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## A Grammar of Ghomara Berber Mourigh, K.

## Citation

Mourigh, K. (2015, February 3). A Grammar of Ghomara Berber. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/31685

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Title: A grammar of Ghomara Berber
Issue Date: 2015-02-03

## Appendix I Texts

## Text 1 ta n tyaṭt / Story about the goat

| $a \underline{k}$ | te-ll | $y a$ | tyatt | $g$ | $y a$ | tezḡga | $y a \underline{k} . \quad$ rr-es tlata n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PST | 3FS-be:P | one:F | goat | in | one:F | forest:EA | isn't.it. at-3S three of | There used to be a goat in a forest. She had three


| leḥšam nettata | rr-es tlata $a$ | $n$ | lehšam, | saca | ttitu | $a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| children she | at-3S three | of | children, | then | [3FS-]go:I | AD | children, she had three children. She brought


| azen $=d=t e-b b$ | hadik $a y$ | $a$ | tett-an. | saca, | amk | $a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3PL:IO $=\mathrm{DC}=$ 3FS-take:A | thingy INDEF | REL | eat:I-3PL | then, | when | REL |
| them food to eat. Then when she goes |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| ttitu | dar | teggurt te-qqr = asen: | 'a | wlad-i, | $a$ | wlad-i, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [3FS-]go:I | to | door:EA 3FS-say:I = 3PL:IO | VOC | children-1S, | voc | children-1S |


| feth- $u=n i$ | biban- $i$, | $u$ | ttecleq fi | tehr- $i, \quad w$ | lma | fi duqmi, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| open:IMP-PL $=1 \mathrm{~S}:$ DO | doors-1S | and | food on | back-1Sand | water | in mouth-1S |

 $3 \mathrm{PL}=3 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{IO}$
the sprouts are on my horns, water is in my mouth,

| taggurt. | takk=asen | kušši, | eawed teqqel | Eawed. amk a |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| door:EL | [3FS-]give:I = 3PL:IO | everything | again | [3FS-]return:P | again when REL | The they open the door for her. She gives them everything and goes back. When

teqqel a $\quad d=$ ee-qqul $=d \quad$ eqqul-en $=$ tet $\quad$ $a \quad s$
[3FS-]return:I AD DC=3FS-return:A = DC recognise:I-3PL=3FS:DO only with she returns. They recognise her
lhedrann-es. عawed teqqel=d, eawed te-qqr=asen: 'a wlad-i, speech of-3S again [3FS-]return:I=DC again 3FS-say:I=3PL:IO VOC children-1S,
by her formula. She goes back again and says to them: 'O my children,
a wlad- $i, \quad$ feth- $-u=n i \quad$ biban-i, $\quad w \quad$ ttesleq fi tṭahr-i,
o children-1S open:IMP-PL=1S:DO doors-1S and food on back-1S o my children, open my doors, food is on my back,
$w \quad \operatorname{lma}$ fi duqm-i, $w$ lqịh $f$ qrun-i, $w$ lehlib fi tra-y.' and water in mouth-1S and sprout on horns-1S and milk in udder-1S. water is in my mouth, the sprouts are on my horns, the milk is in my udders.'

| tatth-an=as | taggurt. saca | $i$ - $d d a=d \quad$ yan nnhar | $i$-susem |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| open:I-3PL=3S:IO | door:EL then | $3 M S-g o: P=D C$ | one:M | day | 3MS-listen:P

Then they open the door. Then one day a jackal came and listen

| fx-es | $a \bar{g} d i$, | $i$-ref $\varepsilon=a s$ | lhedra=ya-hen | $a$ | he-qqer | kaml-a. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| on-3S | jackal | 3 MS -lift:P=3S:IO | speech=S-ANP | REL | 3FS-say:I | all-3FS |

to her. He copied the whole formula she was saying.

| saca | $i-d d a=d \quad i-n n a=a s e n$ | lhedra $=$ yahen $a$ | he-qqer |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then | 3MS-go:P=DC | 3MS-say:P=3PL:IO | speech $=$ S:ANP REL | 3FS-say:I

Then he went and told the whole formula

| yemma | $n n-$ sen kaml-a. | arižd=ahen | $i-q q r=a s:$ | 't-had |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mother | of-PL all-3FS | billy.goat $=$ S:ANP | 3MS-say:I=3PL:IO | F-S:PRX |

their mother was saying. The billy goat said: ‘This

| maši yemma.' timyanan = ihen | qqer-n=as: | 't-ha | yemma.' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG mother | little.goats = PL:ANP | say:I-3PL=3PL:IO | F-S:PRX | mother |

is not our mother.' The litte goats said to him: 'This is out mother.'

| ayižd $=$ ahen | i-kker | i-xebbec | $i$ | timyanan = ihen | amk $a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| billy.goat $=$ S:ANP | 3MS-get.up:P | 3MS-hide:P | and | little.goats = PL:ANP | when REL |

The jackal went and hid and the little goats when

| feth-en | taggurt $i$-dda | ye-š̌s $=$ ahen. | $i$-šs $=a h e n$ | iy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| open:P-3PL | door:EL 3MS-go:P | 3MS-eat:P = 3PL:DO | 3MS-eat:P=3PL:DO | and |

they opened the door, he went and ate them. He ate them

| uyižd=a-hen | ye-sqel | $a \bar{g} d i=y a h e n . ~$ | saca |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| billy.goat:EA $=$ S-ENP | 3MS-recognise:P | billy.goat $=$ S:ANP | then |
| 3FS-go |  |  |  | and the billy goat recognised the jackal. Then she went...


| taratt = ahen | t-zer | taggurt = ahen | mehlul-a | zeg | lbucd. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| goat $=$ S:ANP | 3FS-see:P | door:EL = S:ANP | open:PP-FS | from | far |

...the goat saw that the door was open from a distance.

| $a m k$ | $a$ | $t=t-z e r$ | meḥlul-a | zeg | lbucd | te-nna |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| when | REL | 3FS:DO = 3FS-see:P | open:PP-FS | from | far | 3FS-say:P |

When she saw that the door was open she thought

| $i-s \check{s}=a s=$ ten | kaml-in. | saca | te-dda | te-qqim |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3 M S-e a t: P=3 S: I O=3 P L: D O$ | all-PL | then | 3FS-go:P | 3FS-sit:P |

that he had eaten them all. Then, the goat

| he-ttru | tayaṭt $=$ ahen. | i-dda | dayr-es ayižd $=$ ahen. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3FS-cry:I | goat $=$ S:ANP | 3MS-go:P | to-3S billy.goat $=$ S:ANP |

kept on crying. The billy goat went to her.

| te-nna =as | tayatt=ahen: | 'ana lla-n | ayetma-k?' | $i-n n a=a s:$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3FS-say: $\mathrm{P}=3 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{IO}$ | goat-S:ANP | where be:P-3PL | siblings | 3MS-say:P=3S:IO |

The goat said to him: 'Where are your siblings?' He said:

| 'i-šs $=$ ahen | $a \bar{g} d i . '$ | te-nna=as: | 'd | $a$ | eeql-et |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-eat:P=3PL:DO | jackal | 3FS-say:P=3S:IO | CRT | AD | [2S-]recognise:A-2S |

'The jackal ate them.' She said: 'Will you recognise

| $a \bar{g} d i=y a h e n ? '$ | $i-n n a=a s:$ | 'd | $a$ | $y=\varepsilon e q l-a x '$. | saca |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jackal $=$ S:ANP | 3MS-say:P=3S:IO | CRT | AD | 3MS:DO= recognise:A-1S | then |
| that jackal?' He said: 'I will recognise him.' Then |  |  |  |  |  |


| te-dda | dar | yan $\quad$ hadik $n$ | īgdan. $i$-nna $=a s:$ | 'waytun?' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3FS-go:P | to | one:M | thingy of | jackals 3MS-say:P=3S:IO |

she went to a thing of jackals.

| $i-n n=a s:$ | 'ha | haw!' saca | te-dda | day | rraPis | nn-sen, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-say:P=3S:IO | PRES | $3 S$ | then | $3 F S-g o: P$ | to | boss of-3PL |

He said: 'which one?' He said: ‘That one.' Then she went

| muraqib | $n n-s e n . ~ d d a$ | te-nna=as: | 'u-had | $i$-šš=ay |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| supervisor | of-3PL [3FS-]go:P | 3FS-say:P = 3S:IO | M-S:PRX | 3MS-eat:P=1S:IO |

to their leader, their supervisor. She went and said: 'This one ate my

| lehšam | inu.' | saca | i-nna=as: | 'ndhu | ha | layn |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| children | my | then | $3 M S-s a y: P=3 S: I O ~$ | go:IMP:PL | PRES | whither |

children.' He said to her: 'Go over there

| dar | umrah =ani, | $w-a$ | $y$-yelb-en | $w$-ayet | $i$ i-š̌ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to | open.place:EA = S:DST | MS-PRH | RC-beat:P-RC | M-S:other | 3MS-eat:P |

to that open place, the one who beats the other

| w-ayet.' | saca | dda-n | dar | ya | wmrah, | saca, tayatt |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| M-S:other | then | go:P-3PL | to | one:M open.place:EA | then | goat |

eats the other.' They went to that open place,

| zr-es | isekkawen | iy | $u \bar{g} d i$ | $m a$ | $\gamma r-e s$ | ši. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| at-3S | horns | and | jackal:EA | NEG | at-3S | NEG |

the goat has horns and the jackal does not.

| saca | dda-n. | $i-d e \bar{g} \bar{g}$, | zeema-k, | $a \bar{g} d i$ | $i-d e \bar{g} \bar{g}$ | isekkawen | $n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then | go:P-3PL | 3MS-do:I | kind.of-2MS | jackal | 3MS-do:I | horns | of |

They went. He made, the jackal made horns out of

| lyays. | i-tkewwar | ši | $n$ | isekkawen | twil-in | i-de $\bar{g} \bar{g}=a h e n$ | dha |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| clay. | 3MS-twist:I | some | of | horns | long-PL | 3MS-do:I = 3PL:DO | here | clay. He twisted some long horns and tamped

$\begin{array}{llll}\text { i-rekkz =ahen. } & \text { h-takk =as } & \text { tazatt 'piuii'. he-tfertat=ahen } & \text { netta } \\ \text { 3MS-tamp:I = 3PL:DO } & \text { 3FS-give:I = 3S:IO } & \text { goat:E: ONM 3FS-crumble:I=3PL:DO } & \text { he }\end{array}$ them down here (on his head). The goat hit him 'bam'. She crumbled him and
lyays nn-es. عawed i-qqr=as: 'aq a xalti lmesza a $\bar{g} \bar{g}$-ax isekkawen.' clay of-3S again 3 MS -say:I = 3S:IO wait VOC aunt goat AD do:A-1Shorns his clay (horns). Then he said again: 'Wait aunt goat I will make horns.'

| cawed i-thadak | w-iyet | i-rekkz $=a$-hen | eawed $g$ | ddmay nn-es. cawed |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| again | 3MS-thingy:I | M-PL:other | 3MS-place:I $=3 P L: D O$ | again in | head of-3S again |
| He made other ones and put them again on his head. |  |  |  |  |  |


| $i-q q r=a s:$ | 'hala a cemmi inu, | hala.' ttakk=as | 'piiix' te-qqim |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-say:I=3S:IO | come a uncle my | come | $[3 F S-] g i v e: I=3 S: I O$ | ONM | He said again: 'Come my uncle, come.' She hit him again 'bam'.


| ga-s | t-neqq. | i-hṣel | fx-essen | asalles. | zra-n | yan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| in-3S | 3FS-kill:I | 3MS-fall:I | on-3PL | darkness:EL | see:P-3PL | one:M |

She killed him. Night fell. They saw a

| ḍaw | beid. | $k a-h s a b=l a$ | $\underline{k} m a-s$ | $n$ | tyatt $=$ ahen. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| light | far | IMPP-think=3FS:IO | brother-3S | of | goat:EA = S:ANP | light far away. She thought it was her brother, the goat.


| $i$ | nihma | qqim-en | mašy-in | dar | ḍdaw $=a h e n, ~ i$ | nihma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | they stay:P-3PL | go:PP-PL | to | light $=\mathrm{S}: \mathrm{ANP}$ | and | they |

They went towards the light and they found themselves
teffy-en $=d \quad$ eawed dar yan ssabez $n$ īgdan, dar yan ssabee go.out:I-3PL = DC again to one:M feast of jackals to one:M feast at a party of jackals. A party of

| $n$ | iḡdan. saca | amk | $a$ | h-ţellel | hamka | ttaf |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| of | jackals then | when | REL | 3FS-peek:P | like.this | [3FS-]find:P |

jackals. When she peeked like this, she found
jer-sen iğdan ssabec. nna-n=as: $\quad$ ǩšem $=d \quad a \quad$ xalti lmecza,
at-3PL jackals feast say:P-3PL=3S:IO enter:IMP = DC VOC aunt goat
that the jackals were having a party. They said to her: 'Come in, aunty goat,
$\underline{k}$ šem $=d, \quad \underline{k}$ šem $=d, \quad \underline{k}$ šem $=d . \quad$ saca $\quad a \underline{k} \quad$ lla-n $\quad$ š $\quad a$
enter:IMP $=\mathrm{DC}$ enter:IMP $=\mathrm{DC}$ enter:IMP $=\mathrm{DC}$ then PST be:P-3PL FUT AD come in, come in, come in. They wanted to
$t=$ šš-en. saca, šetṭhen i nihma tyennay-en.
3FS:DO = eat:A-3PL then dance:I-3PL and they sing:I-3PL
eat her. They were dancing and singing.
qqr-en: 'ddaw, ddaw, men lmeiza mnin bda-w iy uyižd š
say:I-3PL boom boom from goat when begin-3PL:PF and billy.goat:EA FUT They were saying 'Boom boom, we will start with the goat and leave the billy goat for the

| $a$ | $n e-\check{g}=a t$ | dar | ḍaw'. katsemma | tayaṭt | $\check{s}$ | $a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| AD | 1PL-leave:A = 3S:DO | to | light like | goat | FUT | AD |

morning. Meaning that they wanted

| $t=n$-ešs | amilla $i$ | uyižd | $\check{s}$ | $a$ | $y=n e-\check{z} z ̌$ | $d a r$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3FS:DO = 1PL-eat:A | now | and | billy.goat | FUT | AD | 3MS:DO-leave:A | to eat the goat immediately and the billy goat in the


| sşbeh. | te-nna=asen: | 'ha | nekki | š | $a$ | ffy-ax | $s$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| morning | 3FS-say:P = 3PL:DO | PRES | I | FUT | AD | go.out:A-1S | with |

morning. She said: 'I will go out.'

| ddemay inu.' | saca | te-dda | $t$-berrh $=a s$ | $i \underline{k m a-s .}$ | $i$ | $\underline{k} m a-s$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| head my | then | 3FS-go:P | 3FS-call:P $=3 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{IO}$ | to brother-3S | and | brother-3S |

She went and called her brother. Her brother

| rr-es | ssluqiyyat, | 子r-es | ssluqiyyat. saca amk | $a$ | i-dda | i-t.leq |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| at-3S | greyhounds | at-3S | greyhounds then when REL | 3MS-go:P | 3MS-release:P |  | had greyhounds. So he went and released


| $i$ | ssluqiyyat = ihen. | i-nna =as: | 'ǩšem | $b b=d$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to | greyhounds = PL:ANP | 3MS-say:P = 3S:DO | enter:IMP | take:IMP = DC |

those greyhounds. He said to her: 'Go in and bring

| aceyyal | nn-em žer-sen. | te-kšem, | te- $b b=d \quad$ aceyyal | nn-es. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| boy:EL | of-2FS from-3PL | 3FS-enter:P | 3FS-take:P=DCboy | of-3S |

me your boy. She went in and brought her boy.

| saca | ye-nn=asen, | ssluqiyyat = ihen | te-nn=asen: | 'wahit, wahit, wahit.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then | $3 M S-s a y: P=3 P L: I O$ | greyhounds = PL:ANP | $3 F S-$ say: $\mathrm{P}=3 \mathrm{PL}: \mathrm{IO}$ | one one one |

Then he said those greyhounds, she said: 'One, one, one.'

| saca | šebbr-en | iḡdan=ihen, qqim-en | tett-an | ga-sen. w-a | lla |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| then | grab:P-3PL | jackals-PL:ANP stay:P-3PL | eat:I-3PL | in-3PL MS-PRH | be:P |

They grabbed the jackals and ate them. The greyhounds could not reach the

| $m a$ | $\gamma r-e s$ | $s ̌ i$ | $n$ | tzenniț, ma | lekkm-en=t | ši |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | at-3S | NEG | of | tail:EA | NEG | reach:I-3PL=3MS:DO |
| NEG |  |  |  |  |  |  |

the ones who did not have tails.

| ssluqiyyat = ihen. | $i$ | $w-a$ | lla | 子r-es | tazennit, | šebbr-en $=t$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| greyhounds = PL:ANP | and | MS-PRH | be:P | at-3S | tail:EL | grab:P-3PL=3MS:DO |

The ones who had tails, they grabbed

| zeg | tzennit $=$ ahen | zerdzen $=d$. | saca | $i-q q r=a s$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| from | tail: $\mathrm{EA}=\mathrm{S}: \mathrm{ANP}$ | overthrow $=3 \mathrm{MS}: \mathrm{DO}: \mathrm{DC}$ | then | 3 MS -say: $\mathrm{I}=3 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{IO}$ |

them from their tails and threw them on the ground. Then the jackal said

| $a \bar{g} d i$ | $i-q q r=a s$ | $i$ | umdakkul | $n n-e s, \quad i-q q r=a s:$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jackal:EL | 3MS-say:I $=3 S: I O$ | to | friend:EA | of-3S $\quad 3 \mathrm{MS}$-say:I=3S:IO |
| to his friend, he said: |  |  |  |  |


| 'a | byat $=$ lek $\underline{k}$ | $a$ | saḥbi, | t-gert-et | tazennit =ahen | clabekri.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| o | better $=2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{IO}$ | VOC | friend | $2 \mathrm{~S}-\mathrm{cut}-2 \mathrm{~S}$ | tail:EL=S:ANP | early |

'You are lucky that you cut your tail before.'

| iwa | şfi, | xelli- $\underline{t}=h a$ | temma $u$ | ži-t | fhal- $i$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| well | ready | leave-1S:PF=3FS:DO | there and | come-1S:PF | way-1S. |

That's it. I left it there and came back.

## Text 2 ssebta - Ceuta

| hetta | zeg | xemsinat | țalec, | settinat, | sebscinat $\varepsilon a \underline{d}$ | $a$ | $d$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| until | from | fifties | upwards | sixties | seventies yet | REL | AREL |

Only from the fifties onwards, sixties, seventies, the Moroccans

| ktar-u lemyarba | das. | bda-n | mažy-in | lemzarba | ši |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| increase-3PL:PFMoroccans | there | begin:P-3PL | come:PP-PL | Moroccans | some | became numerous. The Moroccans came from


| ssihan, | ši | ssihan, | $s ̌ i$ | ssihan, | txellṭ-u |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| from.here | some | from.here | some | from.here | mix-3PL:PF | here and there, all over the place, they mingled


| das | lemyarba. | saca | $k k r-e n$ | $n n s ̣ a r a$ | zeyyr-en, | $g$ | ddiwanat |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| there | Moroccans. | then | get.up-3PL | Christians | tighten:P-3PL | in | borders | the Moroccans. The Christians (Spaniards) started to be more strict in the borders


| $i$ | $g \ldots$ | $i$ | laraf | daxel | $g$ | lemdina. | de $\bar{g} \bar{g}$-an |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | larafat, in 1 apprehensions there, and the riot police was in town. They apprehended people,


| teayan-en | lberrani, | a, | berrani. | berrani | kamel | ag | lla- $n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| look:I-3PL | outsiders | yes | outsiders | outsiders | all | PST | be:P-3PL |
| they looked for outsiders. They used to |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| tšebbar-en $=t$. | $w-a$ | lla | $g$ | ddiwana, | $w-a$ | lla | daxel |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| grab:I-3PL $=3 M S: D O$ | MS-PRH | be:P | in | border | MS-PRH | be:P | inside | catch all outsiders. The ones at the borders and the ones in the town.


| $g$ | lemdina. | berrani | kamel. liyanna | w-a | lla | das | jer-s |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| in | city. | outsiders | all because | MS-PRH | be:P |  |  |

All outsiders. Because the ones who were there

јer-s lkaḡit. үer-s lpaṣi. nukna 子a yan nnhar nukna t-šebbr=anex lpulis at-3S paper. at-3S permit we only one:M day we 3FS-grab: $\mathrm{P}=1 \mathrm{PL}: \mathrm{DO}$ police had papers. They had a permit. One day the police caught us

in ten of night in twelve of night. 1PL-be:I outside:AP-PL in at ten o'clock, twelve o'clock. Were were out in

| ssinimat. | $n$-ttill | $g$ | leqhawi, | Elaberra, | ne-ttil | $g$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cinema's | 1PL-be:I | in | bars | outside | 1PL-be:I | in |

cinema's and in bars, outside, we used to hang out in the

| leqhawi, | hay. | mki | amella $g$ | bellil nya | $d=$ ne-ttitu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| café's | INTJ. if | now in | night | when | DC=1PL-go:I |

café's. When we went home at night.
fhan-na. nya d=ne-ttut̄u fhan-na dar... ne-ttut̄u fhan-na dar lbarku g
way-1PL when DC=1PL-go:I way-1PL to 1PL-go:I way-1PL to ship in
When we went home, to the ship.
bellil, $g \quad$ letnaš, $g \quad$ zzuž, $g \quad$ lweḥda, $g \quad$ lesešra, $g \quad$ leḥdaš, night in twelve in two in one in ten in eleven at twelve o'clock, at two o'clock, at one o'clock, at ten o'clock, at eleven o'clock,
ka-n-tlaqa-w lpulis. ka-n-tlaqa-w lpulis
IMPP-1PL:IMPF-meet-1PL-IMPF police IMPP-1PL:IMPF-meet-1PL-IMPF police we ran into the police. We ran into the police.

| $i-q q r=a k:$ | 'ara lekwayet, | keği, | ki? | šw | $a$ | he-sskar-et | $g$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-say:I $=2 \mathrm{MS}: \mathrm{IO}$ | give papers | you | what | what | REL | 2S-do:I-2S | in | He would say to you: 'Your papers, you, what are you doing at


| ssaca $=$ yad | dhadin? | ma | $h-d e \bar{g} \bar{\delta}-a t ? '$ | $n e-q q r=a s e n:$ | 'a | weddi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hour $=$ S:PRX | here | what | 2S-do:I-2S | 1PL-say:I=3PL:DO | VOC | well | this time here?' What are you doing? We would say: 'Well,


| nukna | lbehriyya | $g$ | lbarku flani, | he-ttak-at=as | lmeslumat |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we | fishermen | in | ship | this.and.that | 2S-give:I-2S=3S:IO | information | we are fishermen from that and that ship,

ana he-lla-t xeddam.' i-qqr=ak: 'ara lkağit'
where 2 S-be:P-2S work:AP:MS 3MS-say:I = $2 \mathrm{MS}: I O$ give paper you would give him information about where you worked.' He would say: 'Your papers.'

| ttak-at=as | lkagit! | i-tsayan | ga-s, llahisawen. | i-qqr $=a k$ : | 'ay!' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [2S-]give:I-2S = 3S:IO | paper | 3MS-look:I | in-3S bye.bye | 3MS-say:I=2MS:IO | hé |

You would give you papers, he looked at them and say goodbye. He would say: hé.

| $i-q q r=a k$, | $i-q q r=a k:$ | 'nišan da lbarku.' | ma | ya qqim-et |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-say:I $=2 \mathrm{MS}: \mathrm{IO}$ | 3MS-say:I=2MS:IO | straight to ship | NEG | AD [2S-]stay:A-2S |

He would say 'Straight to the ship.' You would not stay,

| $s ̌ i$ | $m k i$ | $i-z r=a k$ | $m s e x x e n$, | $t$-hessl-et | bwehd-ek. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | if | 3MS-see:P=2MS:DO | heated:PP:MS | 2S-fall:I-2S | alone-2S |

if he saw you were drunk, falling by yourself.

| $i-q q r=a k:$ | 'ay', | nnda nišan da | lbarku.' | wella | $a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS-say:I = 2MS:IO | hé | go:IMP straight to | ship | or | AD | He would say: 'Hé, straight to the ship.'


| $\underline{k}=i-b b$ | netta | byedd- $u$ | mki | te-lli-t | qrib | $d a$ | lmersa, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3MS:DO $=3 M S-t a k e: A ~$ | he | self-3MS | if | 2S-be:A-2S | close | to | port | or he would take you there himself. If you were close to the port,

$\check{s} \quad a \quad \underline{k}=i-b b \quad$ hettar lbarku.

FUT AD 2MS:DO $=3 \mathrm{MS}$-take:A until ship.
he would take you to the ship.

## Text 3 Description of living in Ieraben

| yer-nax | axyam, | axyam | $n$ | lgayza, | Elaberra | axyam |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| at-1PL | house:EL | house:EL | of | pole | outside | house:EL |

We have a house, a wooden house. Outside of the house we live in, where we sleep

| $n$ | ssukna, | $n$ | nneas, ayeffet | yer-nex | deryani, | tett-an |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| of | living | of | sleep cattle:EL | at-1PL | there | eat:I-3PL | the cattle is over there, eating


| alum $=$ ahen, | ne-takk $=$ asen | adles, | n-hetš $=$ asen | rrbic | $g$ | uxedmi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hay $=$ S:ANP | 1PL-give:I = 3PL:IO | plant | 1PL-pluck = 3PL:IO | grass | in | basket. | hay, we give them plants we pluck grass and put it in a basket.


| ne-ttawy $=a h=d \quad n e-f k=a s e n=t$ | tett-an $=t$. | nukna gals-in |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 PL-take $: \mathrm{I}=3 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{DO}=\mathrm{DC} 1$ PL-give: $\mathrm{A}=3 \mathrm{PL}: \mathrm{IO}=3 \mathrm{MS}: \mathrm{DO}$ | eat:I-3PL=3MS:DO | we |

We take it to them and give it to them to eat. We are sitting

| $i$ | tyeryert, | ne-ssruy | leafya, $n$-hemmu. | i-till | lehwa fx-ennex |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| with | fire.place | 1PL-light:I | fire | 1PL-heat.up:I | 3MS-be:I | rain on-1PL | by the fire place, light the fire to heat up. It rains and


| $i$ | tismet, $i$ | ucebbiznn-es | daryan gum $n$ | uhemmal | dar talee, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | cold and | calf:EA of-3S | there in.front of | high.place:EA to | higher | it's cold. Its calf is over there next to the high place

i-ḥemmu hetta netta, tifattenen tett-an eawed g ḍ̣aw,
3MS-heat.up:I also he goats eat:I-3PL again in light,
also heating up. The goats are eating by the light,
fhem-ti, dẹaw $n \quad$ leafya, $i \quad$ leafya ne-ssrup $=a t \quad s$
understand-2S:PF light of fire and fire 1PL-light:I=3FS:DO with you understand, the light of the fire. We light the fire with

| isyaren, | aszar $n$ | tezḡ $\bar{g}$, | aszar i-qqur, | maši xder, |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sticks | stick:EL of | wood:EA | stick:EL3MS-dry:P | NEG | green:MS |

sticks, sticks from the woods. Dry sticks, not wet ones,

| asyar $=$ ahen | xder | i-sskar | dduxxan, | huwa | dduxxan | huwa, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| stick:EL = S:ANP | green:MS | 3MS-do:I | smoke | he | smoke | he |

wet sticks release smoke, and smoke,

| $k a-y$, | fhem-ti, | $k a-y e-b q a$ | 子a | $d d x a x e n$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| IMPP-3MS:IMPF | understand-2S:PF | IMPP-3MS:IMPF-stay | only | smoke |
| you understand, only smoke remains. |  |  |  |  |


| $g$ | lehwa, nya i-ttill | lehwa nya i-ttil | tismet, |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| in rain when $3 M S$-be:I | rain when | 3MS-be:I | cold |  |
| When it rains and when it is cold, |  |  |  |  |


| isyaren = ihin | tazz $\bar{g}-e n$ | $s$ | lehwa, | ma | h-reqq | ši | ga-sen |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sticks PL:ANP | become.wet:I-3PL | with | rain | NEG | 3FS-light:I | NEG | in-3PL |


| lcafya, | ne-ttawi $=d \quad$ isyaren | dar | uhemmal =ahen, | $u$ | yer-nex |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fire | 1PL-take: $=$ DC sticks | to | high.place $=$ S:ANP | and | at-1PL |

fire. We bring the sticks to the high place and we have

| aywel, aywel hamkadin | nya | i-ttill | lehwa, ne-sskar ga-s |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rack:EL rack:EL like.this | when | 3MS-be:I | rain 1PL-do:I in-3S |

a rack, a rack like this. When it rains we put the sticks there,

| isyaren, | ne-sskar | ga-s hadik iṣettuhen, | ne-sskar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sticks | 1PL-do:I | in-3S thingy sticks | 1PL-do:I |

we put sticks there, we put.

| iṣettuhen $=$ ihen | ttkaw-en, | liyanna | t-tyima | tmen eyyam | n lehwa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sticks $=$ PL:ANP | dry:I-3PL | because | 3FS-stay:I | eight days | of rain |

dry sticks there. Because for eight days the rain

| fx-ennex | i-hesssel, | fhem-ti, | iwa | nukna ne-ssruy |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| on-1S | 3MS-fall:I | understand-2S:PF | well | we | 1PL-light:I |

keeps falling. Understand? Well, we light

| lcafya = yahen, | $n$-hemmu, | aškayqululu, | ne-sskar | tazemmit, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fire = S:ANP | 1PL-heat.up:I | whatchamacallit | 1PL-do:I | fried.wheat:EL |

the fire, we heat up, and we make fried wheat.

| ne-ttawi $=d \quad$ lhebb, $n-\operatorname{deg}=a t$ | $g$ | lmeqla $=$ yahen, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1PL-take: $=$ DC wheat $1 \mathrm{PL}-\mathrm{do}: \mathrm{I}=3 \mathrm{MS}: \mathrm{DO}$ | in | frying.pan = S:ANP |

We get wheat, put it in a frying pan,

| ne-qqely $=a t$, | iwa, netta | $k a-y$-tteqla, | ka-y-tteqla, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1PL-fry:I = 3MS:DO | well he | IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.fried | IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.fried |

and we fry it. Well, it is fried. Then we

| ne-ttutu a | $y=n-z e d$ | $g$ | rrha, | rrha $n$ ufus, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1PL-go:I AD | $3 M S: D O=1$ PL-grind:A in | mill | mill of hand:EA |  |

grind it in a mill, a handmill,

| hamka, | $n e-z z a d ̣=a t, ~$ | $n-s e k k r=a s$ | ši | haža $n$ lemlaḥ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| like.this | 1PL-grind:I=3MS:DO | 1PL-do:I = 3S:IO | some | thing of salt |

like this, we grind it, we put a little bit of salt

| semmen | tazemmit $=$ ahen | he-ttill | helw-a | maši | messus- $a$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| so.that | fried.wheat $=$ S:ANP | 3FS-be:I | sweet-FS | NEG | insipid-FS |

in it so that the fried wheat is sweet and not insipid.

well and we 1PL-grind:I again 1PL-take: $I=D C$ corn 1 PL-grind: $I=3 F S: D O$ in Well, and we grind it. We also bring corn, we grind it

| rrḥa = yahen | $n$ | ufus. | nya | $t=n e-z z a d$. | yemma te-sskar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mill $=$ S:ANP | of | hand:EA | when | $3 F S: D O=1$ PL:grind:I | mother 3FS-do:I |

in that handmill. When we grind it my mother makes

| tafṭirt, tafṭirt $n$ | dedra, | te $-\bar{g} \bar{g}=\operatorname{anax}$ | ahelhul | $n$ | $d d r a$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bread bread of | corn | 3FS-do:A = 1PL:DO | porridge:EL | of | corn | bread, corn bread. She makes corn porridge


| te- $\bar{g} \bar{g}=$ anax, | askayqululu, | ayrum | $n$ | $d d r a=y a h e n, ~ i w a ~$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3FS-do:A = 1PL:DO | whatchamacallit | bread:EL | of | corn $=$ S:ANP | well |
| and she makes bread from the corn. Well, |  |  |  |  |  |


| nukna | ka-n-sir-u | $n$-tett | عawed. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we $\quad$ IMPP-1PL:IMPF-continue-1PL:IMPF | 1PL-eat:I | again. |  |
| we continue eating. |  |  |  |

