the Firman, she relates the story of her family's survival on the authority of her father's mother.

1. <i>b=u+Fərmān,</i> LOC=ART.S.M+firman	<i>kāt-way-l-e</i> exist-PST-POS-3S.M	<i>l=bab-i</i> for=father-1S	<i>pire+hre-to.</i> wife+another-F
<i>mayit-o</i> die.PST-SBJ.S.F	<i>m=i+wāzatiye,</i> ¹⁶ from=ART.S.F+exhaustion	<i>m=i+bexwāditiye,</i> from=ART.S.F+estrangement	
<i>mayit-o</i> die.PST-SBJ.S.F	<i>m=i+rāziliye,</i> from=ART.S.F+deprivation	<i>b=u+Fərmān.</i> LOC=ART.S.M+firman	<i>u+zlām</i> ART.S.M+man
<i>d=qāšt-i</i> DEP=grandmother-1S	<i>qīl</i> kill.PST.PASS	<i>b=u+Fərmān.</i> LOC=ART.S.M+firman	<i>w</i> and
<i>qāšt-i</i> grandmother-1S	<i>kāt-way-l-a</i> exist-PST-POS-3S.F	<i>tre+aḥun-one</i> 2+brother-PL	<i>azz-ehən.</i> go.PST-SBJ.3PL
<i>mba-l-le</i> take.PST-A-3PL	<i>l=u+safarballāk,</i> ¹⁷ to=ART.S.M+conscription	<i>lo+dašar,</i> NEG+return.PST	<i>w</i> and
			<i>ḥa</i> 1

¹⁴ §243–61 of a text collected 8 July 2018.

¹⁵ Gaunt, Atto and Barthoma (eds) 2017: 139.

¹⁶ Cf. Ottoman *vazāʿat* 'lowliness, humility' (Redhouse 1890: 2139f.). The noun *wāzatiye* was derived from some such base by adding the abstract suffix *-iye*.

¹⁷ *Safarballāk* must be a late Ottoman term *safarbarlıq* 'mobilization', on which see Al-Qattan 2004: 163–73 [164]. Cf. also Turkish *seferberlik* 'mobilization; state of war' (Redhouse 1968: 994).

<i>kāt-way-l-e</i> exist-PST-POS-3S.M	<i>kurrako</i> boy	<i>ʕal</i> upon	<i>u+ʕarbolo,</i> ART.S.M+sieve	<i>māt.</i> die.PST
<i>makām-way-l-a</i> blacken.PST-PST-A-3S.F	<i>ruh-a</i> self-3S.F	<i>hiya=ste</i> 3S.F=TOP	<i>xūd</i> like	<i>dayray-to.</i> monk-F
<i>makām-l-a</i> blacken.PST-A-3S.F	<i>ruh-a</i> self-3S.F	<i>xūd</i> like	<i>dayray-to.</i> monk-F	<i>fayiš-o,</i> stay.PST-SBJ.S.F
<i>i+naqqa</i> ART.S.F+time	<i>d=em-i,</i> DEP=mother-1S	<i>edi</i> then	<i>kāt-way-l-a</i> exist-PST-POS-3S.M	<i>tarte+kāčk-at</i> 2.F+girl-PL
<i>w</i> and	<i>qṭil</i> kill.PST.PASS	<i>u+zlam-ayda</i> ART.S.M+man-3S.F		

During the Firman, my father had another wife. She died from exhaustion, from estrangement, from deprivation during the Firman. My grandmother's husband was killed in the Firman. My grandmother had two brothers. They went away. One, they conscripted him, he did not come back. And the other one—he kept a boy on a sieve (as a cradle)—he died. She dressed herself in black like a nun. She dressed herself in black like a nun. She survived, when my mother ... then, she had two daughters, and her husband was killed.

2. <i>b=u+Fərmān,</i> LOC=ART.S.M+firman	<i>əmm-i</i> say.PST-SBJ.PL	<i>əmm-i,</i> say.PST-SBJ.PL	<i>‘q=qōm</i> FUT=stand.PRS	
<i>u+Fərmān!’</i> ART.S.M+firman	<i>e,</i> yes	<i>həmyon-i</i> father.in.law-1S	<i>w</i> and	<i>u+ahuno</i> ART.S.M+brother
				<i>Saliba</i> PN
<i>sayğ-i-wa,</i> fortify.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>i+naqq-ayo</i> ART.S.F+time-DIST.S.F	<i>ūʕdo</i> now	<i>lat=wa</i> NEG.exist=PST	<i>xūd</i> like
<i>ūʕdo,</i> now	<i>i+goro</i> ART.S.F+roof	<i>d=i+ʕito</i> DEP=ART.S.F+church	<i>qay</i> hardly	<i>kāp-way-l-a</i> hold-PST-POS-3S.F
				<i>qəmtə,</i> height
<i>u+maddbho</i> ART.S.M+altar	<i>i+məqbara</i> ART.S.F+cemetery	<i>ʕelay-to=wa</i> high-F=PST	<i>tla-l-le</i> take.PST-A-3PL	<i>ūʕdo</i> now
<i>u+ʕafro</i> ART.S.M+soil	<i>min-a.</i> from-3S.F	<i>ko=sayğ-i-l-a</i> PRS=fortify.PRS-SBJ.PL-O-3S.F	<i>b=aʕ+ʕol-e</i> INS=ART.PL+briar-PL	

In the Firman, they say, they say, ‘The Firman is coming!’ Yes, my father-in-law and his brother Saliba were fortifying... that time... now... it was not like now... the roof of the church, it hardly held any height (the altar... the cemetery was high, now they have taken the soil from it). They were fortifying it with briars.

3. <i>e,</i> yes	<i>ati.</i> come.PST	<i>l=u+mūdūr</i> A=ART.S.M+superintendent	<i>tləb-l-e.</i> request.PST-A-3S.M	<i>Ḥaği Ağa,</i> PN
<i>ağa</i> lord	<i>d=Be+Hağoye</i> DEP=family+ PN	<i>Xortək.</i> PN	<i>howe-wa</i> be.PRS-PST	<i>harke</i> here
				<i>qariwo</i> near
<i>b=i+Māramke.</i> LOC=ART.S.F+PN	<i>mtaras-l-e</i> send.PST-A-3S.M	<i>bətr-e,</i> after-3S.M	<i>omar,</i> say.PRS	<i>‘tux!’</i> come.IMP

<i>azz-eyo,</i>	<i>omar,</i>	<i>‘Danho,</i>	<i>Saliba</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>ko=saym-utu?’</i>
go.PST-SBJ.3S.M	say.PRS	PN	PN	what	PRS=do.PRS-2PL
<i>b=i+adro+da,</i> ¹⁸			<i>xaləs,</i>	<i>ʕal</i>	
LOC=ART.S.F+threshing.ground+on			PASS.PST	upon	
<i>i+səst-ayde</i>	<i>rawixo.</i>	<i>omar,</i>	<i>‘mək</i>	<i>ko=saym-u</i>	<i>ʕal</i>
ART.S.F+horse-3S.M	riding	say.PRS	what	PRS=do.PRS-3PL	upon
<i>me</i>	<i>mək</i>	<i>ko=səm?’</i>	<i>əmm-i,</i>	<i>‘Ālo,</i>	<i>ko=soyəm?’</i>
from	what	PRS=do.PRS	say.PST-SBJ.PL	God	PRS=do.PRS
<i>k=əmm-i,</i>	<i>‘Fərmān=yo,</i>	<i>ko=sayg-i-na</i>		<i>i+goro</i>	
PRS=say.PST-SBJ.PL	firman=COP.3S	PRS=fortify.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL		ART.S.F+roof	
<i>d=ʕoş-i-na</i>	<i>eb-a’.</i>	<i>omar,</i>	<i>‘de</i>	<i>k=azz-i</i>	
DEP=resist.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	on-3S.F	say.PRS	COH	PRS=go.PST-1S	
<i>gab</i>	<i>u+müdüṛ,</i>	<i>höl</i>	<i>d=ote-no’.</i>		
by	ART.S.M+superintendent	until	DEP=come.PRS-1S		

Yes, he came. The superintendent¹⁹ summoned him. Hajo Agha,²⁰ an agha of Hajo Kurtak’s family. He lived near here, in Māramke.²¹ He sent for him, he says, ‘Come!’ He went and says, ‘Danho,²² Saliba, what are you doing?’ He passed through the threshing ground, riding on his horse. He says, ‘What are you do... upon... what is he doing?’ They say, ‘God, ‘doing?!’ They say, ‘It is a Firman, we are fortifying the roof in order to resist on it...’ He says, ‘I am going to the superintendent, (wait) until I come back’.

4. *azz-é* *gab* *u+müdüṛ,* *‘müdüṛ* *afandi’*
 go.PST-SBJ.3S.M by ART.S.M+superintendent superintendent sir
dre-l-e *šlomo.* *‘hün²³* *b=xēr* *at-at’* *flān.*
 drop.PST-A-3S.M peace 2PL.HON LOC=goodness come.PST-2S etc.
omar, *‘müdüṛ* *afandi* *mə* *k=ūbʕ-at?* *xēr=yo*
 say.PRS superintendent sir what PRS=want.PRS-2S goodness=COP.3S
mtaras-l-üx *bəṛ-i?’*
 send.PST-A-2S.M after-1S

¹⁸ Cf. Kurm. *di nava banderê ra derbas bû* ‘he passed through the threshing ground’.

¹⁹ Ottoman *müdüṛ*, the superintendent of a district.

²⁰ Hajo Agha, leader of the Havarki tribe, for whom see McDowall (2004: 469–71) concerning his career. The Hajo Kurtak were one of two rival dynasties vying for control of the Havarki confederation; see Gaunt (1906: 187) for more details about the Havarki and their relationship to the local Syriac Orthodox Christians.

²¹ Māramke (Meranke) is another Kurdish village, in the vicinity of Dêrqube.

²² Danho is Nisane’s father-in-law.

²³ Cf. Kurm. *hün* ‘you’ (pl.). In Kurmanji, it is occasionally used as an honorific.

He went to the superintendent. ‘Mister Superintendent, sir’, he greeted him. ‘You are welcome’, etc. He says, ‘Mister Superintendent, sir, what do you want? Is it a good thing that you sent for me?’

5. *omar, omar, 'kāt-l-ūx tlat+qəry-awote šuroy-e. d*
 say.PRS say.PRS exist-POS-2S.M 3+village-PL Syriac-PL DEP
ħa mən-ne romaš gə=mfāšan-ño rišaš w maħat-no
 1 from-3PL stir.PRS FUT=melt.PRS-1S.M tin and put.PRS-1S
b²=qdol-ūx'. omar, 'ono=ste ſal hawxa kə=mšayal-no!
 LOC=throat-2S.M say.PRS 1S=TOP upon so PRS=ask.PRS-1S
k=omañ-ño be ema xūš-i-na mən-ne
 PRS=say.PRS-1S Q when finish.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL from-3PL
b=ħila šərſi!²⁴ məd nafəq, omar,
 INS=ruse legal as leave.PST say.PRS
'k=omañ-n-ūx', henuka mofaq-l-e u+maktub
 PRS=say.PRS-1S-2S.M then bring.out-A-3S.M ART.S.M+letter
qre-l-e, omar, 'd ħa mən-ne
 read.PST-A-3S.M say.PRS DEP 1 from-3PL
romaš, gə=mfāšan-ño rišaš, maħat-no b²=qdol-ūx!'
 stir.PRS FUT=melt.PRS-1S tin put.PRS-1S.M LOC=throat-2S.M
hedika nafəq me gab u+mūdūr.
 then leave.PST from by ART.S.M+superintendent

He says, he says, ‘You have three Syriac villages. If one of them stirs, I will melt tin and pour it down your throat!’ He says, ‘I am asking for this, too! I say, when we are going to get rid of them with a justified ruse!’ As he left, he says, ‘I am telling you’,—once more he took out the letter, he read it, he says,—‘If one of them stirs, I will melt tin and pour it down your throat!’ Then he left the superintendent.

6. *əmm-i-wa Be+Laħdək b=Karboran, prut-way-ne,*
 say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST family+PN LOC=PN protestant-PST-3PL
ħu-l-a-l-le xabro.²⁵ omar, 'lazəm=yo, d=ot-utu
 give.PST-A-3S.M-O-PL word say.PRS necessary=COP.3S DEP=come.PRS-2PL
ádlalyo l=i+Māramke!' mər-l-e l=Be+Laħdək b=Karboran.
 tonight to=ART.S.F+PN say.PST-A-3S.M to=family+PN LOC=PN

They called them the Laħdək family in Karboran, they were Protestants, he brought word to them. He says, ‘You must come to Māramke tonight!’ He told the Laħdək family in Karboran.

²⁴ Cf. Kurm. *ħila šariate* ‘legal deception’. For *ħile* ‘trick, ruse, stratagem’, see Chyet (2003: 279).

²⁵ Cf. Kurm. *xabar dayin* ‘to let know, to inform’, lit. ‘to give word’, see Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan (2017: 1825).

7. *w atî məl-l-e el-an=stene, l=ħəmyon-i w*
 and go.PST say.PST-A-3S.M to-1PL=TOP to=father.in.law-1S and
l=u+ahuno, omar, 'lazəm=yo ũŧdo, nħat-u
 to=ART.S.M+brother say.PRS necessary=COP.3S now go.down.IMP-2PL
l=i+Māramke! u+Fərman-atxu m=i+dawla qām,
 to=ART.S.F+PN ART.S.M+Firman-2PL from=ART.S.F+government stand.PST
layb-i mħame-na-nxu! nħat-u l=i+Māramke!'
 cannot-1S defend.PRS-1S-2PL go.down.IMP-2PL to=ART.S.F+PN
an+noš-aydan kəp-wa-l-le ŧəşro+bote harke,
 ART.PL+people-1PL hold-PST-POS-3PL 10+house.PL here
nahit-i l=i+Māramke, w Be+Laħdək=ste at-ən!
 go.down.PST-SBJ.PL to=ART.S.F+PN and family+PN=TOP come.PST-SBJ.PL
kət-way-l-e ħdahşar+abne mtaras-l-e ann+abne
 exist-PST-POS-3S.M 11+son.PL send.PST-A-3S.M ART.PL+children
w a+braz-in w ann+ahun-one aŧm-ayye,
 and ART.PL+nephew-PL and ART.PL+brother-PL with-3PL
maħt-i-l-e b=u+qüşro. d=Ĥāħ maħt-i-l-e
 put.PST-P.PL-A-3S.M LOC=ART.S.M+castle DEP=PN put.PST-P.PL-A-3S.M
b=u+qüşro d=Ĥāħ. azz-é l=i+nāqabe
 LOC=ART.S.M+castle DEP=PN go.PST-SBJ.3S.M to=ART.S.F+gap
d=Beqüşyone. (azz-ŭx l=Beqüşyone? i+nāqabe
 DEP=PN go.PST-2S.M to=PN ART.S.F+gap
d=ŧawwəl ko=bəlq-at aŧl-a.) omar, 'braw-o
 DEP=first PRS=view.PRS-2S upon-3S.F say.PRS brother-VOC.S.M
qüşnoy-e qayəm u+Fərman-atxu m=i+dawla!
 Beqüşyonian-PL stand.PST ART.S.M+firman-2PL from=ART.S.F+government
layb-i mħame-na-nxu, qum-u l=Ĥāħ!'
 cannot-1S defend.PRS-1S-2PL stand.IMP-2PL to=PN
l=aq+qüşnoy-e=ste maŧŧan-ne azz-ehən l=Ĥāħ.
 A=ART.PL+Beqüşyonian-PL=TOP pack.up.PST-3PL go.PST-SBJ.3PL to=PN

And he²⁶ came and said to us as well, to my father in-law and the brother, he says, 'Now you must, go down to Māramke! Your Firman has come from the government; I am unable to defend you. Go down to Māramke!' Our people numbered ten houses here, they went down to Māramke, and the Laħdək family also came. He had eleven sons. He sent the sons, nephews and brothers with them, he put them in the castle of Ĥāħ. He put them in the castle of Ĥāħ. He went to the Beqüşyone Gap (Did you go to Beqüşyone? The gap where you first view it). He says, 'Oh brother!²⁷ Beqüşyonians, your Firman has

²⁶ I.e. Hajo Agha.

²⁷ *Brawo* 'O brother' is the beginning to a traditional Kurdish keening.

come from the government, I am unable to defend you, go up to Ḥāḥ!’ The Beqūsyonians also packed up and went to Ḥāḥ.

8. *k=əmm-i, ‘i+teno d=Haro...’, hūl ūš do,*
 PRS=say.PST-3PL ART.S.F+fig.tree DEP=PN until now.1S
lo+k=ūdš-o-no b=dav d=Beqūsyone ... w ha
 NEG+PRS=know.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S LOC=side DEP=PN and PRST
ánnaqqa ko=mahk-ən, yani, ko=mahk-əl-l-an,
 now.then PRS=relate.PRS-SBJ.PL HES PRS=relate.PRS-SBJ.PL-O-1PL
lo+hze-l-an aḥna d=ko=mahk-əl-l-an.
 NEG+see.PST-A-1PL 1PL DEP=PRS=relate.PRS-SBJ.PL-O-1PL

They say, ‘Haro’s fig tree...’ Until now, I do not know what ‘Haro’s fig tree’ is. It’s right there, on that hill that is in front of Ḥāḥ, towards Beqūsyone... And nowadays, they tell a story, like, they tell us a story, we have not seen what they tell us.

9. *əmm-i aq+qamoy-e, mər-ṛal-l-e, mər-ṛe l=mor-e*
 say.PST-SBJ.PL ART.PL+first-PL say.PST-A.3PL-O-3S.M say.PST-A.3PL O=lord-PL
d=u+qūšro, ‘haka k=ḥow-utəl-l-an mar-u, ‘šfaš-u
 DEP=ART.S.M+castle if PRS=accept.PRS-2PL-O-1PL say.IMP-PL pass.IMP-PL
l=šIwardo!’ w haka lo+k=ḥow-utəl-l-an, mar-u,
 to=PN and if NEG+PRS=accept.PRS-2PL-O-1PL say.IMP-PL
‘fah-u u+taršo d=u+qūšro!’ saliq-i. ‘qūšnoy-e,
 open.IMP-PL ART.S.M+gate DEP=ART.S.M+castle rise.PST-SBJ.PL Beqūsyonian-PL
šfaš-u l=šIwardo, darbo²⁸ layt b=u+qūšro!’
 pass.IMP-PL to=PN way NEG.exist LOC=ART.S.M+castle
fūḥ u+taršo d=u+qūšro šan-ayye, žboyi
 open.PST.PASS ART.S.M+gate DEP=ART.S.M+castle for-3PL for
d=l+ot-ən-ne. at-ən, əmm-i, aq+qamoy-e
 DEP=NEG+come.PRS-SBJ.PL-3PL come.PST-SBJ.PL say.PRS-SBJ.PL ART.PL+first-PL
čik-i b=u+qūšro, aḥ+ḥaroy-e fayiš-i
 close.PST.PASS-PL LOC=ART.S.M+castle ART.PL+last-PL stay.PST-SBJ.PL
s=i+teno d=Haro.
 side=ART.S.F+fig.tree DEP=PN

The first ones say, they told him, they told the lord of the castle, ‘If you accept us, say, ‘Keep going to šIwardo!’ If you do not accept us, say, ‘Open the castle gate!’²⁹ They went up. ‘Beqūsyonians, keep going to šIwardo, there is no room in the castle!’ The castle gate

²⁸ Cf. Kurm. *rē* ‘way, road’ (Chyet 2003: 512), and also ‘place, room’ (p.c. Gulsuma Demir).

²⁹ This is evidently a slip of Nisane’s tongue, as one would expect the reverse.

opened for them, lest they enter.³⁰ They came, they say, the first ones sneaked into the castle, the last ones stayed beside Haro's fig tree.

10. *aty-o* *i+kawmo,* *mşafe-l-a* *Zāz,* *aty-o*
 come.PST-SBJ.S.F ART.S.F+mob clean.PST-A-3S.F PN come.PST-SBJ.S.F
- l=ah+Harb-e* *d=Gawro* *k=əmm-i-na,* *kīt* *qrīto* *hawxa*
 to=ART.PL+ruin-PL DEP=PN PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL exist village like.so
- ħarb-e* *bayn* *l=Beqūsyone* *w* *l=Hāħ,* *b=qarŕ-e*
 ruin-PL between to=PN and to=PN LOC=head-PL
- d=turo* *m=anək.* *at-ən* *l=tamo,* *kət=wa* *gubo*
 DEP=mountain from=DIST.PL come.PST-SBJ.PL to=there exist-PST cistern
- tamo,* *maşəğ-ğē* *id-ayye* *w* *foŕ-ayye,* *šta-l-le,* *ħər-ŕe*
 there wash.PST-3PL hand-3PL and face-3PL drink.PST-A-3PL look.PST-3PL
- ga* *aq+qūşnoy-e* *azz-ən* *l=Hāħ* *mħa-l-le*
 PRST ART.PL+Beqūsyonian-PL go.PST-SBJ.3PL to=PN hit.PST-A-3PL
- kmo* *tfəng-at* *mən-ne,* *aħna=ste,* *ar+rezan-aydan*
 how.many rifle-PL from-3PL 1PL-TOP ART.PL+leader-1PL
- Şaŕe* *d=Be+Yaħqo,* *Asmar* *d=Be+Masŕəd,* *Mürād* *d=Be+Laŕgo,*
 PN PN PN PN
- Gawriye* *d=Be+Mūqsi,* *ar+rezan-at-way-ne,* *bʷ=tfəng-at-way-ne*
 PN ART.PL+leader-PL-PST-3PL INS=rifle-PL-PST-3PL
- madŕar-ŕe* *aŕl-ayye.* *Hağo* *omar,* *şabbāv-no!* *mal-e*³¹
 respond.PST-3PL upon-3PL PN say.PST dog.son-VOC.PL wealth-EZ
- Ĥanuno* *w* *Qanuno* *kal-é* *b=Beqūsyone,* *zox-u*
 PN and PN PRST-3S.M LOC=PN go.IMP-PL
- l=u+māl* *d=i+arŕo,* *lo+qūŕl-utu*
 for=ART.S.M+wealth DEP=ART.S.F+land NEG+kill.PRS-2PL
- aq+qūşnoy-e!*⁷
 ART.PL+Beqūsyonian-PL

The mob came, it cleansed Zāz, it came to what we call the Ruins of Gawro, there is a village, like so, some ruins between Beqūsyone and Hāħ, on top of one of those mountains. They came there, there was a cistern there, they washed their hands and faces, and they drank, they looked and hey, Beqūsyonians had gone to Hāħ. They shot several rifles at them, and we too, our leaders—Şaŕe Yaħqo, Asmar Masŕəd, Murad Laŕgo and Gawriye Mūqsi were the leaders, they had guns—they responded to them. Hağo says, ‘Sons of bitches! The

³⁰ Once more, a slip of Nisane's tongue.

³¹ Here Nisane uses *ezafe*, a Kurmanji grammatical marker on the head of a noun phrase.

property of Hanuno and Qanuno³²... Here it is in Beqūsyone, go for the riches of the land, do not kill the Beqūsyonians!

11. *edi šrid-i* *l=u+māl* *d=i+arſo,* *ſez-e w*
 then follow.PST-SBJ.PL to=ART.S.M+wealth DEP=ART.S.F+land goat-PL and
qanyon-e, w lħef-at w ſəfər, u+māl d=i+arſo.
 cow-PL and quilt-PL and copper ART.S.M+wealth DEP=ART.S.F+land
nahit-i l=Beqūsyone. qūsnoy-e lə+qtīl.^{β3} kūl-le
 go.down.PST-SBJ.PL to=PN Beqūsyonian-PL NEG+kill.PST.PASS all-3PL
čik-i b=u+qūšro. fayiſ-i arbſi+yawm-e
 sneak.PST.PASS-PL LOC=ART.S.M+castle stay.PST-SBJ.PL 40+day-PL
b=u+qūšro. ānnaqqa haša (gūle qəm nħir-ayxm)
 LOC=ART.S.M+castle now.then far.be.it rose before nose-2P
tūwal-at lat=wa, w b=i+dərto=wa, w ħemo, w
 toilet-PL NEG.exist=PST and LOC=ART.S.F+courtyard=PST and heat and
qayto=wa. m=u+həlm+w+gəlm d^β=ħdode, w
 summer=PST from=ART.S.M+breath+and+shmeath DEP=RECP and
m=u+reħo, nafəl ēš³⁴ bayn-atte. ħmoḡ-i
 from=ART.S.M+smell fall.PST plague among-3PL mother.in.law-1S
əmm-o, tletī+nafš-oto b=ħa+yawmo qwał-l-an
 say.PRS-SBJ.S.F 30+person-PL LOC=1+day bury.PST-A-1PL
b=i+dərto d=u+qūšro^γ.
 LOC=ART.S.F+courtyard DEP=ART.S.M+castle

Then they went after the riches of the land, goats and cattle, quilts and copperware...the riches of the land. They went down to Beqūsyone. The Beqūsyonians were not killed! All of them sneaked into the castle. They stayed forty days in the castle. Now then, excuse me (a rose for your noses!), there was no toilet, and it was in the courtyard, and it was hot and summer. From each other's breath-shmeath and from the smell, a plague spread among them. My mother-in-law says, 'One day, we buried thirty people in the courtyard of the castle'.

12. *edi k=əmm-al-l-ūx. edi azz-ehən, nafiq-i. aṭi*
 then PRS=say.PRS-1S-O-2S.M then go.PST-SBJ.3PL go.out.PST-SBJ.PL come.PST
Šēx Faṭħalla d=Be... me ſəntab w aṭi Be+Čālābi=ne
 PN DEP=family from PN and come.PST family+PN=COP.3PL
w i+ħkume aty-o. l+aw-ən
 and ART.S.F+government come.PST-SBJ.S.F NEG+become.PST-SBJ.PL

³² I.e. the property of every man jack.

³³ Note that the verb does not agree with its subject in number, cf. Waltisberg (2016: 3.10.1.2).

³⁴ Cf. Kurm. *ēš ket* 'the plague started', lit. 'the pain fell'.

<i>ʕal</i>	<i>baxt</i>	<i>d=i+hkume</i>		<i>hül</i>	<i>d=l+aṭi</i>
upon	word	DEP=ART.S.F+government		until	DEP=NEG+come.PST
<i>u+šēx,</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>edi</i>	<i>fṭəḥ-ḥe</i>		<i>u+tarʕo</i>
ART.S.M+sheikh	and	then	open.PST-A.3PL		ART.S.M+gate
<i>d=u+qüşro.</i>	<i>fṭəḥ-ḥe</i>		<i>u+tarʕo</i>		<i>d=u+qüşro.</i>
DEP=ART.S.M+castle	open.PST-A.3PL		ART.S.M+gate		DEP=ART.S.M+castle

Then, I'll tell you. Then they went away, they headed out. Sheikh Faṭḥullah³⁵ of the ... family came from ʕəntab,³⁶ and it was the Ćelebi family who came,³⁷ and the government came. They did not trust the government until the sheikh came, and then they opened the door of the castle. They opened the door of the castle.

13. *mede* *lat=wa.* *disa biz-i* *ʕal aṭ+ṭay-e.*
 something NEG.exist-PST again scatter.PST-SBJ.PL upon ART.PL+Muslim-PL
disa haw-ən greʕ-e l=aṭ+ṭay-e, rüşy-e w
 again be.PST-SBJ.PL servant-PL POS=ART.PL+Muslim-PL shepherd-PL and
baqor-e w dawor-e, azz-ən disa bayn aṭ+ṭay-e.
 cowherd-PL and farmer-PL go.PST-SBJ.3PL again among ART.PL+Muslim-PL
azz-ən bayn aṭ+ṭay-e b=kmo+šnay-e, hül
 go.PST-SBJ.3PL among ART.PL+Muslim-PL for=several+year-PL until
d=aṭ-ən edi l=i+qr̄ito.
 DEP=come.PST-SBJ.PL then to=ART.S.F+village

There was not anything left. Once again, they scattered among the Muslims. Once again, the Muslims had them as servants, shepherds, cowherds, and farmers,³⁸ once again they went among the Muslims. They went among the Muslims for several years until they then came back to the village.

³⁵ Sheikh Fathulla was a well-respected Muhallami Sheikh who negotiated several armistices between the government and the Syriac Orthodox Christians at ʕIwardo, Dayro d=šlibo, Ḥāḥ and Kfar Gawze; see Gaunt (2006: 204, 215, 223–34).

³⁶ Nisane says ʕəntab (Gaziantep) in place of ʕənkaf, today Kayapınar, Batman Province, Turkey.

³⁷ The Ćelebi were the other Kurdish dynasty vying for control of the Havarki confederation (see fn. 19 above). They were based in Mzizaḥ (Doğançay), near Midyat.

³⁸ Literally 'ploughmen'.

2. The Famine³⁹

Although Turkey was never a combatant in the Second World War and did not officially enter the war until its final months in Europe, Nisane and her family nevertheless experienced the same famine that gripped the world during the period from 1940–4, which was triggered partly by the local collapse of agriculture as a result of drought and pests, and partly by global restrictions on the flow of resources occasioned by the war.

1. *e, gđ=əmm-o-no* *ánnaqqa* *ʕal* *i+ğala,* *ʕal*
 yes FUT=say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S now.then about ART.S.F+famine about
u+kafno. *e,* *u+kafno,* *meqəm* *ğala=wa,* *ğala,*
 ART.S.M+hunger yes ART.S.M+hunger before famine=PST famine
i+ğala+ħaray-to *k=ote* *l=bol-i.* *əzz-á-way-na*
 ART.S.F+famine+last-F PRS=come.PRS to=mind-1S go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL
l=u+Čöl, *l=aq+qālač-ani* *ħedər* *Mārbobo.*
 to=ART.S.M+PN to=ART.PL+slope-PROX.PL around PN
miħaş-ən *miṭ-ayxu,* *Ālo* *mħasa-l-le!* *w* *ħot-i*
 bless.PRS.PASS-PL dead-2PL God bless.PRS-O-3PL and sister-1S
mayd-o-wa *šəbl-e* *w* *lūqt-o-wa* *ono*
 pick.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST spike-PL and glean.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST 1S
ħamməš+šnay-e em-i *mayit-o.* *fayiš-o-no* *yatəm-to,*
 5+year-PL mother-1S die.PST-SBJ.S.F stay.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S orphan-F
qašt-i *səm-l-a-l-an* *mor-e.*⁴⁰ *arb ʕo+ahun-one* *w*
 grandmother-1S do.PST-A-3S.F-O-1PL lord-PL 4+brother-PL and
tarte+ħw-ote=way-na. *u+naʕimo* *tloto+yarħ-e,*
 2.F+sister-PL=PST-1PL ART.S.M+small 3.F+month-PL
w *mayit-o* *em-i,* *mħasy-o.* *ħot-i*
 and die.PST-SBJ.S.F mother-1S bless.PST.PASS-F sister-1S
makərx-ó-way-l-e... *i+naqq-ayo* *mammək-at*
 circulate.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3S.M ART.S.F+time-DIST.S.F baby.bottle-PL
w *ħalwo* *d=i+ħkume,* *med-one* *lat=wa ...*
 and milk DEP=ART.S.F+government thing-PL NEG.EXIST-PST
makərx-ó-way-l-e *ʕal* *ap+pir-at.* *ap+pir-at*
 circulate.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3S.M upon ART.PL+wife-PL ART.PL+wife-PL
d=kət-wa-l-le *dargəšy-ote,* *mamš-ín-way-l-e.*⁴¹
 DEP=EXIST-PST-POS-PL cradle-PL suckle.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M

³⁹ §1–4 and §9–14 of a text collected 4 November 2018.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kurm. *xwedî kirin* ‘to take care (of s.o.)’, lit. ‘to do the lord’.

⁴¹ The verb form is a C-stem derivation of a root **mšy*, otherwise unknown to our informants. The actual root used by speakers of various Turoyo dialects is *mšy*

<i>mkamel-e</i> finish.PST-3S.M	<i>tarte+šnay-e,</i> 2.F+year-PL	<i>t=ow-utu</i> DEP=be.IMP-PL	<i>sāg,</i> well	
<i>hu-l-e</i> give.PST-A-3S.M	<i>aḥ+ḥay-e</i> ART.PL+life-PL	<i>l=aḥ+ḥadir-e!</i> to=ART.PL+present-PL	<i>hawo=ste</i> DIST.S.M=TOP	
<i>b=i+ḥazbe,</i> LOC=ART.S.F+measles	<i>šohrək-at</i> rubeola-PL	<i>k=əmm-i-na</i> PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>ḥazbe,</i> measles	
<i>hawo=ste</i> DIST.S.M=TOP	<i>māt.</i> die.PST	<i>fayiš-i-na</i> STAY.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>tloṭo+aḥun-one</i> 3.F+brother-PL	<i>w</i> and
<i>tarte+ḥw-ote.</i> 2.F+sister-PL				

Yes, I'll talk about the Famine,⁴² about hunger. Yes, hunger, formerly it was a famine, a famine, I remember the last famine. We used to go to the Lowlands, to these slopes around Mārbobo.⁴³ We used to go, my sister... uh... my father used to harvest—Let your dead ones be blessed, may God bless them!—and my sister picked and gleaned wheat spikes ... My mother died when I was five. I stayed an orphan. My grandmother took care of us. We were four brothers and two sisters. The youngest was three months old, and my mother died, she passed away. My sister carried him around... at that time, baby bottles⁴⁴ and powdered milk,⁴⁵ there weren't such things... she carried him around to the women. The women who had cradles⁴⁶ suckled him. He became two years old, God bless you, he gave up the ghost!⁴⁷ This one too, from measles, we call rubeola measles, this one also died. We three brothers and two sisters survived.

2. <i>ánnaqqa</i> now.then	<i>l=u+qamšo</i> A=ART.S.M+locust	<i>tarte+ṭlat+šnay-e,</i> 2.F+3+year-PL	<i>xil-e</i> eat.PST-3S.M	<i>u+zād,</i> ART.S.M+grain
<i>i+raqqəke</i> ART.S.F+sun.pest	<i>w</i> and	<i>u+qamšo.</i> ART.S.M+locust	<i>u+ʕamo</i> ART.S.M+people	<i>hawī</i> become.PST
<i>šāpərzd.</i> ⁴⁸ destitute	<i>əzz-á-way-na,</i> go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL	<i>xūd</i> like	<i>wáxt-əke</i> time-DIST.S	<i>əzz-ən-wa</i> go.PRS-SBJ.3PL-PST

'suck'. The C-stem forms for its 3rd f.sg. are *maməsla* – *komamišo* 'she suckled – she is suckling'.

⁴² The Famine of 1940–4.

⁴³ The 'Lowlands' (Ṭuroyo *Čōl*) are the semi-arid plains immediately to the south of Ṭur Abdin, in the vicinity of Nusaybin and Qamishli.

⁴⁴ Cf. Chyet (2003: 371) *memik* s.v. In Ṭur Abdin Kurmanji, *mamək* is 'breast; baby bottle; pacifier'.

⁴⁵ Literally 'government milk'.

⁴⁶ Here the word 'cradle' stands metonymically for babies. See Plate 3 for an illustration of such a cradle.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kurm. *ʕemr daye hazira(n)*, lit. 'he gave the life to those present (to those listening the story)'.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kurm. *šepirze* 'miserable' (Chyet 2003: 574).

<i>l=Almānya,</i> to=Germany	<i>əzz-á-way-na</i> go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL	<i>l=u+Čöl,</i> to=ART.S.M+PN	<i>əzz-ən-wa</i> go.PRS-SBJ.3PL-PST
<i>l=u+Čöl,</i> to=ART.S.M+PN	<i>l=Mārbobo,</i> to=PN	<i>nūht-i-wa</i> go.down.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>l=Suriya. ma</i> to=PN Q
<i>u+abl</i> ART.S.M+people	<i>d=Suriya</i> DEP=PN	<i>kul-e</i> all-3S.M	<i>me</i> from
		<i>Tərkiya=yo!?</i> PN=COP.3S	<i>kül-le</i> all-3PL
<i>ŷiwardnoy-e,</i> ŷIwardian-PL	<i>arboy-e,</i> Arboian-PL	<i>əhwoy-e,</i> Əhwian-PL	<i>qūsnoy-e,</i> Beqūsyonian-PL
			<i>kfarzoy-e,</i> Kfarzean-PL
<i>ħəhoy-e,</i> Ĥāħian-PL	<i>kül-le</i> all-3PL	<i>u+abl</i> ART.S.M+people	<i>t=arke=yo!</i> DEP=here=COP.3S
			<i>əzz-ən</i> go.PST-SBJ.3PL
<i>fayš-i</i> stay.PST-SBJ.PL	<i>b=ač+čol-anək.</i> LOC=ART.PL+lowland-DIST.PL		

Now then, the locust ate up the grain for a few years,⁴⁹ the sunn pest⁵⁰ and the locust. The people became destitute. We used to go, like once they used to go to Germany,⁵¹ we used to go to the Lowlands, they went to the Lowlands, to Mārbobo, they went down to Syria. Isn't everyone in Syria from Turkey!?! All the ŷIwardians, Arboians, Əhwians, Beqūsyonians, Kfarzeans, Ĥāħians, all of them are people from here. They went to stay in those lowlands.

3. *veğa, əzz-ən-wa,* then go.PRS-SBJ.3PL-PST
bab-i father-1S
ħoşad-wa, harvest.PRS-PST
w and
ħot-i sister-1S
mnaqy-o-wa pick.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST
hawxa like.so
şəbl-e. spike-PL
maltm-o-wa gather.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST
höl until
ŷaşriye. evening
saym-ó-wa-l-le do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3PL
boq-ote sheath-PL
hawxa w like.so and
maltm-o-wa. gather.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST
kət=wa exist=PST
lavlavke bindweed
b=a+frez-anək, LOC=ART.PL+stubble.field-DIST.PL
m=ay+yarix-anək from=ART.PL+long-DIST.PL
d=k=üzz-á DEP=PRS=go.PRS-SBJ.3S.F
hawxa. like.so
layf-o-wa wrap.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST
aŷl-ayye, upon-3PL
saym-ó-wa-l-le. do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3PL
ŷaşriye evening
məhy-ó-wa-l-le hit.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3PL
b=ħaşa, LOC=back
b=i+pəştiye LOC=ART.S.F+bundle
mıŷ-ó-wa-l-le bring.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3PL
maht-ó-wa-l-le put.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3PL
b= kəviye LOC=corner
d=adro DEP=threshing.floor
m=anək from=DIST.PL

⁴⁹ Literally, '2–3 years'.

⁵⁰ A type of stink bug, *Eurygaster integriceps*.

⁵¹ I.e. from the Seventies on.

<i>d=am+mārbabiy-e,</i> DEP=ART.PL+Marbobian-PL	<i>hōl</i> until	<i>d=mkamal-wa</i> DEP=complete.PRS-PST
<i>u+h̄ṣodo.</i> ART.S.M+harvest	<i>bab-i</i> father-1S	<i>k=amm-o-no</i> PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S
<i>b=kalla-wat</i> for=money-PL	<i>hoṣad-wa.</i> harvest.PRS-PST	<i>hedika</i> then
<i>gəd=mdaqədq-o-wa</i> FUT=pound.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST	<i>aš+šəbl-anək,</i> ART.PL+spike-DIST.PL	
<i>mdar-i-way-nan-ne,</i> winnow.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>howən-wa</i> become.PRS-PST	<i>taṣno,</i> load
<i>əmt-i-way-nan-ne</i> bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>l=al+lābāniy-at.</i> for=ART.PL+yogurt.soup-PL	

Then, they used to go, my father harvested, and my sister picked spikes like so. She used to go gathering until the evening. She made them into sheaves like so, and she gathered them. There was a bindweed in those stubble fields, one of those long ones, one that goes like so.⁵² She wrapped it around them, she made them. In the evening she put them on her back, she brought them in a bundle, she put them into a corner of one of those threshing floors of the Mārbobians, until he finished harvesting. I would say my father harvested for money. Then she pounded those spikes, and we winnowed them, it became a load, we brought them for yogurt soups.

4.

<i>aḥna harke, šəḥ-i-way-na</i> 1PL here pick.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>baluṭ-e. baluṭ-e, k=ūḏṣ-at</i> acorn-PL acorn-PL PRS=know.PRS-2S
<i>mən-ne,</i> what-3PL	<i>ab+baluṭ-e?</i> ART.PL+acorn-PL
<i>əmt-i-way-nan-ne,</i> bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>b=ad+dawm-e=ne.</i> LOC=ART.PL+tree-PL=COP.3PL
<i>məsq-i-way-nan-ne</i> bring.up.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>šəḥq-i-way-nan-ne w</i> boil.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL and
<i>g=əmt-i-way-nan-ne,</i> FUT=bring.PRS-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>l=i+goro. məḏ nəṣf-i-wa</i> to=ART.S.F+roof when dry.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
<i>al+luz-e</i> ART.PL+almond-PL	<i>tawr-i-way-na</i> break.PRS-PST-1PL
<i>ṣoliq-e.</i> walnut.rope-PL	<i>d=ko=saym-i-nan-ne</i> DEP=PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL-SBJ.PL-1PL-3PL
<i>g=məsq-i-way-nan-ne</i> FUT=bring up.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL	<i>xūḏ</i> like
	<i>ūṣdo</i> now
	<i>disa</i> again
	<i>ṣatf-e</i> piece-PL
	<i>məḏ</i> when

⁵² At this point, Nisane demonstrates that bindweed (*lavlavke*) spreads out on the ground by stretching her arms to either side.

našif-i-wa, *k=ħürk-i-way-nan-ne*
 dry.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST PRS=grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL
b=u+ħurako, *w ʔowo d=howm-wa,* *w*
 INS=ART.S.M+grindstone and good DEP=become.PRS-PST and
layš-i-wa, *maħt-i-wa* *haqqa* *d=qamħo*
 knead.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST so.much DEP=fLOUR
d=a+sʕor-e *bayn-atte,* *w saym-i-way-l-e* *laħmo*
 DEP=ART.PL+barley-PL among-3PL and do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M bread
(laħmo lat=wa, *qamħo lat=wa!).* *e,* *Ālo*
 bread NEG.exist=PST flour NEG.exist=PST yes God
u+laħm-atte *u+qamħ-atte* *basimo=wa,* *elo*
 ART.S.M+bread-3PL ART.S.M+flour-3PL pleasant=PST but
u+laħm-atte *ğālābe* *naxwaš=wa.* *xil-i*
 ART.S.M+bread-3PL very bad=PST eat.PST-1S
laħmo *d=ab+baluṭ-e,* *xil-i* *d=i+ʔolke,*
 bread DEP=ART.PL+acorn-PL eat.PST-1S DEP=ART.S.F+mallow
xil-i *d=u+ğāğəq,* *xil-an* *šawmo* *rabo,*⁵³ *w*
 eat.PST-1S DEP=ART.S.M+kashk eat.PST-1PL fast great and
xil-an *d=u+ʔamʔam,* *d=k=owe*
 eat.PST-1PL DEP=ART.S.M+mullein DEP=PRS=become.PRS
b=u+ʔuro, *qm=aq+qũnk-at* *d=ad+dawm-e.*
 LOC=ART.S.M+hill.country by=ART.PL+stump-PL DEP=ART.PL+tree-PL
hawo, *ʔaʕme basimo=wa.* *w xil-an* *rāzāla* *ğālābe.*
 DIST.S.M taste pleasant=PST and eat.PST-1PL disgrace very

Here, we used to pick acorns. Acorns, do you know what acorns are? They are on trees. We brought them back, boiled them, and brought them up to the roof. Once they dried, we brought them back, and crushed them like the almonds that we now use to make walnut rope. We crushed them and once again brought pieces up to the roof. Once they dried, we ground them with a grinding stone,⁵⁴ and so they became fine [flour], and they kneaded it, put so much⁵⁵ barley flour in them, and made bread with it (there was no bread, there was no flour!). Yes, God, their bread...their flour was pleasant [to make], but their bread was very bad. I ate acorn bread, I ate mallow⁵⁶ bread,

⁵³ Cf. Kurm. *me rojî dixwar* ‘we ate the fast’, i.e. we broke it.

⁵⁴ See Plate 4 for an example of the sort of mortar and pestle used by Nisane.

⁵⁵ I.e. a certain amount of barley flour, which Nisane indicates in the video.

⁵⁶ *Malva sylvestris* var. *ambigua* (Guss), a type of common mallow with hairy roots and purple leaves.

I ate kashk⁵⁷ [bread], we ate during our Lenten fast, and we ate mullein⁵⁸ bread, which grows in the hill country, by tree stumps. As for that one, its taste was pleasant. And we ate a lot of crow.⁵⁹

5. *w hawxa səm-l-an, rāzāla hawxa xil-an, mašrat. naqqa,*
 and like.so do.PST-A-1PL disgrace like.so eat.PST-1PL INTJ once
aḥun-i našimo=wa gd=əmm-o-no kul-a, lat=yo
 brother-1S small=PST FUT=say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S all-3S.F NEG.exist=COP.3S
šaybo w lat=yo kemayiyē, azz-eyo mād
 shame and NEG.exist=COP.3S wrong go.PST-SBJ.3S.M when
tole-wa aḥun-i ānnaqqa hawo, māṭ u+našimo, d=rāb
 rise.PRS-PST brother-1S now.then DIST.S.M die.PST ART.S.M+small DEP=big
min-e, biye=ste čūčko=wa. ha hawxa, mād tole-wa
 from-3S.M 3S.M=TOP little=PST so like.so when rise.PRS-PST
u+dexono, əzze-wa šal at+tanur-e, kafino=wa. kafno=wa.
 ART.S.M+smoke go.PST-PST upon ART.PL+oven-PL hungry=PST hunger=PST
ānnaqqa d=saym-i-wa u+laḥmo, ob-šn-way-l-e
 now.then DEP=do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST ART.S.M+bread give.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M
ha haqqa. ote-wa, qašt-i fālg-ō-way-l-e
 so so.much come.PRS-PST grandmother-1S divide.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-O-3S.M
kūl ha haqqa ašlay-na, ūxl-i-way-na. w aḥun-i,
 all 1 so.much upon-1PL eat.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL and brother-1S
əzz-ən-wa, əmm-i-wa goləkvān, əzz-ən-wa
 go.PRS-SBJ.3PL-PST say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST calf.herder go.PRS-SBJ.3PL-PST
qm=ann+arwonk-at d=u+ḥalwo b=Mārbobo, ha mən-ne,
 by=ART.PL+calves-PL DEP=ART.S.M+milk LOC=PN 1 from-3PL
əmm-i-way-l-e Mahmado. kət-wa-l-xu hatu=ste
 say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M PN exist-PST-POS-2PL 2PL=TOP
kfarzoy-e tamo Use, əmm-i-way-l-e Use, Use, w
 Kfarzean-PL there PN say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M PN PN and
Farida. w hanək=stene kfarzoy-e=way-ne. k=ūdš-o-no.
 PN and DIST.PL=TOP Kfarzean-PL=PST-3PL PRS=know.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S
hāma am+mārbabiy-e fālg-ayye kfarzoy-e=ne.
 INTJ ART.PL+Mārbobian-PL half-3PL Kfarzean-PL=COP.3PL
u+babo d=u+mālfon-ano, mālfono š Isa,
 ART.S.M+father DEP=ART.S.M+teacher-PROX.S.M teacher PN

⁵⁷ See Plate 5. What Nisane calls here *ğāğəq* (etymologically Turk. *cacık*) refers to strained yogurt prior to being dried into patties (*šərtān*). Both the strained yogurt and the dried patties are sometimes described as kashk in English.

⁵⁸ *Verbascum*, a genus of figwort, of which over 200 species are documented in Turkey. One edible variety is apparently called *Kurt Kulağı*, wolf's ear, although this name is more appropriately applied to the Georgian Iris (*Iris iberica*).

⁵⁹ Cf. Kurm. *rezīli xwarin* 'to eat crow'. For *rezīli* 'dishonour, shape, scandal', see Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan (2017: 1388).

d=kāt=yo *b=Mar+Gawriye, hiye=ste* *kfarzoyo=yo,* *Mūqsi*
 DEP=exist=COP.3S LOC=PN 3S.M=TOP Kfarzean=COP.3S PN
Ḥanno. Be+Gabre *Kfarzōy-e=way-ne.*
 PN PN Kfarzean-PL=PST-3PL

And so we lived, so we ate crow, believe it or not! Once, my brother was a child—I will say everything, there is no shame, there is nothing wrong with it, it’s over—when it rose... My brother, now then, that one who was older than the baby who died, he was also little. So, whenever the smoke rose, he went to the tannoors, he was hungry. It was hunger. Now then, when they made bread, they gave him so much. He came back, my grandmother divided it up, so much for each of us,⁶⁰ we ate it. And my brother, they went, they used to say ‘calf herder’, they went by the suckling calves in Mārbobo, one of them, and the other one was with the cattle herder they called Mahmado. You also had Kfarzeans there... Use, they called him Use, Use, and Farida. They were also Kfarzeans, I know. In fact, half of the Mārbobians are Kfarzeans. The father of this teacher, ʿIsa the teacher, who is at Mor Gabriel, he is also a Kfarzean, Ḥanno Mūqsi. The Gabre family were Kfarzeans.

6. *hawxa* *l=Āloho* *hawxa* *səm-l-e* *hūl* *d=wáxt-āk-e:*
 like.so A=God like.so do.PST-A-3S.M until DEP=time-INDF-OBL.F
b=u+qayto *ot-í-way-na* *ʿal* *aʿ + ʿanw-e*
 LOC=ART.S.M+summer come.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL upon ART.PL+grape-PL
l=Beqūsyone, w *b=u+satwo* *əzz-á-way-na.* *bab-i*
 to=PN and LOC=ART.S.M+winter go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL father-1S
b=sahmo, b=mən? *be* *u+mreba* *mən=wa?*
 for=share for=what Q ART.S.M+sharecropper what=PST
howe-wa *mrebá* *hawi* *l=Rāšīd* *d=Be+Kele, hawi*
 become.PRS-PST sharecropper become.PST POS=PN DEP=PN become.PST
l=Zahre *i+emo* *d=Ḥanno, d=Mūqsi* *Ḥanno, dowar-wa,*
 POS=PN ART.S.F+mother DEP=PN DEP=PN PN plough.PRS-PST
əzz-e-wa *l=u+šūġlo,* *əzz-e-wa* *l=u+šūġlo.*
 go.PRS-SBJ.3S.M-PST to=ART.S.M+work go.PRS-SBJ.3S.M-PST to=ART.S.M+work

So God made things like so, until a certain time: in the summer we used to come back to Bequsyone for grapes, and in the winter we used to go back. My father was a sharecropper, he farmed for a salary, he farmed for a share...for what? And the sharecropper was what? He

⁶⁰ Nisane indicates with her hands the amount of bread that the bakers gave her brother, and how her grandmother divided that piece up.

was a sharecropper, he was Rashid's from the Kele family, he was Zahre's, the mother of H̄anno, H̄anno Mūqsi, he farmed, he went to work, he went to work.

7. *dowar-wa, edi be áydarbo lo+b=ḥaq dowar-wa*
 plough.PRS-PST but Q how NEG+for=salary plough.PRS-PST
b=sahmo dowar-wa be áydarbo lo+k=ūdŷ-o-no.
 for=share plough.PRS-PST Q how NEG+PRS=know.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S
dowar-wa b=aq+qanyon-atte ḥāma hiye dowar-wa
 plough.PRS-PST INS=ART.PL+cattle-3PL INTJ 3S.M plough.PRS-PST
b=aq+qanyon-atte. xūd d=ūŷdo d=əmm-at, šayd-at-l-ūx
 INS=ART.PL+cattle-3PL like DEP=now DEP=say.PRS-2S hunt.PRS-2S-O-2S.M
greŷo, lo+saym-at šūġlo, masim-at u+šūġlo
 employee NEG+do.PRS-2S work make.do.PRS-2S ART.S.M+work
eb-e, hawxa. əzze-wa l=i+Qaməšlo, kət-way-l-e barto
 INS-3S.M like.so go.PRS-PST to=ART.S.F+PN exist-PST-POS-3S.M daughter
d=ŷammo b=i+Qaməšloke, əzze-wa l=u+šūġlo
 DEP=paternal.uncle LOC=ART.S.F+PN go.PRS-PST to=ART.S.M+work
l=tamo=ste axər l=Ālo hawxa səm-l-e, at-i-na
 to=there=TOP finally A=God like.so do.PST-A-3S.M come.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL
edi waxt d=aŷ+ŷənw-e, ot-í-way-na ŷal riš-e
 then time DEP=ART.PL+grape-PL come.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL upon head-PL
d=aŷ+ŷənw-aydan l=ak+karm-aydan. l=Ālo hawxa
 DEP=ART.PL+grape-1PL to=ART.PL+vineyard-1PL A=God like.so
səm-l-e, ḥāka əšmo ḥāka ġālābe.
 do.PST-A-3S.M if little if very
tlat+arbaŷ+ḥamməš+šēt+šnay-e at-i-na l=i+qrito,
 3+4+5+6+year-PL come.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL to=ART.S.F+village
at-i-na l=i+qrito, bab-i dowar-wa.
 come.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL to=ART.S.F+village father-1S plough.PRS-PST

He farmed, but how he farmed, whether for a salary or for a share, how he farmed, I do not know. He ploughed with their oxen, yes, he ploughed with their oxen. Like you now say, you hire yourself an employee, you do not do the work, you get the work done through him, like so. He used to go to Qamishli, he had a cousin in Qamishli, he went there for work as well. Finally, God made things like so, we came then at the time of the grapes, we used to come to our vineyards for our grapes. God made things like so, either a little bit or a lot. Three, four, five years we came back to the village, we came back to the village, my father farmed.

8. *ati l=i+qrito, bab-i dowar-wa. kət-way-l-e*
 come.PST to=ART.S.F+village father-1S plough.PRS-PST exist-PST-POS-3S.M

<i>tre+ahun-one</i> 2+brother-PL	<i>qafarkoliy-e,</i> field.clearer-PL	<i>ħafr-i-wa</i> dig.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>b=u+nargo</i> INS=ART.S.M+pickaxe
<i>qūtl-i-wa</i> kill.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>u+gelo.</i> ART.S.M+plant	<i>ma qāfare</i> Q stony.field	<i>lə+ħze-l-ūx</i> NEG+see.PST-A-2S.M
<i>d=dwar-re</i> DEP=plough.PST-3PL	<i>b=aq+qanyon-e?</i> INS=ART.PL+cow-PL	<i>hawxa</i> like.so	<i>u+zad-aydan</i> ART.S.M+grain-1PL
<i>howe-wa.</i> become.PRS-PST	<i>w u+naŕimo</i> and ART.S.M+small	<i>howe-wa</i> become.PRS-PST	<i>qm=aŕ+ŕez-e.</i> by=ART.PL+goat-PL
<i>e, mašraṭ, edi</i> yes INTJ	<i>sawīŕ-i-na.</i> then satisfy.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>u+bab-i</i> ART.S.M+father-1S	
<i>lə+mṭe-l-e</i> NEG+bring.PRS-A-3S.M	<i>niše,</i> woman.PL	<i>bab-i</i> father-1S	<i>lə+mṭe-l-e</i> NEG+bring.PRS-A-3S.M
<i>ŕal riš-an.⁶¹</i> upon head-1PL	<i>fayiš-o</i> stay.PST-SBJ.S.F	<i>ħot-i</i> sister-1S	<i>hūl d=hawy-o</i> until DEP=become.PST-SBJ.S.F
<i>kavnaxōrt, səm-l-a</i> spinster do.PST-A-3S.M	<i>zəd me</i> more from	<i>ħammāš+w+tletī+šnay-e,</i> 5+and+30+year-PL	
<i>l=am+men-e</i> A=ART.PL+hair-PL	<i>ħewor-e</i> white-PL	<i>mħalaq-qe</i> jumped.PST-3PL	<i>l=qarŕ-a,⁶²</i> O=head-3S.F
<i>l+iw-o-l-e.</i> NEG+give.PST-P.S.F-A-3S.M	<i>səm-me</i> do.PST-A.3PL	<i>w lo+səm-me,⁶³</i> and NEG+do.PST-SBJ.PL	<i>əmm-i,</i> say.PRS-SBJ.PL
<i>‘haw-a</i> give.IMP-3S.F	<i>b=ħdo</i> for=1	<i>l=ruħ-ūx!’</i> for=self-2S.M	<i>omar, ‘ono</i> say.PRS 1S
<i>lo+kə=mṭe-no,</i> NEG+PRS=bring.PRS-1S	<i>ħze-l-i</i> see.PST-A-1S	<i>u+dard</i> ART.S.M+pain	<i>d=i+žənbave,</i> DEP=ART.S.F+stepmother
<i>ŕal hawxa’.</i> upon like.so	<i>omar,</i> say.PRS	<i>‘Ālah,</i> God	<i>i+žənbav-aydi=ste</i> ART.S.F+stepmother-1S=TOP
<i>ṭaw-to=wa,</i> good-F=PST	<i>elo</i> but	<i>lo+kə=mṭe-no</i> NEG+PRS=bring.PRS-1S	<i>žənbave</i> stepmother
<i>a+zŕur-aydi.</i> ART.PL+child-1S	<i>b=Ālo</i> by-God	<i>d=ote-no</i> DEP=come.PRS-1S	<i>ga kal k’=mšaŕr-o</i> PRST PRST PRS=disparage-F
<i>l=an+naŕim-e,</i> O=ART.PL+small-PL	<i>l=i+emo</i> O=ART.S.F+mother	<i>d=an+naŕim-e,</i> DEP=ART.PL+small-PL	<i>q=qoṭan-n-a.</i> FUT=kill.PRS-1S-3S.F
<i>ħāma</i> INTJ	<i>lo+k=obaŕ-no</i> NEG+PRS=want.PRS-1S	<i>niše’.</i> woman.PL	<i>ānnaqqa hūl</i> now.then until
<i>d=hawy-o</i> DEP=become.PST-SBJ.S.F	<i>ħot-i</i> sister-1S	<i>rab-to.</i> big-F	

⁶¹ Cf. Kurm. *anîn jinbav ser serê keseki* lit. ‘to bring a stepmother upon someone’s head’.

⁶² Cf. Kurm. *sipîya(n) avêt pora wê* ‘white ones jumped upon her hair’.

⁶³ Cf. Kurm. *kir û nekir*, lit. ‘they did and they did not’, meaning that they kept trying to no avail.

He came back to the village, my father farmed. He had two brothers, field clearers,⁶⁴ they dug with the pickaxe, they killed weeds. Haven't you seen a stony field that they ploughed with oxen? Our grain came in this manner. And the youngest was by the goats. Yes, believe it or not, then we became satisfied. My father did not bring back any women, my father did not bring us a stepmother. My sister until she became grown up, a spinster, she became older than thirty-five, white hairs struck her head, he did not give her up. They tried and tried, they say to him, 'Exchange her for one for yourself!'⁶⁵ He says, 'I will not bring back one for myself, I saw the pain of a stepmother, that is why'. He says, 'By God, my stepmother was a good person, too, but I will not bring back a stepmother for my children. By God, if I come, and there she is, disparaging the children or the mother of the children, I will kill her. Anyway, I don't want any women'. Now then, until my sister had become an old maid.

9. *kôt-way-l-an* *abro* *d=ʕammo* *b=Suriya. ʕaskar*
 exist-PST-POS-1PL son DEP=paternal.uncle LOC=PN soldier
- d=u+Fārānsa=wa,* *d=u+ənglīs=wa.* *ati*
 DEP=ART.S.M+PN=PST d=ART.S.M+PN=PST come.PST
- m=i+ʕaskariye,* *məl-l-e* *l=i+emo,*
 from=ART.S.F+military.service say.PST-A-3S.M to=ART.S.F+mother
- omar,* *ʕadé,* *ma* *i+barto* *d=ʕamm-i*
 say.PRS mom Q ART.S.F+daughter DEP=paternal.uncle-1S
- ko=fayš-o?* *omar* *əmm-o,* *ʕe.*
 PRS=stay.PRS-SBJ.S.F say.PRS say.PRS-SBJ.S.F yes
- b=i+qrito=wa* *hiya, w hənnək* *laltah=way-ne,*
 LOC=ART.S.F+village=PST 3S.F and 3PL down.below=PST-3PL
- Mülla ʕAbbas,*⁶⁶ *b=ar+Ruṭa,* *b=a+dk-ot-anək=way-ne.* *omar,*
 PN LOC=ART.PL+PN LOC=ART.PL+place-PL-DIST.PL=PST-3PL say.PRS
- ʕlāb-l-i=yo!* *l=Ālo* *hawxa* *səm-l-e,* *ʕlib-o-l-e*
 ask.IMP-for-1S=3S A=God like.so do.PST-A-3S.M ask.PST-P.S.F-A-3S.M
- w* *azz-á* *ʕal* *u+našib-ayda.*⁶⁷
 and go.PST-SBJ.3S.F upon ART.S.M+fate-3S.F

⁶⁴ They dug pieces of stone out of the field.

⁶⁵ They propose that Nisane's father give his eldest daughter in marriage to receive a *naqdo* ('dowry') from the family of the bridegroom, and then use it to buy a new wife for himself.

⁶⁶ Mülla ʕAbbas is a small village in the Al-Hasakah Governorate of the Syrian Arab Republic. It is in the vicinity of Šalhūmiya (Kurm. Gundê Şelhomiyê), a Syriac Orthodox village, which is presumably where Nisane's cousin lived.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kurm. *çû ser nesibê xwe* lit. 'she went to her destiny', meaning 'she got married'. Cf. *nesib* 'fate, luck, destiny' (Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan 2017: 1090).

We had a cousin in Syria. He was a French soldier, an English soldier. He came back from the military and told his mother, saying, ‘Mommy, is my cousin available? He says... she says, ‘Yes’. She was in the village, and they were down below, in Mulla ʕAbbas, in al-Ruṭa, in those places. He says, ‘Ask her for me!’ God made things like so, he asked for her, and she went to her destiny.

3. Excursus on Marriage⁶⁸

In this section, Nisane briefly describes how marriages were arranged and conducted then and how they are now.

1. *ṭəlb-i-way-l-an,* *lo+hoz-i-way-na* *a+zlam-at,*
ask.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-1PL NEG+see.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.PL+man-PL
lo+hoz-i-way-na *ḥdode, u+mede* *d=em-an*
NEG+see.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL RECP ART.S.M+thing DEP=mother-1PL
w d=bab-an d=əmm-i-wa tāmām=wa,
and DEP=father-1PL DEP=say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST ok=PST
d=əmm-i-wa ob-ən-way-l-an ʔ=ḥdode,
DEP=say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST give.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-1PL to=RECP
tāmām=wa. yani maqbl-i-way-na u+mamro
ok=PST HES accept.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.M+speech
d=em-an w d=bab-an. lo+hoz-i-way-na ḥdode,
DEP=mother-1PL and DEP=father-1PL NEG+see.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL RECP
lo+məḡḡol-i-way-na ʕam ḥdode
NEG+speak.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL with RECP
d=lo+mihawl-i-way-na.
DEP=NEG+get.married.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL

They used to seek us out, we did not see the men, we did not see one another, the thing that our mothers and fathers said was OK, so to speak they gave us to each other, it was OK. Like, we accepted what our mother and father said. We did not see one another, we did not speak with one another unless we got married.

2. *e, ʔʕdo ʔnnaqqa ko=kūr-x-i ʕam ḥdode,*
yes now now.then PRS=circle.PRS-SBJ.PL with RECP
ko=hn-ən. maqpté-way-na ha hawxa xūd ʔʕdo,
PRS=whatsit.PRS-SBJ.PL covered-PST-1PL PRST like.so like now
maqpté-way-na, dəsmal-at ʕal qarʕ-ayna, aḡ+ḡul-e hawxa
covered-PST-1PL scarf-PL upon head-1PL ART.PL+clothes- PL like.so

⁶⁸ §3–5 of a text collected 14 January 2018.

<i>yarix-e</i>	<i>aṣlay-na</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>i+mod-aydan</i>	<i>hayo=yo,</i>	<i>he</i>
long-PL	upon-1PL	still	ART.S.F+style-1PL	DIST.S.F=COP.3S	still
<i>i+mod-aydan</i>	<i>hayo=yo.</i>	<i>ak+kalote</i>			
ART.S.F+style-1PL	DIST.S.F=COP.3S	ART.PL+brides			
<i>d=mihawl-i-wa</i>	<i>kāt-way-l-an</i>	<i>amm-i-way-na</i>			
DEP=get.married.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	exist-PST-POS-1PL	say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL			
<i>buṣiy-at</i>	<i>d=abrisam</i>	<i>kome,</i>	<i>ṣal</i>	<i>haqqa</i>	<i>mnaqšé-way-ne</i>
veil-PL	DEP=silk	black	upon	so.much	embellished-PST-3PL
<i>čazgaliy-at</i>	<i>yaroq-e,</i>	<i>šaṣute,</i>	<i>pamba,</i>	<i>ar+rişik-atte</i>	<i>haqqa</i>
stripes-PL	green-PL	yellow	pink	ART.PL+fringes-3PL	so.much
<i>bərm-i-wa</i>	<i>tloto+bn-e</i>	<i>hawxa</i>	<i>ṣal</i>	<i>qarṣ-ayna,</i>	<i>w</i>
twist.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	3.F+whatsit-PL	like.so	upon	head-1PL	and
<i>qūṭr-án-wan-ne</i>	<i>harke,</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>qarṣ-ayna</i>	<i>howe-wa</i>	
knot.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-3PL	here	PRST	head-1PL	be.PRS-PST	
<i>ha</i>	<i>hawxa,</i>	<i>maḥt-i-wa</i>	<i>dəsmale</i>	<i>šaṣət-to</i>	
PRST	like.so	put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	scarf	yellow-F	
<i>ṣal</i>	<i>foṭ-ayna,</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>fuṭa.</i>	<i>ayna</i>	
upon	face-1PL	and	covering	whoever	
<i>d=kāt-way-l-e</i>	<i>kallaw-at</i>	<i>abrisam,</i>	<i>d=lat=wa</i>	<i>šuqo,</i>	
DEP=exist-PST-POS-3S.M	money-PL	silk	DEP=NEG.exist=PST	linen	
<i>disa</i>	<i>damlī⁶⁹</i>	<i>mnaqāš-to,</i>	<i>maḥt-i-wa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hawxa.</i>
again	checkered	embellished-F	put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	PRST	like.so

Yes, now then, nowadays they make the rounds together, they what-sit. We were covered up just like so, like now, we were covered up, scarfs upon our heads, the clothes so long upon us. Our custom is still this way, our custom is still this way. The brides that got married ...we had, so to speak, black bridal veils of silk, that were embellished so much with green, yellow, and pink stripes, their fringes so long... they twisted three whatsits around our heads, and tied them here, and our head became like so, they put a yellow headscarf upon our face and a head covering.⁷⁰ Whoever had money, silk, and if there wasn't, linen, it was once again checkered and embellished, they put it just like so.

⁶⁹ Turk. *damalı* 'checkered' (Redhouse 1968: 270).

⁷⁰ Nisane describes the wedding headdress as having three 'whatsits' or layers. The *dəsmale* or 'headscarf' is the innermost veil, covering the head and the face. It is also used in daily life. It is followed by the *fuṭa*, 'head covering', which also covers the head and the face. The *fuṭa* is longer than the *dəsmale*, and may descend as far as the bride's waist or lower. The *buṣiye* or 'bridal veil' is the outermost veil, richly decorated in the way described here by Nisane. Neither the *fuṭa* nor the *buṣiye* are worn in Ṭur Abdin apart from the wedding outfit.

3. *u+yawm-awo* *məl-l-i,* *gəhix-i,* *ha* *hawxa*
 ART.S.M+day-DIST.S.M say.PST-A-1S laugh.PRT-PL PRST like.so
- maht-i-way-na* *qarʕ-an* *b=i+arʕo,* *nəfʕ-i-way-na*
 put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL head-1PL on=ART.S.F+earth exit.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
- əmm-i-way-na,* *d=i+dawla* *d=bab-ayna*
 say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL DEP=ART.S.F+luck DEP=father-1PL
- l+üt-y-o* *aʕm-ayna* *w* *lo+nəfʕ-i-way-na*
 NEG+come.PRS-SBJ.S.F with-1PL and NEG+exit.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
- tloto+yawm-e-ste* *me* *lawgöl,* *lo+qaym-i-way-na*
 3.F+day-PL=TOP from outside NEG+stand.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
- lo+nəfʕ-i-way-na,* *əmm-i-way-na,* *ʕtito=yo,*
 NEG+exit.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL sin=COP.3S
- b=arʕi-na,* *w* *lo+hnoʕ.* *annaqqa* *üʕdo*
 LOC=quarantine-1PL and NEG+whatsit now.then now
- ko=nəfʕ-i* *ak+kal-ote* *k=əmm-i,* *ləklək lək*
 PRS=exit.PRS-SBJ.PL ART.PL+bride-PL PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL MIM
- gūh-x-i,* *ʕam* *ax+xelvaniy-e,*⁷¹ *hawxa*
 laugh.PRS-SBJ.PL with ART.PL+in.law-PL like.so
- ko=gūh-x-i.* *hawxa* *med-one* *hawxa,* *saym-i-way-na.*
 PRS=laugh.PRS-SBJ.PL like.so thing-PL like.so do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL

The other day, I said it, they laughed... just like so we put our head down to earth, we went out, we said, ‘May our father’s luck not come along with us’, and we did not use to go outside for three days, we did not get up and go out, we say, ‘It’s a sin, we are in quarantine, and don’t whatsit’. Now then, now the brides go out. They say, ‘Ha Ha!!’ they laugh, with the family of the groom,⁷² they laugh like so. So, we used to do such things.

4. The Homecoming⁷³

After her sister was married and the famine ended, Nisane’s family returned home to Beqūsyone.

1. *daʕir-i-na* *tarte+tlat+ʕnay-e,* *k=ote* *l=bol-i,*
 return.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL 2.F+3+year-PL PRS=come.PRS to=mind-1SG

⁷¹ In Kurm., *xelvani* is ‘participation in the wedding procession (Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan 2017: 1851). In Turoyo, *xelvaniye* (pl.) is used to refer to the groom’s extended family.

⁷² Nisane means that the new wives go out to socialize with the people from the groom’s village. These villagers are considered the groom’s extended family.

⁷³ §124–30 of a text collected 8 July 2018.

məd moṭ-ən-wa *aṣ+ṣənw-e,* *oṭ-ī-way-na* *ṣal*
 when arrive.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST ART.PL+grape-PL come.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL upon
aṣ+ṣənw-e, *w* *b=u+satwo* *disa* *əzz-ā-way-na*
 ART.PL+grape-PL and LOC=ART.S.M+winter again go.PRS-SUBJ.1PL-PST-1PL
l=Mārbobo. aḥun-i *əzz-e-wa* *qm=ann+arwonk-at*
 to=PN brother-1S go.PRS-SUBJ.3S.M-PST by=ART.PL+calf-PL
d=am+mārbabiy-e. *goləkvān=wa.*⁷⁴ *w* *aḥun-i*
 DEP=ART.PL+Mārbobian-PL calfherd=PST and brother-1S
u+hreno, *kət-way-l-an* *ḥammāšto* *qanyon-e,* *əzz-e-wa*
 ART.S.M+other exist-PST-POS-1PL 5-6.F cow-PL go.PRS-3S.M-PST
ṣam *u+baqoro,* *əmm-ī-way-na-l-e* *Mḥammad,*
 with ART.S.M+shepherd say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M PN
ṭayo. *əzz-e-wa* *aṣm-e,* *annaqqa* *kul* *ṣrəfto* *lo+kul*
 Muslim go.PRS-SUBJ.3S.M-PST with-3S now.then every Friday NEG+every
ṣrəfto *w* *lo+kul* *lalyo.* *Xano* *i+barto*⁷⁵
 Friday and NEG+every night PN ART.S.F+daughter
kürx-o-wa *ṣal* *u+lahmo,* *kürx-o-wa*
 go.around.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST upon ART.S.M+bread go.around.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST
ṣal *u+lahmo,* *kul* *naqqa* *gd=omar-wa,* *ḥaw*
 upon ART.S.M+bread every time FUT=say.PRS-PST give.IMP
ḥammāš+šet+ṭalm-e *l=Dawudo!* *ko=toṣab* *aṣm-i,*
 5+6+ring-PL to=PN PRS=toil.PRS with-1S
ko=mṣawal-l-i *b=aq+qanyon-e...'* *əmt-ō-way-l-an*
 PRS=help.PRS-O-1S with=ART.PL+cow-PL bring.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-to-1PL
ḥammāš+šet+ṭalm-e *d=lahmo.* *ba lo+kafin-e=way-na!* *ḡala=wa!*
 5+6+ring-PL DEP=bread Q NEG+hungry-PL=PST-1PL famine=PST

We returned...during two-three years, I remember, when the grapes ripened, we came for the grapes,⁷⁶ and in the winter again we went back to Mārbobo. My brother used to herd the calves of the Mārbobians. He was a calfherd. And my other brother, we had five cows, he went with the shepherd, we called him Mohammed, a Muslim. He went with him, now then, every Friday...either every Friday or every evening.⁷⁷ His daughter Xano went for bread, she went for

⁷⁴ Kurm. *golikvan* ‘calfherd’ (Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan 2017: 585).

⁷⁵ In the possessive paradigm of certain kinship terms (such as ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’), the 3rd sg. member is implicit in the arthrous form, e.g. *i+barto* ‘the daughter’ and ‘his/her daughter’, as against *barti* ‘my daughter’, *bartiḥ* ‘your (m.sg) daughter’, etc.

⁷⁶ I.e. to Beqūsyone.

⁷⁷ I.e. she does not recall whether it was every Friday, or every evening.

bread, and each time he said, ‘Give five-six rings to Dawudo!’⁷⁸ He toils with me, he helps me with the cattle...’ She brought us five-six rings of bread. Oh, were we not hungry!? It was a famine!

2. *daʕir-i-na* *l=Mārbobo,* *daʕir-i-na* *l=Mārbobo,*
 return.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL to=PN return.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL to=PN
hedi bab-i azz-é *l=i+ʕaskariye.* *bab-i*
 then father-1S go.PST-SBJ.3S.M to=ART.S.F+military.service father-1S
b=i+ʕaskariye, *mayiṭ-o* *em-i.* *aṭi*
 LOC=ART.S.F+military.service die.PST-SBJ.S.F mother-1S come.PST
m=i+ʕaskariye, *aḥun-on-i* *haw-ən* *rab-e,*
 from=ART.S.F+military.service brother-PL-1S become.PST-SBJ.PL big-PL
edi bab-i dwəl-l-e *w aḥun-i,* *aḥun-on-i*
 then father-1S plough.PST-A-3S.M and brother-1S brother-PL-1S
ḥəfr-i-wa *qāfar-e* *hawxa.*
 dig.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST stony.field-PL like.so

We returned to Mārbobo, we returned to Mārbobo, then my father went to the military. My father was in the military, my mother was dead. He came from the military, my brothers grew up, then my father farmed and my brother, my brothers dug stony patches like so.

3. *e, w edi haw-i-na* *mor-e... haw-ən*
 yes and then become.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL lord-PL become.PST-SBJ.PL
aḥ+ḥeṭ-aydan, *fayš-i-wa* *l=dērtār+šato, w*
 ART.PL+wheat-1PL stay.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST to=next+year and
a+sʕor-aydan *hawxa, edi sawiʕ-i-na!* *haw*
 ART.PL+barley-1PL like.so then get.full.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL no.more
azz-ən *l=Mārbobo, sawiʕ-i-na!*
 go.PST-SUBJ.1PL to=PN get.full.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL

Yes, and then we took care...our wheat came about, it lasted till the next year, and our barley like so, then we had enough! We no longer went to Mārbobo, we had enough!

4. *fayš-i-na* *b=Beqūsyone hōl* *ūʕdo,* *hūl* *ūʕdo.*
 stay.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL LOC=PN until now until now
b=a+šnay-ani *at-ən* *l=arke.* *u+nāšib-aydi*
 LOC=ART.PL+year-PROX.PL came.PST-SBJ.PL to=here ART.S.M+fate-1S
aṭi *d=azz-ən* *l=Barčiqa ono* *hedi* *l=arke.*
 come.PST DEP=go.PST-SBJ.3PL to=PN 1S then to=here
huw-al-l-i *l=arke, w* *ḥənnək=stene* *mṭa-l-le*
 give.PST-A.3PL-O-1S to=here and 3PL=TOP bring.PST-A-3PL

⁷⁸ Dawudo was the name of the brother of Nisane who worked with Mohammed the shepherd.

<i>tarte</i>	<i>m=i+qrīto,</i>	<i>īlat</i>	<i>m=i+qrīto,</i>	<i>m̄ta-l-le</i>
2.F	from=ART.S.F+village	3	from=ART.S.F+village,	bring.PST-A-3PL
<i>šan</i>	<i>aḥun-on-i.</i>			
for	brother-PL-1S			

We stayed in Beqūsyone up to now, up to now!⁷⁹ In these years that they⁸⁰ went to Belgium...I... then they came here (to Dērqube). My destiny brought me here. They gave me (in marriage) here,⁸¹ and they also brought back two from the village,⁸² three from the village, they brought (brides) for my brothers.

5. Family Life in Dērqube⁸³

After her marriage, Nisane adjusts to life as a homemaker.

1. *b=i+qrīto* *u+šūğlo* *d=i+kūrmanḡiye,*
 LOC=ART.S.F+village ART.S.M+work DEP=ART.S.F+Kurdish
d=i+qrīto=wa, *k=ūd̄l̄-at.*
 DEP=ART.S.F+village=PST PRS=know.PRS-2S

In the village it was Kurdish work, things of the village, you know.

2. *ḥūlw-ī-way-na,* *kūnš-ī-way-na,*
 milk.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL clean.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
maȳf-ī-way-na, *əzz-d-way-na* *l=ak+kars-one*
 churn.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL to=ART.PL+shoot-PL
d=ak+karm-e. *ḥze-l-ūx,* *ṭow-ī-way-na,*
 DEP=ART.PL+vine-PL see.PST-A-2S.M bind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
m̄-ī-way-na *p̄ṣṣṣ-ī-way-na,* *ak+kars-one,*
 bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL bundle-PL ART.PL+shoot-PL
m̄-ī-way-nan-ne *l=u+bayto* *b=ap+p̄ṣṣṣ-ī-way-na.*
 bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL to=ART.S.M+house LOC=ART.PL+bundle-PL
əzz-d-way-na *l=ab+hažžək-at* *b=ap+p̄ṣṣṣ-ī-way-na,*
 go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL for=ART.PL+twig-PL LOC=ART.PL+bundle-PL
əzz-d-way-na *l=at+ṭarf-e* *b=ap+p̄ṣṣṣ-ī-way-na,*
 go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL for=ART.PL+branch-PL LOC=ART.PL+bundle-PL
w *mzayt-ī-way-na* *w* *ḥūšd-ī-way-na* *aw*
 and oil.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL and harvest.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL or

⁷⁹ This is not intended literally, as Nisane now lives in Dērqube.

⁸⁰ I.e. Nisane's brothers.

⁸¹ To Dērqube.

⁸² I.e. Nisane's brothers got married to women from Beqūsyone.

⁸³ §71–3 and §155–223 of a text collected 8 July 2018.

<i>šūḫf-i-way-na.</i> weed.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>gürs-i-way-na</i> grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>w</i> and
<i>dayq-i-wa,</i> crush.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>ḥze-l-üx</i> see.PST-A-2S.M	<i>u+bərgäl?</i> ART.S.M+bulgur
<i>m=u+bərgäl,</i> from=ART.S.M+bulgur	<i>bətər</i> after	<i>mnašf-i-way-l-e</i> dry.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.M
<i>gürs-i-way-na-l-e</i> grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M	<i>b=i+gorəsto</i> LOC=ART.S.F+grinder	<i>w</i> and
<i>dayq-i-wa,</i> pound.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>əmm-i-wa</i> say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>u+zmo-ro</i> ART.S.M+song
<i>d=u+doyoqo</i> DEP=ART.S.M+pounding	<i>ḥe haye dayna</i> ⁸⁴ PN	<i>w haye'. əmm-i-wa</i> say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
<i>hayo.</i> DIST.S.F	<i>w bətər</i> and after	<i>gürs-i-way-na</i> grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
<i>gürs-i-way-na-l-e,</i> grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M	<i>hayo=wa.</i> DIST.S.F=PST	<i>i+gorəsto=stene,</i> ART.S.F+grinder=TOP
<i>d=u+bayto</i> DEP=ART.S.M+house		<i>šügl-e</i> work-3S.M

We used to milk, clean up, make butter, go out for vine shoots. You have seen it, we used to bind them, bring the bundles. The shoots, we used to bring them back to the house in bundles. We used to go out for twigs in bundles, to go out for branches in bundles, to make raisins, and to harvest or weed. We used to grind and crush, have you seen bulgur? From the bulgur, after they dried it and we ground it in the hand mill...⁸⁵ They used to crush, they used to sing the crushing song *ḥe haye daynaw haye*. They used to say this. And then we used to grind (it in) the hand mill, we used to grind it, it was like this. Housework...

3. *mašraṭ, mašraṭ əzz-ā-way-na* *l=u+ḥəodo,*
INTJ INTJ go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL for=ART.S.M+harvest
- qaym-i-way-na.* *mašraṭ məš-l-i,* *ḥlu-l-i*
stand.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL INTJ churn.PST-A-1S milk.PST-A-1S
- aš+šez-e* *w aq+qanyon-e,* *w qayim-o-no,*
ART.PL+goat-PL and ART.PL+cow-PL and stand.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S
- salıq-o-no* *l=i+goro* *ḥze-l-üx.* *k=əmm-i*
rise.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S to=ART.S.F+roof see.PST-A-2S.M PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL
- saxm-at, daqron-e, aḥna k=əmm-i saxma.*
pole-PL stake-PL 1PL PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL pole

⁸⁴ The Kurm. *dayna* is an imperative of *danin* ‘to put’, ‘to dump’.

⁸⁵ See Plate 6.

mayŝ-i-wa *b=u+gawdo.*
 churn.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST INS=ART.S.M+goatskin

Believe it or not, believe it or not, we used to go harvest, we used to get up. Believe it or not, I churned butter, I milked goats and cattle, and I got up, I went up to the roof...you have seen it. They call them ‘poles, stakes’, we...they say ‘pole’, they churned in a goatskin.⁸⁶

4. *mašrat tlat+kay-at maŝ-l-i* *hül d=naŝeq u+yawmo.*
 INTJ 3+time-PL churn.PST-A-1S until DEP=exit.PST ART.S.M+sun

Believe it or not, I churned three times before the sun came out.

5. *e, qaym-ó-way-no* *falg-e* *d=lalyo.* *hāma*
 yes stand.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S middle-3S.M DEP=night INTJ

d=solaq-wa *u+kəkwo* *d^h=nbor-ote* *qaym-ó-way-no*
 DEP=rise.PRS-PST ART.S.M+star DEP=dawn-PL stand.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S

w hawxa əzz-á-way-na *saym-í-way-na*
 and like.so go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL

i+labaniye, *saym-í-way-na* *u+lahmo,*
 ART.S.F+yogurt.soup do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.M+bread

saym-í-way-na *ak+kelik-aydan.* *əzz-á-way-na* *ŝam*
 do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.PL+chore-1PL go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL with

a+zlam-at *l=u+hşodo.* *e,* *i+naqqa*
 ART.PL+man-PL for=ART.S.M+harvest yes, ART.S.F+time

d=l+əzz-á-way-na *l=u+hşodo,* *d=ote-wa,*
 DEP=NEG+go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL for=ART.S.M+harvest DEP=come.PRS-PST

nüql-i-na *aş+şal-e,* *nüql-ó-way-no*
 carry.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL ART.PL+sack-PL carry.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S

şal-e=ste *l=i+adro.* *məd* *aaa* *aş+şal-e,*
 sack-PL=TOP to=ART.S.F+threshing.floor when HES ART.PL+sack-PL

nqil-i-l-an *l=i+adro,* *tüx* *mar*
 carry.PST-P.PL-A-1PL to=ART.S.F+threshing.floor come.IMP say.IMP

*l=u+ŝaq!*⁸⁷ *saym-í-way-na* *u+şüğl-aydan,* *disa*
 O=ART.S.M+mind do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.M+work-1PL again

künš-í-way-na *w* *maqətr-í-way-na*
 sweep.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL and curdle.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL

u+halw-aydan, *w* *saym-í-way-na* *w*
 ART.S.M+milk-1PL and do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL and

⁸⁶ Nisane refers to a traditional rocker churn, for which see Plate 7.

⁸⁷ Cf. Kurm. *were, bëje aqil* lit. ‘come, speak (your) mind!’, which means ‘I regret’.

<i>mayʃ -i-way-na,</i> churn.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>w</i> and	<i>hn-i-way-na,</i> whatsit.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>hūl</i> until
<i>d=ot-an-wa</i> DEP=come.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>aq+qanyon-e</i> ART.PL+cow-PL	<i>d=falg-e</i> DEP=middle-3S.M	<i>d=yawmo,</i> DEP=day
<i>k=ūdʃ-at!</i> PRS=know.PRS-2S	<i>hedika</i> then	<i>gəd</i> FUT	<i>g=əzz-i-way-no</i> FUT=go.PRS-SBJ.1S-PST-1S
<i>məʃr-ó-way-nanne.</i> ⁸⁸ tie.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S.3PL	<i>məʃr-ó-way-nanne,</i> tie.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S.3PL	<i>b=i+kalle</i> ⁸⁹ LOC=ART.S.F+head	
<i>d=falg-e</i> DEP=middle-3S.M	<i>d=yawmo,</i> DEP=day	<i>i+saʃa</i> ART.S.F+hour	<i>b=a+trahşar.</i> LOC=ART.PL+12
<i>makrx-i-way-na,</i> thresh.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>makrx-i-way-na</i> thresh.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>b=aq+qanyon-e</i> INS=ART.PL+cow-PL	
<i>b=i+adro...</i> LOC=ART.S.F+threshing.floor			

Yes, I got up at midnight. When the morning star rose, we went and made yogurt soup like so, we made bread, we did our chores. We went with the men to harvest. Yes, when we did not go to harvest, when (the time) came, we carried the sacks, we also carried sacks to the threshing floor. When we carried the sacks to the threshing floor—come, speak (your) mind! We did our work, over and over we swept, and we curdled our milk, we did (the work) and churned, we whatsited, until the cattle came at noon, you know! Then we will... we went, we tied them. We tied them, at the height of midday, at 12 o'clock. We threshed, we threshed with the cattle on the threshing floor...

6. <i>b=u+həm-awo,</i> LOC=ART.S.M+heat-DIST.S.M	<i>d=əmm-i-na,</i> DEP=say.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>hōl</i> until
<i>d=mirastq-o</i> DEP=go.straight.PRS-SBJ.S.F	<i>i+saʃa</i> ART.S.F+hour	<i>hāka</i> when
<i>u+baqoro</i> ART.S.M+cowherd	<i>qore,</i> call.PRS	<i>ʔeēēēēē azz-á</i> go.PST-SBJ.3S.F
<i>arfew-u</i> release.IMP-PL	<i>aq+qanyon-e!'</i> ART.PL+cow-PL	<i>henu</i> then
<i>aq+qanyon-e</i> ART.PL+cow-PL	<i>me</i> from	<i>şəry-ó-way-no</i> release.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S
<i>qūlʃ-ó-way-nanne</i> drive.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S.3PL	<i>ʃal</i> upon	<i>i+draxa,</i> ART.S.F+unthreshed.grain
	<i>l=u+ţuro.</i> to=ART.S.M+hill.country	

⁸⁸ In this bound verb form of Turoyo, the expected **-nalle* is leveled to *-nanne*, on analogy with the 1st pl. form bound with a 3rd pl. object.

⁸⁹ Cf. Turk. *kelle* 'head' (Redhouse 1968: 634).

aty-ó-way-no, *disa* *saym-ó-way-no* *ak+kelik-aydan.*
 come.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S again do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S ART.PL+chore-1PL
ma *šamro mašfaš-l-an!?* *ğálābe* *šašbo=wa,* *šam* *gab* *an+našim-e.*
 Q life lead.PST-A-1PL very hard=PST with side ART.PL+small-PL

With that heat, so to speak, uppp until (the cattle) head straight out⁹⁰ around 3–4 (p.m.), the cowherd calls ‘Hey! The cattle are gone, let the cattle go!’ Then I released the cattle from upon the grain to be threshed, I drove them to the hill country. I came back and did our chores again. Were we leading a life!? It was very hard, alongside the children.

7. *an+našim-e,* *ħāša* *dət-xu,* *d=u+karam-atxu,* *xūd*
 ART.PL+small-PL far.be.it DEP-2PL DEP=ART.S.M+honor-2PL like
ağ+ğewərək-at=way-ne. *mašraṭ* *saym-i-wa* *b=ruḥ-ayye* *w*
 ART.PL+puppy-PL=PST-3PL INTJ do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST LOC=self-3PL and
dəmx-i-wa *ašl-ayye.*⁹¹ *gəmgəm* *d=ad+dədwon-e* *ašl-ayye,*
 sleep.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST upon-3PL MIM DEP=ART.PL+fly-PL upon-3PL
ma rāzala *ħze-l-an!* *ánnaqqa* *ma* *hawo* *tāne!?*
 Q disgrace see.PST-A-1PL now.then Q DIST.S.M alone
əzz-d-way-na *l=u+ṭuro,* *əmṭ-i-way-na*
 go.PRS-SBJ.1PL-PST-1PL to=ART.S.M+hill.country bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
*fədr-at,*⁹² *k=əmm-utu* *tadr-e ...* *be* *mək*
 ox.tongue-PL PRS=say.PRS-2PL ox.tongue-PL Q what
k=əmm-utun-ne?
 PRS=say.PRS-2PL-3PL

The children, excuse me, with all due respect, they were like puppies. Believe it or not, they used to go on themselves and sleep on it. The buzz-buzz of flies upon them, didn’t we see the worst of it!? Now then, just that!?⁹³ We went to the hill country, we brought ox tongues,⁹⁴ you call them *tadrē* how do you call them?

⁹⁰ I.e. the cattle go back to the mountain after the lunch break.

⁹¹ Cf. Kurm. *bi xwe ve dikirin û serê dirazan* ‘they used to make them (feces) on themselves and slept on it’.

⁹² Cf. Ritter 1979 s.v. ‘*Pədro* m, pl –e Plant with sticky leaves. It is crushed with a rolling pin and made into a paste. This is done over a hive-shaped form (*qalib*), hardens after eight days, and becomes a basket-like vessel called a *qahferto*, to store sifted grain’ (authors’ translation). A possible etymon is Syr. *pādrā* ‘kind of small bread’ (Sokoloff 2005: 1157).

⁹³ I.e. not only that, we did many other unpleasant things.

⁹⁴ *Anchusa azurea* Miller var. *azurea* (Tk. *Güveç Otu*).

8. *mdaqdāq-i-way-nan-ne* *b=ak+kef-e,* *šēžān*⁹⁵ *naxwāštār*
 crush.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL INS=ART.PL+stone-PL nature worse
me dāt-te layto. *k=amm-i-na* *šaynānto,* *w ānnaqqa*
 from DEP-3PL NEG.exist PRS=say-SBJ.PL-1PL ox.tongue and now.then
hūr-k-i-way-nan-ne *b=u+hurako,* *b=i+manduriye*
 grind.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL INS=ART.S.M+grinder INS=ART.S.F+roller
hawxa, hōl t=ow-ān-wa *xūd u+muho.*
 like.so until DEP=become.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST like ART.S.M+brain
saym-i-way-na *qawelāb* *d=u+ṭino,*
 do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL mold.PL DEP=ART.S.M+clay
gūrš-i-way-na *i+hame* *ašl-ayye,* *hame*
 smear.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.F+sludge upon-3PL sludge
d=u+qaṭmo *gūrš-i-way-na* *ašl-ayye* *w*
 DEP=ART.S.M+ash smear.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL upon-3PL and
maht-i-way-na *af+fādr-anāk* *ašl-ayye* *w*
 put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.PL+ox.tongue-DIST.PL upon-3PL and
saym-i-way-nan-ne *qahfur-ote.*
 do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL vessel-PL

We crushed them with stones, there is no toil worse than theirs. We say *šaynānto*,⁹⁶ and, now then, we ground them with a grinding stone, with a stone roller like so, until they became like brain. We made clay moulds, we smeared them with sludge, ash sludge we smeared upon them and placed those ox tongues⁹⁷ upon them and we made vessels from them.

9. *ānnaqqa,* *saym-i-way-nan-ne* *nāčk-at* *hawxa,* *kāviy-at,* *w*
 now.then do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL handle-PL like.so edge-PL and
saym-i-way-nan-ne *arbaš+nāčk-at* *ha* *hawxa*
 do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL 4+handle-PL PRST like.so
b=i+xāsr-ate *w* *p=ate,* *w* *hate* *hawxa.*
 LOC=ART.S.F+side-PROX.S.F and LOC=PROX.S.F and PROX.S.F like.so
arbaš+nāčk-at.
 4+handle-PL

Now then, we used to make them handles, like so, edges, we made them four handles, here like so, on this side and on this one, and this one as well. Four handles.

⁹⁵ Cf. Kurm. (regional) *šējn* ‘behaviour, conduct, performance’ (Bedir Khan, Bertolino and Nezan 2017: 1592).

⁹⁶ *šaynānto* is the *tadrefādrat* in bloom.

⁹⁷ Namely, the paste produced from the ox tongues.

10. *ánnaqqa nūqš-í-way-nan-ne, balki hz-al-l-ūx.*
 now.then paint.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL maybe see.PST-P.PL-A-2S.M
b=u+kalšo edi. hənnək hē hənnək ta'il-e,
 INS=ART.S.M+lime then 3PL still 3PL wet-PL
nūqš-í-way-nan-ne b=u+kalšo. ſawwāli hamməš,
 paint.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL INS=ART.S.M+lime first 5
bətər tlat, bətər tarte, w bətər hđ-o.
 after 3 after 2.F and after 1-F

Then we painted them, maybe you saw them. With lime, then. While they were still wet, we painted them with lime. First five (lines), then three, then two, then one.

11. *hawxa nūqš-í-way-nan-ne. hūl tmanyoyawm-e,*
 like.so paint.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL until 8+day-PL
ſəro+yawm-e mayd-í-way-nan-ne me ſal
 10.F+day-PL take.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL from upon
u+qālb-awo, gaw-ayye hē taryo,
 ART.S.M+mold-DIST.S.M inside-3PL still wet
g=mol-í-way-nan-ne ſafro. msaw-í-way-na hawxa
 FUT=fill.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL soil level.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL like.so
i+arſo, maht-í-way-na hawxa arſ-ayye b=dūkto
 ART.S.F+bottom put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL like.so bottom-3PL LOC=place
raku-to, mol-í-way-nan-ne ſafro. howe-wa arſ-ayye
 flat-F fill.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL soil become.PRS-PST bottom-3PL
ha hawxa, qahfuro l=tarte+ſelab zād. p=awo
 PRST like.so vessel for=2.F+bushel.PL grain LOC=DIST.S.M
nūql-í-way-na u+zād! hze-l-ūx talis-at
 move.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.M+grain see.PST-A-2S.M sack-PL
lat=wa! w naylon-at m-ani lə+nəfəq-l-e.⁹⁸
 NEG.exist=PST and nylon-PL from-PROX.PL NEG+exit.PST-A-3S.M
p=anək Aſo id-an məml-ən-wa kub-e hūl
 INS=DIST.PL God hand-1PL fill.PRS.PASS-3PL-PST thorn-PL until
d=mixarğ-i-wa. w p=anək nūql-í-way-na.
 DEP=be.inured.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST and INS=DIST.PL move.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL

We painted them like so. Till eight days, ten days... We took them off that mould, their insides still wet, we filled them with soil. We levelled the ground like so, we put their bottoms like so on a flat spot, we filled them with soil. Their bottom was like so, a vessel for two

⁹⁸ Note the *l*-preterite and its lack of agreement with the plural subject. The expected form is *lə+nəfiqi-wa*.

bushels⁹⁹ of grain. In that one we transported grain. You have seen, there were no sacks. And these nylon bags had not come out. Because of those ones, God, our hands were filled with thorns until they were injured. And with those ones we transported (grain).

12. *saym-i-way-na* *ṭino*: *amṭ-i-way-na* *ṣafro*,
do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL mud bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL soil
matr-i-way-na-l-e *w* *lays-i-way-na-l-e*
wet.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M and knead.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M
b=raḡl-an *w* *bəṭər* *saym-i-way-na-l-e* *feləḥ-yote*
INS=foot-1PL and after do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M mud.brick-PL
d=u+ṭino *hawxa. w* *bəṭər* *mraqq-i-way-na-l-e*,
DEP=ART.S.M+mud like.so and after thin.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M
saym-i-way-na *kor-e.* *moṭ-ən-wa*
do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL grain.bin-PL reach.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
l=u+qṭoro. *əzze-wa* *tletī+arbṣi+ṣelab*, *əzz-é-wa-l-le.*
to=ART.S.M+ceiling go.PRS-PST 30+40+bushel.PL go.PRS-SUBJ.3S.M-PST-O-3PL

We made mud: we brought soil, we wetted it, we kneaded it with our feet, and afterwards we made them into mud bricks like so.¹⁰⁰ And after that we thinned it, we made grain bins.¹⁰¹ They reached the ceiling. 30–40 bushels fit, it fit them.

13. *saym-ó-way-no* *tanur-e=ste.* *at+tanur-e=ste* *ṣayn*
do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S oven-PL=TOP ART.PL+oven-PL=TOP same
b=u+šəkl *d=ak+kor-e,* *hāma ṣafro ṭowo.*
LOC=ART.S.M+form DEP=ART.PL+grain.bin-PL but soil good
ṣafro ṭowo *d=l+owe* *būḡürk-at* *eb-e,*
soil good DEP=NEG+become.PRS pebble-PL LOC-3S.M
g=lays-i-way-na-l-e *mgawlē-i-way-na-l-e*
FUT=knead.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M mess.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M
hawxa hawxa hawxa *b=id-ot-an,* *čik-e* *d^o=būḡürko xūd*
like.so like.so like.so INS=hand-PL-1PL bit-PL DEP=pebble like
riš-e *d=i+mḥaṭo* *lo+ṭor-i-na* *eb-e.*
head-3S.M DEP=ART.S.F+needle NEG+leave.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL LOC-3S.M
w *k=saym-ó-way-n-e* *tlot-o+dams-e,* *arbṣ-o+dams-e,*
and FUT=do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-PST-1S-3S.M 3-F+ring-PL 4-F+ring-PL
k=fōš-wa *fem-e* *l=dērtār+yawmo.* *dērtār+yawmo*
FUT=stay.PRS-PST mouth-3S.M for=last+day last+day

⁹⁹ A measure of grain of roughly 30 kg. See Plate 8 for an illustration of the grain vessel.

¹⁰⁰ *Feləḥyote* are hand-formed, sun-dried, cigar-shaped bricks.

¹⁰¹ The same process of building a clay grain bin is described in Wilson 1906: 136.

<i>saym-i-way-na</i> do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>fem-e=ste,</i> mouth-3S.M=TOP	<i>k=fōš-wa</i> PRS=stay.PRS-PST	<i>qādar</i> ¹⁰² until
<i>ʕašr-o + ʕašri + yawm-e</i> 10-F+20+day-PL	<i>l=gorān</i> to=according	<i>d=i+šmšo,</i> DEP=ART.S.F+sun	<i>hūl</i> until
<i>d=ədʕ-i-na</i> DEP=know.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>našəf.</i> dry.PST	<i>mayd-i-na-l-e</i> take.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-O-3S.M	
<i>maḥt-i-na-l-e</i> put-SUBJ.PL-1PL-O-3S.M	<i>b=u+šuro,</i> LOC=ART.S.M+wall	<i>w</i> and	<i>čikənke</i> a.little.bit
<i>t=owe</i> DEP=become.PRS	<i>štan.</i> ¹⁰³ slanted	<i>w</i> and	<i>šayʕ-i-wa,</i> plaster.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
<i>šayʕ-i-way-na-l-e</i> plaster.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M		<i>arʕ-e,</i> bottom-3S.M	<i>w</i> and
<i>maḥt-i-way-na</i> put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL		<i>šayʕ-i-way-na-l-e,</i> plaster.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M	
<i>k=saym-i-na-l-e</i> PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-O-3S.M	<i>dəkkane</i> ¹⁰⁴ ledge	<i>hawxa</i> like.so	<i>xūd</i> like
<i>k=əmm-at,</i> PRS=say.PRS-2S	<i>dūkt-e</i> place-3S.M	<i>d=u+tašt,</i> DEP=ART.S.M+basin	<i>dūkt-e</i> place-3S.M
<i>d=i+šeniyē</i> DEP=ART.S.F+bowl	<i>d=am+may-e,</i> DEP=ART.PL+water-PL	<i>w</i> and	<i>məd</i> when
<i>kaməl.</i> finish.PST	<i>bedi</i> then	<i>gə=mbi-i-na</i> FUT=bring.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>u+lajšo</i> ART.S.M+dough
<i>dawq-i-na</i> stick.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>eb-e.</i> LOC-3S.M	<i>ha</i> PRST	<i>kəp-xu</i> be.able-2PL
<i>ha</i> PRST	<i>kleb-é</i> PRST-3S.M	<i>tambó</i> DEI	<i>zo-xu</i> go.IMP-2PL
<i>hawxa</i> DIST.S.M=TOP	<i>hawxa</i> like.so	<i>l=qul-e.</i> to=before-3S.M	<i>hawxa,</i> like.so
<i>hawxa=ste</i> DIST.S.M=TOP	<i>hawxa</i> like.so	<i>saym-i-way-na.</i> do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	

I also made tannoors.¹⁰⁵ The tannoors too, exactly in the way of the grain bins, but good soil. Good soil, so there are no small pebbles in it, we kneaded it (with our feet), we messed it up like so, like so, like so with our hands. We wouldn't leave a bit of a small pebble like the end of a needle in it. And I made three rings,¹⁰⁶ four rings, and its mouth waited until the next day. The next day we made its mouth

¹⁰² Turk. *kadar* '1. as much as, as many as, as ... as, up to; 2. about, approximately; 2. about, approximately; 3. till, up to, until' (Redhouse 1968: 576).

¹⁰³ According to a p.c. of Ilyas Iran, *štan* is synonymous with *ʕwižo* 'crooked, slanted'.

¹⁰⁴ Possibly a semantic extension of the Arabic loanword *dūk(k)ano* 'store; pantry'.

¹⁰⁵ See Plate 9.

¹⁰⁶ One on top of the other.

as well, it waited roughly ten-twenty days, depending on the sun, till we learned that it had become dry. We take it, we put it by the wall, so that it is slanted a little bit like so. And they plastered over, we plastered over its bottom, and we put (it) and plastered over it, we made it a ledge just like you say, a place for a basin, a place for a water bowl, and when we fired it up, it became finished. Then we bring the dough to stick in it. Here you can now go, here it is over there, go by it. So, that one too, we made like so.

14. *w at+tavn-at: ſ ŷzl-i-way-na i+tašiyē,*
 and ART.PL+fabric-PL spin.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.F+spindle
ſ ŷzl-i-way-na i+tašiyē, b=lalyo w b=imomo
 spin.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.S.F+spindle LOC=night and LOC=daytime
i+tašiyē b=id-an-wa. mkaml-i-way-na
 ART.S.F+spindle LOC=hand-1PL=PST finish.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
u+ſ azlo, mašq-i-way-na-l-e, saym-i-way-na
 ART.S.M+yarn moisten.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M do.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
tavn-at b=u+hap.¹⁰⁷
 fabric-PL INS=ART.S.M+comb

And the fabrics: we span with a spindle, we span with a spindle, night and day the spindle was in our hands. We finished the yarn, we moistened it, we made fabrics with a comb.

15. *hawxa, ha ſ ŷmr-an hawxa mašfaſ-l-an. áannaqqa ŷſdo*
 like.so PRST life-1PL like.so lead.PST-A-1PL now.then now
l+q=qaym-i hül d=lo+nofaq u+yawmo qümto.
 NEG+PRS=stand.PRS-SBJ.PL until DEP=NEG+exit.PRS ART.S.M+sun height
myoſo lo+fäš, makkina=yo. knošo lo+fäš,
 churning NEG+stay.PST machine=COP.3S sweeping NEG+stay.PST
makkina=yo. layšo makkina=yo, tešigo
 machine=COP.3S kneading machine=COP.3S washing
d=ağ+ğul-e makkina=yo. i+naqq-ayo
 DEP=ART.PL+clothing-PL machine=COP.3S ART.S.F+time-DIST.S.F
faqiriye=wa. me yawm-e d=tre hül yawm-e d=šabto
 poverty=PST from day-3S.M DEP=2 until day-3S.M DEP=Saturday
mraqſ-i-way-na ağ+ğalk-at d=an+naſim-aydan.
 patch.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL ART.PL+clothing-PL DEP=ART.PL+small-1PL
moh-i-way-nan-ne rüqſ-e. qütſ-i-way-na ha,
 put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-3PL patch-PL cut.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL 1
moh-i-way-na-l-e l=ha,
 put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M O=1

¹⁰⁷ Kurm. *hepik* ‘metal comb for tightening the threads and beating down the woven fabric on a loom’ (Chyét 2003: 237b).

18. *e ūṣdo škūr men d=Aloho, t=ow-utu sāg! kal*
 yes now INTJ from DEP=God DEP=become.IMP-2PL well PRST
ko=hawyo ūayno. kal-é u+məsləq lawgūl, məqqa
 PRS=become.PST-SBJ.S.F well PRST-3S.M. ART.S.M+tap inside so.much
d=əbṣ-at. an+naṣim-aydan b=i+pel-ate
 DEP=want.PRS-2S ART.PL+small-1PL LOC=ART.S.F+time-PROX.S.F
mḥa-l-le u+paṭoz. ha-ha, kūl+tre+xabr-e
 hit.PST-A-3S.M ART.S.M+thresher PRST-PRST every+2+word-PL
d=ot-ən-wa moh-ən-wa ruḥ-ayye
 DEP=come.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST hit.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST self-PL
qm=u+dūš! e l=Aloho maṣmaṣ-l-e i+arṣo!
 by=ART.S.M+shower yes A=God build.PST-A-3S.M ART.S.F+earth

Now thanks to God, God bless you! Now a well has come about. Here is a tap inside, as much as you want. Our children recently worked the threshing machine. A lot, every other word, they came and took a shower. Yes, God built the earth.

19. *e, ūṣdo basimo=yo, škūr min-e d=Ālo, hūl ūṣdo*
 yes now pleasant=COP.3S INTJ from-3S.M DEP=God until now
basimo=yo. ḡaylān ati, u+darbo hawi, may-e
 pleasant=COP.3S electricity come.PST ART.S.M+road become.PST water-PL
kit-o. w aq+qanyon-aydan b=al+laly-ani
 exist-F and ART.PL+cow-1PL LOC=ART.PL+night-PROX.PL
ševadar=ne.¹¹¹ gnuṇ-e, ḥāramiye lo+fāš! Ālo
 camping=COP.3PL thief-PL thievery NEG+stay.PST God
b=u+lalyo+hreno, l=u+dewo nkət-l-e tre,
 LOC=ART.S.M+night+other.M A=ART.S.M+wolf bite.PST-A-3S.M 2
arwonko w tərto, me did-an, bramšəl
 calf and cow from DEP-1PL last.night
mdarmn-i-way-l-a. kan-né b=a+dkot-ani
 treat.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-3S.F PRST-3PL LOC=ART.PL+place-PROX.PL
marfyē=ne. w zyōn-e=stene: haw
 unleashed=COP.3PL and damage-PL=TOP no.more
ko=dawr-i-na, ḥəngi ko=saym-i a+zyōn-aydan.
 PRS=plough.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL since PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL ART.PL+damage-1PL
e, i+dūktō d=kət=yo tele, səm-l-an m-arke
 yes ART.S.F+place DEP=exist=COP.3S fence do.PST-A-1PL from-here
tele hawīr ṣal i+čawr-ate hūl
 fence around upon ART.S.F+environment-PROX.S.F until

¹¹¹ Cf. the Kurm. adjective *ševader* ‘spending the night outside; camping out’ (Chyet 2003: 577).

<i>d=ote</i> DEP=come.PRS	<i>qm=i+ÿito.</i> by=ART.S.F+church	<i>b=gaw-a</i> LOC=inside-3S.F	<i>d=i+tele</i> DEP=ART.S.F+fence
<i>zraÿ-l-an</i> sow.PST-A-1PL	<i>het-e,</i> wheat-PL	<i>hams-e</i> chickpea-PL	<i>w karm-e, wäki</i> and vine-PL while
<i>a+hren-e</i> ART.PL+other-PL	<i>marf-äl-l-an</i> leave.PST-P.PL-A-1PL	<i>b=dav¹¹²</i> INS=sake	<i>d=u+sawäl.</i> DEP=ART.S.M+livestock
<i>zyon-e=ste</i> damage-PL=TOP	<i>haw</i> no.more	<i>k=owe.</i> PRS=become.PRS	

Yes, now it is pleasant, thanks to God, till now it is pleasant. Electricity came, the road appeared, there is water. Our cattle spend these nights outside. Thievery and thieves disappeared! God, last night a wolf bit two (animals), a calf and a cow, of ours, last night they treated her. Over there, in these places, they are ranging free. And crop damage too: we do not plough <there> anymore, since they damage our crops. But, the place where there is a fence—we made from here a fence all around the neighbourhood till it comes to the front of the church—inside the fence we sowed wheat, chickpeas, and grapevines, while the others we abandoned to the livestock. There is no more crop damage, too.

5. Excursus on Church Festivals¹¹³

6. <i>aty-o-no</i> come.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>adyawma,</i> today	<i>Ndatało=yo.</i> PN=COP.3S	<i>aty-o-no,</i> come.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S
<i>säm-l-i</i> do.PST-A-1S	<i>qäsd</i> goal	<i>d=i+Ndatało,</i> ¹¹⁴ DEP=ART.S.F+ PN	<i>i+emo</i> ART.S.F+mother
<i>də=Mšihə=yo,</i> DEP=PN=COP.3S	<i>säm-l-i...</i> do.PST-A-1S	<i>adyawma,</i> today	<i>də=mšaly-o-no</i> DEP=pray.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S
<i>b=gaw-a</i> — LOC=inside-3S.F	<i>ob-al-l-a¹¹⁵</i> give.PRS-1S-O-3S.F	<i>nabir-e,</i> candle-PL	<i>mšal-i-na</i> pray.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
<i>b=gaw-a</i> — LOC=inside-3S.F	<i>aty-o-no</i> came.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>qəm</i> to	<i>rağl-a</i> foot-3S.F
<i>d=i+Ndatało,</i> DEP=ART.S.F+PN	<i>hawxa.</i> like.so	<i>hate</i> PROX.S.F	<i>i+Ndatało</i> ART.S.F+PN
			<i>haqiqi</i> real

¹¹² *B-dav* is a preposition of Kurdish origin. In Kurmanji, *dev* is ‘mouth’ (Chyet 2003: 142), and it is also used as a denominal preposition ‘before’.

¹¹³ §6–12 of a text collected 14 January 2018.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Kurm. *min qisda Dêrsayde kiriye. Qesda X-î kirin* ‘to make for, head for, bend one’s steps toward, set out after’ (Chyet 2003: 484). This conversation took place in the village Häh, home to the Church of the Theotokos, also known as Dêrsayde ‘Church of the Lady’.

¹¹⁵ A contracted variant of *obónola* ‘I give her (Mary)’.

hate=yo, *i+Maryamane*¹¹⁶ *i+emo* *də=Mšiḥo,*
 PROX.S.F=COP.3S ART.S.F+mother.mary ART.S.F+mother DEP=PN
hate=yo.
 PROX.S.F=COP.3S

I came today, it is the Theotokos.¹¹⁷ I came, I petitioned the Theotokos, she is the mother of Christ, I did. Today, in order to pray inside it—I give her candles, we pray inside it—I came to the foot of the Theotokos, like so. This one is the true Theotokos, this is Mother Mary, the mother of Christ.

7. *aṣ+ṣed-e* *d=i+ṣito* *ko=saym-i-nan-ne* *disa*
 ART.PL+festival-PL DEP=ART.S.F+church PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-3PL again
ṣed-e ... *ṣedo* *naṣimo* *lazəm=yo.*
 festivals-PL festival small necessary=COP.3S
u+ṣed-ano, *ṣedo* *zṣuro,* *u+mawlodo*
 ART.S.M+festival-PROX.S.M festival small ART.S.M+birthday
də=Mšiḥo=yo. *g=nūḥr-i-na* *ṣafur-e, saym-i-na*
 DEP=PN=COP.3S PRS=slaughter.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL kid-PL do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
*i+kūrbune*¹¹⁸ *də=Mšiḥo,* *w gəd nūḥr-i-nan-ne,* *w*
 ART.S.F+nativity DEP=PN and FUT slaughter.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-3PL and
saym-i-na *marga*¹¹⁹ *w rezo, w gđ=ob-i-na*
 do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL stew and rice and FUT=give.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
səkkar ṣakar *l=an+noš-e* *ayna* *d=ote.*
 sugar candy to=ART.PL+people-PL which DEP=come.PRS

The church festivals, we do them, once again, the festivals... Christmas is necessary. This festival, the small festival, is the birth of Christ. We slaughter kids, we celebrate the Nativity of Christ, and we slaughter them, and we make stew and rice, and we give sugar candy to the people, whoever comes.

8. *k=ote* *mašalm-one* *m=aq+qəry-awot-ani* *diḍ-an*
 PRS-come.PRS muslim-PL from=ART.PL+village-PL-PROX.PL DEP-1PL
kül-le. *k=ot-ən* *gab-an* *l=u+ṣedo,*
 all-3PL PRS=come.PRS-SBJ.PL by-1PL to=ART.S.M+festival
kə=myaqr-i-na *u+ṣedo* *ğālābe.*
 PRS=respect-SUBJ.PL-1PL ART.S.M+festival very

¹¹⁶ Cf. Turk. Meryem Ana ‘Mother Mary’, i.e. Our Lady (Redhouse 1968: 780).

¹¹⁷ The conversation took place on the 14th of January, the eve of the ‘The Festival of the Virgin Mary for the Sowing’, according to the Liturgical Calendar of the Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch.

¹¹⁸ Kurm. *kur* ‘son’ and *būn* ‘to become’, i.e. the Nativity.

¹¹⁹ A kind of stew made from meat and onions, ultimately from Arabic *maraq* ‘broth, boullion, gravy’ (Wehr 1961: 904).

<i>k=ob-i-na-l-e</i> PRS=give.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-O-3S.M	<i>šakar,</i> candy	<i>k=ob-i-nan-ne</i> PRS=give.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-3PL
<i>med-one.</i> thing-PL	<i>u+šed-ano</i> ART.S.M+festival-PROX.S.M	<i>meqəm</i> before
<i>lo+ħayf-i-way-na</i> NEG+wash.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>hül</i> until	<i>ħamšahšar+yawm-e,</i> 15.M+day-PL
<i>lo+maħt-i-way-na</i> NEG+put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>may-e</i> water-PL	<i>šal qarš-an, hül</i> upon head-1PL until
<i>l=u+yawmo</i> to=ART.S.M+day	<i>d=mašmad</i> ¹²⁰ DEP=baptize.PST.PASS	<i>Mšiħo, u+yawmo</i> PN ART.S.M+day
<i>d=mašmad</i> DEP=baptize.PST.PASS	<i>Mšiħo. henú</i> PN then	<i>g=mašmd-i-na,</i> PRS=baptize.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
<i>k=ħayf-i-na,</i> PRS=wash.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>maħt-i-way-na</i> put.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL	<i>may-e ġamud-e šal</i> water-PL cold-PL upon
<i>qarš-ayna,</i> head-1PL	<i>b=u+šəkl</i> LOC=ART.S.M+likeness	<i>d=i+murən.</i> DEP=ART.S.F+myrrh

Muslims come from all these villages of ours.¹²¹ They come to us for the festival, we have a lot of respect for the festival. We give him candy, we give them things.¹²² This festival, formerly we did not wash for fifteen days,¹²³ we did not put water on our heads, until the day Christ was baptized, the day Christ was baptized. Then we baptize,¹²⁴ we wash up, we put cold water on our heads, in the manner of myrrh.

9. *ono būxwá*¹²⁵ *he* *hawxa ko=saym-o-no,*
 1S REFL still like.so PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S

lo+ağ+ğul-aydi *lo+ad+dəsmal-aydi, w lo+ħəf-l-i,*
 NEG+ART.PL+clothes-1S NEG+ART.PL+scarf-1S and NEG+wash.PST-A-1S

m=u+šedo *hül laly-e d=u+danħo.*¹²⁶
 from=ART.S.M+festival until night-3S.M DEP=ART.S.M+epiphany

¹²⁰ Note that the surface form is like that of the Midyat variety and unlike that of Midən (cf. Jastrow 2002: 151).

¹²¹ I.e. from the villages in the vicinity of Derqube.

¹²² The first verb takes a singular object, and the second takes a plural one.

¹²³ I.e. between Christmas (December 25) and the Baptism of Jesus (January 6).

¹²⁴ I.e. they re-enact the baptism of Jesus in the church by immersing the cross in the font.

¹²⁵ Kurm. *bi xwe* ‘by oneself, on one’s own’, coreferential with the agent of the clause (Chyet 2003: 671).

¹²⁶ Syr. *denħā* in its derived meaning ‘Epiphany’ (SL 313: ‘dawn; east; appearance, Epiphany). A more informal name of the holiday is *šmodo* ‘baptism (of Jesus)’.

<i>laly-e</i> night-3S.M	<i>d=u+danho</i> DEP=ART.S.M+epiphany	<i>əmm-o-no,</i> say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>ʔa rab</i> ¹²⁷ VOC lord
<i>xūd</i> like	<i>də=sləg-l-ūx</i> ¹²⁸ DEP=erase.PST-A-2S.M	<i>u+mūbr</i> ART.S.M+seal	<i>d=Adam</i> ¹²⁹ DEP=Adam
<i>d=hat</i> DEP=2S	<i>səlg-at</i> erase.PRS-2S	<i>ah+ħətoḥ-aydan', –</i> ART.PL+sin.PL-1PL	<i>ħəf-l-i</i> wash.PST-A-1S
<i>qayim-o-no</i> stand.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>fəlg-e+d=lalyo</i> middle-3S.M+DEP=night	<i>i+saʔa</i> ART.S.F+hour	
<i>b=a+traḥsar,</i> LOC=ART.PL+twelve	<i>ħəf-l-i</i> wash.PST-A-1S	<i>w</i> and	<i>maḥat-l-i may-e</i> put.PST-A-1S water-PL
<i>ğamud-e</i> cold-PL	<i>ʔal</i> upon	<i>i+laš-aydi,</i> ART.S.F+body-1S	<i>w</i> and
<i>ağ+ğul-aydi,</i> ART.PL+clothes-1S	<i>hawxa.</i> like.so	<i>lwəš-l-i</i> dress.PST-A-1S	

I myself still do it this way, neither my clothing nor my headscarves, and I did not wash from Christmas to Epiphany. The night of Epiphany, I say, ‘Lord, as you have erased the seal of Adam through Christ, may you erase our sins!’—I washed and got up at midnight, at twelve, I washed and put cold water upon my body and wear my clothes, like so.

10. <i>w</i> and	<i>ha</i> PRST	<i>ədlalyo=ste</i> tonight=TOP	<i>i+Ndatało=yo,</i> ART.S.F+PN=COP.3S	<i>disa</i> again
<i>at-i-na,</i> come.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>səm-l-i</i> make.PST-A-1S	<i>qəsd</i> goal	<i>d=Aloho.</i> DEP=God	
<i>at-ən-wa</i> come.PST-SBJ.PL-PST	<i>an+naʔim-e</i> ART.PL+child-PL	<i>l=u+ʔed-aydan,</i> to=ART.S.M+festival-1PL		
<i>at-ən,</i> come.PST-SBJ.PL	<i>aty-o-no</i> come.PST-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>aʔm-ayye,</i> with-3PL	<i>saym-i-na</i> do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	
<i>u+ʔed-atte,</i> ART.S.M+festival-3PL	<i>laly-e</i> night-3S.M	<i>d=i+Ndatało=yo.</i> DEP=ART.S.F+PN=COP.3S		
<i>d=ot-ən</i> DEP=come.PRS-SBJ.PL	<i>ədlalyo,</i> tonight	<i>gd=ote</i> FUT=come.PRS	<i>u+qašo</i> ART.S.M+priest	<i>me</i> from
<i>Beqüşyone,</i> PN	<i>harke</i> here	<i>qašo</i> priest	<i>layt,</i> NEG.exist	<i>gd-ote</i> FUT-come.PRS
<i>Beqüşyone,</i> PN	<i>gə=mşale,</i> FUT=pray.PRS	<i>gə=mşal-i-na</i> FUT=pray.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>harke</i> here	<i>w</i> and

¹²⁷ Arab. *yā rabb* ‘oh Master!’

¹²⁸ The verb *sləgle/soləg* is a denominative verb derived in Turoyo from the Turkish borrowing *silgi* ‘eraser’ (Redhouse 1968: 1018).

¹²⁹ The genuine Turoyo form of this PN is Ođəm. The form Adam may be an Arabism.

<i>i+badle</i> ART.S.F+suit	<i>maqlab-to</i> inside.out-F	<i>ʕal</i> upon	<i>ruḥ-e.</i> self-3S.M	<i>aḥna</i> 1PL
<i>g=lawš-i-na</i> PRS=dress.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>m=ağ+ğul-e</i> from=ART.PL+clothes-PL		<i>maqalb-e</i> inside.out-PL	<i>yani</i> HES
<i>ḥəzn-i-na</i> be.sad.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>də=Msiho,</i> DEP=PN	<i>d=l=ağ+ğuhu</i> DEP=A=ART.PL+Jew		<i>şlu-we.</i> crucify.PST-3PL
<i>e, fāš</i> yes remain.PST	<i>tloto+yawm-e</i> 3+day-PL	<i>b=u+qawro,</i> LOC=ART.S.M+grave	<i>w</i> and	<i>saləq</i> rise.PST
<i>l=i+šmayo,</i> to=ART.S.F+heaven	<i>e</i> yes	<i>annaqqa</i> now.then	<i>maşkr-i-na</i> thank.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>Aloho.</i> God
<i>i+heviy-aydan</i> ART.S.F+hope-1PL	<i>ʕal</i> upon	<i>Aloho</i> God	<i>d=lo+qotaʕ-l-an</i> DEP=NEG+cut.PRS-O-1PL	
<i>m=u+diwan-ayde.</i> ¹³² from=ART.S.M+presence-3S.M		<i>d=aḥna=stene</i> DEP=1PL=TOP	<i>b=u+şəkl-ayde</i> LOC=ART.S.M+manner-3S.M	
<i>ko=saym-i-na,</i> PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>hē</i> still	<i>aḥna</i> 1PL	<i>i+mod-aydan</i> ART.S.F+style-1PL	<i>t=arke,</i> DEP=here
<i>lə+mdagš-i-l-an,</i> NEG+change.PST-P.PL-A-1PL	<i>hē</i> still	<i>lə+mdagš-i-l-an.</i> NEG+change.PST-P.PL-A-1PL		<i>hawxa.</i> like.so

And on the Fridays of the Crucifixion, we re-enact the Crucifixion, as the Jews crucified Christ, once more we go to the church mournfully, we pray. Once more, inside-out black clothes. The bishop, the priest wears the suit inside out upon himself. We wear some clothes inside out, like, we are sad that Christ...that the Jews crucified him. Yes, he remained three days in the grave, and went up to Heaven, so we thank God. Our hope upon God is that he will not cut us out of his presence. Since we also do it in his way,¹³³ it is still our custom from here, we still haven't changed it, we still haven't changed it. Like so.

6. The First Kurdish Insurgency¹³⁴

After returning to Derqube, Nisane continued to live in the village for 65 years, save for a period of seven years (1990–7), during which the Turkish government resettled her and her family in Bequsyone, as a consequence of the first Kurdish insurgency (1984–99).

1. *annaqqa* *məl-l-i,* *u+yawm-awo,* *kət=wa* *hən*
now.then say.PST-A-1S ART.S.M+day-DIST.S.M exist=PST some

¹³² Cf. *diwan* 'audience hall' (Ritter 1979 s.v.).

¹³³ I.e. we baptize in the same manner that Jesus was baptized.

¹³⁴ §217–19 and §262–78 of a text collected 8 July 2018.

<i>armənoy-e,</i> Armenian-PL	<i>l+ədʃay-no</i> ¹³⁵ NEG+know.PST-1S	<i>d=kən-ne</i> DEP=exist-3PL	<i>armənoy-e.</i> Armenian-PL
<i>at-ən</i> come.PST-3PL	<i>hanək=stene,</i> DIST.PL=TOP	<i>yani,</i> HES	<i>faqir-a səm-me</i> poor-PL do.PST-3PL
<i>min-i.</i> ¹³⁶ from-1S	<i>Xačo</i> PN	<i>atı</i> come.PST	<i>səm-l-e-l-i</i> do.PST-A-3S.M-O-1S
			<i>terğāmaniye.</i> translation
<i>l+ədʃay-no</i> NEG+know.PST-1S	<i>armənoy-e=ne.</i> Armenian-PL=COP.3PL	<i>ğğil-i-na</i> speak.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL	<i>disa,</i> again
<i>əmm-o-no,</i> say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S	<i>‘aşır</i> really	<i>aq+qoruğiy-ani</i> ART.PL+guard-PROX.PL	<i>lo ʃal</i> NEG upon
<i>at+ʃālāba</i> ART.PL+insurgent	<i>kə=mşayl-i,</i> PRS=seek.PRS-SBJ.PL	<i>ʃal</i> upon	<i>am+māram-atte.</i> ¹³⁷ ART.PL+ambition-3PL
<i>k=əmmi,</i> PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL	<i>tre+bote</i> 2+houses	<i>şuroy-e=ne,</i> Syriac-PL=COP.3PL	<i>maht-i-na</i> put.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
<i>mede</i> thing	<i>bʷ=qdol-ayye,</i> LOC=neck-3PL	<i>d=mataʃn-i,</i> DEP=pack.PRS-SBJ.PL	<i>fayş-o</i> stay.PRS-F
			<i>i+qrito</i> ART.S.F+village
			<i>el-an</i> for-1PL

Now then, I said, one day, there were some Armenians,¹³⁸ I did not know that they were Armenians. Along came those ones, like, the poor things asked me a question. *Xačo* came and translated for me.¹³⁹ I did not know they were Armenians. We spoke, again, I say, ‘Really, these village guards¹⁴⁰ do not pursue insurgents, but their own ambitions. They say, ‘These are two Syriac houses, let us pin something on them, so that they get packing, the village would stay behind for us’.

2. *grəş-xu* *ğālābe* *zahme* *m=aq+qoruğiy-e?*
pull.PRS-2PL much trouble from=ART.PL+guard-PL

Ilyas: Did you get a lot of trouble from the village guards?

¹³⁵ A contracted form of *l+ədʃəwayno*.

¹³⁶ Cf. the *Ṭur Abdin Kurm. faqira pirs ji min kir* ‘the poor ones made a request from me’ (*faqira* is a pl. oblique agent in the ergative construction).

¹³⁷ *Kurm. merem*. Cf. Chyet (2003: 373): ‘1) goal, intention, aim, purpose; 2) desire, ambition < Ar *marām* wish, desire’.

¹³⁸ The detail that they are Armenians is not relevant to the story that follows, save to introduce the fact that they did not speak any of the local languages.

¹³⁹ *Xačo* is Nisane’s son-in-law. He serves Nisane and the Armenians as a translator, because Nisane speaks neither Turkish nor Armenian, and the Armenians speak neither Kurmanji nor *Ṭuroyo*.

¹⁴⁰ I.e. the village militias, from Turk. *Türkiye Güvenlik Köy Korucuları* ‘Turkey Security Village Guards’, recruited from local villagers to assist in military operations against the insurgent Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK).

3. *Ooo ma mede!*¹⁴¹ *ašŕ maḥšm-i-na,*
 INTJ Q something really dine.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
lo+mağr-i-way-na d=mağrŕ-i-na,
 NEG+dare.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL DEP=breakfast.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
mağrŕ-i-way-na lo+mağr-i-way-na
 breakfast.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL NEG+dare.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL
maḥšm-i-na... moḥ-ən-way-l-an! 'yalla,
 dine.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL beat.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-O-1PL INTJ
k=ob-ut-ən-ne laḥmo!' b=ad+duğl-e
 PRS=give.PRS-2PL-SBJ.PL-3PL bread INS=ART.PL+lie-PL
b=a+hne hül ũŕdo=ste, hül ũŕdo=stene, hül
 INS=ART.PL+whatsit until now=TOP until now=TOP until
ũŕdo=ste k=əmm-i, u+qunağ-atte Beqŕsyone
 now=TOP PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL ART.S.M+safe.house-3PL PN
w Dŕrube=yo. əmm-o-no: ḥedor-an hawŕ, Ālo,
 and PN=COP.3S say.PRS-SBJ.S.F-1S around-1PL environment God
ko=saym-i gəlb dḥ=ḥdode=ste, xəŕ-le ḥdode,
 PRS=do.PRS-SBJ.PL complaint DEP=RECP=TOP eat.PST-3PL RECP
qŕl-le ḥdode. hawxa, l=i+bətriye xil-a
 kill.PST-3PL RECP like.so A=ART.S.F+affluence eat.PST-3S.F
gald-ayye. hawxa, mašfaŕ-l-an ũmr-an hawxa.
 skin-3PL like.so lead.PST-A-1PL life-1PL like.so

Nisane: Ooo, something awful! Really, were we to have dinner, we would not dare to have breakfast. Were we to have breakfast, we would not dare to have dinner...they would beat us! 'Go! You are giving them food!' By lies, by whatsit...Until now, till now, until now they say that Beqŕsyone and Dŕrube are their safe house.¹⁴² I say, everywhere around us, God, they make complaints about each other too, they ate each other, they killed each other. So, affluence ate them up. So, we spent our life like this.

4. *hat k=ote l=bol-ax d=i+naqqa Beqŕsyone*
 2S PRS=come.PRS to=mind-2S.F DEP=ART.S.F+time PN
kmo+bote kət=wa eb-a, b=u+zabn-awo?
 how.many+house.PL exist=PST LOC-3S.F LOC=ART.S.M+time-DIST.S.M

Ilyas: Do you remember when Beqŕsyone... at that time how many houses were there in it?

¹⁴¹ Cf. Kurm. '*ma tištekl!?*' lit. 'is it a thing/something'. The meaning is 'it is something really bad'.

¹⁴² I.e. of the PKK insurgents.

5. *káp-way-l-a* *mo+w+hamši,* *tarte+mo+bote,* *ğáläbe=way-ne.*
 hold-PST-POS-3S.F 100+and+50 2.F+100+house.PL many=PST-3PL
mo+w+hamši+bote=way-ne, *tarte+mo+bote=way-ne.*
 100+and+50+house.PL=PST-3PL 2.F+100+house.PL=PST-3PL

Nisane: It contained one hundred and fifty, two hundred houses, they were many. There were one hundred and fifty houses, there were two hundred houses.

6. *e,* *qrito* *ŷamər-to=wa.* *yani* *u+qamoyo* *d=nafəq*
 yes village populated-F=PST HES ART.S.M+first DEP=exit.PST
me *Beqüşyone,* *əə...* *Amsih* *əmm-i-way-na-l-e,*
 from PN HES PN say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST-1PL-O-3S.M
u+abro *d=ŷawme* *Mirəke,* *u+aḥuno* *d=qašo* *Usəv.*
 ART.S.M+son DEP=PN PN ART.S.M+brother DEP=priest PN
balki *ŷamiŷ-at* *b=əsm-e.* *k=owe* *yani*
 maybe hear.PST-2S O=name-3S.M PRS=become.PRS HES
u+mərhov-atxu, *u+abro* *d=u+ŷammo,*
 ART.S.M+compatriot-2PL ART.S.M+son DEP=ART.S.M+paternal.uncle
u+ḥatn-atxu *Brahim,* *u+ḥatn-atxu*
 ART.S.M+in.law-2PL PN ART.S.M+in.law-2PL
d=a+kfarzoy-e=yo, *hawxa.* *edi* *məd* *fīḥ*
 DEP=ART.PL+Kfarzean-PL=COP.3S like.so then when open.PST.PASS
u+darb-ano, *m²=qm=i+ṭayuto,* *band* *w*
 ART.S.M+way-PROX.S.M from=by=ART.S.F+Islam sectarianism and
barbariye, *m²=qəm* *ḥdode,* *ḥənnək=ste...*
 partisanship from=by RECP 3PL=TOP

Yes, it was a well-populated village. Like, the first who left Beqüşyone....We called him Amsih, the son of Mirəke ŷawme and the brother of Fr Usəv. Maybe you have heard his name. He is your compatriot,¹⁴³ their cousin, your in-law Brahim, he is your Kfarzean-in-law, like so. Then, when this way¹⁴⁴ opened, away from Islam, sectarianism, and partisanship, away from each other, they too...

7. *howe-wa* *barbariye* *b=Beqüşyone=ste?*
 become.PRS-PST partisanship LOC=PN=TOP

Ilyas: Was there partisanship in Beqüşyone as well?

¹⁴³ I.e. ŷawme. Nisane is speaking to Ilyas. By this she means that ŷawme is related to the Kfarzeans by marriage.

¹⁴⁴ During the 1990s, many Turkish citizens from this region applied for asylum in various European countries as a consequence of the displacement and violence that Nisane describes. See Kirişçi 2003: 79–106.

8. *hül ũdo=ste barbariye=yo!*
 until now=TOP partisanship=COP.3S

Nisane: Until now even there is partisanship!

9. *e ũal mən? yani Dakšuriy-e w Haverkiy-e?*
 yes upon what HES PN-PL and PN-PL

Ilyas: Because of what? Like, the Dakshori¹⁴⁵ and the Havarki:¹⁴⁶

10. *lo, lo, Häverkiy-e lo+fäš!*
 NEG NEG PN-PL NEG+stay.PST

Nisane: No, no, the Havarki did not survive.

11. *mən=wa i+mäsale?*
 what=PST ART.S.F.+problem

Ilyas: What was the problem?

12. *Häverkiy-e lo+fäš. mašrat, e, mäl-l-i aḥna*
 PN-PL NEG+stay.PST INTJ yes say.PST-A-1S 1PL
Häverki-way-na. l=i+hkume maqəm-l-a-l-an, mašrat
 PN-PST-1PL A=ART.S.F.+government uproot.PST-A-3S.F-O-1PL INTJ
ḡam-an xil-a:¹⁴⁷ ḥəngi aṭ+ṭay-e mŷant-i-wa
 grief-1PL eat.PST-3S.F because ART.PL+Muslim-PL hate.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
min-an, əmm-i d=aq+qoruḡiy-e mŷant-i-wa
 from-1PL say.PRS-SBJ.PL DEP=ART.PL+guard-PL hate.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
min-an, əmm-i, 'd=howe qaṭlo
 from-1PL say.PRS-SBJ.PL DEP=become.PRS killing
b=a+dk-oṭ-ani, g=əzzo-xu eb-a!¹⁴⁸ b=Aloho,
 LOC=ART.PL+place-PL-PROX.PL FUT=go.PRS-2PL LOC-3S.F LOC=God
i+hkume əmm-o ḡd=ob-i-na-nxu ũarab-at=ste!
 ART.S.F.+government say.PRS-F FUT=give.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL-2PL car-PL=TOP
mede d=u+baxto! dayəm gab-an-way-ne, ũxl-i-wa
 thing DEP=ART.S.M+honour always side-1PL-PST-3PL eat.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST
w šot-m-wa. d=how-ən-wa emekli¹⁴⁹
 and drink.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST DEP=become.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST retired
m=a+dk-oṭ-ani, əmm-i-wa, 'mšayal b=kēf
 from=ART.PL+place-PL-PROX.PL say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST ask.IMP O=wellbeing

¹⁴⁵ The Dakshori are a tribal confederation that took the side of the government (General Staff 1923: 42).

¹⁴⁶ The Havarki are the tribal confederation that took the side of the Kurdish insurgents (McDowall 2004: 469–71).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Kurm. *xema keseki/tiṣteki xwarin* ‘worry about s.o./s.t.’, lit. ‘eat the grief of s.o./s.t.’; *xem* ‘grief, sorrow, distress’ (Chyet 2003: 653).

¹⁴⁸ The 3rd f. sg. suffix is a syntactic expletive.

¹⁴⁹ Turk. ‘retired’ (Redhouse 1968: 338).

d=tayza,¹⁵⁰ *ko=nüşq-i-na* *id-a*, *k=əbŷ-i-na*
 DEP=auntie PRS=kiss.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL hand-3S.F PRS=want.PRS-SBJ.PL-1PL
d^p=mfabl-o-l-an!
 DEP=forgive.PRS-SBJ.S.F-O-1PL

Nisane: The Havarki did not survive. Believe it or not, yes, I said we were Havarki. The government uprooted us, believe it or not, it worried about us. Because the Muslims hated us so much, they say that... the village guards hated us so much, they¹⁵¹ say, 'If there is any killing in these places, you will be in the thick of it'. By God, the government says they will also give you cars! What an honour! They were always by our side,¹⁵² they ate and drank. When they became retired from these places, they said, 'Ask how auntie is doing! Give her a kiss for us,¹⁵³ we want her to forgive us'.

13. *edi maqám-mal-l-an l=Beqüşyone, fayiş-i-na*
 then uproot.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL to=PN stay.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL
şwah+şnay-e xwinî b=Beqüşyone. veğa aq+qüşnoy-e,
 7+year-PL manslayer LOC=PN then ART.PL+Beqüşyonian-PL
lə+mtahmál-lal-l-an. gab əmm-i-wa: haverkiye=ne,
 NEG+bear.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL sometimes say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST PN=COP.3PL
gab əmm-i-wa táläba=ne! maqám-mal-l-an,
 sometimes say.PRS-SBJ.PL-PST insurgents=COP.3PL uproot.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL
maqám-mal-l-an. tlat+kor-e mhá-l-lal-l-an
 uproot.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL 3+time-PL beat.PST-A-3PL-O-1PL
l=aq+qüşnoy-e, hül d=qayim-i-na. yani
 A=ART.PL+Beqüşyonian-PL until DEP=stand.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL HES
zəriy-at=way-na:¹⁵⁴ ono w u+qašo w u+muxtár.
 relative-PL=PST-1PL 1S and ART.S.M+priest and ART.S.M+headman
em-i w i+em-atte bnoto d=ŷamm-one
 mother-1S and ART.S.F+mother-3PL daughter.PL DEP=paternal.uncle-PL
haq. w damt-i=ste i+hozo
 true and sister.in.law-1S=TOP ART.S.F+sister
d=u+hasyo=yo w i+barto
 DEP=ART.S.M+bishop=COP.3S and ART.S.F+daughter
d=u+ŷammo d=u+qašo
 DEP=ART.S.M+paternal.uncle DEP=ART.S.M+priest
w d=u+muxtár=wa.
 and DEP=ART.S.M+headman=PST

¹⁵⁰ Turk. *teyze* 'maternal aunt' (Redhouse 1968: 1168)

¹⁵¹ I.e. the government.

¹⁵² I.e. the soldiers of the Turkish army sent to the region.

¹⁵³ Lit. 'we are kissing her hand'.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Ottoman *zerŷ* 'seed; issue, progeny' (Redhouse 1890: 1007b).

Then they uprooted us to Beqūsyone, we stayed seven years like manslaughter¹⁵⁵ in Beqūsyone. Well, the Beqūsyonians, they could not stand us. Sometimes they said, ‘They are Havarki’, sometimes they said, ‘They are insurgents!’ They uprooted us, they uprooted us. Three times the people of Beqūsyone beat us until we left. Like, we were family: I, the priest, and the village headman. My mother and their mother, real cousins.¹⁵⁶ And my sister in-law as well, she is the sister of a bishop and the cousin of the priest and the village headman.

14. *mašraṭ* *ilat+kor-e* *mḃá-l-lal-l-an* *w*
 INTJ 3+time-PL beat.PST-A-3PL-O-1PL and
mofáq-qal-l-an. *fayiš-i-na* *šwaŋ+ššne* *məd*
 drive.away.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL stay.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL 7+year.PL when
fūḥ *u+darbo* *d=aq+qəry-awoṭe.* *mraḡaŋ-l-an,*¹⁵⁷
 open.PST.PASS ART.S.M+way DEP=ART.PL+village-PL apply.PST-A-1PL
hu-we *daštər*¹⁵⁸ *did-an,* *edi* *at-i-na.*
 give.PST-3PL permission DEP-1PL then come.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL
ŋomar *bayt-ūx* *w* *dət-te* *tavda.*¹⁵⁹ *ann+avay-ani,*
 grow.PRS house-2S.M and DEP-3PL together ART.PL+building-PROX.PL
l=ḥa me *u+qaš-awo* *d=ko=ḥōr* *b=Mār Gawriye*
 A=1 from ART.S.M+priest-DIST.S.M DEP=PRS=care.PRS O=PN

Believe it or not, three times they beat us and drove us away. We had stayed for seven years when the way to the villages was opened. We applied, they gave us permission, then we came. Thanks to you and them together! These buildings, someone from...that priest that takes care of Mor Gabriel¹⁶⁰...

15. *mdagel-e* *ššti+alfo* *aŋm-an!*
 dupe.PST-3S.M 60+1000 with-1PL

He duped us sixty thousand (liras)!¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ I.e. fugitives from the law.

¹⁵⁶ I.e. their fathers are brothers.

¹⁵⁷ The verb was borrowed from some form of Arabic, cf. *rġŋ* III ‘apply for information, consult’, *muraḡaŋa* ‘petition’ (Wehr 1971: 328). Cf. also Turkish *müracaat* ‘appeal’ (Redhouse 1968: 422).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *dastūr* ‘permission’ (Ritter 1979 s.v.); Kurm. *destūr* id. (Chyet 2003: 142). Note that devoiced obstruents (stops and /s/) are sometimes pharyngealized in the vicinity of /r/. This happens in both the inherited lexicon and loanwords.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Kurm. *mala te û ya wa tavda ava* ‘may both your (sg.) house and theirs grow/prosper!’

¹⁶⁰ The Monastery of Mor Gabriel.

¹⁶¹ He promised that much and did not deliver.

16. *ánnaqqa m̄t-əl-l-e. b=Mār Gawriye k=əm̄m-i,*
 now.then bring.PST-P.PL-A-3S.M LOC=PN PRS=say.PRS-SBJ.PL
m̄r-re, ‘aq+q̄ry-awote k̄l-le daʕir-i...’.
 say.PST-3PL ART.PL+village-PL all-3PL return.PST-SBJ.PL
h̄i-l-e-l-an arbʕi, w aʕ + ʕ̄sri+h̄ren-e
 give.PST-A-3S.M-O-1PL 40 and ART.PL+20+other-PL
l+ú-wal-l-an-ne. edi ʕomar bayt-üx w
 NEG+give.PST-A.3PL-O-1PL-3PL then grow.PRS house-2S.M and
d̄ət-te, h̄ən l=an+naʕim-aydan, h̄ən l=ar+roḥum-aydan.
 DEP-3PL some A=ART.PL+small-1PL some A=ART.PL+friend-1PL
d̄ōst x̄ūd-ani, an+naʕim-e, ax+xwarzin-atxu
 pal like-PROX.PL ART.PL+small-PL ART.PL+nephew-2PL
d=a+kfarzoy-e, d=Həndo w hanək
 DEP=ART.PL+Kfarzean-PL DEP=PN and DIST.PL

Then he brought it. In Mor Gabriel, they say, they say, ‘All the vil-lages have returned...’¹⁶² He gave us forty, but they did not give the other twenty to us. Then thanks to you and them, our children (gave) some, our friends (gave) some. Pals like these ones, the children, your Kfarzean nephews,¹⁶³ Həndo’s and the like...

17. *h̄ən m=arke w h̄ən m=arke, l=Aloho*
 some from=here and some from=here A=God
maq̄dy-o-l-e.¹⁶⁴ ann+avay-ani, yani d=əm̄m-at,
 carry.out.PST-P.S.F-A-3S.M ART.PL+building-PROX.PL HES DEP=say.PRS-2S
bele, balki b=m̄klo w maštyo hawi ašmo, elo
 yes perhaps for=eating and drinking become.PST little but
ann+avay-ani, dawla d=Ālo d=riš-e
 ART.PL+building-PROX.PL luck DEP=God DEP=head-PL
d=u+ʕamo,¹⁶⁵ l=u+ʕamo maʕmar-l-e-l-an-ne,
 DEP=ART.S.M+people A=ART.S.M+people build.PST-A-3S.M-for-1PL-3PL
w hawxa. ha maṭ-i-na l=üʕdo, t̄əzm̄arra sāḡ!¹⁶⁶
 and like.so PRST arrive.PST-SBJ.PL-1PL to=now for.my.sake well

¹⁶² I.e. they needed this money for the other returnees.

¹⁶³ Nisane refers in this way to the children of Həndo, a Kfarzean woman, who married a Beqūsyonian.

¹⁶⁴ The feminine infix *-o-* must refer to *avayye* (f) ‘house’. For the verb phrase, cf. Kurm. *Xwede qedand* ‘God completed, God solved (the problem)’, implying ‘we managed to do it’. Kurm. *qedandin* (Chyet 2003: 474) and Turoyo *maq̄dele* ‘finish’ are both ultimately borrowings from Arabic *q̄dy*.

¹⁶⁵ Kurm. *dawlet Xwedê serê xalk* lit. ‘the power of the Lord upon the people’, i.e. ‘thanks to the people’. Cf. Chyet 2003: 145 s.v. *dewlet* 3.

¹⁶⁶ In literary Kurmanji, *tu ji min re sax* ‘you (be) well for my sake’.

Some from here and some from there, God made it happen. These buildings, like, you say, yes, probably there was a little for food and drink, but the buildings, thanks to the people, the people built them for us, and like so. Here we have arrived at the present day, be well for my sake!

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NISANE: THE LIFE OF A MESOPOTAMIAN PEASANT



Plate 1. Nisane Ergün. © 2018 Irine Kaplan

Syriac and Kurdish Villages

- Ⓢ Çönkaf
- Ⓢ Kerboran
- Ⓢ Meranke
- Ⓢ Mülla ÇAbbas
- Ⓢ Qamaşlo
- Ⓢ İwardo
- Ⓢ Arbo
- Ⓢ Beqüsyone
- Ⓢ Dêrqube
- Ⓢ Häh
- Ⓢ Kfarze
- Ⓢ Märbobo
- Ⓢ Mor Gabriel Monastery
- Ⓢ Zäz
- Ⓢ Mzizah

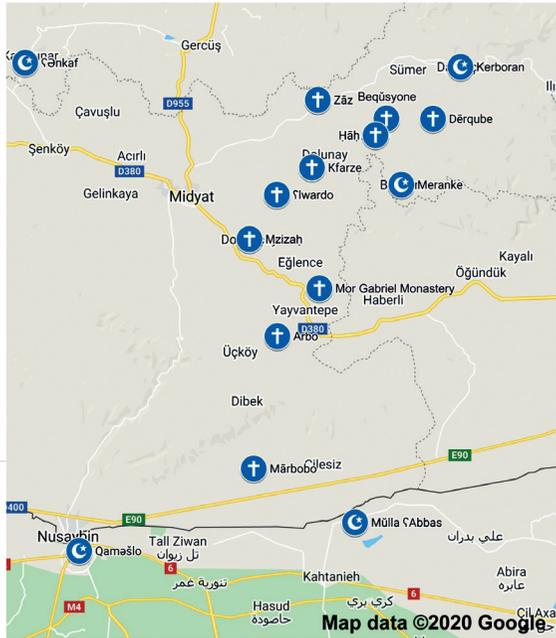


Plate 2. A Map of Places Mentioned in Nisane’s Narrative.



Plate 3. A *dargašto* or traditional cradle. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 4. A *gürno* 'mortar' and *deguo* 'pestle' used for food preparation.
© 2018 Gulsuma Demir

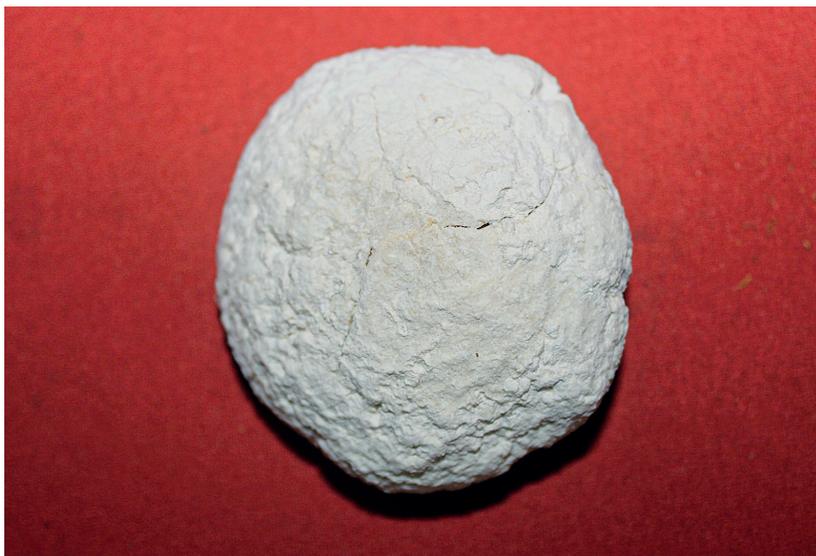


Plate 5. A patty of *gāḡḡaq* or kashk. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 6. A *gorasto* or hand mill. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 7. A *gawdo* or rocker churn. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 8. A *qahfarto* or grain vessel. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 9. A *tanuro* or traditional oven. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir



Plate 10. A *gdono* or jug. © 2018 Gulsuma Demir