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A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya) : based on Umberto Paradisi's material

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Chapter 6

Pronoun

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have different forms depending on their function. There are six different sets of personal pronouns.

- 1. Independent pronouns
- 2. Direct object pronouns
- 3. Indirect object pronouns
- 4. Prepositional suffixes
- 5. Possessive suffixes
- 6. Kinship possessive suffixes

6.1.1 Independent pronouns

The following table shows the independent pronouns in Awjila. Beguinot (1921: 390) also gives a full list of independent pronouns, which differ slightly from the forms found in Paradisi.

	Paradisi	Beguinot
1sg.	nək, nək	nek
2sg.m.	ku, kù	ku
2sg.f.	kəm	kem
3sg.m.	nəttìn, əntìn	nettî, nettîn
3sg.f.	ənnàt	ennât
1pl.	nəkkəní	nekkenî, neknîn
2pl.m.	kəmmîm	kemmîm
2pl.f.	kəmmîmət	kemmîmet
3pl.m.	nəhìn, ənhìn	nehnîn
3pl.f.	nəhìnət, ənhìnət	nehnînet

Most independent pronouns are attested in the texts, only *kəmmimət* is not found outside the word list.

The positions in which independent pronouns occur are:

- pronominal subject marking,
- topicalized pronominal subject marking,
- pronominal predicate marking in non-verbal sentences,
- after the dative preposition *i-*, and comparative preposition *am*,
- before a noun phrase marked with the preposition *id* ‘with’.

When an independent pronoun is used to mark the subject, it is placed in the usual position of the subject, after the verb. The pronoun is often explicitly mentioned when there is a switch of subject in two consecutive sentences.

The independent pronouns are not found in texts marking a direct object, not even in topicalization position. It is not clear whether this is due to the limited size of the corpus, or whether it is actually impossible.

Non-topicalized subject:

- (28) *T-n=ìs* *ənnàt: s=àrbəša bəss.*

3sf-say:×pf.=IO.3s she: with=four enough

‘She said to him: for four (should be) enough.’ [PT:III]

- (29) *u=y-əqqim* *i-ddəhwàr* *ašàl=i* *kkùll i-nəššəd* *əlʕulamá*

and=3sm-stay:×pf. 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars

u=i-ʕəlləb=tən

u=nəttin i-ddəhwàr

ir=i-tùg

and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:×pf.

Žhà.

Jha

‘and he started going around the whole village asking scholars (questions) and he defeated them and he continued to go around until he met Jha.’ [PT:VIII]

Following the dative preposition:

- (30) *nək* *wa əhdəf-x=tit=a i=kú*

3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I

PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you

‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

After the comparative preposition *am* ‘like’:

- (31) *nəttin məqqár* *am=nək*

he be.big:3sm like=I

‘he is as big as me’ [P: s.v. come]

After the predicative marker *d=*:

- (32) *aḥsáb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nək.*
 think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlzr.2sm you pred.=I
 ‘(so) I figured that you are me!’ [PT:X1]

The coordination of pronouns, i.e. constructions like ‘me and you’, and similar pairs of pronouns, is achieved by means of an independent pronoun followed by the preposition *idd-* with a pronominal ending.

- (33) *nək a=nṭər-əx=ku ká ir=a=nnə-ʔədd nək idd-ək ar=əlqəḏi.*
 I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg. until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge
 ‘I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.’ [PT:V]

6.1.2 Direct object clitics

The direct object clitic is placed after the verb, but follows the indirect object clitic, when present.

1sg.	=i
2sg.m.	=ku
2sg.f.	=kəm
3sg.m.	=t
3sg.f.	=tət
1pl.	=ax
2pl.m.	=kim
2pl.f.	=kmət
3pl.m.	=tən
3pl.f.	=tənət

When a direct object clitic directly follows a verb that ends in a final alternating vowel (such as verbs with the structure *cc**, *vc** and *c** verbs) with no intervening PNG-marking, the alternating vowel is always *-i*. There are no attestations of the 1pl. clitic after a verb of this type.

- (34) *i-γəlli a=i-rzi=tət, y-əzmər ká*
 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 ‘(each one) wanted to break it, (but) could not.’ [PT:I]
- (35) *i-γəlli a=i-žižt=t.*
 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm
 ‘He wanted to sell it.’ [PT:IV]

The resultative clitic =*a* follows the direct object clitic. According to a regular pattern (see 4.3.1.5) =*a* changes *ə* in the preceding syllable to *i* this also affects the direct object clitics, e.g. 3sg.f. direct object clitic =*tət* becomes =*tīt*=*a*. Most of the forms of the resultative variants are predictable, but the 3sg.m. direct object clitic =*t* behaves as though the phonemic form is /tə/. The predicted form of the resultative with a 3sg.m. clitic is ***/i(C)=t=a/*, but in reality we find =*tī*=*ya*, which would be the regular reflex of ***tə*.¹ The forms of the direct object pronouns when they precede the resultative marker are shown in the following table:

1sg.	=i=ya
2sg.m.	=ku=ya
2sg.f.	=kim=a
3sg.m.	=ti=ya
3sg.f.	=tīt=a
1pl.	=ax=a
2pl.m.	=kim=a
2pl.f.	=kmit=a
3pl.m.	=tin=a
3pl.f.	=tnit=a

The direct object pronouns have no inherent accent, and form a single accentual unit with the verb. The accent of the verbal complex with a direct object clitic follows the default accentuation rules.

There is one exception to this: The 1pl. clitic *-ax* is unaccented, while the default accent rule would dictate that it would be accented (see 2.5.1). This suffix is unattested in the texts, but Paradisi provides an example sentence under the entry of the pronoun: <tgulīt-ah> ‘you saw us’ [P: s.v. noi].

The accentuation found with =*tənət* sometimes falls on the antepenultimate syllable. This suggests a phonemic analysis /=tnət/ with epenthetic *ə*. Since there are also attestations where this supposedly epenthetic schwa is accented, the situation is unclear. Compare:

- (36) *ya=rəbbi əndú y-ənqış=a iwínan a=uyá-x= tənət ká.*
 voc.=god if 3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-is=DO.3pf neg.
 ‘O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it’ [PT:V]

- (37) *w=i-gi=tənət araqùt=i u=y-əhdəf=tənət dit nə=Žhà*
 and=3sm-put:pf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha

¹In (Mali) Tuareg, this clitic also behaves as though it had a lost vowel. The default accent in Mali Tuareg is on the antepenultimate syllable, but this clitic forces the accent to fall on the penultimate syllable (Heath 2005: 84-87).

sar=ərròšən.

from=window

‘And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.’ [PT:V]

6.1.3 Indirect object clitics

The indirect object clitic is always placed immediately after the verb, and precedes the direct object clitic. It also precedes the final *=d* that is a remnant of the ancient Berber directional particle (see 4.3.1.4). An overview of the forms is provided below.²

1sg.	=dìk
2sg.m.	=ìk
2sg.f.	=ìm
3sg.	=ìs
1pl.	=dikəní, =dikkəní, =dikəni
2pl.m.	=ikim
2pl.f.	=əkmət
3pl.m.	=isìn
3pl.f.	=isnət

In front of the frozen directional particle *=d*, the 3sg. marker *=is* becomes *=iz*.

- (38) *Y-uš=iz=d Žhà.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=10.3s Jha
 ‘Jha came to him’ [PT:VI]

When the indirect object clitic is combined with a verb that has a final vowel, this final vowel is elided, or, in the case of the 1sg., changed to *-i*.

- (39) *y-əfk=ìs ənnùš n-əlbəràt.*
 3sm-give:*pf.=10.3s half of=money
 ‘(Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).’ [PT:XIV]

- (40) *rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a am alá yəllì-x.*
 god 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:*pf.-1s
 ‘God has given like I wanted!’ [PT:V]

²It is interesting to note that the 1sg. and 1pl. have an element *-d-* which is not usually found in Berber 1sg./1pl. indirect object clitics. This may be the directional particle *=d* found in other Berber languages, which has disappeared as a productive element in Awjila. The exact historical development that would explain the position of *=d* in front of the direct object clitic, is unclear.

It is not possible to determine whether the final vowel would be changed to *-i* with the 1pl. indirect object clitic. The word is only attested in the example below. The verb it is attached to, is only attested in this sentence, its basis may be *wàtti* rather than *wàtta/i*.

- (41) *wàtti=dikkàni* *čču=nn-àx šbàh* *id=bàšad šabàh*.
 prepare:imp.=10.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after tomorrow.
 ‘prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.’ [PT:XV]

According to the notations in the word list, the 1pl. form has a final accent. In the only attestation in the text corpus, shown in example (41), it has default penultimate accent. With the limited data available, it is impossible to say what this alternation in notations reflects.

When the 1sg. of a verb is followed by an indirect object pronoun, the *-x* and the following *i-* of the indirect object clitic are replaced by *-a-*. This *-a-* causes elision of any vowel that directly precedes it.

- (42) *nək šalamá* *fəkk-à=s* *aftw y-əlyóm* *a=y-əmm*.
 I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.’
 [PT:II]

- (43) *šbər-àt* *a=nn-a=kim* *nək d=awil* *tlàta marràt*
 wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three times
ila yom əlqiyaàma:
 until.the.day.of.resurrection
 ‘Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three times until the day of resurrection.’ [PT:II]

In front of the resultative marker, the indirect object clitics undergo predictable changes (see 4.3.1.5), which have been displayed in the table below.

1sg.	=dik=a
2sg.m.	=ik=a
2sg.f.	=im=a
3sg.	=is=a
1pl.	=dikkənì=ya
2pl.m.	=ikim=a
2pl.f.	=əkmìt=a
3pl.m.	=isìn=a
3pl.f.	=isnìt=a

6.1.4 Prepositional suffixes

The prepositional suffixes are pronominal elements suffixed to prepositions.

In this section, the different suffixes are listed. The prepositions are discussed in section 8.

1sg.	-i
2sg.m.	-ək
2sg.f.	-əm
3sg.m.	-əs
1pl.	-nàx
2pl.m.	-kìm
2pl.f.	-əkmət
3pl.m.	-sìn
3pl.f.	-əsnət

Besides the Berber set of pronominal suffixes, there is a set of Arabic prepositional suffixes which occurs with the prepositions *dəffər* 'behind' and *dīt* 'in front'. The accentuation of some of the forms of *dəffər* 'behind' is uncertain, as Paradisi only lists the endings. These uncertain forms are marked with a (?). A few forms have Berber prepositional suffixes besides the Arabic ones.

	dəffər	dīt	
1sg.	dəffər-i	dīt-i	
2sg.	dəffər-ək	dīt-ək	
3sg.m.	dəffər-àh	dīt-ah	
	dəffər-ah		
	dəffər-a	dīt-a	
	dəffər-əs		(Berber suffix)
3sg.f.	dəffər(?)-ha	dīt-ha	
1pl.	dəffər(?)-na	dīt-na	
	dəffər-nàx		(Berber suffix)
2pl.m.	dəffər(?)-kum	dīt-kum	
	dəffər-kìm	dīt-kim	(Berber suffix)
2pl.f.		dīt-kən	
	dəffər(?)-kmət	dīt-kmət	(Berber suffix)
3pl.m.	dəffər(?)-hum	dīt-hum	
		dīt-sin	(Berber suffix)
3pl.f.	dəffər(?)-hən	dīt-hən	
		dīt-snət	(Berber suffix)

The preposition *af, fəlli-* 'on' has a 1sg. ending *-wi* rather than *-i*:

- (44) *lhùdi i-qàlləz fəlli-wi*
 Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s
 'The Jew is lying about me' [PT:V]

The preposition *s-* 'behind' has irregular 3pl.m and 3pl.f. forms: *s-ìn*; *s-ìnət*, *sənət*. One would expect the forms **s-sìn*; *s-sìnət*, *s-sənət*. Apparently, the sequence *s-s-* has been simplified.

- (45) *U=y-əfrəh Žhà s-ənət*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf
 'And Jha became happy with it' [PT:V]

Below follow several examples of prepositions from the texts.

- (46) *blaš, u=t-əqqəš əlbəb fəlli-s*
 forget.it and=3sf-close:*pf. door on-3sg.
 'Forget it! and she closed the door on him,' [PT:III]
- (47) *U=y-uyi=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yəlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-rzì=tət, y-əzmər ká
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.' [PT:I]

The prepositions with Arabic suffixes are also attested in the texts:

- (48) *u=y-əʕədd w=aʕit dəffər-a (or: dəffər-ah).*
 and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey behind-3sm
 'and he went and the donkey (was) behind him.' [PT:VII]
- (49) *I-ggi=t dīt-a*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm
 'He put it in front of him' [PT:II]

The suffixes used in combination with the preposition *n* 'of', are slightly different than those used with other prepositions. Moreover the pronominal genitive prepositions are placed directly after the noun and form an accent unit with it.

1sg.	=ənn-ùk
2sg.m.	=ənn-ək
2sg.f.	=ənn-əm
3sg.	=ənn-əs
1pl.	=ənn-àx
2pl.m.	=ənn-əkìmm, -n-əkìm
2pl.f.	=ənn-əkmət
3pl.m.	=ənn-əsìn
3pl.f.	=ənn-əsnət

- (50) *šəkri=dik əlbarat=ənn-ùk*
 return:imp.=IO.IS money=of-1s
 ‘Give back my money’ [PT:VII]

When the preceding noun ends in a vowel, the initial *ə* of the possessive clitic is absent. When the clitic is placed after a noun that ends in *-n*, the initial *ə* is also absent, the resulting sequence *-nnn-* is simplified to *-nn-*.

- (51) *bəʔədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa əf=təfilli=nn-əs.*
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’ [PT:VI]

- (52) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzẓìn=n-əs*
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s
 ‘And one day he gathered his sons’ [PT:I]

6.1.5 Kinship possessive suffixes

A group of kinship terms have special possessive pronouns, which are suffixed immediately to the noun instead of using a construction with the preposition *n* ‘of’. When a kinship term has no suffix, it is automatically interpreted as related to the first person singular, for example *àbba* ‘my father’, *abbà-s* ‘his father’. Note that the suffixes are similar to the prepositional suffixes, but the plural forms have an additional element *-t-*. All kinship terms follow the default accent rule.

1sg.	<i>no suffix</i>
2sg.m.	-k
2sg.f.	-m
3sg.	-s
1pl.	-tnàx
2pl.m.	-tkìm
2pl.f.	<i>Unattested</i>
3pl.m.	-tsìn
3pl.f.	<i>Unattested</i>

The kinship terms that are attested with these suffixes are: *àbba* ‘father’, *ḥənnùni* ‘grandfather’, *ḥàtta* ‘(maternal) aunt’, *mmà* ‘mother’, *àmmi* ‘(paternal) uncle’, *nàna* ‘grand-mother’, *ìwi* ‘son’, *wàlli* ‘daughter’, *ùma* ‘brother’, *àtma* ‘brothers’, *wàrtma* ‘sister’, *sàtma* ‘sisters’.

xàli ‘(maternal) uncle’ probably belongs here too, but there is not enough data to confirm this.

The plural of *ìwi* ‘son’, *aməzzìn* ‘sons’, takes the regular possessive clitics.

The noun *təmiḡni* ‘woman, wife’ is usually found with the regular possessive clitics, but once it is attested with a kinship possessive suffix. According to Paradisi, the regular possessive clitic is also possible in this context.

- (53) *Bəṣadèn əlṣəqqàb=i y-əqqim nəttìn id=dəḡni-s* (or: *id=təmiḡni-nn-əs*)
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:*pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
 ‘Then in the evening, he was with his wife’ [PT:IV]

6.2 Reflexives

Reflexives are formed with the noun *imàn* ‘self, oneself’ followed by the preposition *n* with possessive suffixes. This noun is not attested in Awjila outside of these reflexive constructions.

- (54) *llumm-àt iman=nə-kim, a=i-ssəṣad=kim ɾəbbi.*
 gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm fut.=3sm-help:fut.=DO.2pm God
 ‘Gather yourselves and God will help you.’ [PT:I]
- (55) *w=iwínan y-əqqán imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aṣiṭ.*
 and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf. self=of-3s place of=donkey
 ‘and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.’ [PT:VII]

6.3 Relative pronouns

There are two types of relative pronouns in Awjila. First, there are the pre-modifier pronominal heads (PMPH)³, and second there are the general relative pronouns.

6.3.1 Pre-modifier pronominal heads

PMPHS consist of a deictic element *w-* (for masculine) / *t-* (for feminine) affixed by an element *-a* (for the singular) and *-i* (for the plural), forming a set of four PMPHS.

	sg.	pl.
m.	wa	wi
f.	ta	ti

Different from Tuareg which has three grades of definiteness in PMPHS (Galand 1974), the Awjila PMPHS do not distinguish definiteness.

PMPHS form the head of relative clauses; They function as relative pronouns with or without incorporated antecedent. The syntax of relative clauses will be discussed in more detail in section 10.6.

- (56) *u=bəʔədèn y-axzár af=əlḥəməl=ànn-əs wa zḥàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərʔəʔt
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm

‘And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry’ [PT:III]

- (57) *wa y-əʔki=dik=a lʕàlla a=y-əʔki=dik iwínan;*
 PMPH:sm 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm
 ‘He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).’ [PT:V]

- (58) *nək wa əḥdəʔ-x=tit=a i=kú*
 I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you
 ‘I am the one who has thrown it to you’ [PT:V]

- (59) *u=nək rwiḥ-ḥ=a a=y-əqləz w=a=i-n=ìs ḥàtta*
 and=I become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s even
tlaba=nn-ùk ta t-ənní ʔəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttin
 gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=aʒit=ənn-ùk a=i-n=ìs d=wà=nn-əs nəttin.
 with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he
 ‘and I am afraid that he will lie and say that even the gown that is on me is his and that he will say that my donkey is his.’ [PT:V]

³Terminology following Kossmann (2011: 84, 113-119).

- (60) *Bəṣadèn y-əṣədd y-ənšəd ərrəṣəq=ənn-əs wi ižinà-n=a*
 then 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttin id-sin ksùm.
 he with-3pm meat.
 ‘Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.’

There are no examples of the feminine plural pronoun *ti* in the text corpus.

PMPHS also form the head of possessive phrases by cliticization of the possessive preposition *n* ‘of’ in the meaning ‘that of ...’.

- (61) *la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk*
 no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res. robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s
w=əlṣəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk, əḥsəb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nək.
 and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.2sm you pred.=I
 ‘No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’

The pre-modifier pronominal heads with the genitive clitic can also be combined with the interrogative *màni* ‘who?’ to create the meaning ‘whose?’:

- (62) *gmaren=íya d=wi=n=máni?*
 horses=prox.:p pred.=PMPH:pm=of=who
 ‘Whose are these horses?’ [P: s.v. chi?]

6.3.2 General relative pronouns

There are two general relative pronouns. One is *wàsa* and the other is *alá*. *wàsa* is an indefinite relative pronoun that is attested twice, both times in Text II. The first time it is given as an alternative to *wa* to form the head of a relative clause.

The word is similar to Ghadames *was* ‘démonstratif en fonction de relatif, indéterminé de genre et de nombre’ (Lanfry 1973: 394).

- (63) *nək lukàn wa (or: wàsa) a=mmudà-n dáffər-i*
 I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t aḥw, məṣədd a=mmudà-x s=ḥiddan.
 fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone
 ‘If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.’ [PT:II]
- (64) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kim a=ṣəyyát-ən=dik tələta marràt;*
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times
 ‘Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times;’ [PT:II]

The relative pronoun *alá* always has an incorporated antecedent. *alá* exclusively refers to non-human antecedents. For human antecedents, PMPHS are used.

- (65) *Y-əʕədd i-n=ìs=t am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=IO.3s=res.
 ‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’ [PT:II]

- (66) *Bəʕəd uʕəl-ən ar=əlqàdi i-šərw=ìs ləhùdi s=alá*
 Then arrive:*pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:*pf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel.
ʕará-n=a.
 happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 ‘Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.’
 [PT:V]

The particle *alá* resembles the particle that introduces cleft sentences: *d-əlá*. An etymological relation between these particles seems likely (see section 10.6.7).

