

Who Killed Osman Xate?

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Abstract

The grammar of the village dialects of Țuroyo remains poorly described apart from that of Midən, and within the documentation there is a dearth of spontaneous conversations. Consequently, much about Țuroyo pragmatics and sociolinguistics in general also remains undescribed. We therefore present two short conversations between three residents of Kfarze in Tur Abdin, concerning a significant event in its recent history, together with a translation and a glossary. In addition to their value as oral histories of the Christian-Kurdish relationship in the region, they reveal significant details about the dialect of Kfarze, including 1) the contraction of triphthongs in II-y verbs; 2) nouns consistently marked with *-l-* when they express the agent of an ‘ergative’ preterite; and 3) the retention of ‘soft’ (unaspirated) *k* in Kurmanji loan vocabulary. The presence of the last feature, and of frequent code-switching between Țuroyo and Kurmanji in the spontaneous speech of these villagers, attests to the bilingual situation in Kfarze.

Keywords

oral history – sectarianism – Neo-Aramaic – Kurdish – bilingualism

1 Introduction

In his classic typology of ʿUroyo dialects,¹ Helmut Ritter assigns the subject of his research to one arm or the other of a dyad: that of Midyat (*Midyād*) on the one hand, and those of the villages (*Dörfer*) on the other. The grammar of most of the village dialects of ʿUroyo remains poorly described save that of Midan (Turkish Öğündük), for which Otto Jastrow has prepared a treatment of its phonology and morphology² as well as a primer.³ Eugen Prym and Albert Socin,⁴ Helmut Ritter,⁵ and Otto Jastrow and Shabo Talay⁶ have prepared collections of texts from various dialects and German translations, and Michael Waltisberg has written a monograph on the syntax of ʿUroyo,⁷ but a full grammar of any dialect remains a desideratum. Since 2018, the Russian HSE Expedition to Tur Abdin has been engaged in the collection of new data from the villages, with the intent of producing such a grammar.

In this article, we present for the first time two interviews from speakers of the dialect of Kfarze (Kurdish Kevirzê, Turkish Altıntaş), a village roughly 21 km to the east of Midyat, the metropolis of Tur Abdin. Kfarze is presently home to 209 residents, including 11 ʿUroyo-speaking families, of whom all belong to the Syriac Orthodox Church. The balance of the residents are Kurds who primarily speak Kurmanji and follow the Muslim faith. These Kurds are generally not conversant in ʿUroyo, but all Syriac Christians are fully bilingual in Kurmanji. The younger generations of both religious communities are also fluent in Turkish.

The subject of the two following interviews is one of the most significant events to occur in Kfarze within the last century or more, after the 1915 Genocide (*u+Fərmàn*) and the Famine (*i+Ġala*) of the early 1940s. In the latter half of December 1959, on the night of a freak snowstorm, a courier by the name

1 Implicit already in H. Ritter, *ʿUroyo. Die Volksprache der syrischen Christen des ʿUr-ʿAbdīn, C. Grammatik. Pronomen, „sein, vorhanden sein,“ Zahlwort, Verbum* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990) p. 1, in which he introduces the dichotomy.

2 O. Jastrow, *Laut und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen dialekts von Midin im ʿUr Abdin* (PhD dissertation, Bamberg, Universität des Saarlandes, 1967).

3 O. Jastrow, *Lehrbuch der ʿUroyo-Sprache* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1992).

4 E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neu-aramäische Dialekt des ʿUr Abdīn*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1881).

5 H. Ritter, *ʿUroyo. Die Volksprache der syrischen Christen des ʿUr-ʿAbdīn, A. Texte* (vol. 1, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967; vol. 2, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969; vol. 3, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971).

6 S. Talay and O. Jastrow, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Midyoyo)* (Semitica Viva 59, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019).

7 M. Waltisberg, *Syntax des ʿUroyo* (Semitica Viva 55, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016).



FIGURE 1 Kfarze

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of Šamṯən Iṣḵo and his unnamed Yezidi associate allegedly murdered Osman Xate and his son Ḥusayn (Ḥsayno). At that time, Osman was the chief (*aga*) of the local clan federation, which included the Xates, the Smaïlos, and the Ḥamḵes among other families, both Muslim and Christian, and was then loyal to the Turkish government. Previously, Osman had come into possession of Šamṯən's forged Syrian identification papers, which he required for his smuggling activities, and surrendered them to the government, depriving Šamṯən of his livelihood. The latter fled to Syria, but soon returned to Kfarze, where he met with the Xates and other members of the clan at the village assembly (Tur. *ğəvate*, Kurm. *civat*, ultimately from Arabic *jamā'ah*), ostensibly to work towards a mutual understanding. It was at one such assembly that Osman and his son were murdered. This act plunged the village into intercommunal violence, which was resolved only after the Christian families of Kfarze paid blood money to Osman and Ḥusayn's survivors.

The motives for these murders are complex and still poorly understood; to this day, the villagers offer multiple and sometimes contradictory motivations for the incident, as well as different accounts of what happened on that night, as our interviewees attest. According to one account, Šamṯən's ex-wife Maḡo Mure had an affair with her cousin Yawsef Iṣo in Midyat while Šamṯən was away on business, and for this reason Šamṯən divorced her. She then married

Uso Xətəke, whom Şamfən allegedly threatened and subsequently assassinated. Şamfən also allegedly intended to eliminate her and her father-in-law, but her family was under the protection of the Xates. Şamfən therefore allegedly resolved to eliminate Osman first to exact his revenge upon his ex-wife and her family. According to a second account, Osman's godmother, a Christian woman by the name of Şəmme Qaço, discovered Şamfən's forged papers and turned them over to Osman, who then demanded that Şamfən divorce Mağo or he would alert the government to his criminal behavior. Şamfən refused, whereupon Osman surrendered the papers to the government, thereby giving Şamfən another motive for the murder. In either case, our interviewees agree that it was not Şamfən who fired the fatal shot but rather his Yezidi accomplice. Our second interviewee, Nəfman, hints that Osman's murder was no mere crime of passion, but a consequence of his tensions with the other factions within the clan. As Nəfman might say about the courier, the truth is that the game was rigged from the start.

Having left behind a trail of dead bodies and a village in total chaos, Şamfən fled once again, first to the village of ʔIwardo (Turkish Gülgöze), then across the Syrian border to Qamishli, and subsequently to Lebanon and Australia, where he resided until his death around 2011, having never been brought to justice. Because Şamfən was a Christian, the entire Christian community in Kfarze and the neighboring villages bore collective guilt for his crimes; and the retaliation from the Muslims of Kfarze as well as those of several neighboring Kurdish villages (Helex / Narlı, Behwar / Gülveren, and Hêştrek / Ortaca) was swift. On the very night of the murder, the villagers attempted to attack Şamfən's sister Sətte, before one of the interviewees escorted her to the safety of his home. Subsequently, ʔAzo Mure and Gawrike Hədo, the trustees (*wakile*) of the Christian community in Kfarze, collected blood money for the surviving members of the Xate family from all the Christian families there, save for three households, including that of our first interviewee, Farida. Hers was the family that catered the wake for the dead Xates, which attracted many local dignitaries due to the stature of the deceased.

The death of Osman Xate and his son resulted in a power vacuum within the leadership of Kfarze. As noted above, Osman was the chief (*ağa*) of the local Kurdish clan federation, which controlled the territory around Kfarze, and to which the local Christians also pertained. These Kurdish chieftains and their rule were a relatively recent development in the long history of Kfarze. According to our primary informant, Alyas Ğəzalo, Kfarze remained an exclusively Christian village until the seventeenth century, but in the following century the people of Kfarze engaged a Kurdish chieftain by the name of Smaïlo and his clan from Doğubeyazıt in Ağrı to serve as guardians, as lawlessness had

become a major concern. Roughly twenty Kurdish families settled in Kfarze during the first half of the eighteenth century, and they soon became engaged in an internal conflict for control over the clan. By the end of that century, two factions belonging to the sons of Smaïlo emerged: that of Ȧamķe, who founded a new faction within Kfarze (*be Ȧamķe*), and that of Sařdun, who controlled the remainder of the Smaïlos (*be Smaïlo*). In 1927, the newly formed government of the Turkish Republic intervened at the request of the leader of the Christians in Kfarze, řAwdo Skandar, resulting in the flight of the Smaïlos across the Syrian border and the arrest of the Ȧamķe men. It was at this point that Osķe Xate became chief of the clan, as he was allied with the Turkish government and enjoyed their support. The Smaïlos and the Ȧamķes returned to Kfarze within the following two years, but they never reconciled themselves to Xate rule, and our informants suggest that the murders of Osķe Xate and his son may have been politically motivated. After his murder, the Smaïlos and the Ȧamķes continued to vie for control of the village, until 1970, when the Smaïlos finally left the village, leaving the Ȧamķes in undisputed control.

2 The Dialect of Kfarze

As noted above, the speech of the village of Midān is the most extensively described dialect of řuroyo. The Kfarze dialect, which Ritter documented in the second volume of his texts,⁸ is distinct from that of Midān in certain features, which it also shares with the speech of the village of Bequsyone.⁹ These features include:

1. Loanwords from Kurmanji keep the Kurdish unaspirated (or ‘soft’) sounds /ķ/, /ř/, and /ṛ̌/,¹⁰ e.g.

<i>ķaçķe</i>	‘girl’	<i>Sařte</i>	Sařte (a feminine PN)
<i>pāřlāķat</i>	‘papers’	<i>řapūķe</i>	‘poor thing’

⁸ Ritter, *řūrōyo. A. Texte*, II, pp. 1–344.

⁹ See C. Häberl and S. Loesov, ‘Nisane: The Life of a Mesopotamian Peasant’, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 66.2 (2021), pp. 559–563.

¹⁰ Ritter (*řūrōyo*, C. *Grammatik*, p. *19*) lists these sounds in his transcription guide, but does not note where these distinctions are maintained (e.g., in Kfarze) and where they have been lost (e.g., in Midān).

Note also that the first vowel of *pələḵat* is raised and phonetically distinct from either /a/ or /e/. We have indicated this raising by means of an up tack rather than transcribing it as either phoneme.

2. The reflex of the unstressed second syllable of the infectum base of the strong verb (the historical present participle *CāCiC-) is realized as /a/ rather than the Midən /ə/, e.g., *komar* ‘he says’ vs. *omər* in Midən.¹¹

3. In the base of II-y verbs, the sequence -Vyə- contracts in closed syllables, e.g., *qām* ‘he stood up’ and *kosōm* ‘he is doing’ vs. *qayem* and *soyem* in Midən.¹²

4. The numbers 2–10 have masculine and feminine forms, as in most other dialects of Țuroyo and varieties of the language, but unlike that of Midən,¹³ e.g.,

tre+zlamat ‘two men’ (m.) vs. *tarte+niše* ‘two women’ (f.)
ašto+bote ‘six houses’ (m.) vs. *šēt+saḵayat* ‘six hours’ (f.)

5. Speakers of the Kfarze variety who belong to the older generation (such as our interviewees Farida and Nəḵman) predominantly mark noun phrases with *l-* when they serve as the agent of an *l*-preterite verb (the so-called ‘ergative’ preterite),¹⁴ in contrast to that of Midən, in which such phrases are unmarked;¹⁵ whereas younger speakers (such as our interviewer Alyas) freely alternate between marked and unmarked agents of *l*-preterite verbs, with the latter predominating in their speech.

Contrast the following examples from the speech of Farida (from the older generation) and Alyas (from the younger generation):

li+šəmme ḥzela u+dozdan Šəmme found the purse (F9)
u+šamḵən qay qṭile dbe Xate? Why did Šamḵən kill the Xates? (N1)

11 For Kfarze, see Ritter, *Țūrōyo*, C. *Grammatik*, p. 98; for Midən, see Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*, p. 175.

12 Ritter, *Țūrōyo*, C. *Grammatik*, p. 510 for the preterite („Kf. māt“) and p. 514 for the infectum; Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*, pp. 177–178.

13 Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*, p. 90.

14 Cf. Waltisberg, *Syntax*, pp. 177–179, who references examples of this phenomenon within Ritter’s texts in the context of his discussion of what we call the *l*-preterite.

15 E.g., *aloho ktule, i+šāhadate* [...] *ṣal i=katpaṭe i=rāste* ‘God wrote this Shahada [...] on this right shoulder’ (Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*, p. 154). Note that *aloho*, the agent of the verb, has no overt marking. In the entirety of Jastrow’s *Lehrbuch*, there are no examples of agent noun phrases marked in the manner of those from the older speakers of the Kfarze dialect.

3 Transcription

Our transcription of the ʿuroyo text follows a modified version of the orthography developed by Otto Jastrow,¹⁶ with only a few minor differences. For example, we render prosodic units, which Jastrow describes as *Akzentkomposita* and indicates with the sign =, with the sign + instead, as the former is generally reserved for clitics in morphosyntactic notation.¹⁷ Jastrow also employs hyphens to indicate an array of morphosyntactic relationships between the separable and inseparable components of a word: consider the example *la=ḡorinalūx-yo* ‘we are not going to allow you this’,¹⁸ in which the first object pronoun is orthographically incorporated into the verb and the second is separated from it by means of a hyphen. We have opted not to separate clitics from the words they modify when they form a prosodic unit, save for proper nouns, in which we retain the convention of capitalizing the initial letter. In all such cases, enclitics are separated from the proper noun they govern by a space. Additionally, we represent ⟨ū⟩, a marginal phoneme in complementary distribution with ⟨a⟩ according to Jastrow, with ⟨u⟩ when it is found in a closed syllable (CVC) and ⟨ū⟩ when it appears in an open syllable (CV), in keeping with the representation of other phonemes in Jastrow’s orthography. We also render the unaspirated /k/, /t/, and /p/ with ⟨ḳ⟩, ⟨ṭ⟩, and ⟨p̣⟩ to distinguish them from their aspirated equivalents, as noted above. Finally, we employ the ‘combining ring below’ diacritic to indicate devoiced allophones of voiced consonants, e.g., *ḡqarši* ‘opposite’ (rather than **pqarši*) and *ḡsāmwallo* ‘that they did’ (rather than **tsāmwallo*). We render Kurmanji words and phrases, which reflect the local dialect of Tur Abdin, in a phonemic transcription rather than following the orthography of the literary language. The present text may be compared with the digital audio recording available at <https://iocs.hse.ru/en/osman>.

4 Dramatis Personae

The following is a list of the principal participants in this story, in order of their appearance:

Alyas dbe Ḡəzalo (AḠ): Our primary language expert and interviewer, Alyas is a lay deacon and mālfono in the Syriac Orthodox Church. Although he now lives in Midyat, he was born and raised in Kfarze. He was born in 1976, long after

¹⁶ Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*.

¹⁷ See online at <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>.

¹⁸ Jastrow, *Lehrbuch*, p. 126.



FIGURE 2
Alyas dbe Ġazalo

the events described in these interviews, but he has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the local history of Kfarze.

Farida dbe Marre (FM): Farida, our first interviewee, was born in Kfarze around 1938 and would have been 21 at the time of the events described in this article. Although she is a Christian, her family catered the wake of the deceased and consequently was exempt from paying blood money to their family.

Šamṡən du+Iško: The protagonist of the story, Šamṡən was a Christian from Kfarze who engaged in smuggling across the Syrian border. At the time of the narrative, he was in his thirties.

Osman (Osḵe or Ose) dbe Xate: Osman was formerly the chief of the clans in and around Kfarze. Although he was a Muslim, his mother Xate was formerly a member of the Syriac Orthodox Church who had converted to Islam during the 1915 Genocide. He seized power from the other factions within the community, chiefly the Smaïlos and the Hamḵes. He was murdered when he was in his late fifties.

Laṡle dbe Xate: Osman Xate's (q.v.) wife and widow.

Ḥusayn (Ḥsayno) dbe Xate: the son of Osman Xate (q.v.), who was also murdered on that night.

A Yezidi: Šamḡən Iškō's (q.v.) unnamed smuggling associate and the alleged murderer of Osman and Ḥusayn (q.v.).

Maḡo (Mačḡo) dbe Mure: Šamḡən Iškō's (q.v.) ex-wife, the widow of Uso Xətəḡe (q.v.) and the fulcrum around which much of the narrative revolves. The Mure family were godparents to the children of the Xates.

Šemme dbe Qačō: A Christian woman who discovers Šamḡən Iškō's (q.v.) identification papers and surrenders them to Osman Xate (q.v.).

Šabo (Šabḡo) dbe Mure: the father of Maḡo Mure (q.v.), godfather to the children of Osman Xate (q.v.) and former father-in-law of Šamḡən Iškō (q.v.).

Šara: Šamḡən Iškō's (q.v.) wife, formerly from Midyat and presently living in Australia together with her five sons.

Skandar dbe Ḥanḡe: a resident of ʿIwardo who hid Šamḡən Iškō's (q.v.) family on the night that he fled Kfarze after the murder.

Mullah ʿAli: a local mullah who took part in the search for Šamḡən Iškō (q.v.) and his family on the night of the murder.

Ḥanne dbe Marre: Farida Marre's (q.v.) father, who made foam (*kafḡe*) for Osman and Ḥusayn's wake and was consequently not obliged to pay the blood money imposed upon the Christian villagers.

Šabriyo dbe Mərado: The father of Faho Mərado (q.v.) and father-in-law of Nəḡman Čupano (q.v.). Šabriyo was similarly exempt from the blood money.

Malḡe dbe Afremḡo: Malḡe was also exempt from the blood money; according to Farida Marre (q.v.), he is the late father of Alyas Ġəzalo's (q.v.) friend Nihat.

Šəmoḡe dbe Mərado: the wife of Šabriyo Mərado (q.v.). She was initially threatened with a fine of 600 liras for speaking up but subsequently exempted from the blood payment at Nəḡman Čupano's (q.v.) request.

Maḡo dbe Iškō: Maḡo Iškō, not to be confused with Maḡo Mure (q.v.), is Šamḡən Iškō's sister, who was attacked by a mob on the night of the murder according to Farida's account.

Sətte dbe Iškō: Sətte is the sister of Šamḡən and Maḡo Iškō and was attacked by the mob in both accounts.

The Čiqals and the Wurros: Two Christian families in Kfarze whose houses were located in the vicinity of a square in which the other Christian families of the village gathered, and which was therefore the site of the Muslims' retaliation for the murder of Osman and Ḥusayn Xate (q.v.).

Xuri ʿAziz: Xuri Aziz (1919–1997) was a priest and later a chorbishop of the Syriac Orthodox Church. He was born in Kfarze. He moved from Kfarze to Diyarbakir in 1957, two years prior to the events mentioned in this piece. He authored several books in Turkish on the history of the people of Tur Abdin.

The Hamķes and the Smaĩlos: The Hamķes and the Smaĩlos were the two Kurdish families that held power in the clan federation before Osman Xate became chief.

Nəſman dbe Ćupano (nĉ): The second of our interviewees, Nəſman Ćupano, was born in Kfarze in 1938 and has spent his entire life there, working as a merchant. Like Farida Marre (q.v.), he was 21 at the time of the murders, but he played several roles in the drama, having sought Maĝo Mure's (q.v.) hand in marriage and rescued Sətte Mure (q.v.) from an angry mob on the night of the murder.

Uso dbe Xətəķe: After Šamſən Iſķo (q.v.) divorced Maĝo Mure (q.v.), she remarried Uso Xətəķe, with whom she had a daughter, Gule. Šamſən allegedly arranged for his murder.

Xate: Xate, the mother of Osman Xate (q.v.), Ĥamadé Xate (q.v.), and Səloye Xate (q.v.), was a survivor of the 1915 Genocide, who converted to Islam to escape the fate of the other Christians. She became the matriarch of the eponymous clan.

Šarķe dbe Mure: Maĝo Mure's (q.v.) mother, the wife of Šabo Mure (q.v.) and paternal aunt of Yawsef Ɣərro (q.v.).

Yawsef dbe Ɣərro: A resident of Midyat, Yawsef was Maĝo's cousin (the son of her maternal uncle) and her alleged lover.

Gallo dbe Mariķa: According to Nəſman Ćupano (q.v.), Gallo Mariķa perceived that Šabo Mure's (q.v.) life was in danger after the murders and warned Šabri Mərado (q.v.) not to admit Šabo into his house, as the search party would use it as an excuse to murder him and blame it upon Šamſən Iſķo (q.v.).

Šabri (Šabriyo) dbe Mərado: The father of Faho Mərado (q.v.) and father-in-law of Nəſman Ćupano (q.v.), whose house was searched during the hunt for Šamſən Iſķo (q.v.).

Nuri (Nuriyo) dbe Xate: Nuri is the only living son of Osman Xate (q.v.) and presently lives in Midyat.

Ramazan dbe Xate: Ramazan is one of the deceased sons of Osman Xate (q.v.).

Tašĝino dbe Xate: The son of Ramazan Xate (q.v.) and grandson of Osman Xate (q.v.).

Ĝamilo dbe Xate: A grandson of Osman. One of two members of the angry mob who attempted to rape Sətte Mure (q.v.) on the night of the murder.

Ĥamadé dbe Xate: The brother of Osman Xate (q.v.) and one of the other members of the angry mob who attempted to rape Sətte Mure (q.v.) on the night of the murder.

Faho dbe Mərado: The wife of Nəſman Ćupano (q.v.) and daughter of Šabriyo Mərado (q.v.).

Ġəḡo dbe Mure: Ġəḡo Mure (1881–1997; no relation to Maḡo Mure, q.v.) was the headman (*muxtar*) of Kfarze at the time, in which post he served for 60 years, and a member of the Christian community.

ʕAzo dbe Mure: The brother of Maḡo Mure (q.v.) and one of the two trustees (*wakile*) of the Christian community in Kfarze.

Gawriḡe (Gawriye) di+Hədo: The second trustee (*wakile*) of the Christian community in Kfarze and brother-in-law to Maḡo Mure (q.v.).

Səloye dbe Xate: The brother of Osman Xate (q.v.), who encouraged the survivors to be lenient with the Christian population of Kfarze.

Nadimo dbe Xate: The son of Səloye Xate (q.v.) and nephew of Osman Xate (q.v.).

Haddo dbe Hamḡe: the leader of the opposing party in Kfarze, the Hamḡes, and a sometime rival of Osman Xate (q.v.) and his family.

5 Farida's Interview

In the first interview, conducted by Alyas Ġəzalo at the home of Farida Marre in Kfarze during the month of January 2018, Farida provides the basic outline of the events that had transpired 58 years earlier in December 1959. Given both parties' familiarity with these events, her narrative is somewhat disjointed, as she assumes much on the part of her audience. Nonetheless, the following text represents an unstructured and spontaneous conversation between two native and competent speakers of ʦuroyo, albeit ones belonging to different genders and generations.

Over the course of the conversation, Farida makes several important assertions about the events of that year. Firstly, she claims that it was not Šamʕən Iṣḡo who murdered Osman Xate, but rather his unnamed Yezidi associate, practically in an act of self-defense. Šamʕən was visiting an assembly at the house of Osman Xate and his wife Laʕle, when he refused to surrender his rifle to the lady of the household, as was customary. According to her account, Osman and his son ʔusayn attempted to wrestle the rifle from his grasp, and Šamʕən called out to his Yezidi associate to rescue him, as he believed that they intended to kill him. It was then that the Yezidi shot both.

Farida pleads ignorance about the origins of the animosity between Šamʕən Iṣḡo and the Xates, but she argues that it had nothing to do with Šamʕən's ex-wife Maḡo at all. She does, however, connect the incident with Šəmme Qačo's discovery of Šamʕən's forged Syrian identification papers. In her view, Šəmme presented the identification to the Xates and told them to kill Šamʕən Iṣḡo. She then vividly recounts the events of that evening, including the exact locations



FIGURE 3 Farida dbe Marre
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of all the participants in the chaos that ensued after the initial murders, but she introduces some elements that are not present in the other interviewee's account. For example, according to Farida, the angry mob that formed that night attacked both of Šamŋən's sisters, Mağo and Sətte, on the night of the murders, resulting in the loss of their unborn children. In Nəŋman's account, only Sətte is attacked, but Nəŋman saves her from any harm; Nəŋman omits any mention of pregnancy.

Strikingly, Farida recollects a freak phenomenon on the same night as the murders: the ominous fall of a red snow, which she claims was stained with the blood of the slain. This detail is similarly absent from the second account. Her inclusion of details such as these stimulated us to seek corroboration from other witnesses. Both accounts do, however, agree on the matter of the blood money, which was exacted from the Christian population of Kfarze; both note that some houses were spared from paying this blood money, including Farida's own family, but Farida cannot recall the precise sum of the fine. She also notes that power passed from the Xates to the Smaïlos and the Hamķes because of the murders.

Farida's responses are often sparing, reduced even to a simple *e* 'yes', although at times she does meander to other topics of conversation. By contrast, Alyas's speech is replete with space fillers, such as *yani* 'like', *dəmmīna*

‘let’s say, so to speak’, and *xud əmmat* ‘as you say’, while simultaneously more structured to advance the conversation, in the manner of an interviewer. Where Farida assumes much on the part of Alyas, who is her primary audience in this conversation, Alyas at times feigns ignorance on behalf of his broader audience, such as when he asks her for the meaning of *taht u+xat* ‘under the line’, a common expression referring to the border between Turkey and Syria. Although there is a thirty-year difference in age between the two, Farida addresses Alyas as if he were her equal, calling him *aħuno* ‘brother’, and at times even her superior, with the honorific *məfono* ‘teacher’. The latter merely indicates that he has studied at the monastery (Mor Gabriel) and taught religion at one of the local church schools, even though he no longer holds this position. As we shall see, Farida’s style of address towards Alyas starkly contrasts with that of Nəfman.

1. Alyas. *Dəmmīna, u+Şamşən du+İşko. I+məsəlayde w dbə Xate mənwa? Qay qtile ann+abnatte? Şal mən hawyo i+məsəlate?*
AĞ. Let’s talk, Şamşən İşko. What was his problem and the Xates’? Why did he kill their members? What was this problem about?
2. Farida. *E, Şal mənwa? Əzzewa w otewa sətte, xud ann+aħunənewayne. W gabəyyewa dayəm. U+ha lalyo ... Bayn ele w alle hawiwa, xüdi+hno. Lə+mtaħmalle hđode. Qām Laşle əmmo, ‘Hawli i+tfəngaydux’. Omar, ‘Lə+gbənaxyo’.—‘E, qay lə+gbətliyo?’ Kul lalyo obəwaylayo. Lúləleyo. Səmmə w lo+səmmə, lıwle. Hıyeste, kátwayle ha+čalkoyo aşme. Kátwayle ha+čalkoyo aşme. Mədəde lə Hşayno w lu+babo lu+siləh mıde. Mədəde, brəmme bıde dəhđode. Mşaşálləle lu+čalkoyo, omar, *Ma şab-báv¹⁹, lə+kəyrat qquţlilı²⁰’. Qām lu+čalkoyo, marfele şal a+tre, qţilile w trele. Ha i+məsəlatte háyoyo.*
FM. Yes, what was it about? He used to come and go by them, they were like brothers. And he was always by their side. One night ... It happened between him and them, like the whatsit. They could not bear each other. Laşle up and says, ‘Give me your rifle’. He says, ‘I shall not give it to you.’ ‘Yeah, why won’t you give it to me?’ He used to give it to her every night. She didn’t give it to him.¹⁹ They went back and forth,²⁰ he didn’t give it. As for him, he had a Yezidi with him. He had a Yezidi with him. Hşayno and his father grabbed the weapon from his hand. They grabbed it, they twisted it in each

¹⁹ She means, ‘he didn’t give it to her’, *lúləlayo*.

²⁰ Lit. ‘they did and they did not’, a calque of the Kurmanji *kirin nakirin*.

other's hands. He cursed at the Yezidi, he says, "Son of a bitch", don't you see they are going to kill me?' The Yezidi up and shot at the two, he killed them and left. So, that's their story.

3. **AĞ.** *Wi+māsale, qay? Kəṭwa dəžmənatiye baynotayye?*
And the problem, why? Was there animosity between them?
4. **FM.** *E, hawyowa dəžmənatiye baynotayye hawxa.*
Yes, the animosity between them had arisen like so.
5. **AĞ.** *E, dəmmina, qay hawən, dəmmina, u+Šamṣən w be Xate, qay hawən dəžmən?*
Yes, so to speak, why did they become, so to speak, Šamṣən and the Xates, why did they become enemies?
6. **FM.** *Hawənwa dəžmən dʰəḏode, lo+kəḏṣono ónoste.*
They had become each other's enemy, I also don't know.
7. **AĞ.** *Latwa ʕal i+māsale di+Mağo yani?*
Wasn't it about the Mağo problem?
8. **FM.** *Lo, lo, latwa ʕal i+Mağo.*
No, no, it wasn't about Mağo.
9. **FM.** *Bi+ḥaraytə əmmi, li+Šəmme ḥzela u+dozdan, edi hula lbe Xate. əmmo, 'Kelé ḥzeli, ánnəqqa zoxu, ayko ḏkəbṣutu, ḥzāwle, qṭálūle.' Hāwxawa i+māsalaṭte.*
Finally, they said Šəmme found the purse,²¹ then she gave it to the Xates. She said, 'Here it is, I found it, now go, wherever you want, find him, kill him!' Their problem was like so.
10. **AĞ.** *Fahəmno.*
I understand.
11. **FM.** *E, Ālo, hāwxawa. Lo, qamayto i+Mağo latwa bi+ḥolo, rabbane. Ḥatta mḥele bu+ḥəmyónoste, u+silāḥ lo+qāt ebe.*
Yes, God, it was like that. No, at first Mağo had nothing to do with it, poor girl! He even shot at his father-in-law, the weapon didn't hit him.
12. **AĞ.** *Bu+ḥəmyono? Ma u+ḥəmyono, áykowa?*
At his father-in-law? His father-in-law, where was he?
13. **FM.** *ʕAl qarʕe du+qubbūr, maṣəṭwa aʕlayye, qarʕa di+mḏara.*
At the top of the turret, he overheard them, the top of the observatory.
14. **AĞ.** *Ma, be Xate áykowayne w be Šabo ayko?*
The Xates were where and the Šabos where?

21 I.e., the purse containing Šamṣən's forged Syrian identification papers.

15. **FM.** *E, b̄qaršī d̄h̄dodéwayne.*
Yes, they were opposite each other.
16. **AĠ.** *Raḥúqewayne?*
Were they far apart?
17. **FM.** *Lo! E, raḥúqewayne, e, bu+silāḥ moḥewa ebe (Ālo țorelux). Hiye yasəq šal qarše du+qubbūr, maṣəṭwa šal u+qarabalaġ. Hiye dməlle, be manyo. Məd ḥəlle, naḥəq hiye, ati li ... si+goro dbe ... hno ... ḡ Širin̄ko. W marfele u+silāḥ ašle, hiye čəkle ruḥe taḥt u+qubbūr. Dlo+mičəkwa taḥt u+qubbūr, qoṭalwa u+Šəb̄koste.*
No! Yes, they were far apart, yes, he shot his gun at him (may God forgive you). He went up on top of the turret, he was listening to the hullabaloo. He thought, what is it? When he saw, he left, he came to ... by the roof of the Whatsits ... the Širin̄kos. And he shot his weapon at him, he sneaked himself under the turret. If he hadn't sneaked under the turret, he would have killed Šəb̄ko as well.
18. **AĠ.** *W bətr, bətr mən hawi? Bətr məd̄ q̄tili?*
And afterwards, what happened after? After they were killed?
19. **FM.** *Bətr məd̄ q̄tili, hedi qām marġamme²² u+šamo. W bdalle ...*
After they were killed, then they up and fined the people. And they started ...
20. **AĠ.** *Yani, hiye, ele məs_səmle? Mahzamle, layko azzé?*
Like, he, what did he do? Did he flee, where did he go?
21. **FM.** *Hiye mahzamle, azzé ltaḥt u+xat.*
He fled, he went to 'under-the-line'.
22. **AĠ.** *Taḥt u+xat layko? L Súriya?*
'Under-the-line' to where? To Syria?
23. **FM.** *E. Ma ... țrele i+aṭto w an+našimàydeste, kətwayle tre ... tloṭo+našime.*
Yes. He left his wife and children too, he had two ... three children.
24. **AĠ.** *I+aṭto, an+našime ... Maló i+aṭto i+Mağowa?*
His wife, the children ... Wasn't his wife Mağo?
25. **FM.** *Lo i+Mağo, lo i+Mağo, kətwayle ḥreto, Maḍyayto. Mṭole.*
Not Mağo, not Mağo, he had another one, a Midyatian. He married her.
26. **AĠ.** *Ma mṭéwayle hayo li+qriṭo?*
Did he bring that one to the village?

22 Farida intends *mağramme* 'they fined' rather than *marġamme* 'they stoned', an inadvertent slip of the tongue (cf. Turoyo *ġərm* 'compensation for damage', from Arabic *ġurm* 'offense, crime, sin'). The Xates forced the Christian households of the village to pay them money as a recompense.

27. **FM.** *E. M̄tole, tlat+əšne, arba+əšne fayišo háyoste side. W bətr u+latyo d̄q̄tilile, midile, blile l ʕIwardo. La+ʕIwarn̄yestene tlalle i+atto hul şafro, w şafro qayimi, b̄ari mād nohar, midalle blalle l ʕIwardo. I+ʕas-kar m̄halaqla ʕal ʕIwardo. E, u+Skandar dbe ʕan̄ke u+m̄hoyo d̄q̄āt̄le, lo+qāt̄ ltə+ʔənsanat. əmmi, 'Xayifo ... e, Āla, ʕal i+māsale du+Šamʕən!' əmmi, 'Ya vega gəm̄tatla ya lowa, hárkeyo'. Omar, 'Ālah, latyo harke. Blalle (m̄tole, lo lə+m̄tole), blole'. Hedi blole, w bu+latyayda man̄htole li+Qaməşlo.*

Yes. He brought her, that one stayed three years, four years by his side. And after the night in which he killed them,²³ he took them,²⁴ he brought them to ʕIwardo. As for the ʕIwardians, they hid the woman until morning, and in the morning they got up before dawn, they took her, they brought her to ʕIwardo.²⁵ The military pounced upon ʕIwardo. Yes, Skandar ʕanke, the beating he got no people had ever got. They say, 'Quickly ... yes, by God, on the matter of Šamʕən!' They say, 'Whether you're going to bring her out now or not, she's here.' He says, 'By God, she is not here. They took her away (he brought her, he did not *not* bring her), he took her away.'²⁶ Then he took her, and on that very night²⁷ he brought her down to Qamishli.

28. **AĠ.** *Azzewa malla ʕĀliste bətre d̄q̄otele?*

Mullah ʕAli also went after him to kill him?

29. **FM.** *E. Karixi aʕle ġālābe, e, karixi aʕle ġālābe, lo+m̄hayşalle.*

Yes. They looked around for him a lot, yes, they looked around for him a lot, they didn't catch him.

30. **FM.** *Ānnaqqa ma mede sómwalle! U+latyo d̄q̄tilile şaḥwo čikwa, bətr m̄halaqla lu+admo, w lu+talgo bam+marziwe.*

Now then, what a thing they did! The night he killed them it was perfectly clear, afterwards the blood and the snow lept into the downspouts.

31. **AĠ.** *Əmmiwa, i+şatayo ġālābe aṭiwa talgo.*

They said, that year a lot of snow fell.

23 By 'them', Farida intends Osman and his son ʕəsayno.

24 Here Farida intends Šamʕən's own family.

25 A slip of her tongue. They must have taken her to Qaməşli, as is clear from what follows.

26 Skandar does not deny that Šamʕən brought his family to him but insists that they are now elsewhere.

27 Lit. 'in her night', cf. Kurm. *d̄i şeva wê de* 'that very night'.

32. FM. *E, ma talgo! Semoqo!*
Yes, what a snowfall! Red!
33. AG. *Ma talgo semoqo kito? Yani latyo talgo semoqo. Balki řafro aṭi, dāmmina, xud u+tōz řam u+talgo.*
Is there red snow? Like, there isn't red snow. Probably dust came, let's say, like powder with the snow.
34. FM. *E, řxwa, řafro, hawxa hawiwa xud u+řafro ařle, ammi, 'Semoqo!'*
Yes, of course, dust, so it became dust like upon it, they say, 'Red!'
35. AG. *Yani, xud ammat, aṭi řafro, tōz, u+tōz aṭi řam u+talgo, hawi semoqo yani. Latyo dāmmat, talgo semoqo lo+kote, yani.*
Like, as you say, along came dust, powder, the powder came with the snow, it became red, like. There isn't what you say, red snow doesn't fall, like.
36. FM. *E. Yani, saməqwa mu+admatte, w mu+hnàtteste, áglaba ammiwa, semóqoyo.*
Yes. Like, it got red from their blood, and also from their whatsit, mostly they said, 'It is red'.
37. AG. *Wbətr řğamme i+qrīto?*
And afterwards, did they fine the village?²⁸
38. FM. *E, bavó, lah+Halaxiye, lab+Bahwariye.*
Yes, my dear, the Halaxians, the Bahwarians.²⁹
39. AG. *E, ammi u+mede, dśámwalle ḅ Kfarze, ban+noře, bas+suryoye.*
Yes, they say the thing that they did in Kfarze, to the people, to the Christians.
40. FM. *Ma mede sāmwalles inaqqayo. Ařna řbe emi, lə+mqađammwalles.*
What a thing they did that time! We were at my mother's, they did not attack it.
41. AG. *Qay?*
Why?
42. FM. *Babi sāmwa i+kafkatte, be mařna. Kafke, saymiwa kafke du+muklo.*
My father prepared their foam, innocently. Foam, they made foam for eating.
43. AG. *Fahəmno. Hani saymánwanne muklo lani doṭənwali mřaziye, komahwe.*
I understand. These made them food, for these who came to the wake, it appears.

28 Following Farida's earlier slip of the tongue, Alyas states that the Kurds *řğamme* 'stoned' the Christians rather than *řrämme* 'fined' them.

29 I.e., those living in the adjacent villages of Helex and Behwar also participated.

56. **FM.** *Ah, u+mede ḡsəmme, hayo, hayo lə+kmitaḥke, malfono.*
Ah, what they did, that thing, that thing is left unspoken, teacher.
57. **AḠ.** *Áydarbo inaqlayo suryoyo nošo lo+məḡḡəḥwa?*
Why at that time did no Syriac person speak up?
58. **FM.** *Ma maḡrənwa?!*
Did they dare?!
59. **AḠ.** *Yawo, ḥāma mən towe trowe!*
For goodness' sake, then whatever happens, let it happen!
60. **FM.** *Lo+maḡrənwa, aḥuno. Qṭíwayle tre+šaqsat mənne, Āla lo+maḡrənwa fəṭḥi femayye. E, l Āla, li+mḥasayto di+emo di+Faho ... li+ḥmoṭo ... mḥalaqla ruḥa Ṣal i+mḥasayto di+Sətte, inaqla dṁmzalṭnalle w hnalle. Ma bṣebra w Ṣaḡeba qṭilalle!? Pəpuḳe, ḥíyaste w i+Maḡo, di+ḥòtoste.*
They did not dare, brother. He killed two of their people. By God, they did not dare to open their mouths. Yes, by God, the late mother of Faho ... the mother-in-law ... she threw herself upon the late Sətte, when they stripped her and whatsited her. Did they not beat her something awful!? Wretched, she and Maḡo as well, both her and her sister Maḡo.
61. **AḠ.** *E. Ma alle mə_sūč!? Ma látwalle zlamat!?*
Yes. For what are they to blame!? Did they not have husbands!?
62. **FM.** *Ma a+zlamatatte nəfqiwa!?*
Did their husbands go out!?
63. **AḠ.** *Hawxa, mənyo hawxa? Áydarbo u+zlām dlo+hne ruḥe Ṣal i+ḥurmayde?*
So, why is it like so? How does the husband not whatsit himself for his wife?
64. **FM.** *Āla, lo+maḡralle nəfqi me larḡul. Lo+maḡralle nəfqi me larḡul.*
By God, they did not dare to come out from inside. They did not dare to come out from inside.
65. **AḠ.** *Haymén wāki látwayne ṭawwe. Towənwa ṭawwe, lo+kṭorənwa, áydarbo kṭorən yani? Yani i+ḥurmayde, mən tuyo ṭruyo, áydarbo kṭore?!*
Surely then they were not good people. Had they been good, they would not have allowed it, how would they allow it, like? Like, his wife, let whatever happens happen, how would he allow it?!
66. **FM.** *Lo+maḡrənwa. Lo+maḡrənwa, malfono, lo+maḡrənwa. Ḡālābe haw-yowa brito nuro, e, lo, oṭənwa daq+qəryawoṭe külleste, aḥuno, kulle ḥawráyyewayne, hak. Hənnək aṭənwa lu ... oṭənwa lu+māl du+ṣamo, dṁblile.*
They did not dare. They did not dare, teacher, they did not dare. It

became very dangerous,³¹ yes, no, they also came from all the villages, brother, they were all allies, see. They came for ... they came for the people's property, to take it away.

67. **AĞ.** *Aq+qəryawotani d̤hedoráyyste kulle hawráyyewayne?*
These villages around them, were all of them their allies?
68. **FM.** *E! Hwalle hawrayye, tayútowa.*
Yes! They were their allies, it was Islam.
69. **AĞ.** *Yani bi+zoriye saymiwa, xud əmmat, bi+zoriye?*
Like, they did it violently, as you say, violently?
70. **FM.** *E, Āla, bi+zoriye. Ałáh, ha maliwa qmu+taršo dbe Wurro w hul qmu+taršo dbe ... di+aniške du+tyoro, dəmmina, du+čiqalaydan, u+ha qmu+ha, noše lo+mağrewa nofaq lfeme du+taršo. Me largul lo+nafqıwayna, Āla!*
Yes, by God, violently. By God, it filled up here in front of the Wurros' door as far as the door of the family ... as the corner of the garden, let's say, of our Čiqal, one after the other, nobody dared to pass the doorframe. We did not come out from inside, by God!
71. **AĞ.** *Hawxa kətwə zorayıye?*
Was there such violence?
72. **FM.** *Eeee. E, qtıwayle, uşdo quŋlat tre+ɬaye ...*
Yesss. Yes, he killed, now if you kill two Muslims ...
73. **AĞ.** *Háwxayo. Maqqa dəmmat, háwxayo. Latyo mede ...*
It is so. However much you say, it is so. This is not something ...
74. **FM.** *Ma mede, mede səmwalle?!*
What a thing, a thing they did?!
75. **AĞ.** *U+noše lo+qayəm qarşi dətte?*
Did people not stand against them?
76. **FM.** *Lo! Ma, ma mağrewa!?*
No! Did they dare?!
77. **AĞ.** *Ma bu+zabnawo Xuri ʕAzíz latwa bi+qrıto?*
At that time was Xuri ʕAziz not in the village?
78. **FM.** *Lo, kəmmo.*
No, I would say.
79. **AĞ.** *Azzewa Xuri ʕAzíz, latwa harke?*
Xuri ʕAziz was gone, wasn't he here?
80. **FM.** *E, u+Xuri latwa harke.*
Kamıwayle arbŋi+yawme lu+barħmaydı ... heş lo+kamiliwa ann+ar-bŋiyayde ... Kóhnowa. Lo, u+Xuri latwa harke.

31 Lit. 'the world very much became a flame', a calque of Kurm. *dinya búbú agir id*.

Yes, Xuri wasn't here.

The forty days had been completed for my brother in-law³² ... his forty days had not yet been completed ... He was a priest. No, Xuri wasn't here.

81. AĠ. *Háqqayo yani, i+māsalaṭe háwxayo ...*
It is that much, like, the matter is like so ...
82. FM. *Háwxawa, háwxawa. E, blalyo haḡmiwa li+Maḡo w li+Sətte.*
It was like so, it was like so. Yes, at night they attacked Maḡo and Sətte.
83. AĠ. *Blalyo?*
At night?
84. FM. *E, Āḷa, blalyo əzzənwayla, moḥənwanne.*
Yes, by God, at night they went to her, they battered them.
85. AĠ. *Ma kowe mede hawxa yani?*
Is such a thing possible, like?
86. FM. *Kəmmono, Āḷa.*
I would say, by God.
87. AĠ. *Āydarbo a+zlamatte ṭorənwa?*
How did their husbands permit it?
88. FM. *Wat+tarte bnaṣime, qṭalle an+naṣimatte bgawayye.*
And the two women were with children, they killed their children within them.
89. AĠ. *Āydarbo u+ṣamo ṭore, yani, āydarbo ṭore u+medano ...*
How do people permit it, like, how do they permit this thing ...
90. FM. *E, ba, oho, ma maḡrənwa!?*
Yes, would, oh, would they dare!?
91. AĠ. *E, hāma ṭro məqṭoliwa hānnəkste, ṭro lo+ṭorənwa.*
Yes, then let them be killed as well, they ought not to have permitted it.
92. FM. *Lo, ma lāpwalla. Āḷa, u+mede ḡsəmme appe ... ᵀna bixwīna, na bib-īnaᵀ.*
No, they couldn't. By God, the thing they did to them ... ᵀsome things are better left unsaidᵀ.³³

32 As an aside, Farida mentions that her brother-in-law had just completed a period of 40 days in the *dayro*, learning the church statutes, at that time. This period in the priest's life is termed *səluk* (cf. Arabic *sulūk* 'method, behaviour, conduct, attitude'). She then resumes the conversation about Xuri ṢAziz.

33 Lit. 'do not read, do not see', a Kurmanji proverb.

93. AĠ. *Lo, yani, latwa mede šafiro u+hnano.*
No, this whatsit was not a good thing.
94. FM. *Ma latwa, ma aħuno, kápwalle? Lápwallé, lápwallé.*
Wasn't it, could they, brother? They couldn't, they couldn't.
95. AĠ. *Ínaqlayo komaħwe be hno, be Xate, ġállābe xúrtwayne.*
Then, it seems, the Whatsits, the Xates, were very powerful.
96. FM. *E, ba xúrtwayne!? Dlo+howənwa hawxa ...*
Yes, weren't they powerful!? If they were not so ...
97. AĠ. *Ma ínaqqayo be ħamķe w be Smaílo latwa?*
Then, the Hamķes and the Smaílos were not there?
98. FM. *Lo ...*
No ...
99. AĠ. *Dəmekki latwa mede biḍayye?*
In that case, didn't they control anything?³⁴
100. FM. *Lo, tá+mede latwa biḍayye.*
No, they didn't control anything.
101. AĠ. *Kúlmede biḍe dbé Xátewa.*
Everything is under the control of the Xates.
102. FM. *E, latwa mede biḍe tanək. Edi məd hanək azzehən w mfarķo, w hno hežnú hani hawən də bandiye, be Smaílo w be ħamķe.*
Yes, those ones did not control anything. Then, after those ones went away and it settled down, from then on, they became two parties, the Smaílos and the Hamķes.

6 Nəſman's Interview

Three and a half years after the initial interview with Farida Marre, Alyas approached Nəſman Čupano in July 2021, to elucidate some of the finer points of the incident and corroborate some of the details in her account that conflicted with his own understanding. Nəſman, who was also present in Kfarze at the time of the murders and evidently played an important role in the drama that subsequently unfolded there, contributed new information to our understanding of the events of that evening and their broader context. For example, *pace* Farida, he makes Šamſən's ex-wife Mağo Mure the fulcrum around which the narrative and several murders, attempted and executed, revolve. He confirms that it was Šəmme Qačo who found Šamſən's forged Syrian identification

34 Lit. 'wasn't anything in their hands?'



FIGURE 4 Nəſman dbe Čupano
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papers but does not claim that she was the one who provoked Osman to attack Šamſən as Farida does. Instead, she simply provided the papers to Osman, who then used them as leverage on Šamſən to secure his divorce from Mağo Mure. Nəſman also introduces the salacious detail that he was one of Mağo's suitors, and that Osman, with whom he was allied, had promised to betrothe her to him, but his mother objected to the engagement.

Furthermore, according to Nəſman, Šamſən did not act entirely out of self-defense on the night that Osman and Həsəyn were murdered, but rather went to the assembly armed and with the express intention of retrieving his identification papers from Osman by force. He does, however, corroborate that it was Šamſən's unnamed Yezidi associate who murdered both Xates, and not Šamſən himself. Nonetheless, he attributes to Šamſən yet another murder, that of Uso Xətəke, whom Mağo had married after Šamſən divorced her. Uso Xətəke was murdered on Easter Eve in the hill country between the villages Kəmmə (Yeşilöz) and Kəndaline (no longer extant) by unknown assailants; Nəſman suggests that Šamſən set up his killing but acknowledges that some of his Muslim neighbours deny that Šamſən was involved, and the case remains unsolved to this very day.

One of the starkest differences between the two accounts concerns the attack on Šamſən's sister Sətte. Where Farida claims that a large mob attacked

both Maḡo and Sətte İşko, and that both women lost their unborn children as a result, Nəfman names only one victim, Sətte İşko, and two assailants, Ğamilo and Ĥamadé Xate, whom he personally detained so that Sətte could escape to his home. Nəfman's account is therefore much clearer, replete with detail, and benefits from his perspective as an active participant in the event.

Finally, Nəfman presents a new motive for Osman Xate's murder. Prior to Osman's ascendance, the Smailos and the Hamķes had been the traditional leaders of the local community and still resented Osman as an upstart. Ĥaddo Hamķe, the leader of the Hamķe family, had allegedly threatened Osman, telling him to 'stay in his lane' (Ṭuroyo *grāš raḡlux lgorán druħux*, lit. 'draw your feet back to yourself'), and Nəfman adduces that he and his associates had him killed, using Šamfən and the Yezidi as their cat's paws. Up until the events of that night, Nəfman had been loyal to the Xates, but after the death of their patriarch and his heir apparent, he switched his loyalties to the Smailos, whom he describes as very supportive of the Christian community during the turbulent times that followed the murder.

Nəfman is much less parsimonious with his recollection of that night and requires far less prompting than Farida. He similarly presumes much information on the part of his interviewer, expressing his exasperation at several points with the Kurdish phrase *malķavabûo* 'Good grief' (lit. 'A shack got built'), the Ṭuroyo calque *šamər bayto* 'Lord have mercy' (lit. 'A house got built'), *yawo* 'for goodness' sake' (ultimately from Arabic *yā hu* 'O He!'), and the pure Ṭuroyo *maló hat řaw mini kudřat* 'don't you know better than I?'. After registering his exasperation, he continues with his account. Nəfman's speech is therefore much less polite than that of Farida; instead of referring to Alyas with Ṭuroyo terms of respect such as *aħuno* 'brother' and *məlfono* 'teacher', he casually refers to him as *ħayra* 'buddy', of Kurdish origin, reflecting his status as a senior member of their community; he does not expect such informal speech from Alyas, and indeed Alyas does not reciprocate. Nəfman also peppers the reported speech in his account with terms of Kurdish origin such as *ķurem* 'my son' and *lawo* 'boy', attributing these same speech habits to various characters. He does however refer to his father-in-law (*ħəmyono*) as *šammi* 'my (paternal) uncle', demonstrating his respect for him; similarly, Alyas refers to Nəfman as *u+ħolo Nəfman* '(maternal) Uncle Nəfman' even though he is not in fact his maternal uncle.

One characteristic feature of Nəfman's speech is repetition, and over the course of his account he often repeats individual phrases verbatim and seriatim. Consequently, we have edited his account for brevity.

1. Kfarze
2. Ġwardo
3. Halaxe
4. Bahware
5. Šəṭraqo
6. ẖamme
7. ẖandaline
8. Tquzo
9. šalwo
10. qadəšto



FIGURE 5 A map of places mentioned in the narrative
 Note: Also available at <https://inlnk.ru/XOOnDz>

1. Alyas. *Bäri muṣdo ḥṣato li+hno li+Fàrida mārwaylalan i+čiroḳe du+mḥasyo du+Šamṣən du+İṣḳo. Áydarbo qṭile be Xate, u+Uso, i+mā-sale áydarbo hawyo? Maḥkéwaylalan̄yo, veḡa komaṇṇo məqqa dúg-leyo, məqqa latyo dugle, čunku hiya ḥúrmaṇyo, lo+kudšo ḡálabe meone. Veḡa u+Sargey omar, gdəmmina lu+ḥolo Nəṣman, hiye támowa, ḥzele kúlmede, koḍaṣ kulmede, be mən ḡari, čunku hiye bu+waxtawo ṣláy-mowa, xortwa. Veḡa ánnaqqa ... veḡa omaṇṇo ṣáḡaba bu+waxtawo i+māsale áydarbo hawyo? Māsala dəmmina, u+Šamṣən qay qṭile dbe Xate? Qay əzzewa? Qay səmme *bən xat*, dəmmina, u+Šamṣən? W qay, dəmmina, marfele i+Maḡo? Qay bətr maqtalle u+Yusef, māsala u+Uso. Hani kulle qay hawxa ḡarən? Áydarbo barimo i+māsale, yani i+māsale áydarbo hawyo?*

AĞ. A year ago, the whosit, Farida, told us the story of the late Šamṣən İṣḳo. How did he kill the Xates, Uso, how did the story go? She told it to us, now I am saying how much is falsehoods, how much isn't falsehoods, because she is a woman, she doesn't know a lot of things. Now Sargey says, let's talk to Uncle Numan, he was there, he saw everything, he knows everything, what happened, because he was a youth, he was young. Now then ... now I would like to say I wonder how the story went at that time? For example, let's say, why did Šamṣən kill the Xates? Why would he come and go? Why did they

send him ^κbelow the line^κ,³⁵ let's say, Šamŋən? And why, let's say did he divorce Mağo? Why did he later cause Yusef to be killed, that is Uso? All these things, how did they happen so? How did the story turn out, like, how did the story go?

2. Nəŋman. ^κ*Malkavabûo*^κ, *maló hat taw mini kuđŋat! U+Šamŋən du+Işko súriwa, əzzáwayle l Súriya. Ánnaqqa kátwayle pələkat d Súriya aŋme. Qām atī li+qrito, madrile, mşakrile. Mşakarle ap+pələkatatte, mşakrənne, w ha karixi harke w harke w harke. W noşe lo+məlle, 'Kanné ap+pələkat du+Šamŋən du+Işko'.*

NČ. ^κGood grief^κ, don't you know it better than I!? Šamŋən Işko was a Syrian, she would go to Syria.³⁶ Now then, he had Syrian papers with him. He up and came to the village, he dropped them, he lost them. He lost their papers, they lost them, and so they looked for them here and here and here. And nobody said, 'Here are the papers of Šamŋən Işko'.

3. NČ. *Qām hánostene, li+Šəmme dbe Qačo hzila, hiwila l Oske dbe Xate. Ap+pələkatayde hiwila l Oske dbe Xate. Oske dbe Xate məlle lu+Šamŋən du+Işko, omar, 'Šamŋən!' Omar, 'Mənyo?' Omar, 'Kalán ap+pələkat, i+Šəmme dbe Qačo i+krivəydanyo, mtila, húlaline, kalənnə, ap+pələkataydux kalənnə. Šamiŋat? Kobaŋno dtorat mi ... (i+krivə-tewa) i+Mačko dbe Mure, lo.*

This came up, Šəmme Qačo found them, she gave them to Oske Xate. His papers, she gave to Oske Xate. Oske Xate said to Šamŋən Işko, he says, 'Šamŋən!' He says, 'What is it?' He says, 'Here are the papers, Šəmme Qačo is our godmother, she brought them, she gave them to me, here they are, your papers are here. Do you hear? I want you to give up ... (she was their godmother) on Mačko Mure, ok?'

4. AĞ. *Áydarbo 'torat mi+Mačko'?*
'Give up on Mačko', how?
5. NČ. *Yawo, omar, 'Tray mənne', yani, 'Qqoŋanne', omar, 'Qqoŋanno u+ba-bayda, e'. Omar, 'Qqoŋanna, qqoŋannanne'. Oske omar, 'Tray mənne'. Omar, 'Lo'. Talí, lo+maşətle ŋal u+Šamŋən du+Işko. L Oske dbe Xate azzé, ap+pələkatanək hiwile li+hkume.*

35 M.L. Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary / Ferhenga Kurmancî-Inglîzî* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 657: *xet* f./m. 1) line: *-binê xet* 'below the line': Syrian Kurds refer to themselves as the Kurds 'below the line', referring to the line drawn on the map, i.e., the railway line, arbitrarily separating Syria and Turkey.

36 Nəŋman says *əzzáwayle* 'she used to go' rather than *əzzéwayle* 'he used to go', a slip of his tongue. In fact, Šamŋən Işko was not a Syrian citizen but merely possessed forged Syrian identity papers.

For goodness' sake, he says, 'You give them up!', meaning, 'I shall kill him',³⁷ he says, 'I shall kill her father, yes'. He says, 'I shall kill her, I shall kill them'. Oske says, 'You give them up!' He says, 'No'. Finally, he didn't obey Šamŋən Iškō. Oske Xate went, those papers he gave to the government.

6. NČ. *Qām hánostene, řařriye u+Šamŋən du+Iškō azzé, omar, 'Lawo, mas-lám ap+pālākataydi!' Āla, səmme qarabalāj, lo ele qtile, kəmdagli, lo ele qtile, lu+čalkoyo qtile. Hsayno azzé lu+Šamŋən du+Iškō, azzele lu+Šamŋən du+Iškō, lu+čalkoyo qtile hāwoste. Mhele i+tfənge bi+the-layde, w mǵandalle hāwoste. Qtile hāwoste w mahzamme, azzehən. əmmi, Hə hə hə, lu+Šamŋən du+Iškō qtile be Xate'. Šamiřat?*

This came up, in the evening Šamŋən Iškō went, he says, 'Boy, hand over my papers!' By God, they made a hullabaloo, it was not he who killed him, they lie, it was not he who killed him, the Yezidi killed him. Hsayno went to Šamŋən Iškō, he went to Šamŋən Iškō, the Yezidi killed that one too. He fired a rifle into his side, and he rolled that one over as well. He killed that one as well and they escaped, they went away. They say, 'Hey, hey, hey, Šamŋən Iškō killed the Xates'. Do you hear?

7. NČ. *Qtilanne, səmme u+hnatte, i+hnatte simalle hawxa. Qām hánostene, řayiři hawxa, lo? Səmme i+řazzatte w hnalle, karixi řal u+Šamŋən du+Iškō dquřile. Səmme w lo+səmme³⁸ lo+qadiri quřile, lo. Ma ... azzeyo l řúriya, w azzé, me řúriya azzé l Awrupa, m Awrupa azzé l Awuřtralya, Awuřtralya, azzé l Awuřtralya řahuqo. Haw aři mənne quřlanne!*

They killed them, they did their whatsit, their whatsit they did like so. This came up, they stayed like so, right? They made their wake and whatsited, they looked around for Šamŋən Iškō to kill him. They tried and tried, they couldn't kill him, right. Did ... he went to Syria, and he went away, from Syria he went to Europe, from Europe he went to Australia, Australia, he went far away to Australia. They never had another opportunity to kill them.

8. NČ. *Qām hánostene, řayiři i+atto, i+Mačko řayiři hawxa. Ono obářway-na. Oske ... řalářwayno, řawre d Óřkewayno bi+bar<bariye>, řaw-řáyyewayno. Oske omar, 'Dlo+mōřno řtolábnuxyo'. Mi+səbbayo lemi lo+řrela řolabna. Řtolářwayna, lemi lo+řrela. Emi əmmo, 'Lukwe řřal-balla'.*

37 Nəřman explains that Oske is asking Šamŋən to leave them alone because Šamŋən is threatening to kill them.

38 Cf. Kurm. *kir ū nekir* 'they did and they did not'.

This came up, his wife stayed, Mačko stayed like so. I wanted her. Oske ... I switched,³⁹ I was Oske's ally in the opp ... I was their ally. Oske says, 'Unless I die, I will betroth her to you'. For that reason, my mother did not allow me to betroth her. I would have betrothed her, my mother did not allow me. My mother says, 'It's not right that I betroth her'.

9. AĠ. *Wbətr məd u+Šamʕən azzeyo, dəmmīna, azzeyo ltaħt u+xat, me tamo azzeyo l Awuṣṭralya,—áydarbo, bətr áydarbo barimo i+māsale?*

And after Šamʕən left, let's say, he went below the line, from there he went to Australia,—how, afterwards how did the matter turn out?

10. NČ. *Lazze l Awuṣṭralya, qṭile w azzeyo. Ánnaqqa ono obáʕwayna. Oske omar, 'Dlo+mōtʔno kṭolábnuxyo'. Qām u+Šamʕən du+Iško lo+maqbele, emi əmmo, 'Lukwe qṭəlballa'. Qām lu+Uso dbe Xətəke, ṭlibole. Lu+Uso dbe Xətəke, ṭlibole, fayišo tamo, hawila kačkéstene, kačke, i+Gule. W bətr, šafre du+šəwmowa, lalye du+ʕədo, lo, qṭalle bayn l Ƙamme w Ƙandaline tamo, qṭalle tamo, azzewa lah+hažžəkaṭ našife. əmmi, 'Hə, hə, hə, Ālo, qṭalle u+Šamʕən dbe+Iško'. Azzano.*

He hadn't gone to Australia, he killed him, and he went away. Now then, I wanted her. Oske says, 'Unless I die, I will betroth her to you'. Šamʕən Iško up and didn't accept it,⁴⁰ my mother says, 'It is not right that I betroth her'. Uso Xətəke up and betrothed her. Uso Xətəke betrothed her, she stayed there, she also had a girl, a girl, Gule. And afterwards, one morning of the fast, Easter Eve, right, they killed him between Ƙamme and Ƙandaline, they killed him there, he had gone for dry brush. They say, 'Hey, hey, hey, by God, they killed Šamʕən Iško'.⁴¹ We went there.

11. AĠ. *Žxwa qṭalle u+Uso?*
Of course, they killed Uso?
12. NČ. *U+Uso. Lu+Šamʕən du+Iško maqtele. Axər, marke w tamheniké naʕəq hən ʕaye, əmmi, 'Lo, lo, lo+lu+Šamʕən du+Iško qṭile. Hən zede qṭalle'. Lo+naʕəq u+qaṭəlayde du+Uso dbe Xətəke, noše laḍəʕ manyo, šam-iʕat, laḍiʕina manyo. Wfāš mšakro u+Uso, noše laḍəʕ lmaq qṭile, azzə me kise. Qām, i+māsalaɣdan hāwxawa du+Šamʕən du+Iško ...*

39 I.e., he was formerly affiliated with the Xates, and subsequently switched to the Smaïlos.

40 He didn't accept Nəʕman's proposal, as was his right, since Šəmme Qačo was both Šamʕən's and Oske's godmother.

41 Nəʕman intends Uso Xətəke here, as he later acknowledges, because Šamʕən Iško has already left.

Uso. Šamfən Iško set up the killing. Finally, here and there some Muslims came out, they say, 'No, no, Šamfən Iško did not kill him. Some other people killed him'. Uso Xətəke's killer did not emerge, nobody discovered who it is, you've heard, we have not discovered who it is. And Uso remained a mystery,⁴² nobody discovered who killed him, his case went cold.⁴³ Then, our story, the one of Šamfən Iško, was like so.

13. AĞ. *Päki. Dınaqqa d^əq^ətile lu+Šamfən a+tre, Hsayno w Osqe dbe Xate, a+tre, komətyaqanno əşma di+hurma d Osqe Láflewa.*
Alright. When Šamfən killed the two, Hsayno and Osqe Xate, the two, I believe that the name of Osqe's wife was Lafle.
14. NČ. *Láflewa.*
It was Lafle.
15. AĞ. *Osqe dbe Xate mən q Xátewa, yani, i+emo d Osqe i+Xátewa?*
Osqe Xate was what to Xate, like, was Osqe's mother *the* Xate?⁴⁴
16. NČ. *I+emayde şuráytowa, Xátewa, i+Xátewa, əşma Xátewa, şuráytowa. U+xwarz daş+şurəyewa. U+abro ánnaqqa ... əmmíwayle l Osqe, əmmíwa, ^κkure Xate ^κ, i+emayde Xátewa. Ha i+mäsale du+Šamfən du+Iško háwxayo, w bətr mahzamlə, azzé l Austráliya.*
His mother was Syriac, she was Xate, she was *the* Xate, her name was Xate, she was Syriac. He was the Syriacs' nephew. The son, now then ... they called Osqe, they called him ^κXate's son^κ, his mother was Xate.⁴⁵ Therefore the story of Šamfən Iško is like so, and after he escaped, he went to Australia.
17. AĞ. *U+Šamfən dınaqqa d^əq^ətile hanək, b^əkmo əşnewa? Məqqa fláymowa, yani, kmo əşne xortwa?*
When Šamfən killed those guys, how old was he? How young was he, like, how many years young was he?
18. NČ. *Yawo, lo, lo, latwa xort gáləbe, i+mäsalayde, i+Mačko azzayo řam u+Yawsef du+abro du+holayda l Mədyad, marke, atyo řaşriye, atyo me Mədyad. Omar, 'Mačko', u+Šamfən omar, 'Mənyo?' Omar, 'Mačko, læzzáx řam u+Yawsef. U+Yawsef latyo mřadlo, læzzáx ařme. Taw, læzzáx ařme'. Wháwxawaste, e, lo+komaññux? Qām lo+səmla, lo+ma-şətlə ařle.*

42 Lit. 'he remained lost' i.e., the circumstances of his death remain unclear.

43 Cf. Kurm. *žkisi xwa ču* 'he went out of his own pouch', referring to a murder case in which the murderer remains unknown.

44 Alyas refers to the eponymous Xate for whom the Xates are named.

45 Xato was a Christian woman, who converted to Islam during the 1915 Genocide.

For goodness' sake, no, no, he was not very young, his story, Mačko went with Yawsef, who is her cousin, to Midyat, from here, she came in the evening, she came from Midyat. He says, 'Mačko', Šamŋən says, 'What is it?' He says, 'Mačko, don't go with Yawsef. Yawsef is not decent, don't go with him. Stay, don't go with him'. It was like so, yes, am I not telling you? She up and didn't do this, she didn't listen to him.

19. NČ. *Qām i+Šarke mhalhela, əmmo, 'U+abro du+İšo, u+abro du+İšo ko ... kosóm hne ... u+abro du+holâydayo ... kosómlayo yâr! Aĥna latna mu+šəklawo'. Səmla w axər maqəmla i+qyamto li+Šarke, Aloho mħasela. Qām edi marfole. Omar, 'Haw kobaŋna'. Omar, 'Ĥayra, haw kobaŋna ono, emi w ĥótiyo'. Bətr məd mälle, 'Emi w ĥótiyo', lo+fäšle mede aŋma, lo? Šamiŋat? Ánnaqqa ónostene di+raštíye obáŋwayna. Emi əmmo, 'Lukwe dšəbro lu+baytaydi'.*

Šarke up and cried out, she says, 'İšo's son, İšo's son is ... is doing things, he is her cousin, he makes him out to be a lover to her. We are not that type'. She did it, and finally Šarke raised a ruckus,⁴⁶ God bless her. Then he up and left her alone. He says, 'I don't want her anymore'. He says, 'Buddy, I don't want her anymore, she is my mother and sister'.⁴⁷ After he said, 'She is my mother and sister', he had nothing to do with her, right? Do you hear? Now then, in truth, I wanted her. My mother says, 'It's not right that she enters my house'.

20. AĞ. *Yani, i+māsale dmarfole ŋal u+Yusefawo? Bas u+hno šaməŋno, dʔu+Šamŋən obaŋwa dɔqətalwa u+Šəbqoste.*

Like, the story is he abandoned her because of that Yawsef? But I heard the whatsit, that Šamŋən had been wanting to kill Šəbqə as well.

21. NČ. *ŋAl u+Yawsawo. Qqəťəwayle, ŋal [...] Omarwa, 'Qqətaŋno kulle!' Oske omar, 'A+krivínəyđine, ʔray mənne'. Lo+maqbele, l Oske lo+maqbele dɔqətal, e. Məd^o qťalle Oske dbe Xate, əmmi, 'Áĥnaste ktolina ĥayf, qqutlina u+Šəbo dbe Mure'.*

Because of that Yawsef. He would have killed him, because ... He said, 'I shall kill them all!' Oske says, 'They are my godfathers, leave

46 Lit. 'she raised a resurrection'.

47 Šamŋən renounces Mağə by comparing her to his female relations, echoing the *Ḍihār* divorce formula prohibited in the Qur'ān, *al-Mujādilah* (58): 2–4. Hawting notes that while the traditional *Ḍihār* formula specifically compares the wife to the 'backside of my mother' (euphemistically *ḍahr ummī*, hence *Ḍihār*), other body parts and other analogous women are encompassed by the formula (G.R. Hawting, 'An Ascetic Vow and an Unseemly Oath?: *ilā'* and *ḏihār* in Muslim Law', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 [1994], pp. 113–125 [115]).

them alone'. He did not agree, Oske did not let kill them, yes. After they killed Oske Xate, they say, 'Now then, we shall take revenge, we shall kill Šabo Mure'.

22. NČ. *U+Gallo dbe Mariḳa, Aloho mḥasele, omar, 'Šabri!' Omar, 'Ha!' Omar, 'Hur, gdotən, gmaṣbri, gəmfatši gabayxu, i+škaftatxu gəmfatšila, kkurxi, gdəmmi, "Šabe Mure, ^κlvárdaya^κ, Šabe Mure, hárkeyo". Hur dlo+maṣbrat u+Šabe dbe Mure, lo+maṣbratle ltamo! Ha, kalkomaṇ-ṇux, dṣobar ltamo qquṭlile, gdəmmi lu+Šamṣən du+Iško qṭile. Tro lo+ṣobar larḡul. U+Šabo dbe Mure, trofōš larwal, fahimat? Latyo hawxa?*

Gallo Mariḳa, God bless him, says, 'Šabri'. He says, 'Here!' He says, 'Look, they will come, they will bring him in, they will search your place, they will search your cellar, they will go around, they will say, "^κŠabe Mure, he is here^κ! Šabe Mure, he is here!" See that you don't let Šabe Mure in, do not let him in there! Look, I am telling you, if he gets in there, they will kill him, they will say Šamṣən Iško killed him. Let him not get inside. Let Šabo Mure stay outside, understand? Isn't it so?' [...]

23. NČ. *Qām l Šabriyo—ṣammi Šabriyo, Aloho mḥasele—omar, omar, 'Yawo', omar, 'tro u+Šamṣən, u+Šamṣənyo ^κxero w dero^κ hárkeyo', omar, 'u+Šabo dbe Mure trofōš larwal w izoxu. Man ḡkəzzə trəzzeyo, noše trokurxi larḡul, ḡkabṣutu trokurxi lawḡul, hāma u+Šabo dbe Mure—lə+gmaḳbaṇṇo dṣobar'. ṣAmmi Šabriyo lə+ṭrele dṣobar.*

Šabriyo up and—Uncle Šabriyo, God bless him—says, he says, 'For goodness' sake', he says, 'let's assume Šamṣən, either Šamṣən or ^κwhoever else^κ is here', he says, 'so let Šabo Mure stay outside, and all of you go. Let whoever goes go, let people look around inside, if you want to let them go inside, but Šabo Mure—I shall not let him enter'. Uncle Šabriyo did not let him enter.

24. AĠ. *Ínaqqayo ar+rabe di+qriṭo mánwayne?*
Then, who were the leaders of the village?

25. NČ. *Ar+rabe di+qriṭo be Smaílowayne, w be Hámḳewayne. W Oske dbe Xate qām barra dətṭe, qām barra dətṭe. Haymén šqile, šqile yani u+hnošte mənne.*

The leaders of the village were the Smaílos and the Hámkes. And Oske Xate rose up against them, rose up against them. Really, he took, he took, like, the whatsit from them.

26. AĠ. *I+rabuṭo?*
The leadership?

27. NČ. *Eeš. Məḳomaṇṇux. Bəṭr məd^o qṭil, disa fayiši hənnək. Oske dbe Xate,*

yani, yani, aš+šuroye w aṭ+ṭāyeste, aḡlab maṭ+ṭāyestene, ḥawrāyye-wayne. ŠAm Oškéwayne, e. Hawxa, áhnaste Šam ... ónoste Šam ... ḥawre, ḥawre d Oškéwayno, Alláh. Edi bəṭr disa daṣarno Šam be Ḥam<ke> ... Šam be Smailo.

Sssure. What I'm telling you. After he was killed, again they resumed. Oške Xate, like, like, Syriacs and Muslims, most of the Muslims too, were his allies. They were with Oške, yes. So, we too with ... me too with, I was his ally, Oške's ally, by God. Then, afterwards, I went back with the Ḥam ... with the Smaïlos again.

28. AĠ. *Kmo+abne kətle l Oške ušdo ádyawma?*

How many sons does Oške have now, today?

29. NČ. *Lo, lo+fāšle abne. Nuriyo tāne fāš, ma lo+kudṣatle, Šamər bayto!? E, hawo, u+ḥaḡiyawo fāš, azzé lu+hno. Hāma Ramazano kətle, māšala, Tašḡinoyno w fāšle, w komaṇṇo, Ošmano māṭ, noše lo+fāšle.*

No, he has no sons left. Only Nuriyo is left, don't you know him, Lord have mercy!? Yes, that one, that hajji is left, he went to the whatsit. But he has Ramazan, that is, it's Tašḡino, and he has him left, and I am saying, Osman died, he has nobody left.

29. AĠ. *Wāki i+māsale du+Šamṣən háwxawa. Bəṭr u+lalyo d'qṭile, mən ḡari, yani, mən hawi? Bəṭr ax+xəbare, xud əmmīna, nafəq me Kfarze, mahzamle, layk_azzeyo māšala?*

Then the story of Šamṣən was like so. After the night he killed him, what happened, like, what was up? After the news, so to speak, he left Kfarze, he fled, where did he go, for example?

30. NČ. *Mahzamle, azzé l ŠIwardo. Kali harke bi+qadašto, kaliwa harke bi+qadašto, hiye w u+čalkoyo.*

He fled, he went to ŠIwardo. He stayed here in a sanctuary, he stayed here in the sanctuary, he and the Yezidi.

31. NČ. *əmmi, 'Zano, zánanne, ^κčūya ŠIwarte ^κ. Edi qām mahzamme, azzén l ŠIwardo. Edi qām aṭ+ṭāye karixi aqqa ḡkoṭonani. Edi haw maḡralle dnuḡti lu+šalwo bi+Tqüzoda. Edi azzeyo. Qqoṭalwa héšstene, qquṭliwa héšstene, e. I+māsale háwxawa.*

They say, 'Let's go, let's go to them, ^κhe went to ŠIwardo^κ. Then they up and fled, they went to ŠIwardo. Then the Muslims up and looked around so many of these places. Then they did not dare to go any further down to the gully through Tquzo. Then he went away. He would have killed even more, they would have killed even more, yes. The story was like so.

32. AĠ. *Bəṭr me tamo naḡət taḡt u+xat, žxwa.*

Afterwards, from there he went under the line, of course.

33. NČ. *Naḥət taḥt u+xat, me taḥt u+xat ...*
He went under the line, from under the line ...
34. AĠ. *Ēma i+ḥurmayde ... Látwayle baṭr mi+Mačko niše heša?*
When did his wife ... Didn't he have even more wives after Mačko?
35. NČ. *Lo. Mṭele, i ... əšma, ṭašino əšma. Lo, Šárayo komaṇṇo, ṭašino əšma. Mṭele hayo, hawila šawš ... ḥamšo+abne, bi+Swičra ... žxwa, b Awus-traliya, e, kəṭla ušdo ḥamšo+abne.*
No. He brought back ... her name, I forgot her name. No, it is Šara I would say, I forgot her name. He brought back that one, she had sev ... five sons, in Switzerland ... in Australia of course, yes, now she has five sons.
36. AĠ. *Yani hiye dínaqqa ḡkəṭwa harke u+Šamṭən, dəmmīna, marfele i+Mačko?*
Like, he, when Šamṭən was here, so to speak, he abandoned Mačko?
37. NČ. *Marfole. Maḷle, omər, 'Ēmi w ḥóṭṭiyo'.*
He abandoned her. He said, he says, 'She is my mother and sister'.
38. AĠ. *I+Mačko marfole, ḥdo latle. Ánnaqqa áykoyo, ayko koḥšš?*
Mačko, he abandoned her, he doesn't have a woman, now then, where is he, where does he end up?
39. NČ. *Azzé, mahzamle, komaṇṇux, mahzamle, azzé l Súriya.*
He went away, he fled, I am telling you, he fled, he went to Syria.
40. AĠ. *Bas oṭewa, solaqwa.*
But he used to come back, he used to come up.
41. NČ. *Solaqwa, əzzé w oṭewa. Ánnaqqa aṭ+ṭaye d^o Kfarze əmmi, 'Gəzzán šal u+šopayde'.*
He used to come up, he used to come and go. Now then, the Muslims of Kfarze say, 'Let's go on his trail'.
42. NČ. *Qām mərre lu+Šamṭən du+Iško, əmmi, 'Ḳurro, ṭrowelux hāž me ru-ḥux, gəḡquṭlilux ha'.*
They up and said to Šamṭən Iško, they say, 'Boy, take care of yourself, they will kill you, yes'.
43. AĠ. *Mšadárwalle Malla ṢAli.*
They sent Mullah ṢAli.
44. NČ. *Malla ṢAli, haa^a ṣsaḥát xwa^{žk}.*
Mullah Ali, aha, ṭthank you^k.
45. AĠ. *Dínaqqa, dínaqqa dlu+Uso dmərle, 'Gmamṭeno i+Mačko' ... dəmmīna lu+hno lo+mšadárlele xabro, lo+mərle, 'Qoṭaṇṇux, ḥzay, d^omṭatla'?*
When, when Uso said, 'I shall bring back Mačko' ... so to speak, did whosit not send word to him, didn't he say, 'I shall kill you, see, if you bring her back'?

46. NČ. *Móllele ...*
He said it to him ...
47. AĞ. *Móllele, latyo hawxa?*
He said it to him, isn't it so?
48. NČ. *Móllele, omar, 'Komaññux, lo+ɬəlbətlə'. I+Sətte əmmo, 'Hur, ɬəlbətlə gmaqətlallux, kalkəmaɬlux, lo+dəmmat, lo+məɬluxli'.*
He told him, he says, 'I am telling you, do not betroth her'. Sətte says, 'Look, if you betroth her, I shall cause you to be killed, now I am telling you, don't say I didn't tell you'.
49. NČ. *'Lo+ɬəlbətlə'. Omar, 'Ktəlabna'. Li+Sətte səmla w lo+səmla, lo+qad-iro aʃle. Omar, 'Aja ktəlabna'. Qām tlibole, məɬ tlibole, šato, tarte hawila i+Gule, i+kačkəyo hawila. Edi qəlle, azzé lah+hažžəkat, qəlle bu+ɬuro.*
'Do not betroth her'. He says, 'I will betroth her'. Sətte tried and tried, she did not prevail over him. He says, 'By God, I shall betroth her'. He up and betrothed her, after he betrothed her, a year, two later she had Gule, she had that girl. Then they killed him, he went out for brushwood, they killed him in the hill country.
50. AĞ. *Bele. Păki bətr məɬ qtile u+Šamʃən, qtile a+tre dbe Xate, mən hawi bi+qrito, əmmi, aʔən ah+halaxxiye ʃal i+qrito w lu+gdaʃno mən ...*
Yes. Alright, after Šamʃən killed, killed two of the Xates, what happened in the village, they say, the Halaxxis came to the village and I dunno what ...
51. NČ. *Həəəə, hğəmwalle li+qrito, aʔənwa, hğəmwalle li+qrito, ma ʔmalɬa-vawoʔ ma ... laɬiʃat?*
Huh, they attacked the village, they came, they attacked the village, ʔgood griefʔ, don't you know?
52. AĞ. *Ayna qəryawote məsala? Halaxxe w bas?*
Which villages, for example? Halaxxe and that's it?
53. NČ. *Halaxxe, Halaxxiwayne komañño, lu+gdaʃno, lo, aš+Šətraɬəyeste aʔənwa hən mənne, lo, lo ...*
Halaxxe, they were Halaxxis. I'm telling you, I dunno, no, the Šətraɬi-ans also, some of them came, no, no ...
54. AĞ. *E, məs səmme bʔ Kfarze məsala dəmmi-na?*
Yes, what did they do in Kfarze, as an example so to speak?
55. NČ. *Lo+səmme, həma lbe Smailo, həyra, inaqlayo, lbe Smailo tlalle ido.*
They did nothing, but the Smaïlos, buddy, that time, the Smaïlos helped out.⁴⁸

48 Lit. 'they (the Smailo family) lifted a hand'.

56. AĠ. *Lə+tlalle ıdo?*

They didn't help out?

57. NČ. *Bele. əmmi, 'Lo: Qām Ğamilo dbe Xate ... I+Sətte su+Şabe sámýowa, bu+baytawo du+Şabe samýówayne. I+Sətte i+hoto du+Şamʕənwa. Hǵǵammalla, ono hawre dbe Xátewayno. Azzino, kalkó, zbiṭalle ʕal i+goro du+Şabe+samyó, zbətte i+Sətte! U+talgo kápwayle hul mátros-te, kápwayle zəd me drufo dtalgo. Tálgowo, ǵállabe tálgowo. Qām támostene, Alyás, azzino maxəlşoli, i+mḥasayto di+Sətte, eli w lemi maxəlşolan.*

Rather, they say, 'No'. Then Ğamilo Xate ... Sətte was at the blind Şabe's, they were at that house of the blind Şabe. Sətte was Şamʕən's sister. They attacked her, I was an ally of the Xates. I went, look, they have captured her on the roof of the blind Şabe, they have captured Sətte! There was up to a meter of snow, there was more than an arm's length of snow. There was snow, a lot of snow. On the spot, Alyas, I up and went to rescue her, the late Sətte, my mother and I rescued her.

58. NČ. *Omaṇṇo, 'Zax sidan', azzá sidan. U+Ğamilo mhéleli dahfe, l Ğamilo maqlábleli lu+talgo, hawo nafəl bayn u+talgo, Hamadé Xate nafəl bayn u+talgo, hanək nafili ltamo a+tre, w ... i+Sətte maxəlşolan, azzá gab i+Faho, fayišo gabayna. Maxəlşolan tamo, lo? Maxəlşolan, i+mḥasayto di+Sətte.*

I say, 'Go to our place', she went to our place. Ğamilo gave me a push, Ğamilo toppled me into the snow, that one fell into the snow, Hamadé Xate fell into the snow, those two fell there, and ... Sətte, we rescued her, she went to Faho's, she stayed with us. We rescued her there, right? We rescued her, the late Sətte.

59. NČ. *Edi qām azzano şbe Ğəǵo, əmmi, 'Nəʕman, ^Knayara ^K, Laʕle əmmo, 'Nəʕman, ^Kkríve máya, Nəʕman, rəhe máya^K.' U+ʕAzo dbe Mure, Aloho mḥasele, omar, 'Kul bayto—tlatmo+noṭat. D Şəmoke—šetmo, dməǵ-ğolo—malyún mate ... alfo w mate'.*

Then we up and went to Ğəǵo's house, they say, '^KNəʕman, enemy^K', Laʕle says, '^KNəʕman is our godfather, Nəʕman is our soul^K'. ʕAzo Muro, God bless him, says, 'Each house—three hundred liras. From Şəmoke—six hundred, if she speaks up—one million and two hundred ... one thousand and two hundred'.⁴⁹

49 At first, Nəʕman calculates the figure according to the old Turkish Lira, which was redenominated in 2005. He subsequently corrects himself and gives the figures in terms of the new Turkish Lira (YTL).

60. NČ. *Lu+ʕAzo dbe Mure w u+Gawrike di+Hədo, a+trani. I+ʕa<briyo> ... i+Hədo ... əmmo, 'Gawriye, kurem, čiko biđotux i+qričo, marhám, səm rahme, kurem, Gawriye, lo+maşıtat ʕal u+ʕAzo'. Ánnaqqa qāmno óno-ste šaməʕno, omañño, 'Kuro, Gawriye, mə məsáleyo kəmmat? Kəmmat, "Tlatmo+noťat. D Šəmoke dməğğolo, ktowən šetmo, dməğğolo, ktowən alfo w mate". Mə štağaliye koməğğolat? Kəozeno u+gawrawo dəzzé šoqal, tolab čarxi mi+Šəmoqe w me Šabriyo, šamiʕat?*
 ʕAzo Muro, Hədo's Gawriye, these two. ʕa<briyo> ... Hədo says, 'Gawriye, my boy, the village has slipped into your hands, be merciful, have mercy, my son, Gawriye, don't listen to ʕAzo'. Now then I too up and heard, I say, 'Boy, Gawriye, what is the story you are telling? You say, "Three hundred liras. If Šəmoke were to speak up, it will be six hundred, if she speaks up (again), it will be a thousand and two hundred." What tales are you telling? I would like to see the man who goes to take, to demand a nickel⁵⁰ from Šəmoke and from Šabriyo, do you hear?'
61. NČ. *Qām aħna čikina, ono w u+ʕAzo dbe Mure čikina bi+qərrəke dʰəđode tamo. U+ʕAzo dbe Mure omar, 'Lawo, koťat ʕul mənne?' Omañño, 'Lawo, koťeno ʕul mənne, məqqa dəmmat i+atto dʕəmmiyo. Dʰəđódena. Mə kəbʕatlux, kuro? Kalán tlátmone, mədlux a+tlátmo noťatxu, qay gdomar, "Dməğğolo, ktowən šetmo, dməğğolo, ktowən alfo w mate"?''*
 We up and got at, ʕAzo Mure and I, we got at each other's throats there. ʕAzo Mure says, 'Boy, are you coming over to them?' I say, 'Boy, ... no matter what you say, she is my uncle's wife. We belong to each other. What do you want for yourself, boy? Here's three hundred, take your three hundred liras for yourself. Why is he saying, "If she were to speak up, it will be six hundred, if she speaks up (again), it will be a thousand and two hundred"?''
62. AĞ. *Veğə šqəłwalle mi+qričo kula?*
 Now then, they took it from the whole village?
63. NČ. *Kula. Mi+qričo lkulle húwalle, kul ھا tlatmo, e.*
 All of it. From the village, everybody gave, each one three hundred, yes.
64. AĞ. *E, balki kito faqire?*
 Yes, perhaps there are some poor folks?

⁵⁰ Lit. *čarxi*, a coin worth roughly five *kuruş*.

65. NČ. *Kəṭwa faqire, hən [...] lo+šuqliwa daf+faqire. Hani ḡkəṭwayne ḡhaw-
rayye ʕam dbe Smailo, ḡkəṭwayne hawxa hno, šuqliwa.*
There were poor folks, some [...] they did not take from the poor.
These who were allies with the Smaïlos, who were such a thing, they
took (from them).
66. AĞ. *Wak+kallawatani lman obənwanne?*
And these funds, to whom did they give them?
67. NČ. *L Laʕle, kulle l Laʕle obənwanne.*
To Laʕle, they gave all of them to Laʕle.
68. AĞ. *Li+ḡurma du+qṭiloyo?*
To the wife of the murdered?
69. NČ. *E ... Nuriyo ^κdəl bráḡəm^κ wa.*
Yes ... ^κNuriyo was kindhearted^κ.
70. AĞ. *Hano u+Nuriyano?*
This very Nuriyo?⁵¹
71. NČ. *Eš, eš, e, Səloye Xate hawxa. Səloye Xate omarwa, ‘Lawo, mə_kəbšú-
tənxu, lḡa qṭile, kohnən i+qriṭo kula, mə_kəbšútənxu?’*
Sure, sure, yes, Səloye Xate as well. Səloye Xate said, ‘Boys, what do
you yourselves want, one person killed him, they are whatsiting the
whole village, what do you yourselves want?’
72. NČ. *Eee. ^κDəl bráḡəm^κwa Səloye Xate, u+babo d Nadimo, e.*
Yesss. He was ^κkindhearted^κ, Səloye Xate, Nadimo's father, yes.
73. AĞ. *W bəṭr a+kmo yawmanək hawxa, w fayito?*
And after these however many days like so, it passed? [...]
74. NČ. *U+waxtawo zahf pīswa. I+gnune w ad+dəzziyat ...*
This time was excessively bad. Thievery and thefts ...
75. AĞ. *Bəṭr məd^ə qṭili, žxwa bnaqla ḡariwo.*
Once they had been killed, of course, it became ruined all at once.
76. NČ. *W bəṭr b^əḡdo+naqqa ḡariwo, e.*
And afterwards, all at once it became ruined, yes.
77. AĞ. *Me tamo bəṭr bdalle a+Kfarzoye dəzzən marke l Awrupa.*
Thereupon Kfarzians started going from here to Europe.
78. NČ. *Kulle məd ... mahzamme w mahzamme w mahzamme, w azzəhən.*
All of them, after ... they fled and they fled and they fled, and they
went away.
79. AĞ. *Mu+waxtawo bdalle.*
They started from that time.

⁵¹ Alys refers to a mutual acquaintance.

80. NČ. *E, mə koman̄nux, mu+waxtawo.*
Yes, that's what I'm telling you, from that time.
81. AĞ. *Bu+waxtawo nha komətyaqanno inaqqayo idiŋéwayne ġălābe, dəm-mina, Oske w ann+abne, an+noše oṭənwa li+mŋaziye ġălābe.*
At that time, I now believe, they were then very well-known, so to speak, Oske and his sons, people came to the wake a lot.
82. NČ. *Oṭənwa lgabe, yani koman̄nux, šqile u+rišo, rišo yani, šqíwayle u+rišo, hýewa. Omar, l Haddo mārwaylele, Haddo mállele l Oske dbe Xate, omar, 'Ose, Ose, ^krúna, rúna, lánge xwa bəkséna lgorána xwa^k'. Omar, 'Azzé lánge xwa dəréžkəm^k'. Omar, 'Gəmḥalaqno ...' 'Grāš rağlux lgorán druḥux!'. Omar, 'Gmožadna hēš, hēš, hēš, gmožadna hēš!' Yani hawxa lo+zōŋwa, lo?*
They were siding with him, that is, I'm telling you, he had taken control,⁵² like, control, he took control, it was he. He says, Haddo⁵³ said to him, Haddo said to Oske Xate, he says, 'Ose, Ose, take a seat, take a seat, stay in your lane^k'.⁵⁴ He says, he says, 'But I am going to stretch my foot out^k!' (Oske) says, 'I shall throw ...' (Haddo says) 'Stay in your lane!' (Oske) says, 'I shall keep, keep, keep stretching it, I shall keep stretching it!' Like, he was not so afraid, right?
83. NČ. *Edi l Haddo bi+raḥa mállele, omar, 'Taw, lawo, taw!' Lo+yotawwa, mdáŋewa ŋal i+ra ... ŋal i+rišo ... ŋal i+rabuṭo. Whaymén šqilówayles-tene. Qām qṭalle.*
Then Haddo calmly told him, he says, 'Take a seat, boy, take a seat'. He did not take a seat, he demanded lead ... control ... leadership. And really, he took it too ... Then they killed him.

7 Glossary

In the absence of a proper dictionary of Turoyo, we have collected vocabulary from the present texts and assembled them here in a glossary. For nouns and adjectives, their basic forms have been listed as lemmata even if these do not appear in the text, e.g., the masculine singular form *rabo* 'leader' is listed although the text has only the plural form *rabe*. For verbs, their root consonants serve as lemmata. Each verb form is listed under one of the following labels

52 Lit. 'he took the head'.

53 Haddo was the leader of the opposing party in Kfarze, the Hamkes, and a sometime rival of Oske and the Xates.

54 Lit. 'draw your feet back to yourself'.

that refer to the respective inflectional bases: INFC—infectum, *l*-PRET—*l*-preterite; INTR.PRET—intransitive preterite, DETR—detransitive, DETR-WA—detransitive-wa, INFC-WA—infectum-wa, PRET-WA—preterite-wa, IPV—imperative. In the text, there are several Kurdish clauses and noun phrases, flanked by uppercase ^K ... ^K. This Kurdish material is not included within this glossary. The interested reader is referred to the standard dictionaries of Kurmanji.⁵⁵

7.1 *Labels*

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
I, II, III	I, II, III stem
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
C	any consonant
comp.	comparative
conj.	conjunction
cop.	copula
deo.	deontic mood
DETR	detransitive
DETR-WA	detransitive-wa
dist.	distal demonstrative
dp.	discourse particle
exist.	existential particle
F	Interview with Farida
f.	feminine
hes.	hesitation particle
inch.	inchoative
indef. pn.	indefinite pronoun
INFC	infectum
INFC-WA	infectum-wa
inj.	interjection
interrog. pn.	interrogative pronoun
INTR.PRET	intransitive preterite
IPV	imperative

55 E.g., Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary*; K.A. Bedir Khan, J. Bertolino, and K. Nezan, *Dictionnaire Kurde-Français / Ferhenga Kurdî-Fransîzî* (Paris: Riveneuve éditions for Institut kurde de Paris, 2017); and F.F. Omar, *Kurdisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch (Nordkurdisch/Kurmanji)* (Berlin: Institute für Kurdische Studien, 2016).

<i>l</i> -PRET	l-preterit
m.	masculine
N	Interview with Nəfman
n.	noun
neg.	negation
num.	numeral
pers.pn.	personal pronoun
pl.	plural
pos.	possessive pronoun
prep.	preposition
PRET-WA	preterite- <i>wa</i>
prox.	proximal demonstrative
prst	presentative particle
prt.	particle
pst.	past
q.prt.	question particle
quant.	quantifier
recp.	reciprocal pronoun
refl.pn.	reflexive pronoun
s.	singular
sbrd.	subordinate conjunction
indc.	indeclinable
sq.	sequential particle
top.	topic marker
voc.	vocative

7.2 *Non-Verbal Entries*

ʃal prep. 1) on, upon; *mħalaqla ruħa ʃal i+mħasayto di+Sətte* she threw herself upon the late Sətte (F60), 2) about; *ʃal mən hawyo i+məsalaṭe?* what was this problem about? (F1), 3) at; *marfele ʃal a+tre, qṭilile* he shot at the two, he killed them (F2), 4) for; *karixi ʃal u+Šamʃən du+Iško dquṭlile* they looked around for Šamʃən Iško to kill him (N7)

ʃam prep. with; *ʃam u+Yawsef* with Yawsef (N18), *ləzzáx aʃme* do not go with him (N18)

ʃafro n.m. dust; *ʃafro aṭi* a dust came (F33)

ʃāğaba q.prt. one wonders; *ʃāğaba bu+waxtawo i+məsale áydarbo hawyo* I wonder how the story went at that time (N1)

ʃağeba n.m. see *ʃebra*

ʃammo n.m. (pl. *ʃammone*) 1) paternal uncle; *i+aṭto dʃámmiyo* she is my uncle's wife (N61), 2) honorific *ʃammi Šabriyo* my uncle Šabriyo (N23)

- ʕamo** n.m. people; *u+māl du+ʕamo* the people's property (F66)
- ʕaskar** n.f. army, military; *i+ʕaskar mḥalaqla ʕal ʕIwardo* the military pounced upon ʕIwardo (F27)
- ʕaʕriye** n.m. evening; *ʕaʕriye u+ʕamʕan du+Iʕko azzé* in the evening ʕamʕan Iʕko went (N6)
- ʕazza** n.f. (pl. *ʕazzat*) wake; *səmme i+ʕazzatte w hnalle* they made their wake and whatsited (N7)
- ʕebra w ʕaḡeba** adv. (w. *b-*) in a horrible way, something awful, lit. 'a horrible situation and a wonder'; *ma bʕebra w ʕaḡeba qṭilalle!*? Did they not beat her something awful!? (F60)
- ʕedo** n.m. (pl. *ʕede*) feast, holiday; *lalye du+ʕedo* Easter Eve, lit. the night of the feast (N10)
- ʕIwarnoyo** n.m. (pl. *ʕIwarnoye*) ʕIwardian, i.e., the residents of ʕIwardo and their descendants; *laʕ+ʕIwarnōyestene* as for the ʕIwardians (F27)
- ʕlaymo** adj. f. *ʕlaymto*, pl. *ʕlayme* young; *məqqa ʕlāymowa?* how young was he? (N17)
- ʕul** prep. over; *koṭat ʕul mənne?* are you coming over to them? (N61)
- aC+C** art. pl.; *ap+pāləkataṭte* their papers (N2)
- abro** n.m. (pl. *abne*) son; *u+abro du+Išo* Išo's son (N19)
- admo** n.m. blood; *saməqwa mu+admaṭte* it got red from their blood (F36)
- ádyawma** adv. today; *kmo+abne kətle l Osḡe uʕdo ádyawma?* How many sons does Osḡe have now, today? (N28)
- aḡlab** prep. most of; *aḡlab maṭ+ṭāyestene* most of the Muslims too (N27)
- áḡlaba** adv. mostly; *aḡlaba əmmiwa* mostly they said (F36)
- aḡna** pers.pn. we
- aḡuno** n.m. (pl. *aḡunone*) 1) brother; *xud ann+aḡunənewayne* they were like brothers (F2), 2) a term of endearment; *lo+maḡrənwa, aḡuno* they did not dare, brother (F60)
- Ālo/Āla/Ālāh/Ālah/Āllāh** inj. by God
- alfo** num. thousand; *ʕqalle alfo* they took a thousand (F51)
- aloho** n.m. God; *Aloho mḡasela* God bless her (N19)
- aniṣḡe** n.f. (pl. *aniṣḡat*) corner; *di+aniṣḡe du+ṭyoro* the corner of the garden (F70)
- ánnaqqa** 1) adv. now; *ánnaqqa zoxu* now go! (F9); 2) dp. *ánnaqqa kəṭwayle pāləkāt q̄ Súriya aṭme* Now then, he had Syrian papers with him (N2); 3) hes. *U+abro ánnaqqa ... əmmíwayle l Osḡe* The son, now then ... they called Osḡe (N16)
- aqqa** quant. so many; *karixi aqqa ḡkotonani* they looked around so many of these places (N31)

arbaʃ num. four (f.); *arbaʃ+əʃne fayiʃo háyoste* that one stayed four years (F27)
arbʃi 1) num. forty; *kamíwayle arbʃi+yawme* the forty days had been completed (F80), 2) n.pl. a period of 40 days in the monastery, learning the church statutes; *heš lo+kamiliwa ann+arbʃiyayde* his forty days had not yet been completed (F80)

ašči n.m. (pl. *aščīye*) cook; *hani aščīye* these cooks (F45)

atto n.f. (pl. *niše*) 1) woman; *tlalle i+atto hul şafro* they hid the woman until morning (F27), 2) wife; *fayişo i+atto* his wife stayed (N8)

axər adv. finally; *axər, marke w tamheniké nafəq hən taye* finally, here and there some Muslims came out (N12)

áydarbo interrog.pn. how

ayko interrog.pn. where

ayna interrog.pn. which

b- prep. 1) in (locative); *sámwalle b Kfarze* they did in Kfarze (F39), 2) in (temporal); *blalyo hağmiwa* at night they attacked (F82), 3) with (instrumental); *bu+siləh moħewa ebe* he shot his gun at him (F17), 4) to (marks beneficiary or recipient); *sámwalle ban+noše, bas+survoye* they did to the people, to the Christians (F39); 5) manner; *at+tarte bnaşime* ... the two were with children (F88)

ba dp. introduces a yes/no question, including rhetorical questions; *ba xúrt-wayne!?* weren't they powerful!? (F96)

babo n.m. (pl. *babone*) father; *u+babo d Nadimo* Nadimo's father (N72)

Bahwari n.m. (pl. *Bahwariye*) Bahwarian, i.e., the residents of Behwar / Gülsen and their descendants; *lab+Bahwariye* the Bahwarians (F38)

balki adv. perhaps, maybe; *balki kito faqire?* perhaps there are some poor folks? (N64)

band n.m. (pl. *bandīye*) party; *də bandīye* two parties (F102)

barabát⁵⁶ adj. ruined, destructed; *simánwanne barabát* they ruined them, lit. they made them ruined (F46)

barbariye n.f. (pl. *barbariyat*) opposition; *bi+bar<bariye>, ħawráyyewayno* in the opp ... I was their ally (N8)

barħme n.m. (pl. *barħmone*) brother-in-law; *lu+barħmaydi* for my brother-in-law (F80)

bäri m- prep. before; *bäri muşdo* before now (N1)

⁵⁶ Turk. *berbat* 'spoiled, injured, ruined' (Redhouse, *Turkish-English Dictionary*, p. 157).

- barra** prep. against; *qām barra dätte* he rose up against them (N25)
- bas** 1 conj. but; *bas otewa* but he used to come back (N40)
- bas** 2 inj. enough! that's it!; *a+tloto+bote w bas* three houses and that's it (F54)
- bavó** a term of endearment, the vocative form of Kurm. *bav* 'father';⁵⁷ *e, bavó, lah+Halaxiye, lab+Bahwariye* yes, my dear, the Halaxians, the Bahwarians (F38)
- bayn** prep. 1) between; *bayn l Kamme w Kandaline* between Kamme and Kandaline (N10), 2) into; *nafəl bayn u+talgo* he fell into the snow (N58)
- bayto** n.m. (pl. *bote* 1) house; *u+baytaydi* my house (N19), 2) family; *kul bayto* each house, i.e., each family (N59)
- be** 1 neg.prt. *babi sōmwa i+kafkatte, be maŋna* my father prepared their foam, innocently (lit. without a sense)
- be** 2 prt. introduces interrogative subordinate clause; *hiye dmalle, be mānyo* he thought, what is it? (F17)
- be** 3 house, family, cf. *bayto; be Šamoqe* the Šamokes (F54)
- bele** prt. yes, of course, indeed, certainly
- bətr** prep. after (temporal); *bətr mād^o qṭili* after they had been killed (N75)
- brīto** n.f. (pl. *bəryawoto*) world; *hawyowa brīto nuro* the world became a flame (F66)
- čalkoyo** n.m. (pl. *čalkoye*) Yezidi; *lu+čalkoyo qṭile* the Yezidi killed (N6)
- čarxi** n.m. (pl. *čarxiyat*) a coin worth roughly five *kuruš*; *dəzzé tolab čarxi* he goes to demand a nickel (N60)
- čiroqe** n.f. (pl. *čirokat*) fable, story; *i+čiroqe du+mḥasyo du+Šamŋan du+Iško* the story of the late Šamŋan Iško (N1)
- čik** adj.s. clear (about sky); *šahwo čikwa* it was perfectly clear (F30)
- čunku** conj. of consequence, because; *məqqa dūgleyo, məqqa latyo dugle, čunku hiya hūrmayo* how much is falsehoods, how much isn't falsehoods, because she is a woman (N1)
- d-** 1 prep. 1) heading the dependent substantive in a noun phrase, of; *u+Šamŋan du+Iško* Šamŋan of Iško (N2), 2) from; *otənwa daq+qəryawote kulleste* they also came from all the villages (F66)
- d-** 2 sbrd. 1) complementizer; *dəmmīna* lit. what we say (F5), 2) introducing conditional clause, if; *dlo+mičəkwa taht u+qubbūr, qoṭalwa u+Šabkoste* if he hadn't sneaked under the turret, he would have killed Šabko as well (F17), 3) introducing relative clause, that, which, who; *saymānwanne muklo lani*

57 Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary*, p. 26.

- doṭənwa li+mʕaziye* made them food, for these **who** came to the wake (F43), 4) introducing clause of purpose, so that; *oṭənwa lu+māl du+ʕamo*, *dʰblile* they came for the people's property, to take it away (F66), 5) introducing temporal clause, when; *u+ʕamʕən dīnaqqa dʰqṭile hanək*, *bʰkmo ʔšnewa?* When ʕamʕən killed those guys, how old was he? (N17)
- daḥfe** n.f. (pl. *daḥfat*) push; *mḥéleli daḥfe* he gave me a push (N58)
- dayəm** adv. always; *gabáyyewa dayəm* he was always by their side (F2)
- dəžmənatiye** n.f. (pl. *dəžmənaiyat*) animosity; *hawyowa dəžmənatiye* the animosity had arisen (F4)
- dəžmən** n.m.pl. enemy; *qay hawən dəžmən* why did they become enemies? (F5)
- dəmekki** adv. therefore, in this case; *dəmekki latwa mede biḍayye?* in that case, wasn't there something in their hands? (F99)
- dəzziye** n.f. (pl. *dəzziyat*) theft; *i+gnune w ad+dəzziyat ...* thievery and thefts ... (N74)
- did-** pos.; *dətte* their (N25)
- disa** adv. again; *disa fayiši* again they resumed (N27)
- dozdan** n.m. (pl. *dozdanat*) purse, wallet; *ḥzela u+dozdan* she found the purse (F9)
- drufo** n.f. (pl. *drufo*) arm; *kápwayle zəd me drufo ḍtalgo* there was more than an arm's length of snow (N57)
- duglo** n.f. (pl. *dugle*) lies; *latyo dugle* it is not a lie (N1)
- e** yes
- edi** sq. then, afterwards; *edi hula lbe Xate* then she gave it to the Xates (F9)
- eš** yes, sure; *eeeš, mə komaṇṇux* sssure, what I'm telling you (N27)
- elo** prt. but; *elo Laʕle lo+maqabela* but Laʕle did not agree (F46)
- emo** n.f. (pl. *emote*) mother; *i+emayde ʕuráytowa* his mother was Syriac (N16)
- əšmo** n.m. (pl. *əšmone*) name; *ṭaʕino əšma* I forgot her name (N35)
- faqiro** adj. f. *faqərto*, pl. *faqire* poor; *kəṭwa faqire* there were poor [folks] (N65)
- femo** n.m. (pl. *feme*) 1) mouth; *fəṭḥi femayye* they open their mouths (F60), 2) opening; *feme du+tarfo* the opening of the door (F70)
- gab** 1) prep. by someone's side, at; *gabáyyewa dayəm* he was always by their side (F2), 2) lative prep.; *azzá gab i+Faho* she went to Faho's (N58)
- gawo** n.m. (pl. *gawe*) belly; *qṭalle an+naʕimatte bgawayye* they killed their children in their bellies (F88)
- gawro** n.m. (pl. *gawre*) male, man; *kḥozeno u+gawrawo* I would like to see that man (N60)

gnune n.f. (pl. *gnunat*) thievery; *i+gnune w ad+dəzziyat ...* thievery and thefts ... (N74)

goro n.f. (pl. *gorone / gore*) roof; *ʕal i+goro* on the roof (N57)

gorán prep. *lgorán d-* according to; *grāš raḡlux lgorán druḡux* draw your feet back to yourself (N82)

ǧālābe adv. 1) very; *latwa xort ǧālābe* he was not very young (N18), 2) a lot; *karixi aʕle ǧālābe* they looked around for him a lot (F29), 3) many; *sámwalle ǧālābe medone piṣitiyat* they did many nasty things (F55)

ha prst. *ha i+māsalatte háyoyo* so, that's their story (F2)

Halaxxi n.m. (pl. *Halaxxiye*) Halaxxi, i.e., the residents of Helex / Narlı and their descendants; *halaxxiwayne* they were Halaxxis (N53)

hak prst. *kulle hawráyyewayne, hak* they were all allies, see (F66)

hāma conj. 1. but; *lo+fāšle abne ... hāma Ramazano kätte* he has no sons left ... but he has Ramazan (N29), 2. then; *yawo, hāma mən towe trowe!* For goodness' sake, then whatever happens, let it happen! (F59)

hanək dist. those; *hanək naḡli ltamo* those ones fell there (N58)

hani prox. these; *hani ḡkátwayne hawrayye* these who were allies (N65)

hano prox. this (m.); *hano u+Nuriyano?* this very Nuriyo? (N70)

haqqa quant. *háqqayo* it is that much (F81)

harke adv. here; *karixi harke w harke w harke* they looked for them here and here and here (N2)

hat pers.pn. you (s.)

haw adv. no longer, never again; *haw kobaʕna* I don't want her anymore (N19), *haw aṭi mənne quṭlənne* they never had another opportunity to kill them (N7)

hawo dist. that (m.); *hawo, u+haḡḡiyawo* that one, that hajji (N29)

hawxa 1) adv. like so, so; *háwxawa i+māsalatte* their problem was like so (F9), 2) such; *hawxa kätwa zorayye?* was there such violence? (F71)

haymén inj. really, believe me; *haymén šqilówaylestene* really, he took it too (N83)

hayo dist. that (f.); *hayo la+kmitaḡke* that [thing] is left unspoken (F56)

hažžəke n.f. (pl. *hažžəkat*) twig, brush; *azzewa lah+hažžəkat* he went out for brushwood (N49)

hedi sq.; *hedi qām marḡamme u+šamo* then they up and fined the people (F19)

heš- adv. more; *niše heša* more wives (N34) *heš gmožadna heš* I shall keep stretching it (N82)

hežnú adv. from now on; *hežnú hani hawən də bandiye* from then on, they became two parties (F102)

hə 1 prst.; əmmi, *Hə, hə, hə, Ālo, q̄təlle* 'they say, 'Hey, hey, hey, by God, they killed' (N10)

hə 2 inj.; *Həəəəə, h̄ğəmwalle li+q̄r̄to* huh, they attacked the village (N51)

hən indef.pn. some; *aṭənwā hən mənne* some of them came (N53)

hənnək pers.pn. they

hiya pers.pn. she

hiye pers.pn. he

hno n.m.f. (pl. *hne*) whatsit; a filler word, used when the speaker cannot recall a specific word; *x̄di+hno* like the whatsit (F2)

hōsta n.m. (pl. *hostawin*) master, expert; *hani aš̄č̄ye, ah+hōstawinatte* these are cooks, their experts (F45)

hul prep. until, up to; *hul şafro* until morning (F27); *u+talgo kápwayle hul mátroste* there was up to a meter of snow (N57)

ha 1) num. one (m.); *u+ha lalyo* one night (F2), 2) indef.pn. *kul ha tlatmo* each one three hundred (N63)

haği n.m. (pl. *hağiyat*); hajji; *u+hağiyawo* that hajji (N29)

haroyo adj. f.; *harayto*, pl. *haroye* last; *bi+haraytate əmmi* lit. at this end, they say (F9)

hatta adv. even; *hatta m̄hele bu+həmyònoste, u+silāh̄ lo+q̄āt ebe* he even shot at his father-in-law, the weapon didn't hit him (F11)

hawro n.m. (pl. *hawrone*) ally; *hawre d Óşķewayno* I was Osķe's ally (N8)

hayf n.m. (pl. *hayfat*) revenge; *āhnaste ktolina hayf* we shall take revenge (N21)

hayra inj. a term of endearment; *hayra, i+naqlayo, lbe Smailo tlalle id̄o* buddy, that time, the Smailos lifted a hand (N55)

hamšo num. five (m.); *hamšo+abne* five sons (N35)

h̄d̄o indef.pn. one (f.); *h̄d̄o latle* he doesn't have a woman (lit. one) (N38)

h̄d̄ode recip.; *čikina bi+q̄ərr̄əke d̄h̄d̄ode* we got at each other's throats (N61)

h̄ed̄ər- prep. around; *aq+q̄əryawotani d̄h̄ed̄or̄áȳyeste* these villages around them (F67)

h̄əmyono n.m. (pl. *h̄əmyone*) father-in-law; *bu+h̄əmyono* at his father-in-law (F12)

hkume n.f. (pl. *hkumat*) government; *hiwile li+h̄kume* he gave to the government (N5)

hmoto n.f. (pl. *h̄matyoto*) mother-in-law; *li+h̄moto* the mother-in-law (F6o)

holo 1 n.m. (pl. *holone*) 1) maternal uncle; *u+Yawsef du+abro du+h̄olayda* Yawsef, who is her cousin, lit. who is son of her uncle (N18), 2) honorific; *gdəmm̄ina lu+h̄olo Nəşman* let's talk to Uncle Numan (N1)

holo n.f. 2 stage; *latwa bi+h̄olo* she had nothing to do with it, lit. she was not on the stage (F11)

- hoto** n.f. (pl. *hotote*) sister; *emi w hótīyo* she is my mother and sister (N19)
- hreno** adj. f. *hreto*, pl. *hrene* other one; *a+hrene kulle* all the others (F46)
- hurma** n.f. (pl. *heram*) 1) woman; *hiya hūrmayo* she is a woman (N1), 2) wife; *i+hurmayde* his wife (F65)
- idišo** adj. f. *idišto*, pl. *idiše* well-known; *idišéwayne gālābe* they were very well-known (N81)
- ido** m.f. (pl. *idoṭe*) hand; *čiko biḏoṭux* it has slipped into your hands (N60), *tlalle ido* they lifted a hand (N55)
- inaqqa d-/ inaqla d-** temporal conj. when; *dinaqqa d³qṭile* when he killed (N13)
- insan** n.m. (pl. *ṛansanat*) human; *lo+qāt ltə+ṛansanat* no people had ever got (F27)
- kafke** n.f. molasses foam (Turk. *pekmez köpiüğü*), a by-product of molasses (Kurm. *dibis*, Turk. *pekmez*), which rises to the top during boiling and is collected with a ladle for later consumption; *saymiwa kafke* they made foam (F42)
- kal-** prst.; *kalán ap+paləkat* here are the papers (N3)
- kalkó** prst.; *azzino, kalkó, zbiṭalle* I went, look, they have captured her (N57)
- kalla** n.m. (pl. *kallawat*) money; *šqalle kallawat* they took from them money (F49)
- kəṭwa** exist.pst. there was; *kəṭwa harke u+šamṣən šamṣən* was here (N36)
- Kfarzoyo** n.m. (pl. *kfarzoye*) Kfarzian, i.e., the residents of Kfarze and their descendants; *bdalle a+Kfarzoye dəzzón* Kfarzians started going (N77)
- kib-** 1) used to indicate capacity; *u+talgo kápwayle hul mātrote* there was a meter of snow (N57), 2) used to indicate potential ability, can; *ma, aḥuno, kápwalḷe?* could they, brother? (F94),
- kiso** n.m. (pl. *kise*) pocket; *azzé me kise* lit. he went out from his pocket (N12)
- kito** exist. there is; *ma talgo semoqo kito?* Is there red snow? (F33), *kəṭwayle* lit. there was to him (F25)
- kmo** interrog.pn. how much?; *Kmo+abne kəṭle?* how many sons does he have? (N28)
- kohno** n.m. (pl. *kohne*) priest; *kóhnowa* he was a priest (F80)
- kriv** n.m.f. (pl. *krivin*) godfather or godmother, one who takes part in a circumcision; *i+krivāydanyo* she is our godmother (N3)
- kul-** quant. 1) every, each; *kul bayto—tlatmo+noṭat* each house—three hundred liras (N59), 2) all, the whole; *a+hrene kulle* all the others (F46)
- kúlmede** quant. everything; *hzele kúlmede* he saw everything (N1)

kaçke n.f. (pl. *kaçkat*) girl; *hawila kaçkéstene, kaçke* she also had a girl, a girl (N10)

kurem voc. my son; *kurem, čiko bidotux i+qrito* my boy, the village has slipped into your hands (N60)

kuro/ḱurro n.m. (pl. *ḱurkat*) boy; *Ḳuro, Gawriye* Boy, Gawriye (N60)

l- prep. 1) for (marking beneficiar or recipient); *saymānwanne muklo lani* they made food for these ones (F43), 2) to (lative); *l Sūriya* to Syria (F22), 3) the marker of nominal agents in clauses with *l-PRET*; *li+Fārīda mārwaylalan i+čiroke* Farida told us the story (N1)

lalyo n.m. (pl. *lalye*) night; *u+lalyo d^oqtilile* the night in which he killed them (F27)

larwal adv. outside; *trofōš larwal* let him stay outside (N23)

latwa neg.exist.pst. *latwa xort* he was not young (N18)

latyo neg.cop. *latyo mede ...* this is not something ... (F73)

lawḡul/larḡul adv. inside; *trokurxi lawḡul* let them look around inside (N23)

lawo a term of endearment, the vocative form of Kurm. *law* 'boy, son';⁵⁸ *lawo, maslām ap+paḷəkataydi* boy, hand over my papers (N6)

laybe neg. of *kib-* 1) used to indicate ability, cannot; *lápwalte* they couldn't (F94)

lat-l-; neg. *ḥdo latle* he doesn't have a woman, lit. there is no one (f.) for him (N38)

lo 1 neg.prt.; *lo i+Maḡo* not Maḡo (F25); *lo/lə/l-* verbal prefix of negation; *lə+gbənxoyo* I shall not give it to you (F2), *lazzé* he hadn't gone (L10),

lo 2 phatic expression; *qām hānostene, fayiši hawxa, lo?* this came up, they stayed like so, right? (N7)

lowa neg.prt.; *ya vega gəmtatla ya lowa, hárkeyo* whether you're going to bring her out now or not, she's here (F27)

m-/ min-/mən- prep. 1) from; *šuqliwa mənne* they took from them (F52), 2) prt. of comparison, than; *ṭaw mini kuḍsat* you know it better than I (N2)

mṣadlo adj. f. *mṣadalto*, pl. *mṣadle* decent; *latyo mṣadlo* he is not decent (N18)

mṣaziči n.m. (pl. *mṣazičiye*) wake guest; *aṭən a+mṣazičiye* wake guests came (F46)

mṣaziye n.f. (pl. *mṣaziyat*) wake; *oṭənwa li+mṣaziye* they came to the wake (F81)

ma dp. introduces a yes/no question; *ma u+ḥəmyono, áykowa??* his father-in-law, where was he? (F12)

māl n.m. property; *oṭənwa lu+māl du+ṣamo* they came for the people's property (F66)

⁵⁸ Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary*, p. 346.



FIGURE 6 Šamʿān Iško's *mḏara*
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malla n.m. (pl. *mallawat*) mullah; *azzewa malla ŠĀliste* Mullah ŠAli also went (F28)

maló q.prt. isn't it?; *maló hat ṭaw mini kuḏṣat?* don't you know it better than I!? (N2)

malyún num. (pl. *malyune*) million; *malyún maṭe* one million and two hundred ... (N59)

man interrog.pn. who; *ar+rabe di+qriṭo mánwayne?* who were the leaders of the village? (N24)

marziwo n.m. (pl. *marziwe*) rain gutter, rain pipe; *bam+marziwe* into the downspouts (F30)

māsale/ māsala n.f. (pl. *masalat* 1) matter, story; *i+māsale háwxawa* the story was like so (N31), 2) for example; *layk_azzeyo māsala?* where did he go, for example? (N29)

maṭe num. two hundred; *malyún maṭe* one million and two hundred (N59)

maṣna n.f. (pl. *maṣnat*) sense, meaning; *sōmwa i+kafkatte*, *be maṣna* he prepared their foam, innocently, lit. without any sense (F42)

mḏara n.f. (pl. *mḏarat*) the upper storey of an old two-storey house made of hewn stone blocks (Fig. xxx); *qarṣa di+mḏara* the top of the observatory (F13)

mede n.m. (pl. *medone*) something; *Ma mede, mede sōmwalle?! What a thing, a thing they did?! (F74)*

məd- conj. when; *bətr məd^ə qṭili* once they had been killed (N75)

Mədyoyo n.m. f. *Mədyayto*, pl. *Mədyoye* Midyatian, i.e. the residents of Midyat and their descendants; *kátwayle ḥreto*, *mədyayto* he had another one, a Midyatian (F25)

məlfono n.m. (pl. *malfone*) teacher; *lo+mağrənwa*, *məlfono* they did not dare, teacher (F66)

mən/mə- interrog.prt. what; *ele məs səmle?* what did he do? (F20)

məqqa interrog.pn./quant. how much; *məqqa dəbət* however much you want (F50)

mətro n.m. (pl. *mərowat*) meter; *u+talgo kəpwayle hul mətroste* there was a meter of snow (N57)

mḥasyo adj. f. *mḥasayto* pl. *mḥasye* late; *i+mḥasayto di+Sətte* the late Sətte, lit. the late of Sətte (N58)

mḥoyo n.m. (pl. *mḥoye*) beating; *u+mḥoyo dḡātṭe* the beating he got (F27)

-mo num. hundred; *tlatmo* three hundred (N61)

mṣakro adj. f. *mṣakarto*, pl. *mṣakre* lost; *fāš mṣakro* he remained lost (N12)

muklo n.m. (pl. *muklone*) food; *saymənwanne muklo* they made them food (F43)

mxalati n. (m. and f.) (pl. *mxalatiye*) maternal cousin; *be mxalati Malke* Cousin Malke's family (F46)

naqla/naqqa n.f. time, one time; *bnāqla ḥariwo* it became ruined all at once (N75)

našifo adj. f. *našafto*, pl. *našife* dry; *lah+hažžəkāt našife* for dry brush (N10)

našimo n.m. (pl. *našime*) child; *i+atto*, *an+našime* his wife, the children (F24)

nha adv. maybe, likely; *nha komətyaqanno inaqqayo idīšéwayne* I believe, they were then likely well-known (N81)

nošo n.m. (pl. *noše*) person; *noše lo+fāšle* he has nobody left (N29)

noṭ n.m. (pl. *noṭat*) lira; *tlatmo+noṭat* three hundred liras (N59)

nuro n.f. fire; *hawyowa briṭo nuro* the world very much became a flame (F66)

oho inj. *ba, oho, ma mağrənwa!?* would, oh, would they dare!? (F90)

ono pers.pn. I

pāki inj. alright; *pāki bətr məd^ə qṭile u+šamʿən* alright, after šamʿən killed (N50)

pāləke n.f. (pl. *pāləkāt*) document, paper; *kátwayle pāləkāt* he had Syrian papers (N2)

pisitiye n.f. (pl. *pisitiyat*) unpleasantry; *səmwalle ḡālābe medone pisitiyat* they did many nasty things (F55)

pīs adj.m.f. (pl. *pīsin*) bad; *u+waxtawo zahf pīswa* this time was excessively bad (N74)

pāpuke n.indc. poor thing; *pāpuke, hīyaste w i+Maḡo* wretched, she and Maḡo as well (F60)

qadəšto n.f. (pl. *qadiše*) sanctuary, a small chapel dedicated to a particular saint, in which his or her feast day is celebrated; *bi+qadəšto* in the sanctuary (N30)
qām 1) inch. prt.; *qām mahzamme* they up and fled (N31), 2) sq. then; *qām qəlle* then they killed him (N83)

qamayto adv. at first; *qamayto i+Maḡo latwa bi+holo* at first Maḡo had nothing to do with it (F11)

qarabaləḡ n.m. noise, hullabaloo; *səmmə qarabaləḡ* they made a hullabaloo (N6)

qarši prep. against; *ḡqarši dḡdodéwayne* they were opposite each other (F15)

qarfo n.m. (pl. *qarfe*) top, roof; *qarfa di+mḡara* the top of the observatory (F13)

qatəl n.m. (pl. *qatole*) killer; *u+qatəlayde* his killer (N12)

qay q.prt. why?; *qay hawən dəžmán?* why did they become enemies? (F5)

qərrəke n.f. (pl. *qərrəkat*) throat; *bi+qərrəke dḡdode* at each other's throat (N61)

qriṭo n.f. (pl. *qəryawote*) village; *li+qriṭo* to the village (F26)

qm- prep. in front of, at; *qmu+tarfo* in front of the door (F70)

qtiloyo n.m. (pl. *qtiloye*) murdered one; *li+hurma du+qtiloyo?* to the wife of the murdered? (N68)

qubbūr n.m. (pl. *qubburat/qubburin*) a covered staircase leading to the top of the building, usually attached to the side or the front of the structure; *taht u+qubbūr* under the turret (F17)

qyamto n.f. resurrection; *maqəmla i+qyamto li+Ṣarke* Ṣarke raised a resurrection (N19)

rabbane n.indc. poor thing; *latwa bi+holo, rabbane* she had nothing to do with it, poor thing (F11)

rabo n.m. (pl. *rabe*) leader; *ar+rabe di+qriṭo* the leaders of the village (N24)

rabuto n.f. leadership; *i+rabuto* the leadership (N26)

raḡlo n.f. (pl. *raḡloṭe*) foot; *grāš raḡlux lgorán druḡux!* draw your feet back to yourself! (N82)

raḡa n.m. peace, calmness; *bi+raḡa mállele* he calmly told him (lit. in calmness) (N83)

raḡme n.f. mercy; *səm raḡme!* have mercy! (N60)



FIGURE 7

qubbur

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raḥuqo 1) adj. f. *raḥuqto*, pl. *raḥuqe* far apart; *raḥúqewayne* they were far apart (F16), 2) adv. away; *azzé l Awuṣṣṭralya raḥuqo* he went far away to Australia (N7)

raṣṭiye n.f. truth; *ónostene di+raṣṭiye obáṣwayna* as for me, in truth, I wanted her (N19)

rišo n.m. head, control; *šqile u+rišo* he had taken control, lit. he took the head (N82)

ruḥ- refl. pn.; *mḥalaqla ruḥa* she threw herself (F6o)

samyó adj. f. *smito*, pl. *samyé* blind; *u+Šabe+samyó* the blind Šabe (N57)

semoqo adj. f. *semaqto*, pl. *semoqe* red; *talgo semoqo* red snow (F33)

s-/sid- prep. at, by; *i+Sətte su+Šabe sámyowa* Sətte was at the blind Šabe's (N57), *fayišo háyoste side* that one (f.) stayed by his side (F27); (w/ be) *šbe* at the home of; *aḥna šbe emi* we were at my mother's (F4o)

silāḥ n.m. (pl. *silahāt*) weapon; *u+silāḥ lo+qāt ebe* the weapon didn't hit him (F11)

suri adj. f. *suriye*, pl. *suriye* Syrian (national); *súriwa* he was a Syrian (N2)

suryoyo adj. f. *suryayto*, pl. *suryoye* Syriac; *suryoyo nošo* Syriac person (F57)

səbba n.f. (pl. *səbbat*) reason; *mi+səbbayo* for that reason (N8)

-ste/-stene top; *laṣ+ṣiwarnòyestene tlalle i+atto* as for the ṢIwardians, they hid the woman (F27)

sūč n.m. guilt, blame; *ma alle mā_sūč!?* for what are they to blame! (F61)



FIGURE 8 *qadāšto* in Kfarze
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šafro n.m. (pl. *šafrawoto*) morning; *šafro qayimi* in the morning they got up (F27)

šahwo n.m. clear sky; *u+lalyo d^oqtilile šahwo čikwa* the night he killed them it was perfectly clear (F30)

šabbav n.m. (pl. *šabbavat*) son of a bitch; *ma šabbav, lə+kḥayrat qqutlilī?* son of a bitch, don't you see they are going to kill me? (F2)

šawmo n.m. (pl. *šawme*) fast; *šafre du+šəwmowa* one morning of the fast (N10)

šuroyo adj. f. *šurayto*, pl. *šuroye* Syriac; *šuráytowa* she was Syriac (N16)

šato n.f. (pl. *əšne*) year; *tlat+əšne* three years (F27)

šafiro adj. f. *šafərto*, pl. *šafire* beautiful, pleasant; *latwa mede šafiro u+hnano* this whatsit was not a good thing (F93)

šalwo n.m. (pl. *šalwone*) gully; *nuḥti lu+šalwo* they go down to the gully (N31)

šaqs n.m. (pl. *šaqsat*) person; *qṭíwayle tre+šaqsat mənne* he killed two of their people (F60)

šetmo num. six hundred; *ḍ Šəmoḳe—šetmo* from Šəmoḳe—six hundred (N59)

škafte n.f. (pl. *škafat*) cellar; *i+škaftatxu gəmfatšila* they will search your (pl.) cellar (N22)

šop n.m. (pl. *šopat*) trail; *šal u+šopayde* on his trail (N41)

štaḡaliye n.f. (pl. *štaḡaliyat*) speech; *mə_štaḡaliye koməḡḡolat?* lit. what speech are you speaking? (N60)

šəkl n.m. (pl. *šəklat*) way, kind, type; *aḥna latna mu+šəklawo* we are not that type (N19)

Šəṭraqoyo n.m. (pl. *Šəṭraqoye*) Šəṭraqian, i.e. the residents of Hêstreḳ / Ortaca and their descendants; *aš+Šəṭraqòyeste* the Šəṭraqians also (N53)

taḥt prep. under; *taḥt u+qubbūr* under the turret (F17)

talgo n.m. snow; *ḡálābe aṭiwa talgo* a lot of snow fell (F31)

talí adv. finally; *talí, lo+mašəṭle šal u+Šamṣən du+Iško* finally, he didn't obey Šamṣən Iško (lit. he didn't listen to Šamṣən Iško) (N5)

tamheniké adv. there; *marke w tamheniké* here and there (N12)

tamo adv. there; *me tamo azzeyo* from there he went (N9); *me tamo baṭr* thereupon; *me tamo baṭr bdalle* thereupon they started (N77)

tāne adv. only; *hani tāne lo+rḡimənne* only these ones, they did not fine them (F54)

tarte num. two (f.); *at+tarte bnašime* the two [women] were with children (F88)

tarfo n.m. (pl. *tarše*) door; *qmu+tarfo* in front of the door (F70)

tə + neg.quant. *tə+mede latwa biḍayye* they didn't control anything (F100)

tfənge n.f. (pl. *tfəngat*) rifle; *hawli i+tfəngaydux* give me your rifle (F2)

ṭhele n.f. (pl. *ṭhelat*) side; *bi+ṭhelayde* into his side (N6)

tlat num. three (f.); *tlat+əšne* three years (F27)

tlatmo num. three hundred; *kalán tlátmone* here's three hundred (N61)

tloṭo num. three (m.); *tloṭo+našime* three children (F23)

tōz n.m. powder; *xud u+tōz šam u+talgo* like powder with the snow (F33)

tralfō num. two thousand; *šqalle alfo, tralfō* they took a thousand, two thousand (F51)

tre num. two (m.); *a+tre, Ḥsayno w Oske dbe Xate* the two, Ḥsayno and Oske Xate (N13)

ṭawwo adj. f. *ṭawto*, pl. *ṭawwe*, comp. *ṭaw* good; *lātwayne ṭawwe* they were not good (F65)

ṭayo n.m. (pl. *ṭaye*) Muslim; *aš+šuroye w aṭ+ṭāyeste* Syrians and Muslims as well (N27)

ṭayuto n.f. Islam; *ṭayūtowa* it was Islam (F68)

ṭro deo. *ṭro maqtoliwa hānnakste* let them be killed as well (F91)

ṭuro n.m. (pl. *ṭurone*) mountain, hill country; *qṭalle bu+ṭuro* they killed him in the hill country (N49)

ṭyoro n.m. (pl. *ṭyorone*) orchard, garden; *i+aniške du+ṭyoro* the corner of the garden (F70)

xabro n.m. (pl. *xabre*) word; *lo+mšadârlele xabro* he sent word to him (N45)

ax+xəbare n.pl. news; *bəṭr ax+xəbare* after the news (N29)

xat n.m. (pl. *xatat*) line, border; *taḥt u+xat* ‘under-the-line’, i.e. across the Syrian border; *azzé ltaḥt u+xat* he went to ‘under-the-line’ (F22); *bən xat* ‘below the line’; *qay səmme bən xat?* why did they send him below the line? (N1)

xayifo adv. quickly; *əmmi, ‘Xayifo ...’* they say, ‘Quickly ...’ (F27)

xort n.m. young man, who is 14–20 years old (pl. *xortin*); *xortwa* he was young (N1)

xud-/xot- prep. of comparison, like, as; *xūdi+hno* like the whatsit (F2)

xurt adj. pl. *xurtin* powerful; *xūrtwayne* they were powerful (F95)

xwarz n.m. (pl. *xwarzin*) nephew; *u+xwarz daš+šurōyewa* he was the Syrians’ nephew (N16)

w conj. and; *qṭilile w ṭrele* he killed them and left (F2)

wāki dp. 1) but; *wāki a+hrene kulle* but all the others (F46), 2) sq. *haymén wāki lātwayne ṭawwe* surely then they were not good people (F65)

waxt n.m. (pl. *waxtən/waxtat*) time; *bu+waxtawo* at that time (N81)

u art.m.; *u+babo d Nadimo* Nadimo’s father (N72)

uṣdo adv. now; *kəṭla uṣdo ḥamšo+abne* now she has five sons (N35)

vega adv. now; *ya vega gəmtatla ya lowa, hārkeyo* whether you’re going to bring her out or not, she’s here (F27)

veḡa adv. now, now then; *veḡa šqəlwalle mi+qriṭo kula?* Now then, they took it from the whole village? (N62)

ya ... ya conj. whether/either ... or; *ya vega gəmtatla ya lowa, hárkeyo* whether you're going to bring her out now or not, she's here (F27)

yani hes. *áydarbo barimo i+māsale, yani i+māsale áydarbo hawyo?* How did the story turn out, like, how did the story go? (N1)

yār n.m. (pl. *yarin*) lover; *kosōmlayo yār* he makes him out to be a lover to her (N19)

yawmo n.m. (pl. *yawme*) day; *arbši+yawme* forty days (F80)

yawo inj. for goodness' sake; *yawo, omar* for goodness' sake, he says (N5)

zabno n.m. (pl. *zabne*) time; *bu+zabnawo* at that time (N77)

zahf adv. very; *zahf pīswa* it was excessively bad (N74)

zede indef.pn. others; *hən zede qṭalle* some other [people] killed him (N12)

zlām n.m. (pl. *zlamat*) man, husband; *a+zlamatatte* their husbands (N62)

zoriye/zorayiye n.f. (pl. *zorayiyat*) violence; *bi+zoriye* violently, lit. with violence (N69)

zəd prep. more than; *kəpwayle zəd me drušo ḡtalgo* there was more than an arm's length of snow (N57)

žxwa adv. of course; *žxwa qṭalle u+Uso?* of course, they killed Uso? (N11)

7.3 Verbs

ʔbʕ I *abəʕ/obaʕ* to want; *ayko ḡkabʕutu* wherever you want (INFC) (F9)

ʔdʕ I *aḡəʕ/oḡaʕ* 1) to know; *lo+kəḡʕono ónoste* I (f.) also don't know (INFC) (F6), 2) to discover; *laḡiʕina manyo* we have not discovered (INTR.PRET) who it is (N12)

ʔmr I *məʕle/omar* to say; *əmmi* they say (INFC) (F9)

ʔty I *aṭi/ote* 1) to come; *hənnək aṭənwə* they came (PRET-WA) (F66), 2) *ʕul* to come over; *koṭat ʕul mənne?* are you coming over (INFC) to them? (N61), 3) (of an opportunity) to come up, happen (+ *m-/min-/mən-* to someone); *haw aṭi mənne quṭlənne* they never had another opportunity to kill them (N7), 4) as a light verb, cf. *talgo*

ʔz I *azze/əzze* 1) to go; *me Súriya azzé l Awrupa* from Syria he went (PRET) to Europe (N7)

ʕbr I *ʕabər/ʕobar* to enter; *lukwe dʕəbro lu+baytayḡi* it's not right that she enters (INFC) my house (N19); III *maʕballe/maʕbar* to bring someone in; *gmaʕbri* they will bring him in (INFC) (N22)

ʕmr I *ʕamər/ʕomar* to get built; *ʕamər bayto* an expression of exasperation, lit. the house was built (INTR.PRET; N29)

bdy I *bdele/bode* 1) to begin *bdalle* they started (*l*-PRET) (N77)

brm I *barəm/boram* 1) to turn out; *áydarbo barimo i+mäsale?* how did the story turn out (PRET)? (N1), 2) to twist; *brəmme bide d^hḏode* they twisted it in each other's hands (F2)

čyk I *čikle/čōk* 1) DETR or with *ruh-* to sneak one's self; *čikle ruḥe taḥt u+qubbūr* he sneaked himself (*l*-PRET) under the turret (F17), *dlo+mičəkwa taḥt u+qubbūr* if he hadn't sneaked (DETR-WA) under the turret (F17); (with *bi+qərrəḳe* at the throat) 2) to attack, lit. get at someone's throat; *čikina bi+qərrəḳe d^hḏode* we got at each other's throats (N61); 3) (with *biḏ-* into the hand of) to fall into one's possession; *čiko biḏotux i+qrīto* the village has slipped into your hands (N60)

dšr I *dašər/došar* to return, to come back; *dašərno* I went back (INTR.PRET) (N27)

dšy II *mdašele/mdaše šal-* to demand something; *mdašewa šal i+rabuṭo* he demanded (INFC-WA) leadership (N83)

dgl II *mdagele/mdagal* to lie; *kəmdagli, lo ele qṭile* they lie (INFC), it was not he who killed him (N6)

dry III *madrele/madre* to drop; *madrile* he dropped (*l*-PRET) them (N2)

fhm I *fahəm/foham* to understand; *fahəmno* I have understood (INTR.PRET) (F10)

frḳ II *mfarəḳle/mfarəḳ* to end, disperse, be over; *hanək azzehən w mfarəḳo* those ones went away and it (f.) settled down (INFC) (F102)

fth I *fṭəḥle/fotaḥ* to open; *lo+mağrənwa fṭṭhi femayye* they did not dare to open (INFC) their mouths (F60)

ftš II *mfatašle/mfataš* to search through smth; *gəmfatši* they will search (INFC) your place (N22)

fyš I *fāš/fōš* 1) to stay (in a particular location); *ánnaqqa áykoyo, ayko kofōš?* now then, where is he, where does he end up (INFC; lit. where does he stay)? (N38), 2) to continue a state; *fāš mšakro* he remained (INTR.PRET) lost (N12), 3) to be a portion untaken; *lo+fāšle abne* he has no sons left (INTR.PRET) (N29)

fyt I *fāt/fōt* to pass; *fayito* it (f.) passed (INTR.PRET) (N73)

ğġl I *ğġil/mağġal* 1) to speak; *komağġolat* you are speaking (INFC) (N60), 2) to speak up; *dmağġolo* if she speaks up (INFC) (N61)

gndr II *mgandaḷle/mgandar* to roll; *mgandaḷle háwoste* he rolled (*l*-PRET) that one over as well (N6)

grš I *grāšle/goraš* to pull, to draw; *grāš rağlux lgorán druḥux!* draw (IPV) your feet back to yourself (N83)

ğry 1 I *ğari/ğore* to happen; *qay hawxa ġarən?* how did they happen (INTR.PRET) so? (N1), II *ğarən ġari*

- gry** 2 III *mağrele/mağre* to dare; *ma mağrənwa?! did they dare?! (F58)*
- gyš** I *gašle/gōš* to touch; *lo+gəšše panək* they did not touch (*l*-PRET) those ones (F46)
- hgm** I *hğəmle/hoğam* to rush, to attack; *həğmiwa li+Mağo w li+Sətte* they attacked (INFC-WA) Mağo and Sətte (F82)
- hlhl** II *mhalhele/mhalhal* to cry out; *i+Şarke mhalhela* Şarke cried out (*l*-PRET) (N19)
- hny** I *hnele/hne* to whatsit; a filler verb, used when the speaker cannot recall a specific verb; *hnalle* they whatsit her (F60)
- hwy** *hawi/howe* 1) to become, to be; *hawi semoqo* it became (INTR.PRET) red (F33), 2) to happen; *bətr mən hawi?* what happened (INTR.PRET) after? (F18), *towənwa təwwe, lo+kətorənwa* had they been good (INFC-WA), they would not have allowed it (F65), 3) *l*- to have children; *hawila həməšo+abne* she had five sons (N35)
- hyw** I *hule/obe* to give; *lə+gbətlīyo* you won't give (INFC) it to me (F2)
- hzm** III *mahzamle/mahzam* to escape, to flee; *mahzamme w mahzamme* they fled (*l*-PRET) and they fled (N78)
- hky** III *maḥkele/maḥke* to tell; *maḥkéwaylalanyo* she told (PRET-WA) it to us (N1)
- hlq** II *mḥalaqle/mḥalaq* to rush; 1) to throw; *gəḥalaqno* I shall throw (INFC) (N82), *ruḥ-* to throw someone's self; *mḥalaqla ruḥa šal i+mḥasayto di+Sətte* she threw (*l*-PRET) herself upon the late Sətte (F60), 2) to pounce; *i+ʕaskar mḥalaqla šal ʕwardo* the military pounced (*l*-PRET) upon ʕwardo (F27)
- hrw** I *ḥaru/horu* to become ruined; *bnaqla ḥariwo* it (f.) became ruined (INTR.PRET) all at once (N75)
- hsy** II *mḥasele/mḥase* to bless; *Aloho mḥasela* God bless (INFC) her (N19)
- hwy** III *maḥwele/maḥwe* to show; *komaḥwe be hno, be Xate, ġālābe xúrtwayne* it looks like (INFC, lit. it shows) the Whatsits, the Xates, were very powerful (F95)
- hyr** I *ḥəlle/ḥōr* to see; *lə+kḥayrat qqutlīli?* don't you see (INFC) they are going to kill me?
- hysl** II *mḥaysele/mḥayşal* to catch; *lo+mḥayşalle* they didn't catch (*l*-PRET) him (F29)
- hzy** I *ḥzele/hoze* 1) to see; *ḥzele kúlmede* he saw (*l*-PRET) everything (N1) 2) to find; *ḥzela u+dozdan* she found (*l*-PRET) the purse (F9)
- kly** I *kali/kole* to stay, to dwell at some place; *kali harke* he stayed (INTR.PRET) here
- kml** I *kaməl/komal* to end, to finish; *lo+kamiliwa ann+arbʕiyayde* his forty days had not yet been completed (PRET-WA) (F80)
- krx** *karəx/korax* 1) to look around, to search; *karixi aqqa ḡkoṭonani* they

- looked around (INTR.PRET) so many of these places (N₃₁), *ʕal* to look around for something or someone; *karixi ʕal u+ʕamʕan* they looked around (INTR.PRET) for ʕamʕan (N₇), 2) to go around; *kkurxi* they will go around (INFC) (N₂₂)
- mbl** I *mbele/mobal* to take away; form with apheresis *blalle* they took her away (L-PRET) (F₂₇)
- mhy** I *mhele/mohe* 1) to shoot; *mhele bu+hamyònoste* he even shot (L-PRET) at his father-in-law (F₁₁), 2) *i+tfange* to fire a rifle; *mhele i+tfange bi+thelayde* he fired (L-PRET) a rifle into his side (N₆), 3) as a light verb; *mhéleli dahfe* he gave (L-PRET) me a push (N₅₈)
- mly** I *mlele/mole* to fill; *maliwa qmu+tarʕo* it (m.) filled up (DETR-WA) in front of the door (F₇₀)
- mty** I *mtele/mote* 1) to bring; *mtila* she brought (L-PRET) them (N₃), 2) to marry; *mtole* he married (L-PRET) her (F₂₅)
- myd** I *mädle/möd* 1) to take; *midalle* they took (L-PRET) her (F₂₇), 2) to grab; *mädde* they grabbed (L-PRET) it (m.) (F₂)
- myt** I *māt/möt* to die; *Oʕmano māt* Osman died (INTR.PRET) (F₂₉)
- mžd** I *mžadle/možad* to stretch out; *gmožadna hēš* I shall keep stretching (INFC) it (f.) (N₈₂)
- nfl** I *naʕəl/nofal* to fall; *naʕəl bayn u+talgo* he fell (INTR.PRET) into the snow (N₅₈)
- nfq** I *naʕəq/nofaq* 1) to go out; *noše lo+mağrewa nofaq lfeme du+tarʕo* nobody dared to pass the doorframe (F₇₀), 2) to leave; *naʕəq hiye* he left (INTR.PRET)
- nhr** I *nahər/nohar* to dawn; *bəri mäd nohar* before dawn (INFC) (F₂₇)
- nht** I *naḥət/noḥat* to go down; *haw mağralle dnuḥti* they did not dare to go any further down (INFC) (N₃₁), III *manḥatle/manḥat* to bring down; *manḥtole li+Qaməšlo* he brought her down (L-PRET) to Qamishli (F₂₇)
- qbl** II *mqabele/mqabal* 1) to accept; *u+ʕamʕan du+Iško lo+maqbele* ʕamʕan Iško didn't accept (L-PRET) it (m.) (N₁₀), 2) to let someone do something; *lə+gmaqbaṇno dʕobar* I shall not let (INFC) him enter (N₂₃)
- qdr** I *qadər/qodar* 1) can, to be able; *lo+qadiri quṭlile* they couldn't (INTR.PRET) kill him (N₇), 2) *ʕal-* to prevail over someone; *lo+qadiro aʕle* he did not prevail (INTR.PRET) over him (N₄₉)
- qlb** III *maqlable/maqlab* to topple; *l Ğamilo maqlábleli lu+talgo* Ğamilo toppled (L-PRET) me into the snow (N₅₈)
- qtl** I *qtile/qoṭal* 1) to kill; *u+lalyo dʕqtilile* the night in which he killed (L-PRET) them (F₂₇), 2) to beat; *Ma bʕebra w ʕağeba qtilalle?!* Did they not beat her something awful!? (F₆₀), III *maqtele/maqṭal* to set up the killing, lit. to cause someone to be killed; *Lu+ʕamʕan du+Iško maqtele* ʕamʕan Iško set up (L-PRET) the killing (N₁₂)

- qym** I *qām/qōm* 1) to get up; *şafro qayimi* in the morning they got up (INTR.PRET) (F27), 2) *qarşi* to stand against; *u+noşe lo+qayəm qarşi dätte?* did people not stand (INTR.PRET) against them? (F75), III *maqəmle/maqam* to raise; *maqəmle i+qyamto* she raised (I-RET) a ruckus (N19)
- qyt** I *qāt/qōt* to befall; *u+mḥoyo dḡātṭe, lo+qāt ltə+ʔənsanat* the beating he got (INTR.PRET) no people had ever got (INTR.PRET) (F27)
- rŷy** III *marfele/marfe* 1) to abandon, to divorce; *marfole* he abandoned (I-RET) her (N37), 2) *şal* to shoot; *marfele şal a+tre* he shot (I-RET) at the two (F2)
- rḡm** I *rḡəmle/roḡam* properly 'to stone', but here consistently used with the meaning of III *maḡramle/maḡram* to impose a fine; *qām marḡamme u+şamo* then they up and fined (I-RET) the people (F19)
- rḥm** III *marḥamle/marḥam* to have mercy; *marḥám* have mercy! (IPV) (N60)
- slm** III *maslamle/maslam* to hand over; *maslám ap+pələkataydi!* hand over (IPV) my papers!
- slq** I *saləq/solaq* to come up; *solaqwa* (INFC-WA) he used to come up (N40)
- smq** I *samaq/somaq* to become red; *samaqwa mu+admatte* it got red (RET-WA) from their blood (F36)
- sym** I *sōm/səmle* 1) do/make; *babi sōmwa i+kafkatte* my father prepared (INFC-WA) their foam (F65), *səmme w lo+səmme* they went back and forth, lit. they did (I-RET) and they did not (F2), 2) as a light verb, cf. *qarabalaḡ, yār, mede*
- şkr** II *mşakalle/mşakar* to lose; *mşakrile* he lost (I-RET) them (N2)
- şyt** III *maşəṭle/maşəṭ şal-* 1) to listen to; *maşəṭwa şal u+qarabalaḡ* he was listening to (INFC-WA) the hullabaloo (F17), 2) to obey; *lo+maşəṭle şal u+şamşən du+İşko* he didn't obey (I-RET) Şamşən İşko (N5)
- şdr** II *mşadaḡle/mşadar* to send; *mşadárwalle* they sent (RET-WA) (N43)
- şmŷ** I *şaməŷ/şomaŷ* to hear; *şaməŷno* I heard (INTR.PRET) (N60)
- şql** I *şqile/şoqal* 1) to take; *şqalle* they took (I-RET) (F51), 2) as a light verb; *şqile u+rišo* he took (I-RET) control (N82)
- thml** II *mtaḥmele/mtaḥmal* to bear; *lə+mtaḥmalle ḡdode* they could not bear (I-RET) each other (F2)
- tly** I *ttele/tole* as a light verb; cf. *ḡayf, ido*
- tyqn** II *mətyaqalle/mətyaqan* to believe; *komətyaqanno* I believe (INFC) (N81)
- tlb** I *ṭləble/ṭolab* 1) to betroth; *kṭolabna* I will betroth (INFC) her (N49), 2) to demand; *dəzzé şoqal, ṭolab čarxi* he goes to take, to demand (INFC) a nickel (N60)
- try** I *ṭrele/ṭore* 1) to allow, to permit (cf. also *ṭro*); *áydarbo kṭore?* how would he allow (INFC) it? (F65), 2) *m/mən-* to give up on someone; *kobaŷno dṭorat mi+Mačko* I want you to give up (INFC) on Mačko (N3), 3) to spare; *bayto lo+ṭrewalle* they didn't spare (RET-WA) a house (F54), 4) to forgive; *Ālo ṭore-lux* may God forgive (INFC) you (F17)

xlš III *maxlašle/maxlaš* to rescue; *maxəlšolan* we rescued (*l*-PRET) her (N58)
ysq I *yasəq/yosaq* to go up; *yasəq* he went up (INTR.PRET) (F17)
ytw I *yatu/yotu* to seat; *lo+yotawwa* he did not take a seat (INFC-WA) (N83)
zbṭ I *zbəṭle/zobaṭ* to capture; *zbəṭṭe i+Sətte* they have captured (*l*-PRET) Sətte
 (N57)
zlṭn II *mzalṭalle/mzalṭan* to strip; *mzalṭnalle* they stripped (*l*-PRET) her (F60)
zyḥ I *zāḥ/zōḥ* to be afraid; *lo+zōḥwa* he was not afraid (INFC-WA) (N83)

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