

# Clause linking in spoken Turkish. The case of Vidin Turkish

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## 1. Clause linking in semantic and syntactic perspectives

This paper presents arguments for a synthesis of two frameworks proposed for defining cross-linguistic types of clause-linking strategies. One framework was introduced by Johanson in 1993 and developed in later works (e.g. 1996). The other one is a more recent general typological framework put forward by Dixon & Aikhenvald (eds.) 2009. None of these models can be accounted for in any detail in this paper. Just very brief summaries of the main ideas will be given here. The aim is to illustrate that both syntactic and semantic criteria are needed in order to account for the types of clause linking strategies in Turkic. Syntactic properties cannot be derived from semantic features or vice versa. The syntactic distinction between main and non-main clauses is not sufficient in order to describe clause linking strategies. Cross-linguistic typological classifications based on pure semantic criteria are not satisfactory.

## 2. A semantic typology of clause linking

Dixon (2009) and Aikhenvald (2009) present a detailed framework of a semantic typology of clause linking, based on the different grammatical means that languages employ to represent a general set of semantic relations between clauses. This typology, which does not include relative clauses and complement clauses, defines the following semantic types of linking.

Table 1.

Temporal	temporal succession	and, then, and then; all FC
	relative time	after, before, when, since, until, while; all SC
	conditional	if [SC] ... then [FC]
Consequence	cause	because [SC], therefore [FC]
	result	(and) so [FC]
	purpose	in order that, (in order) (for) to [both FC]
Possible consequence		in case, lest [SC]

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Addition	unordered addition	and [no SC/FC distinction]
	same-event addition	and, moreover [both FC]
	elaboration	<apposition> [2nd clause is FC]
	contrast	but [FC], although [SC]
Alternatives	disjunction	or [no SC/FC distinction]
	rejection	instead of [SC]
	suggestion	rather than [SC]
Manner	real	like, in the way that [both SC]
	hypothetical	as if, (like) [both SC]

Except for disjunction and unordered addition, linkages generally involve two semantic types of clauses: a Focal Clause (FC), referring to the central activity or state, and a Supporting Clause (SC), which may define different circumstances. In disjunction and unordered addition, no distinction can be made between a Focal Clause and a Supporting Clause.

The syntactic distinction between main clause and non-main clause is independent from the distinction between Focal Clause and Supporting Clause. Thus, both a Focal Clause and a Supporting Clause can be main clause or non-main clause. Markers may be attached to the Supporting clause or to the Focal clause.

### 3. Johanson's model

Johanson (1993) presents a framework for the classification strategies employed in clause combinations expressing causality. The paper distinguishes between the syntactic strategies of juxtaposition, subordination, and conjunction.<sup>1</sup> Juxtaposition is a sequence of clauses without any marker. Subordination and conjunction are marked by some syntactic elements, adverbs or affixes. Johanson's framework distinguishes between two types of markers, subjunctors and conjunctors. The latter include adverbial conjunctors, called adjunctors.

#### 3.1. Subjunctors

Subjunctors, i.e. subordinative junctors, incorporate one clause as a part of another clause.

- (1) *John cannot come [since he is working].*

1 In the original terminology of Johanson (1993): Juxtaposition, Einverleibung and Kopplung.

The clause introduced by the subjunctive *since* is embedded in the main clause, i.e. it constitutes one syntactic unit together with the main clause. The whole construction including the subordinated clause can be therefore embedded into a matrix clause:

- (2) *I know [that John cannot come [since he is working]].*

Subordinated clauses can also be coordinated:

- (3) *John cannot come [[since he is working] or [since he is sleeping]].*

In Turkic languages, the subjunctives are bound morphemes, suffixes, e.g. the converb suffix *DIğIndAn*:

- (4) *Ali [çalış-tığ-in-dan] gel-em-iyor.*  
 Ali work-VN-POSS3SG-ABL come-IMPOSS-PRES3SG  
 'Ali cannot come since he is working.'

The Turkish subordinated clause can also be subordinated together with the matrix clause into another clause:

- (5) *Ali [çalış-tığ-in-dan] gel-eme-diğ-in-i] bil-iyor-um.*  
 Ali work-VN-POSS3SG-ABL come-IMPOSS-VN-POSS3SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG  
 'I know that Ali cannot come since he is working.'

Such subordinated clauses can also be coordinated:

- (6) *Ali [çalış-tığ-in-dan ya da uyu-duğ-un-dan] gel-em-iyor.*  
 Ali work-VN-POSS3SG-ABL or sleep-VN-POSS3SG-ABL come-IMPOSS-PRES3SG  
 'Ali cannot come since he is working or since he is sleeping.'

### 3.2. Conjunctions

Conjunctions link two clauses without incorporating one into the other:

- (7) *John cannot come [for he is working].*

The two clauses linked by a conjunction are main-clause-like clauses, which cannot be embedded as a syntactic unit into a matrix clause, e.g. *\*I know [that ... for ... and for ...]* and cannot be coordinated, e.g. *\*for... and/or for ....* A Turkish clause linked by a conjunction is:

- (8) *Ali gel-em-iyor, [çünkü çalış-ıyor].*  
 Ali come-IMPOSS-PRES3SG for work-PRES3SG  
 'Ali cannot come, for he is working.'

This clause cannot be embedded into a matrix clause:

- (9) *\*Ali gel-eme-diğini, [çünkü çalış-ıyor] biliyorum.*

Conjoined clauses cannot be coordinated with each other either.

Conjunctions or adjunctions in case of adverbial junctors, e.g. conjunctive adverbs, can connect two predications across sentence boundaries:

- (10) *John is working. Therefore he cannot come.*

<i>Ali çalış-ıyor.</i>	<i>Onun için</i>	<i>gel-em-iyor.</i>
Ali work-PRES3SG	therefore	come-IMPOSS-PRES3SG
'John is working, therefore he cannot come.'		

Semantic relations can also be marked by pure iconicity, i.e. the ordering of main clauses into a sequential chain, e.g. *çiqar yola, gider bir dağ başına* 'she leaves, she goes to a desolate place' (Johanson 1993: 207).

In the following, I will illustrate how a combined typology of Dixon & Aikhenvald and Johanson can be applied to the description of the clause linking types found in Vidin Turkish texts.

#### 4. The text

A folk tale collected by the Hungarian Turcologist Julius Németh in 1926 in the Bulgarian town of Vidin will be analysed (Németh 1965). The choice is motivated by the interesting syntactic properties of this spoken text.<sup>2</sup>

Vidin is a port town on the southern bank of the Danube in northwestern Bulgaria. It is close to the borders with Serbia and Romania, and it is also the administrative centre of the Province of Vidin. Vidin was a part of the Ottoman Empire for almost five centuries (1396–1878). The Vidin texts display characteristics of spoken narratives and also dialect-specific properties of the old spoken variety of Vidin. In the Ottoman period, Turkish was the dominant language in the town. The other languages, mentioned by Evliya Chelebi in his "Seyahatname" were Bosnian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Rumanian. When Németh recorded the texts, the speakers were bilingual in Turkish and Bulgarian. Hasan Eren, later known as the president of Türk Dil Kurumu, was a high-school student in Vidin at the time when Németh visited the town and assisted Németh with the transcription. The whole tale is presented in the Appendix.

#### 5. The tale about Inji and Merjan

The tale is about a king who does not have any children. He meets a dervish and gets an apple from him. The king, his wife and his horse eat the apple, and nine month later a son is born. The boy gets the name Inji. Once the king goes for hunting and finds a little girl. Now he has a son and a girl Merjan. Later Inji and Merjan marry. One day a dervish falls in love with Merjan and arranges a meeting with her. When the dervish sees Merjan, he understands that she is not for him and sends her to the padishah. Inji goes to look for

<sup>2</sup> The choice was furthermore motivated by the fact that the 15th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics was held in Hungary. I hereby thank the organizers for a scientifically inspiring and socially most enjoyable conference.

Merjan and finds her in the padishah's saray. The padishah arranges a big celebration for Inji and Merjan and promises to give his empire to Inji.

## 6. Clause linking strategies in the tale

### 6.1. Syntactic juxtaposition – semantic relations: unordered addition/temporal succession/cause, etc.

Two related clauses can be formally unconnected, i.e. juxtaposed *asyndetically*. Juxtaposition may be used when different semantic relations prevail between the clauses such as unordered addition or temporal succession. In these cases, there is no distinction between Focal and Supporting clauses. The semantic relation in case of temporal succession is 'and, then, and then'. Also in this case, all clauses are FCs. The only marker to show that the first event precedes the second is the order of the clauses. Many juxtaposed clauses may be included in a sequence without any marker.

- (11) [FC: *geçer bir mâle imami soqaqtan*], [FC: *duyar kızın sesini*], [FC: *qızın sesine aşık olur*], [FC: *duşer soqaqta*], [FC: *bayılır*]. [FC: *qızın haberi yoq*].  
 'An imam from the quarter passes by in the street, hears the girl's voice, falls in love with the girl, falls in the street, faints. The girls does not know about this.' (T51)<sup>3</sup>
- (12) [FC: *çıqar bir derviş baba bunun qarşısına*], [FC: *sorar*]  
 'A dervish appear before him and asks.' (T3)

The semantic relation between the two related clauses can be a connection based on pragmatic inference between them. In the following example the semantic relation is consequence which is in this case cause: because [SC], therefore [FC]:

- (13) *Ali çalış-ıyor; gel-em-iyor*  
 Ali work-PRES3SG come-IMPOSS-PRES3SG  
 'Ali is working; he cannot come.'

### 6.2. Syntactic subordination – supporting clauses

In Turkic subjunctors are typically bound morphemes, e.g. converbs. Most of these mark Supporting Clauses, which "set out the temporal milieu for the Focal Clause, or specify a condition or presupposition for it or a preliminary statement of it, etc." (Dixon 2009: 3).

In the following example, the first Supporting Clause indicates relative time, 'while', with respect to the event of the FC. The second Supporting Clause indicates an elaboration, i.e. an addition to the description of the event in the Focal Clause. The subjunctors are the converbs *-(y)ken* and *-(y)ArAk*.

3 The numbers introduced by a T refer to the number of the sentence in the tale; see Appendix.

- (14) *pàdişah bir gün* [SC1: *mektepten çocuklar çıkarken*] [SC2: *duşunerek*] *onnara baqarmış.*  
 ‘One day, the king watched thoughtfully the children when they were leaving the school.’ (T2)

In the following example, the semantic relation between the clauses is consequence. The Supporting Clause indicates a cause and the Focal Clause shows the result: because [Supporting Clause], therefore [FC]. The subjunctive that subordinates the Supporting Clause is the converb in *-DİğIndAn*.

- (15) [SC: *oqadar sevindiğinden*] [FC: *bula mazler ne qoysunnar adını*]  
 ‘They cannot find a name for him, because they are so happy.’ (T11)

### 6.3. Syntactic subordination: semantic same-event addition

In Turkic languages, clauses subordinated by subjunctive of the type *-(y)Ip* can be Focal Clauses indicating a temporal sequential semantic relation ‘and, then, and then’ to another Focal Clause. As example 17 illustrates, several clauses can be included in the sequence. The semantic relation is the same as in example 11 and example 12 in spite of the subordination. Thus, subordination does not necessarily imply semantic modification.

- (16) *inci bey* [FC: *alıp yolunı*], *o memlekette, bu memlekette hep arar ...*  
 ‘Inci bey sets out and looks for her all the time in this country, in that country ...’ (T86)
- (17) [FC: *alıp qızı*], [FC: *çiqıp*] [FC: *giderler*]  
 ‘She takes the girl, they go out and they go.’ (T67)

### 6.4. Syntactic conjunction; different semantic relations between Supporting Clause and Focal Clause

Conjunctors relate clauses without subordination. This is a less understood syntactic construction in Turkic languages. Conjunctors may be either in the Supporting Clause or in the Focal Clause. The semantic relation between the clauses in T76 is consequence. The first clause is the Focal Clause showing the result and the second clause, the Supporting Clause, indicates the reason. The marker is the adverbial adjunctive *zere* ‘since’ (Turkish *zira*) introducing the Supporting Clause. The two clauses are linked, but without subordination.

- (18) [FC: *her yana qara perde çekersin*], [SC: *zere benim qırq gün yàsım var*]  
 ‘You will draw black curtains on all sides, for I shall mourn forty days long.’ (T76)

T39 shows a consequence relation. The SC indicates the reason ‘you are not the father’ and Focal Clause the result ‘therefore it does not apply’. The marker is an adjunctive, i.e. an adverbial expression, *onun için* ‘therefore’ introducing the Focal Clause.

- (19) [SC: *sen babasi dēlsın*], [FC: *onun için duşer*]  
 'You are not the father, therefore it does not apply.' (T39)

In example 20, the Supporting Clause shows the reason and the Focal Clause the consequence. The marker is the particle *da* 'and, also', which is attached to the predicate of the Supporting Clause. Observe that in the English translation the marker is in the FC.

- (20) [SC: *ben bir aw buldu-m-da*] [FC: *g'aldım*]  
 'I have found a booty so I came.' (T24)

Example 21 shows a possible consequence, indicated by the Focal Clause 'thereafter God will give you a child'. The marker is the adjunctor *onda'n sora* 'thereafter'.

- (21) [SC: *qabuqlarını qısır atın var-ise ona verırsın*], [FC: *onda'n sora alla<sup>h</sup> bir erkek eylat verecek sana*]  
 'Give the skins to a sterile mare if you have one; thereafter God will give you a son.' (T6)

The expressions *çunki oylecene* and *çunki oyle* 'thus, that being so' function also as adjunctors. The adjunctor introduces the FC showing the result. The Supporting Clause indicates the reason.

- (22) *şewketlim*, [SC: *mal dēl, can bu*].  
 [FC: *çunki oylecene, ben awımı buldum*].  
 'My king, this is not an object, this is a living being.  
 Thus, I have found my booty.' (T19 & T20)

Condition can also be indicated by conjunction. The conjunctor in this case is the copula particle *ise*. The FC is the one showing the result if the condition is satisfied.

- (23) [FC: *qabuqlarını*] [SC: *qısır atın var-ise*] *ona verırsın*.]  
 'Give the skins to a sterile mare, if you have any.' (T6)

### 6.5. Syntactic conjunction: different semantic relations between Focal Clause and Focal Clause

A bound morpheme can also function as a conjunctor. The text contains several examples, in which the voluntative, here *-sIn*, is used as a conjunctor marking a semantic relation between two clauses. Both clauses are Focal Clauses and the semantic relation is consequence, the second clause indicates purpose, 'in order that', '(in order) (for) to'.

- (24) *mercan hanım* [FC: *bir gün qalqar*] [FC: *supursun*]  
 'One day Merjan hanım starts to sweep.' (T49)

An interesting case is another use of the conditional in the text; see the following examples. In all of them there are two Focal Clauses, the semantic relation between them is temporal succession in the meaning 'and, then, and then'. Compare these clauses with example 16 and example 17, in which the subjunctive *-(y)Ip* is used to link clauses with very similar semantics. The syntax is, however, different. Whereas the first clauses both in example 16 and example 17 are subordinated, the clauses based on *-sA* are not.

- (25) [FC: *baqsalar*] [FC: *bir maqsım yol ustunde ağlay*]  
 ‘They look (and then they see) that a baby is weeping on the road.’ (T15)
- (26) [FC: *baqsa*] [FC: *qıs onun munäsibi dël*]  
 ‘He looks (and then he sees) that she is not appropriate for him.’ (T69)
- (27) *inci bey g’älsä, baqsa evde mercan hanım yoq*  
 ‘Inji bey goes, looks (and then sees) that Merjan hanım is not there.’ (T81)
- (28) *gitse vurur qapiyi*  
 ‘He goes and knocks at the door.’ (T106)

## 7. Conclusion

Our analysis has shown that the typological properties of the Turkish constructions occurring in the text can be described in an adequate way when the semantic and syntactic parameters are kept apart. Semantic relations do not predict the syntactic realisations. For instance, temporal succession can be indicated by pure juxtaposition, by subordination  $-(y)Ip$  or by conjunction  $(-sA)$ . Focal Clauses may be embedded by  $-(y)Ip$  or juxtaposed or conjoined. Supporting Clauses may also be realised as main or non-main clauses. The full range of possible mappings is inherent in the combined typology described by Johanson and Dixon & Aikhenvald.

## 8. References

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## 9. Appendix

İnci Bey ve Mercan Hanım's tale is published in Németh, Julius 1965. *Die Türken von Vidin. Sprache, Folklore, Religion*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 121–127.

- (1) bir varımiş, bir yoqımiş bir zemânın ehvâlinde bir pâdişah<sup>h</sup> var-imiş. o padişahın hiç evlâdı o'lmamış.
- (2) pâdişah<sup>h</sup> bir gün mektepten çocuqlar çiqarken düşünerek onnara baqarmış.
- (3) çiqar bir derviş baba bunun qarşısına, sorar: “ne düşünürsun şewketlim?”
- (4) ne düşünmeyeyim, her kezın evlâtları var, mektepten çikmiş, benim gene hiç dünyâde evlâdım o'lmadı.”
- (5) “qahırlanma şewketlim, ben bir elma<sup>a</sup> verırım sana, o elmanın yarisini yersın kendın, yarisini sultan hanıma verırsın.
- (6) qabuqlarını qısır atın var-ise ona<sup>a</sup> verırsın, onda'n sora<sup>a</sup> alla<sup>h</sup> bir erkek evlâat verecek sana.”
- (7) getirir elmayı eve: “sultan hanım, bize bu elmayı bir derviş baba verdi.
- (8) yarisini sen ye, yarisini ben yiyeyim, qabuqlarını ata<sup>a</sup> verâlim. alla<sup>h</sup> bize bir erkek ewlâat verecek.”
- (9) bunnara doquz ay deyene qadar dünyâye bir erkek evlâat gâlır.
- (10) “şindi bunun adını biz ne qoyalım?”
- (11) oqadar sevindığınden bulamazler ne qoysunnar adını.
- (12) “ha'di inci bey qoyalım.”
- (13) pâdişah oqadar sevindığınden o memleketın butun ehâlisini uç gün uç gece dâvet eder.
- (14) “ha'di lala gidâlim şindicek ava<sup>a</sup>-quşa<sup>a</sup>, gezınâlım.”
- (15) giderken baqsalar bir maqsım yol ustunde ağlay.
- (16) “lala, git, baq, ne-dır bu;
- (17) mal ise senın olsun, can ise benim olsun.”
- (18) gitse lalası baqsın bir maqsım. alır maqsımı.
- (19) “şewketlim, mal dēl, can bu.”
- (20) “çunki oylecene, ben awımı buldum.”
- (21) “ha'di şindi dunâlım.”
- (22) dunerler eve, çiqarlar qarşıcı. “şewketlim, hoş g'âldın.” “e hoş bulduq.”
- (23) “şindi gidıp niçin g'âldın, ne oldi sana?” “ne olacaq – bana bu gün buyuq ferah oldi.
- (24) ben bir aw buldu'm-da g'âldım.
- (25) allahta'n istedım bir, alla<sup>h</sup> bana iki birden verdi.”
- (26) oqqadar sevınce-ilen alırler maqsımı içeri.
- (27) baqsalar maqsım bir qısças.

- (28) “eh – padişah der-ki – daha ne isteyeyim, bir oğlum var, bir-da kızım var, sâde allah<sup>h</sup> umur versın, sağ olsun.”
- (29) şindi bunnar düşünurler: “bunun adını ne qoyalım?” sultan hanım der: “oğlumuzun adı inci bey, kızımızın adı olsun mercan hanım.”
- (30) bunnar günden güne buyurler, mektebe giderler, mektepten qoca bir maqsımlar olurler.
- (31) şindicek padişah<sup>h</sup> bir gün düşünur. “g’âl sultan hanım.”
- (32) “ne düşünürsun padişahım?” sorar.
- (33) padişah der-ki: “kendimi g’orurum ihtiyar, ben bu ewlatların bir cemiyetini isterim göreyim.”
- (34) çıkar bir gün paşanın biri.
- (35) “şewketlim, izin ver bize, biz-da sana bi şey soyleyelim.”
- (36) “e haydi soyleyin.”
- (37) “sen oğlunu ewlendirmek isteysen, biz munâsib g’orduk senin kızını ona vere’sin.
- (38) çünkü düşer
- (39) sen buni ala’sın oğluna. sen babası dēlsın, onun için düşer.”
- (40) padişah alır bu haberi, g’âlir ewe, fami’lyasına soyler:
- (41) “sulta’n hanım, bana bu gün birisi bir aqıl verdi, ben kızımı oğluma alayım deye.”
- (42) “çünkü sen munâsib g’ordun, ben-da munâsib g’ordum.”
- (43) qıza soylerler: “seni ağana verdıq.” kız istemez.
- (44) “hayir, senin ağan dēl-dır o,
- (45) bis seni uzaq aqraba olduğun için aldıq, senin ağan dēl-dır o.”
- (46) çünkü oyle, kız razi olur.
- (47) bunnar qalqarler dugün tedâriğine. qırq gün, qırq gece bunnar dugün yaparler. padişah dugünü na’sın olur? biter dugünneri, bunnar otururler.
- (48) bir gün, bir ay, uç ay, beş ay geçer ustunden.
- (49) mercan hanım bir gün qalqar supursun.
- (50) açmış pencerelerini, supururken turki soyley.
- (51) geçer bir mâle imami soqaqta, duyar kızın sesini, kızın sesine aşik olur, düşer soqaqta, bayılır. kızın haberi yoq.
- (52) qalqar imam, ayılır, düşünur düşünur: “ben na’sı yapayım?”
- (53) qalqar, gider, ona sorar, buna sorar: “bunnarın ebesi kim idi?”
- (54) haber verirler: “onların ebesi filan kişi-dır”.
- (55) imam gider ebeye. “am<sup>m</sup>’ın ebe, sana çok rica edeyim, senin her bir masrafını g’oreyim, ve her ne istersen alayım, bana padişahın kızını bir sahat qadar na’sın na’sın getiresın g’oreyim.”
- (56) ebe der-ki: “bilemem çocuğum, yapa bilır-mi-yım.”

- (57) “ama'n ebe, çoq rica ederım.”
- (58) ebe qalqar, inci beyın sarayına g'ılır.
- (59) “hoş g'ıldın” deyerekten alır ebeyi içeri.
- (60) ebe hoş-beşten sora' açar bu qıza lafını.
- (61) “qızım sen burda hep boyle yalnızçe-mi oturiysın?” “evet.”
- (62) “niçin çıkmaysın bi ye'ciklere, gezine'sın?” “inci beyın izni yoq.”
- (63) “baq-a' qarşında qızım bu yeşil boyalı olan kâbe'-dır, siz lâzım gidesınız, tavaf edesınız.”
- (64) “qorqayım inci beyden.” “ha'yır qızım qorqma, ben seni iki' sahata' qadar getirırım.”
- (65) qız qalqar hazırlansın.
- (66) “saqın qızım başqa ruba giyme, gelinniqlerini giy, sevap-tır.”
- (67) alır qızı, çıqıp giderler, dōri imamın evine.
- (68) imam çiksa baqsın qız g'almış, duşer bayılır.
- (69) toplar bir az kendını imam, baqsa qıs onun munâsibi dēl.
- (70) “ebe, gönnum oldi, bana munâsip dēl, buni al, gütur filan paşaya hediye almağa.”
- (71) şindi qızı güturur paşaya; ebe der-ki: “sana buni mâle imami armağan günderdi.”
- (72) “paşa baqar bir kere. "bana munâsip dēl, sen buni fılan padişaya güturursun, soylersın-ki, buni sana fılan paşa armağan günderdi.”
- (73) padişa der-ki: “gâyet ile memnun oldum. g'âl, sana şindi buyuq baqışılâr vereyim.”
- (74) bir deve yuki mal verir ebeye, qızı alır içeri, qıza sorar:
- (75) “ē: qız, ben senden memnun oldum, sen-da benden memnun-mi-sın?”
- (76) “ha'yır, dēl-ım, bana qırq gün musâde verırsın, her yana qara perde çekersın, zere benim qırq gün yâsım var.
- (77) qırq gün geştıqten sora sağ olursem, sen benim, hem ben senin.”
- (78) padişa râzi g'ılır, qızı qorler bir odaya,
- (79) yalnızçe qız düşünerekten hasta olur.
- (80) buni braqa'lım burada, g'âlâ'lım inci beye.
- (81) inci bey g'âlsâ, baqsa evde mercan hanım yoq.
- (82) ağılarken gider babasına.
- (83) “ama'n baba'm, merca'n hanım yoq,
- (84) bana bir demir çarıqlar yaptır, bir-da demir degenek, ben mercan hanımı diyar-diyar gidece'm arayayım.”
- (85) babasi oyle-boyle derken hiç bir turli qandıra-maz.
- (86) inci bey alıp yolunu, o memlekette, bu memlekette hep arar, yoq.
- (87) bir kaç memleket gezdıqten sora gider bir buyuq memlekete.

- (88) gezinirken baqsa, bir buyuq yapilar.
- (89) sorar kimselere: "neresi-dir burasi?"
- (90) derler-ki: "pàdişahın sarayi."
- (91) "niçi'n boyle qara her tarafi?"
- (92) "ona bir hediye qız getirdiler, o qıs hasta oldugi için qırq gün yas tutayler.
- (93) biz bile bir turki soyleyalım bi yerde vermeyler."
- (94) inci bey duyar buni; na'sın yapsın?
- (95) alır bir şişe su eline, geçer saray altından,
- (96) bağırır-ki "heki'm-ım, heki'm-ım, kimse bilmes ben kim-ım, dertlere deva-yım hastalara şifa-yım."
- (97) qız işidir içerden. "çağırın pàdişayı buraya." "hayir ola sultan hanım",
- (98) g'âlir pàdişa. "işittin-mi bir heki'm g'âlmış." "işitmedim." "soqaqta bağırır,
- (99) izin verir-mi-sın baqsın beni?" "sultan hanım, şindiden tezi yoq."
- (100) çağırırler doqtori. pàdişa çıkar, doqtorla soyleyler: "doqtor efendi, çoq güzâl baqasın benim hastami."
- (101) "pà-dişahım, baqma'ssem güzâl, iki elimi kes, baqacağım vaqıt hiç kimse o-lmayacaq."
- (102) "pek âlâ." girir içeri doqtor,
- (103) baqsa fami'lyasi, duşer, bayılır. fami'lyasi duşer, bayılır.
- (104) bunnarda hiç bir ses yoq.
- (105) lala der: "pàdişahım, hiç bir ses yoq." pàdişa der: "dur, ben gideyim,"
- (106) gitse vurur qapiyi. "bu'yurun baba."
- (107) qapida'n girmesirnnen inci bey pàdişahı'n sarılır ayaqlarina.
- (108) "amma'n babacığım, ahret ve dünya baba-m-sın."
- (109) "hastami na'sın baqtın?"
- (110) "babacığım, senin hastan benim fami'lyam, na'sın yapa'lım şindi?"
- (111) pàdişa' der: "fami'lyan-mi-dir senin?" "benim fami'lyam-dir.
- (112) sana işin olduğuni annadaca'm arıma, vaqıt yoq."
- (113) "çunki oyle oğlum, sen bir evladım, o-da bir evladım.
- (114) sa'qın ağlamayınız, ben sana qırq gün qırq gece dugün yapa-rım.
- (115) hem sana sağlığında tahtımı-da veririm."
- (116) onnara dugün-bayram yapmaqta olsun, – onnar muradına ermiş, biz-da erâl'im.