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

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# Appendix C

## Texts

### C.1 Texts from Paradisi

#### C.1.1 Text I

##### C.1.1.1 Original transcription

Márra gān amédēn amoqqârân u qârîb ayemmût w-iwîn n īšf illûm amez-żînnes w-ifkîsin elházmet n těgarîwîn w-inîsîn: yahjât ărzâttet. U yuğîtet kull iwînân s-ğarsîn iğelli ăirzîtet, yezmér-ká, ba'adêñ yuğîtet şşâref u yufukkîtet u yefkâ kull iwîn tâgarît. Ba'adêñ kull iwîn yuğâ tâgarît u yerzîtet fîsa fîsa. Ba'adêñ inîsîn: akkâ, kemmîm am tîgarîwin-îyek, úndu tellûmâm (anche: tellummâm) imannekîm ma'á ba'âdkum attéeqîmâm am těgarîwîn-îyäk, úndu tellûmâm-ká imannekîm attéeqîmâm am iwatân n těgarît izmîra köll-iwîn ayerzîtet bišwâš. U inîsîn: llummât imannekîm, aïssa'ad-kîm ḥâbbi.

##### C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra gan amàdən aməqqəràn u=qərîb a=yəmmût w=iwîn n=išf illùm aməzzî=nnəs w=ifk=ísin elhèzmət n=təyariwîn w=in=isîn: yaxàt arzàt=töt. U=yuğì=töt kull iwinàn sŷar=sîn iŷelli a=irzì=töt, yəzmér ká, bəfədèn yuğì =töt şşâref u=yufukkì=töt u=yəfkâ kull iwîn təyarît. Bəfədèn kull iwîn yuğâ təyarît u=yərzi=töt fîsa fîsa. Bəfədèn in=isîn: akkâ, kemmîm am=tîya-riwin=îyäk, òndu<sup>1</sup> təllumâm (or: təllummâm) iman=nəkîm məfâ bəfəd=kum a=ttéeqîmâm am=təyariwin=îyäk, təllumâm ká iman=nəkîm a=tté-qîmâm am=iwatân n=təyarît izmîra kull iwîn a=yərzi=töt bišwâš. U=ini =sîn: llummât iman=nəkîm, a=işsəfəd=kîm ḥâbbi.

##### C.1.1.3 Glossed translation

- (287) *Márra gan amàdən aməqqəràn u=qərîb a=y-əmmût*  
Once there man big;sm and be.near:3sm F-3sm-die:F  
'There once was an old (litt. big) man who was about to die.'

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps *ündu*

- (288) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzzin=n-as w=i-fk=ísin*  
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:<sup>\*</sup>pf. sons=of-3s and=3sm-give:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3pm  
*əlhàzmat n=təyariwìn w=i-n-isìn: yax-àt*  
 bundle of=sticks and=3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3pm take:imp.-pm  
*arž-àt=tət.*  
 break:imp.-pm=DO.3sf  
 'And one day he gathered his sons and gave them a bundle of sticks and said to them: Take and break it!'
- (289) *U=y-uyì=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yàlli*  
 And=3sm-take:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:<sup>\*</sup>pf.  
*a=i-ržl=tət, y-əzmər ká*  
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:<sup>\*</sup>pf. neg.  
 'And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.'
- (290) *bəfədèn y-uyì=tət sšärəf u=y-uffukki=tət u=y-əfká*  
 Then 3sm-take:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=DO.3sf old.man and=3sm-untie:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=DO.3sf and=3sm-give:pf.  
*kull iwin təyariit.*  
 each one:sm stick  
 'Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.'
- (291) *Bəfədèn kull iwin y-uyá təyariit u=y-əržl=tət fisa fisa.*  
 Then each one:sm 3sm-take:P stick and=3sm-break:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=DO.3sf quickly quickly  
 'Then each one took the stick and broke it quickly.'
- (292) *Bəfədèn i-n-isìn: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, əndu*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if  
*t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məfá bəfádkum a=tt-əqqíma-m*  
 2p-gather:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m  
*am=təyariwin=iyək*  
 like=sticks-prox.:p  
 'Then he said to them: look, you are like these sticks, if you gather yourselves with each other you will remain like these sticks.'
- *məfá bəfádkum* is a completely Arabic phrase.
  - *attəqqíma-m* breaks the general accent rule that a final heavy syllable always takes the accent. There is no obvious explanation for this.
- (293) *t-əllumà-m ká iman=nə-kim a=tt-əqíma-m am=iwatàn*  
 2pm-gather:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf  
*n=təyariit i-zmìr=a kull iwin a=y-əržl=tət bišwàš.*  
 of=stick 3sm-be.able:res.=res. each one:sm fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf easily

'(If) you do not gather yourself, you will remain like one stick: Everybody is able to break it easily.'

- (294) *U=i-n=isin: llumm-àt iman=nə-kim,*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3pm gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm  
*a=i-ssəfəd=kim rəbbi.*

fut.=3sm-help:fut.=DO.2pm God

'And he said to them: Gather yourselves and God will help you.'

## C.1.2 Text II

### C.1.2.1 Original transcription

Gān iwīnān n-amēdēn ašāl n-awīlēn. Mārra yuğāya ksūm u yušād yaḥṭīma af ammūd n sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq. Yufīten ‘āmma mūdān l’āṣār; yūnā ammūd-ī w-íddes ksūm. Iggīt dīta w-alimām sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq u ba’ad ikkémmel ya’add irrōūwah u šummān ksūm wa yerfī’ā; ‘ala-má fekkān-īs afīu yelgām ayémm. Ba’adēn ya’add yēnšed ārrafāqānnes wi ižīnāna net-tīn idsīn ksūm. Nānīs: nekkenī nēsummitīya u nēcitīya. Inīsīn: nek ‘ala-má fekkās afīu yelgām ayémm. Nānīs: ddīwa dgīta? Inīsīn: ba’ad uṣīgħd unīlī ammūd-ī, u fihħen ‘āmma mūdān, għiġ dītī ksūm u qqaimīlī mūdīħ, wēn-mā kemmelħ ‘addīħ; wa d-elā sārāna. Nānīs īrrafāqānnes: ‘add anīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq, inīs: nek lukān wā (anche: wāsa) ammūdān déffer-ī aīċċit afīu, ma’adč ammudāħ s-hiddan. Inīs: ksūm-āya ġāræk ‘add kef-fént, u ‘add mtīt żebbānet; ya’add yemtīt u yāqqim īħabbār mídden. Wēn-mā slānt mídden n ašāl kúll, ušānd ġallīyen ammūdān kull déffer-a w-ammūd mešsek igħellī-ká ayūg mídden n ašāl. Yehammém elfekrénnes sīdi Ḥaméd, illúff dbāśennes w-inīsīn: ġallīħ a’ddaħ (sic) fħālī. Nānīs lēħál n ašāl: anna’add kull-íddekk. U šķiyen íddes ir-ahlében ašāl u ba’adén inīsīn: sħabarāt annākīm nek d-awīl tlāta marrāt il-lā yōm ēlqiyyāma: wāsa anzurrān s-ġarkīm a’ayyāten-dik tħallata marrāt; āušāzd w-affukkāħt. Undu uṣīgħd-ká, anmhāseb nek íddes yōm ēlqiyyāma.

Nek wa d-elā slīħa s-ār mídden lōūwel keddīmen, hakkān-dik af sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq.

### C.1.2.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan n=amēdēn ašāl n=awīlēn. Mārra yuğà=ya ksūm u=yušād yəx-tīm=a af=ammūd n=sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq. Yufī=tən fèmma mudān l’fèshər; yūnā ammūd=i w=ħaddes ksūm. Iggī=t dīta w=alimām sīdi Ḥāmed ēz-Zarrūq

u=bəf̥ád ikkəmməl yəf̥ədd irrəwwəh u=šəmmən ksùm wa yərfiꝝ=a; ſala-má fəkkən=is afiꝝ yəlyám a=yəmm. Bəf̥ədən yəf̥ədd yənšəd ərrəfəq=ənnəs wi ižinàn=a nəttin idsin ksùm. Nan=is: nəkkəní nəšummi=tì=ya u nči=tì=ya. In=isìn: nək ſəla-má fəkkà=s afiꝝ yəlyám a=yəmm. Nan=is: ddiwa dgít=a? In=isìn: bəf̥ád uſiy=d unìx ammùd=i, ufix=tən ſəmma mudàn, gíx dìti ksùm u=qqimìx mudìx, wèn-ma kəmməlx ſəddìx; wa d=əlá ſarán=a. Nan=is ərrafəq=ənnəs: ſədd an=is=t i=sidi H̄əməd əz-Zarruq. Yəf̥ədd in=is=t am=alá nan=is=a. Wèn-ma in=is=t i=sidi H̄əməd əz-Zarrùq, in=is: nək lukán wa (or: wàsa) a=mμudàn dέffəri a=ičči=t afiꝝ, məf̥ədč ammuđəx s=hıddan. In=is: ksum=àya yàrək ſədd kəffən=t, u= ſədd mtì=t žəbbànət; yəf̥ədd yəmtì=t u=yəqqim ixəbbär mìddən. wèn-ma slàn=t míddən n=ašál küll, ušàn=d yəlliyyən a=mμudàn kull dέffəra w=ammùd məš-şék iyəlli ká a=yùy mìddən n=ašál. Yəxəmmám əlfəkr=ənnəs sidi H̄áməd, illùff dbaš=ənnəs w=in=isìn: yəllìx a= ſəddàx fhàli. Nan=is ləhəl n=ašál: a=nəf̥ədd kull iddək. U=škìyən iddəs ir=a=hlòbən ašál u=bəf̥ədən in=isìn: ſbərət anna=kìm nək d=awìl tlàta marràt ila yom əlqiyàma: wàsa a=nzurràn ſyar=kìm a= ſəyyátən=dík təlàta marràt; a=ušà=z=d w=a=ffukkàx=t. Undú ušiy=d ká, a=nmhàsəb nək iddəs yom əlqiyàma.

Nək wa d=əlá slìx=a sar mìddən lèwwəl kəddimən, həkkàn=dík af=sidi H̄áməd əz-Zarrùq.

### C.1.2.3 Glossed translation

- (295) *Gan iwínan n=amàdən ašál n=awìlən.*  
 there one:ms of=man village of=Aujilan.people  
 'There once was a man in the village of Aujila'
- (296) *Màrra y-uyà=ya ksùm u=y-ušà=d y-əxt̄im=a*  
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.  
*af=ammùd n=sidi H̄áməd əz-Zarrùq.*  
 on=mosque of-sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq  
 'One day, he had gotten meat and he passed by the mosque of Sidi Hamid Zarrouq'
- (297) *Y-ufi=tən ſəmma mudà-n lʃəşər;*  
 3sm-find:^pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer  
 'He found them praying the afternoon prayer'
- (298) *y-ùna ammùd=i w=idd-əs ksùm.*  
 3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc. and=with-3s meat  
 'He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat'

- (299) *I-ggi=t dit-a w=alimàm sìdi Hàmèd òz-Zarrùq u=bòfòd*  
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm and=imam sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq and-after  
*i-kkàmmal y-əfòdd i-rròwwàh u=šòmmà-n ksùm wa*  
 3sm-finish:^pf. 3sm-go:^pf. 3sm-return:^pf. and=cook:^pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms  
*y-ərfìl=a;*  
 3sm-lift.up:res.=res.

'He put it in front of him and the imam (was) Sidi Hamid Zarrouq and after he finished, he went home and they cooked the meat that he had carried.'

- (300) *Salamá fòkka-n=ìs afti w y-əlyóm a=y-òmm.*  
 as.much.as give:impf.-3pm=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.  
 'No matter how much fire they would give it, it refused to cook.'

- (301) *Bòfòdèn y-əfòdd y-ànšàd ərrəfəq=ànn-øs wi ižinà-n=a*  
 then 3sm-go:^pf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.  
*nàttìn id-sìn ksùm.*  
 he with-3pm meat.

'Then he went and asked his companions whom he had divided the meat with.'

- (302) *Na-n=ìs: nàkkənì n-əšummi=tì=ya u=n-či=tì=ya.*  
 say:^pf.-3pm=10.3s we 1p-cook:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=1p-eat:res.=DO.3sm=res.  
 'They said to him: We've cooked it and eaten it.'

- (303) *I-n=isìn: nàk Sàlamá fòkk-à=s afti w y-əlyóm*  
 3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=10.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.  
*a=y-òmm.*  
 fut.=3sm-cook:fut.

'He said to them: No matter how much fire I would give it, it refused to cook.'

- (304) *Na-n=ìs: ddìwa d-gì-t=a?*  
 say:^pf.-3pm=10.3s what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.  
 'They said to him: what did you do?'

- (305) *I-n=isìn: bòfòd ušì-y=d unì-x ammùd=i, ufi-x=tən*  
 3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm after go:^pf.-1s enter:^pf.-1s mosque=loc. find:^pf.-1s=DO.3pm  
*ʃòmma mudà-n, gì-x dit-i ksùm u=qqimi-x mudì-x,*  
 prog. pray:impf.-3pm put:^pf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:^pf.-1s pray:impf.-1s  
*wènma kàmmàl-x ʃàddì-x; wa d=əlá sará-n=a.*  
 as.soon.as finish:^pf.-1s go:^pf.-1s PMPH:sm pred.=rel. happen:res.-ptc=res.

'He said to them: After I went and entered the mosque, I found them praying, I put the meat in front of me and started praying, as soon as I finished, I went (away); that is what happened.'

- (306) *Na-n=ìs                    ərrafəq=ènn-əs:    fòdd    an=ìs=t*  
say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm=10.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=10.3s=DO.3sm  
*i=sìdi Hèməd əz-Zarrouq.*  
dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq  
‘His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.’
- (307) *Y-əfòdd    i-n=ìs=t                    am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*  
3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=10.3s=res.  
‘He went and told it to him like they had told him’
- (308) *Wènma    i-n=ìs=t                    i=sìdi Hèməd əz-Zarriùq, i-n=ìs:*  
as.soon.as 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s  
*nək lukàn wa                    (or: wàsa) a=mmudà-n    dáffər-i*  
I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s  
*a=i-ččl=t                    afw, məfòdč a=mmudà-x    s=hìddan.*  
fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-1s with=anyone  
‘As soon as he had said it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq, he said to him: If those who pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.’
- (309) *I-n=ìs:                    ksum=àya    yàr-ək fòdd    kəffən=t,                    u=fòdd*  
3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s meat<sup>x</sup>pf.prox.:s to-2sm go:imp. wrap:imp.=DO.3sm and  
*mtì=t    žəbbànət;*  
go:imp. bury:imp.=DO.3sm cemetery  
‘He said to him: This meat you have, go wrap it and go bury it in the cemetery.’
- Note that *žəbbànət* lacks a locative *-i*, although it is clearly a locative ‘in the cemetery’
- (310) *y-əfòdd    y-əmtì=t                    u    y-əqqìm    i-xəbbàr    mìddən.*  
3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-bury:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm and 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-tell:impf. people  
‘He went and buried it and he started telling people (about what had happened).’
- (311) *wènma    slà-n=t                    mìddən n=ašàl    kùll, usà-n=d*  
as.soon.as hear:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm=come  
*yəlli-y-ən    a=mmudà-n    kull dáffər-a    w=ammùd məššák*  
want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms  
*i-yəlli        ká a=y-ìy                    mìddən n=ašàl.*  
3sm-want:<sup>x</sup>pf. neg. fut.=3sm-take:fut. people of=village  
‘As soon as all the people of the village heard it, they came and all wanted to pray behind him and the small mosque did not want to take the people of the village (because it was too small)’

- (312) *Y-əxəmmám əlfəkr=ənn-as sidi Háməd, i-llùff dbaš=ənn-as*  
 3sm-think;pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid 3sm-wrap.up:^pf. stuff=of-3s  
*w=i-n=isìn: yəlli-x a=ʃəddà-x fħàli.*  
 and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm want:^pf.-is fut.=go:fut.-is by.myself  
 'Sidi Hamid thought his thouht, wrapped up his stuff and said to them: I want  
 to go by myself.'
- Notice that *yəxəmmám* has a final phonological accent. Verbs of this type are usually only found with default accent. Perhaps this verb distinguishes the perfective from the sequential perfective, but it would be the only verb that does so of the ccc verbs.
- (313) *Na-n-is ləħàl n=ašàl: a=n-nəʃàdd kull idd-ək.*  
 say:P-3pm=10.3s people of=village fut.=1p-go:fut. all with-2sm  
 'The people of the village said to him: We will all go with you.'
- (314) *U-škiy-ən idd-as ir=a=ħlàb-ən ašàl u=bəʃədèn*  
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then  
*i-n=isìn: ʃbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awìl tlàta*  
 3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-is=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three  
*marràt ilà yom əlqiyàma:*  
 times until.the.day.of.resurrection  
 'And they left with him until they were about to leave the village and then he  
 said to them: Wait! I will say to you that I will be a person from Aujila three  
 times until the day of resurrection.'
- (315) *wàsa a=nzurrà-n syar-kìm a=ʃayyát-ən=dìk təlàta marràt;*  
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times  
*a=uš-à=z=d w=a=ʃfukkà-x=t.*  
 fut.=come:fut.-is=10.3s=come and=fut.=solve:fut.-is=DO.3sm  
 'Whoever of you who will suffer, will call me three times; and I will come and  
 remove it (the suffering).'
- (316) *Undú uši-γ=d ká, a=n-mħàsəb nək idd-as yom əlqiyàma.*  
 if come:^pf.-is neg. fut.=1p-settle.the.score:fut. I with-3s day.of.resurrection  
 'If I do not come, we —him (who suffers) and me— will settle the score at the  
 day of resurrection.'
- (317) *Nək wa d=əlá slì-x=a sar=mìddən lòwwəl kəddim-ən,*  
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-is=res. from=people formerly old:mp  
*ħəkkà-n=dìk af=sìdi Háməd əz-Zarrùq.*  
 tell:impf.-3pm=10.1s on=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq.  
 'This is what I heard from the old people once, they always told me about Sidi  
 Hamid Zarrouq.'

### C.1.3 Text III

#### C.1.3.1 Original transcription

Gān iwînän yerfī'a af tēgīlînnes elháml zzák s-ğár lemluhîyet w-ižigâž žen-qîn-ı n ašál u nettîn i'ayât w-itennîs: lemluhîyet bâhiyet. W-ižigâž ggût išfiwan u ižiž lûda u tafút tahmâya fellîs u taqqîm tettâ afisénnes id el-gefânnes u tâqqîm am ežžahîm fellîs u nettîn llekká ižigâž u i'ayât: ēlm-luhîyet bâhiyet. U tahzér gâres temígnî w-ětnîs: i-kú a-wán lemluhîyet. U yâhzér nettîn gâres w- igâ elhamélennes dít n temígnî u tensédt: zdîwa? Inîs: sséba'a n millîm. Tnîs ennât: s-árba'a béss. Inîs: árba'a hén̄ta. Tnîs: nek nâka s-árba'a n millîm, ya'žeb-kûya nâg ya'žeb-kûya-ká? Inîs: ya'žebîya-ká. Tnîs: blaš, u tâqqâš elbâb fellîs u ba'adêne yehzér af elhamél-ennes wa-zzâken dah ayerfâ't lâken yekrî yévded u ba'adêne yemmúdd afus-énnes yeddúgg af elbâb u teškî temígnî gâres w-ětnîs: amûr džižit s-alûwel ahêr-lek-ká? Yekrî-ká fellîs žlân u ba'adêne yerfâ' ēlmizânnes wa yaħmeltyâ u yeħbótþ af tēgîlî n temígnî u tivâ temígnî temmût u yeqqîm yevdîda agurénnes ir ayûš el-bulîs.

#### C.1.3.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwînan yərfī'=a af=təgîlî=nnəs əlhəml zzák syàr ləmluxiyət w=ižigâž dzənqìn=i n ašál u=nəttîn iſayât w=itənn=ıs: ləmluxiyət bâh(ə)yət. W=ižigâž ggût išfiwən u=ižiž lûda u=tafút təhmâ=ya fəllîs u=təqqîm təttâ afiš=ənnəs id=əlgəfâ=nnəs u=təqqîm am=əžžəhîm fəllîs u=nəttîn lləkká ižigâž u=iſayât: əlmluxiyət bâh(ə)yət. U=təxzér yârəs təmìgni w=ətn=ıs: i=kú a=wá=n ləmluxiyət. U=yəxzér nəttîn yârəs w=igá əlhəm(ə)l=ənnəs dít n=təmìgni u=tənšâd=t: z=dîwa? In=ıs: ssəb(ə)sa n=millîm. Tn=ıs ən-nât: s=àrb(ə)sa bëss. In=ıs: árb(ə)sa hén̄ta. Tn=ıs: nək nà=k=a s=árba(ə)sa n=millîm, yəfžeb=kù=ya naq yəfžeb=kù=ya ká? In=ıs: yəfžeb=ı=ya ká. Tn=ıs: blaš, u=təqqâš əlbâb fəllîs u=bəfədèn yəxzér af=əlhəm(ə)l=ənnəs wa zzâkən dax a=yərfəñ=t lâkən yəkrî yévdəd u=bəfədèn yəmmúdd afus=ənnəs yeddúgg af=əlbâb u=təškî təmìgni yârəs w=ətn=ıs: amûr džižit s=alûwel axèr lək ká? Yəkri ká fəll=ıs žlân u=bəfəèn yərféñ əlmizâñ=nəs wa yəħməl=tı=ya u yəxbət=t af=təgîlî n=təmìgni u=tivâ təmìgni təmmût u=yeqqîm yəvdîd=a agur=ənnəs ir=a=yùš əlbulîs.

#### C.1.3.3 Glossed translation

- (318) Gan iwînan y-ərfī'=a                        af=təgîlî=nn-əs əlhəml zzák  
     there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm  
     syàr=ləmluxiyət w=ižigâž                        dzənqìn=i n=ašál u=nəttîn iſayât  
     from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.

*w=itənn=ìs: ləmluxiyət bàh(ə)y-ət.*

and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s mulukhiya be.good-3sf

'There once was a (man), he carried a heavy load of mulukhiya on his head, and he would walk in the street of the village and he would yell and say: good mulukhiya!'

- (319) *W=i-žigàž ggùt išftwən u=i-žiž lùda u=tafüt*  
 and=3sm-walk:impf. many days and=3sm-sell:<sup>x</sup>pf. nothing and=sun  
*t-əhmà=ya fəlli-s u=t-əqqim (t)-təttà afiš=ənn-əs id=əlgəfà=nn-əs*  
 3sf-burn:res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s with=neck=of-3s  
*u=t-əqqim am=əžžəhìm fəlli-s u=nattìn lləkká i-žigàž*  
 and=3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. like=hell on-3s and=he still 3sm-walk:impf.  
*u=i-řayàt: əlmluxiyət bāhəy-ət.*  
 and=3sm-yell:impf. mulukhiya be.good-3sf

'And he would walk many days and he sold nothing and the sun burned on him and started eating at his face and neck, and stayed upon him like the (fires of) hell and still he would walk and yell: good mulukhiya!'

- (320) *U=t-əxzár yàr-əs təmìgni w=ət-n=ìs: i=kú a=wá=n*  
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s hey=you voc.=PMPH:ms=of  
*ləmluxiyət.*  
 mulukhiya.

'And a woman looked at him and said: Hey you there, the one of with the mulukhiya'

- (321) *U=y-əxzár nattìn yàr-əs w=i-gá əlhəməl=ənn-əs dìt n=təmìgni*  
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman  
*u=t-ənšəd=t: zdiwa?*  
 and=3sf-ask:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm how.much

'And he looked at her and put his load in front of the woman and she asked him: how much?'

- (322) *I-n=ìs: s=səbəřa n=millim.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s with=seven of=milliem  
 'He said to her: For seven milliemes.'

- (323) *T-n=ìs ənnàt: s=ärbařa bàss.*  
 3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s she: with=four enough  
 'She said to him: for four (milliemes should be) enough.'

- (324) *I-n=ìs: ärbařa hònča.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s four little  
 'He said to her: Four is (too) little.'

- (325) *T-n=ìs: nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəñā n=millim,*  
*3sf-say:pf.=IO.3s I say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem,*  
*y-əñžəb=kù=ya nay y-əñžəb=kù=ya ká?*  
*3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.*  
 'She said to him: I've told you for four milliemes, does it please you or doesn't it please you?'
- (326) *I-n=ìs: y-əñžəb=i=ya ká.*  
*3sm-say:pf.=IO.3s 3sm-please:res.=DO.1s=res. neg.*  
 'He said to her: It doesn't please me.'
- (327) *T-n=ìs: blaš, u=t-əqqáš əlbàb fəlli-s*  
*3sf-say:pf.=IO.3s forget.it and=3sf-close:pf. door on-3sg.*  
 'She said to him: Forget it! and she closed the door on him,'
- (328) *u=bəñədèn y-əxzár af=əlhəməl=ənn-əs wa ɿžák-ən dax*  
*and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to*  
*a=y-ərfðí=t lákən y-əkrí y-əvdəd u=bəñədèn*  
*fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm but 3sm-return:pf. 3sm-stop:seq. and=then*  
*y-əmmiudd afus=ənn-əs y-əddùgg af=əlbàb*  
*3sm-extend:pf. hand=of-3s 3sm-knock:pf. on=door*  
 'And then he looked at his load that was heavy to carry, so he turned around and stopped and then he extended his hand and knocked on the door.'
- *lákən* 'but' does not translate well into the English translation here. But it seems to indicate that the salesman has changed his mind.
- (329) *u=t-əškí təmìgni yàr-əs w=ət-n=ìs: amùr d-žiži-t*  
*and=3sf-leave:pf. woman to-3s and=3sf-say:pf.=IO.3s if 2s-sell:pf.-2s*  
*s=alùwəl axér lók ká?*  
*from=before better to.you neg.*  
 'And the woman came out of the house to him and said to him: Would it not have been better if you had sold (it) to me earlier?'
- (330) *Y-əkri ká fəll-is žlàn u=bəñədèn y-ərfðí əlmizàn=n-əs wa*  
*3sm-return:pf. neg. on-3s words and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms*  
*y-əlhəməl=tì=ya u=y-əxbət=t af=təgili n=təmìgni*  
*3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=3sm-hit:pf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman*  
*u=t-ìva təmìgni t-əmmùt u=y-əqqìm y-əvdìd=a*  
*and=3sf-fell:seq. woman 3sf-die:pf. and=3sm-stay:pf. 3sm-stand:res.=res.*  
*agur=ənn-əs ir=a=y-ùš əlbulis.*  
 besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police

'He did not answer her (with any) words, and then he lifted the scales that he had carried and he hit them on the head of the woman, and the woman fell and died and he stayed and stood beside her until the police would come.'

## C.1.4 Text IV

### C.1.4.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žhâ ssûq-ī u iddes ažiōténnes iğélli a-ižiži=t. Ba'adêñ yefkît i-ddellâl dâh a-ižiži=t. Ba'adêñ yâqqîm ēddellâl i'āyât (anche: i'āyât) w-itennîs: wâya d-ažīt fešuš, qâwî u d-ažīt mrî. Ba'adêñ aqqimân mîddën rennîyen (anche: rennân) fellîs s-ar žlân-îya. Ba'adêñ yeslâ Žhâ žlân-îya w-inîs y-imánnes: la-búdda ažiōtènnûk kuwéyes şahîh. Ba'adêñ yqâqîm [sic] irénni id mîddën. Ba'adêñ yeškî elbârât u yefkîtenet y-äddellâl u yugâ ažiōt u ya'âdd yefrîha. Ba'adêñ ēl'aqqâb-ī yâqqîm nettîn id-dmegrîs (anche: id-témignînnes) u yaħkîs af laħkâyet n-arennî (anche: arénnu). Tnîs ēnnât: qâma annâk laħkâyet ahîr n-tânnék. Tnîs: yehât̄am sîla wa žižân lemluhîyet, yâqqîm itâzândîk ba'adêñ gîh eddémlež n eddâhab ēlkéffet ta-gân ēlmizân; ba'adêñ yekkémmel uzúnnes, ēntârl̄ ēddemlež-ennûk elmizân-ī rwîħha āinidîk: kem ttâkärt s-ġâr-ī. Ba'adêñ inîs Žhâ: bâhi, nek šûgârħ s-elhawáyyî u kem s-arëzgîg u tudîk atta'mîr tefillînnâh.

Perhaps *y-äddellâl* is *y-äddelâl*, if so a dot was dropped in my copy of the print. The brevis is significantly higher than is usual, which gives the impression that something was below it.

### C.1.4.2 Phonemic transcription

Yëškí Žhâ ssûq=i u ìddes ažiȳt=ànnæs iȳelli a=ižiži=t. Bëfædèñ yëfki=t i=ddellâl dax a=ižiži=t. Bëfædèñ yøqqîm əddellâl i'øy(y)at̄ w=itenn=ìs: wâya d=ažīt fešuš, qøwi u=d=ažīt mrî. Bëfædèñ aqqimân mîddën rønnîyen (or: rønnân) føllîs sar žlan=îya. Bëfædèñ yøslâ Žhâ žlân=îya w=in=ìs y=imân=næs: la-búdda ažiȳt=ànnûk kewøyæs şahîh. Bëfædèñ yøqqîm irènni id=mîddën. Bëfædèñ yëškí əlbarât u=yefkí=tønøt y=əddellâl u=yuyá ažiȳt u=yefædd yefrîh=a. Bëfædèñ əlføqqâb=i yøqqîm nøttîn id=dmegrîs (or: id=témignî=nnæs) u=yahk=ìs af=lahkâyet n=arènnî (or: arénnu). Tn=ìs ènnât: qâma a=nnâ=k lähkâyet axir n=tâ nnæk. Tn=ìs: yøxât̄am sîla wa žižân lømluxâyøt, yøqqîm itazøn=dîk bëfædèñ gîx əddømløž n=əddøħeb əlkøffet ta=gân ēlmizân; bëfædèñ yøkkâmmel uzùn=næs, øntørx əddøm-løž=ənnûk əlmizân=i rwîħh=a a=ini=dîk: kem ttâkärt syâri. Bëfædèñ in=ìs Žhâ: bâhi, nek šuyàrx s=əlhøwâyyi u=kem sar=əzgîg u=tudîk a=ttøfmir tefilli=nnâx.

### C.1.4.3 Glossed translation

- (331) *Y-əškí Žhà ssùq=i u=idd-əs ažiṭ=ənn-əs i-γòlli*  
 3sm-leave:<sup>x</sup>pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s 3sm-want:<sup>x</sup>pf.  
*a=i-žižl=t.*  
 fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm  
 'Jha left for the market and with him (was) his donkey, he wanted to sell it.'
- (332) *Bəfədèn y-əfkì=t i-ddallàl dax a=i-žižl=t.*  
 then 3sm-give:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm dat.=auctioneer in.order.to fut.=3sm-sell:fut.=DO.3sm  
 'Then he gave it to the auctioneer in order to sell it.'
- (333) *Bəfədèn y-əqqim əddallàl i-γay(y)àt w=i-tənn=ıs wàya*  
 then 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. auctioneer 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s this:sm  
*d=ažiṭ fəšùš, qəwi u=d=ažiṭ mri.*  
 pred.=donkey be.agile:3sm, be.strong:3sm and=pred.=donkey be.good:3sm  
 'Then the auctioneer started yelling and saying: This is an agile and strong donkey, and it is a good donkey'
- (334) *Bəfədèn əqqimà-n middən rənniy-ən (or: rənnà-n) fəlli-s sar=žlan=ıya.*  
 Then stay:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm people bid:impf.-3pm on-3s from=words=prox.:p  
 'Then the people started bidding on it because of these words.'
- (335) *Bəfədèn y-əslá Žhà žlan=ıya w=i-n=ıs y=imàn=n-əs:*  
 Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s dat.=self=of-3s  
*labùdda ažiṭ=ənn-ùk kəwàyəs şəhìh.*  
 certainly donkey=of-is very be.healthy:3sm  
 'Then Jha heard these words and he said to himself: Certainly, my donkey is very healthy!'
- (336) *Bəfədèn y-əqqim i-rənni id=middən.*  
 then 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people  
 'Then he started bidding along with the people.'
- (337) *Bəfədèn y-əškí əlbaràt u=y-əfkí=tənət y=əddallàl*  
 Then 3sm-take.out:<sup>x</sup>pf. money and=3sm-give:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3pf dat.=auctioneer  
*u=y-uyá ažiṭ u=y-əfədd y-əfrıh=a.*  
 and=3sm-take:pf. donkey and=3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.  
 'Then he took out money and gave it to the auctioneer and took the donkey and went away satisfied.'

· *yəškí* usually means 'to leave', but is to be read transitively here as 'to take out'.

- (338) *Bəʃədən əlʃəqqàb=i y-əqqim nəttin id=dməgnì-s (or: id=təmignì-nn-əs)*  
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)  
*u=y-əhk=is af=ləhkàyət n=arənní (or: arənnu).*  
 and=3sm-tell:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s on=story of=bidding  
 'Then in the evening, he was with his wife and he told her the story of the auction.'
- (339) *T-n=ıs ənnàt: qàma a=nn-à=k ləhkàyət axìr*  
 3pf-say:P=10.3s she now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better  
*n=tà=nn-ək.*  
 of=PMFH=of-2sm  
 'She said to him: Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!'
- (340) *T-n=ıs: y-əxáttam sìla wa žižà-n ləmluxàyət,*  
 3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMFH:sm sell:impf.-ptc. mulukhiya  
*y-əqqim i-tazən=dìk bəʃədən gi-x əddəmləž n=əddəhəb*  
 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-weigh:impf.=10.1s then put:<sup>x</sup>pf.-1s bracelet of=gold  
*əlkəffat ta gàn əlmizàn;*  
 plate PMFH:sf there scales  
 'She said to him: A mulukhiya vendor came by here, he started weighing for me, then I put a golden bracelet on the plate that was on the scales.'
- Morphologically, *yəxáttam* looks like an imperfective with an irregular accent on the penultimate syllable. Semantically, this verb rather looks like a perfective
- (341) *bəʃədən y-əkkàmmal uzùn=n-əs, ənṭər-x əddəmləž=ənn-ùk əlmizàn=i*  
 Then 3sm-finish:<sup>x</sup>pf. weighing=of-3s leave:<sup>x</sup>pf.-1s bracelet=of-1s scales=loc.  
*rwìh-h=a a=i-ni=dìk: kəm t-tàkər-t syàr-i.*  
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s  
 'Then (when) he finished the weighing, I left my bracelet on the scales, I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!'
- (342) *Bəʃədən i-n=ıs Žhà: bəhi, nək šuyàr-x s=əlhəwàyyi*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside  
*u=kəm sar=əzgìg u=tudik a=t-təfìmir təfilli=nn-áx.*  
 and=you from=inside and=so fut.=3sf-do:fut. house=of-1p  
 'Then Jha said to her: Good, I lost outside and you lost inside and that is how our house functions!'
- Morphologically, *šuyàr-x* appears to be an imperfective. In the context of the text, a perfective would be expected.

## C.1.5 Text V

### C.1.5.1 Original transcription

Žhâ yeteménna s-ğär rábbî ayefkîs elf znî u yâqqîm itélleb u itennîs: ya rábbî undú yenqîşa iwînân augâh-têneñ-ká. Ba'adêñ yeslît ēlhûdî aringínnes ba'adêñ inîs lhûdî y-imânnes wâllâhî qâma ahdefâs tésa'a míyet id tésa'a u tes'în znî w-aggulâht ayugíteneñ nağ wélâ. W-igiteñet arâqût-î u yaħdefteneñ dít ně Žhâ s-ar ērròšen. U yefrâh Žhâ sénet u inîs: rábbî yefkîdîka amalâ ġellîh. U yetuâr arâquṭ u yaħsebteneñ yufiteneñ änqâşnîta iwînân u ba'adêñ inîs: Wa yefkîdîka l'alla ayefkîdîk iwînan; ba'adêñ igi-teneñ şsundûq-î u nettîn yefrîha. Ba'adêñ yeškî ēlhûdî w-inîs y-Žhâ: aġid elbarât-ennûk. Inîs Žhâ: rábbî yefkîdîka albâşiret u ku tgallît attuġattet s-ğâr-î? Inîs ēlhûdî: nek wa ahdefħtîta i-kú daħ agġulâħku attuġatteneñ änqâşnîta nağ wélâ. Yelgom ayefkiteneñ y-elhûdî. Ba'adêñ inîs ēlhûdî: nek antârâħku-ká ir anna' add nek-iddekk ar elqâdi. Inîs Žhâ: nek 'ayyânah u zmerħ-ká a'addâħ af târînnûk w-ērwéha (ħ->ħħ->ħ) s-ğär šmût u ġarî-ká telâba. Inîs ālhûdî: afkâk ażiż id telâba ġär 'add idd-î ar ēlqâdi. Ba'ad uşšâlen ar elqâdi iśserwîs lēhûdî s-alá şârâna. Inîs elqâdi i-Žhâ: şahîħ žlân-îya? Ba'adêñ inîs: lhûdî iqállez fellîwi u nek rwîħha ayéqleż w-āimîs hâtta tlâbannûk ta-tennî fellîwî t-tânnes (dt>tt) nettîn id ażiżennûk āinîs d-wânnes nettîn. Ba'adêñ i'āyeħ elhûdî w-inîs y-elqâdi: wâllâhi t-tinnûk. Inîs elqâdi: ku teqállezet şahîħ 'add 'add rôūwah. U ya'add Žhâ yefrîha yaħaşṣila ċedbûš id ażiż id elbârât.

### C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhâ yətəmənna syar ṛəbbi a=yəfk=ıs əlf zn̩i u=yəqqim iṭəlləb u=itənn=ıs: ya ṛəbbi əndú yənqıṣ=a iwińan a=uýáx=tənət ká. Bəfədən yəslî=t ēlhûdî aringi=nəs bəfədən in=ıs lhûdi y=imâñ=nəs wəllâhi qâma əhdəfâ=s təs(ə)-fa məyət id=təs(ə)fa u=təsfiń zn̩i w=a=ggulàx=t a=yuŷi=tənət nay wəla. w=igi=tənət arəqût=i u=yəħdəf=tənət dit nə=Žhâ sar=ərròšen. U=yəfrâh Žhâ sənət u=in=ıs: ṛəbbi yəfki=dik=a am=alá yəllix. U=yətuwâr arəqût u=yəħsəb=tənət yufi=tənət ənqəşnît=a iwińan u=bəfədən in=ıs: wa yəfki=dik=a l'salla a=yəfki=dik iwińan; bəfədən igit=tənət şsundûq=i u=nəttîn yəfriħ=a. Bəfədən yəškî ēlhûdî w=in=ıs yə=Žhâ: aġi=d əlbarat=ənnûk. In=ıs Žhâ: ṛəbbi yəfki=dik=a albəşirət u=ku tyəllit a=ttuyat=tət syarı? In=ıs ēlhûdî: nək wa əhdəfx=tit=a i=kú dax a=ggulàx=ku a=ttuya(t)=tənət ənqəşnît=a nay wəla. yəlyám a=yəfki=tənət y=ēlhûdî. Bəfədən in=ıs ēlhûdî: nək antər(ə)x=ku ká ir=a=nnəfədd nək idd=ək ar=əlqədi. In=ıs Žhâ: nək fəyyánəx u=zmərx ká a=fəddàx af=ħarin=núk w=ərwîħ=a syar=šmuṭ u=yari ká təlâba. In=ıs ēlhûdî: a=fkà=k ażiż id=təlâba yar fədd iddi ar=əlqədi.

Bəfəd uşələn ar=əlqədi išərw=ıs ləhùdi s=alá şarán=a. In=ıs əlqədi i=Žhà: səhìh žlan=ıya? Bəfədən in=ıs: lhùdi iqəlləz fəllíwi u=nək rwıhə=a a=yəqləz w=a=in=ıs hətta tlaşa=nnük ta tənní fəlliwi t=tá=nnəs nəttin id=azıt=ənnük a=in=ıs d=wà=nnəs nəttin. Bəfədən ifayət əlhùdi w=in=ıs y=əlqədi: wəlləhi t=ti=nnük. In=ıs əlqədi: ku təqəlləzt şəhìh fədd ədd rəwəh. U=yəfədd Žhà yəfrıh=a yəhəssil=a ədbùš id=azıt id=əlbarat.

### C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

- (343) *Žhà y-ətəmənnna syar=rəbbi a=y-əfk=ıs əlf žnì*  
 Jha 3sm-wish:<sup>x</sup>pf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound  
*u=y-əqqım i-təlləb u=i-tənn=ıs: ya=rəbbi əndú*  
 and=3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-request:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s voc.=God if  
*y-ənqış=a iwınan a=uyá-x=tənət ká.*  
 3sm-lack:res.=res. one fut.=take:fut.-1s=DO.3pf neg.  
 'Jha prayed God to give him 1,000 Pounds and he started requesting and saying:  
 O God, if (even) one (pound) is lacking, I will not take it'
- (344) *Bəfədən y-əslı=t əlhùdi arinqi=nn-əs bəfədən i-n=ıs*  
 Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s  
*lhùdi y=imàn=n-əs wəlləhi qama a=hədəf-à=s təs(ə)fa məyət*  
 Jew dat.=self=of-3s by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=10.3s nine hundred  
*id=təs(ə)fa u=təsfin žnì w=a=ggulà-x=t*  
 with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm  
*a=y-uyı=tənət nay wəla.*  
 fut=3sm-take:fut.=DO.3pf or not.  
 'Then a Jew, his neighbour, heard him and then the jew said to himself: By God,  
 now I will throw to him 999 pounds and see if he will take it or not.'
- (345) *w=i-gi=tənət arəqùt=i u=y-əhədəf=tənət dit nə=Žhà*  
 and=3sm-put:<sup>x</sup>pf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha  
*sar=ərrəşən.*  
 from=window  
 'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.'
- (346) *U=y-əfrəh Žhà s-ənət u=i-n=ıs: rəbbi*  
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s God  
*y-əfki=dık=a am alá yəlli-x.*  
 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-1s  
 'And Jha became happy with it and said: God has given like I wanted!'

- (347) *U=y-ətuwàr arəqùt u=y-əhsəb=tònət y-ufi=tònət*  
 and=3sm-open:^pf. bag and=3sm-count:^pf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:^pf.=DO.3pf  
*ənqəs-nít=a iwińan u=bəfədèn i-n=ís: wa*  
 lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm and=then 3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm  
*y-əfki=dik=a l'salla a=y-əfki=dik iwińan;*  
 3sm-give:res=IO.1s=res, much fut=3sm-give:fut.=IO.1s one:sm  
 'And he opened the bag and counted them and found them lacking one (pound)  
 and then he said: He who has given me much, may he give me one (more).'
- (348) *bəfədèn i-gi=tònət ssundùq=i u=nəttin y-əfrìh=a.*  
 then 3sm-put:^pf.=DO.3pf box=loc. and=he 3sm-be.happy:res.=res.  
 'Then he put them in a box and he was happy.'
- (349) *Bəfədèn y-əškí əlhùdi w=i-n=ís yə=Žhà: ayid*  
 then 3sm-leave:^pf. Jew and=3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.  
*əlbarat=ənn-ùk.*  
 money=of-is  
 'Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)'
- (350) *I-n=ís Žhà: rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albaśirət u=ku*  
 3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s Jha God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you  
*t-yəlli-t a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?*  
 2s-want:^pf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s  
 'Jha said to him: God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from  
 me?'
- (351) *I-n=ís əlhùdi: nək wa əhdəf-x=tít=a i=kú dax*  
 3sm-say:P=IO.3s Jew I PMPH:sm threw:res.-1s=DO.3sf dat.=you in.order.to  
*a=ggulà-x=ku a=t-tuya-(t)=tònət ənqəs-nít=a nay wàla.*  
 fut=see:fut.-1s=DO.2sm fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3pf lack:res.-3pf=res. or not  
 'The Jew said to him: I am the one who has thrown it to you in order to see if  
 you would take them missing (one pound) or not.'
- (352) *y-əlyám a=y-əfki=tònət y=əlhùdi.*  
 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew  
 'He refused to give them to the Jew.'
- (353) *Bəfədèn i-n=ís əlhùdi: nək a=nłòr-əx=ku ká*  
 then 3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s Jew I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg.  
*ir=a=nna-ñòdd nək iidd-ək ar=əlqòdi.*  
 until=fut.=1p-go:fut. I with-2sm to=judge  
 'Then the Jew said: I will not let you go until you and I go to the judge.'

- Note that the 1sg. marker of *a-nṭ̄or-əx-ku* is *-əx* rather than the regular *-x*. The epenthesis of this schwa is presumably there to break up the cluster *rxk*.

- (354) *I-n=is Žḥà: nək fayyán-əx u=zmr̄-x ká a=ʃəddà-x*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha I be.sick:impf.-is and=be.able:<sup>x</sup>pf.-is neg. fut.=go:fut.-is  
*af=ṭarin=n-úk w=ərwìh-(h)=a syar=ʃmuṭ u=yar-i ká təlāba.*  
 on-legs=of-is and=be.afraid:res.-is=res. from=cold and=to-is neg. gown  
 'Jha said to him: I am sick and I am not able to go on my legs and I am afraid of the cold and I do not have a gown.'
- (355) *I-n=is əlhùdi: a=fk-à=k aʒìt id=təlāba yar ʃədd*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-is=IO.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.  
*ìdd-i ar=əlqàdi.*  
 with-is to=judge  
 'The jew said to him: I will give you a donkey and a gown, but you have to go with me to the judge.'
- (356) *Bəʃád uṣəl-ən ar=əlqàdi i-śərw=is ləhùdi s=alá*  
 Then arrive:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jew from=rel.  
*ʃará-n=a.*  
 happen:res.-ptc.=res.  
 'Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.'
- (357) *I-n=is əlqàdi i=Žḥà: ʂəhìh žlan=ìya?*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words-PROX:p  
 'The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?'
- (358) *Bəʃədèn i-n=is: lhùdi i-qəlləz fəlli-wi u=nək*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-is and=I  
*rwìh-h=a a=y-əqləz w=a=i-n=is hətta*  
 become.afraid:res.-is=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s even  
*tlabə=nn-úk ta t-ənní fəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs nəttìn*  
 gown=of-is rel:sf 3sf-exist:<sup>x</sup>pf. on-is pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he  
*id=aʒìt=ənn-ùk a=i-n=is d=wà=nn-əs nəttìn.*  
 with=donkey=of-is fut.=3sm-say:fut.=IO.3s pred.=PMPH:sm=of-3s he  
 'Then he said to him: The Jew is lying about me, 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.'
- (359) *Bəʃədèn i-ʃayət əlhùdi w=i-n=is y=əlqàdi: wəʃʃàhi*  
 Then 3sm-yell:<sup>x</sup>pf. Jew and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s dat.=judge by.God  
*t=tì=nn-ùk.*  
 pred.=PMPH:PMPH=of-is  
 'Then the Jew yelled and said to the judge: By God, they are mine!'

- *tinnùk* is a feminine plural, but it is used to refer to a group of a mixed gender (masculine for *ażit* and feminine for *tlàba*). It is surprising that a feminine form would be used for this rather than the masculine form, which is usually used for groups of mixed gender in Berber languages.

(360) *I-n=is əlqàdi: ku t-əqəlləz-t şəhiḥ sədd ʃədd rəwwəh.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s judge you 2s-lie:impf.-2s be.true:3sm go:imp. go:imp. return:imp.  
 'The judge said to him: You truly are lying! Go! Go! Go away!'

(361) *U=y-əfədd Žħà y-əfrıħ-a y-əħəssil-a ədbùš id*  
 And 3sm-go:P Jha 3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes  
*ażit id=əlbaràt.*  
 with=donkey with=money.  
 'And Jha went satisfied, having obtained clothes, a donkey and money.'

## C.1.6 Text VI

### C.1.6.1 Original transcription

Žħâ yeskîna l'allî-y-ī, ba'adeñ [MvP: sic] yušād iwînān isâsa af t̄effillînes. Ba'adēn yáħzer Žħâ s-ar-zūt w-iniš: ddîwa tgallit a-y-amédēn? Inîs amédēn: yid-dîla. Yušízd Žħâ. Ba'adēn inîs amédēn: fkidik s-ar (anche: s-ġâr) elħáqq ħarrabbî (nṛ > ḥṛ). Ba'adēn inîs Žħâ: yid zōt. U yelbûb nettîn iddes ar-zūt w-iniš: ġārī-kâ. Ba'adēn inîs wa sâsân: af-ħwa tneddîk-kâ (anche: ur tned-dîk) žlân-ħiya u nek nnîħ ar-ħuṭā? Ba'adēn inîs Žħâ: w-afħwa tħenaddîk ēreš ar-ħuṭā?

### C.1.6.2 Phonemic transcription

Žħâ yeskîn=a lħallî=yi, bəfədèn yušā=d iwínan isâsa af=t̄effillî=nnəs. Bəfədèn yəxzər Žħâ sar=zūt w=in=is: ddîwa tyəllit ay=amədən? In=is amədən: yi=d dîla. Yuš=iz=d Žħâ. Bəfədèn in=is amədən: fki=dîk sar=(or: syar=) əlhàqq ər=rəbbi. Bəfədèn in=is Žħâ: yid zūt. U=yelbəb nəttîn iddəs ar=zūt w=in=is: yari kâ. Bəfədèn in=is wa sâsan: af-ħwa tnəd=dîk kâ (or: ur=tnəd=dîk) žlân-ħiya u=nək nnîħ ar=ħuṭā? Bəfədèn in=is Žħâ: w=af-ħwa tənəd=dîk īrəš ar=ħuṭā?

### C.1.6.3 Glossed translation

(362) *Žħâ y-əskîn=a lħallî=yi,*  
 Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.  
 'Jha lived in a high (place);'

- (363) *bəʃədèn y-ušà=d iwińan i-sàsa af=təfilli=nn-əs.*  
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s  
 'Then someone came begging at his house.'
- (364) *Bəʃədèn y-àxzər Žhà sar=żùt w=i-n=ìs:*  
 Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above and 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-1o.3s  
 'Then Jha looked from above and said to him:'
- (365) *ddiwa t-yəlli-t ay=amàdən?*  
 what 2s-want:<sup>x</sup>pf..-2s voc.=man  
 'What do you want, man?'
- (366) *I-n=ìs amàdən: yi=d dila.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s man come:imp. at.here  
 'The man said: come here.'
- *yid dila* bears only one accent, which implies that these two words form a single accent unit.
- (367) *Y-uš=ìz=d Žhà.*  
 3sm-come:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s Jha  
 'Jha came to him'
- (368) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs amàdən: fki=dik sar (or: syàr)=əlhàqq*  
 then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s man give:imp.=1o.1s from=right  
*əṛ=rəbbi.*  
 of=God  
 'Then he said to him: give me (something) from the right of God.'
- (369) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs Žhà: yid żùt.*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s Jha come:imp. up  
 'Then Jha said to him: come up.'
- (370) *U y-əlbáb nəttin idd-əs ar=żùt w=i-n=ìs: yar-i ká.*  
 and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s to=1s neg.  
 'And he climbed up with him and he (Jha) said to him: I don't have (anything).'
- (371) *Bəʃədèn i-n=ìs wa sásə-n: afiwa t-nə-d=dik ká*  
 then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s PMPH:ms beg:impf.-ptc. why 2s-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s=1o.1s neg.  
*(or: ur=t-nə-d=dik) žlan=tya u=nək nnì-x ar=ùṭa?*  
 neg.=2s-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s=1o.1s words-prox.:p and=I be(loc.):<sup>x</sup>pf.-1s to=below  
 'Then the beggar said to him: Why did you not tell me these words when (litt. and) I was still below?'

- (372) *Bəfədən i-n=ıs Žhà: w=aftwa t-ənə-d=dìk irəš*  
 then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha: and=why 2s-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s=IO.1s descend:imp.  
*ar=ùta?*  
 to=below  
 'Then Jha said to him: And why did you tell me to come down?'

## C.1.7 Text VII

### C.1.7.1 Original transcription

Ya'ádd Žhâ ssùq-í w-iság azít u yeqqánt s-ažíker u ya'ádd w-ažiöt déffer-a (anche: déffer-ah). Ba'adén ušanízd itnén én-qâtłáñan, iwínán itúar aziót u yerfá't íddes w-iwínán yaqqán imânes amakân n-azít. Ba'adén yájzer Žhâ yufá amédën amakân n-azít yuğá yekrî sis ssùq-í w-inís y-ettâžer wa-yuğâya s-gâres azít: šekri=dík elbarâtennûk, wâya d-azít-ká, wâya d-amédën. W-igîs lêharžet. Ba'adén išekrîs elbarâtéennes u ya'ádd Žhâ iróúwah.

### C.1.7.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žhâ ssùq=i w=iséy azít u=yəqqən=t s=ažikər u=yəfədd w=ažiy̥t dáffəra (or: dáffərah). Bəfədən ušan=ız=d itnén ən=qəttâñan, iwínán itúar aziy̥t u=yərfəñ=t ìddəs w=iwínán yəqqən imàn=nəs amakân n-azít. Bəfədən yəxzər Žhâ yufá amédən amakân n-azít yuğá yekrî sis ssùq=í w=in=ís y=ettâžər wa yuğá=ya syärəs azít: šekri=dík əlbarat=ənnùk, wâya d=azít ká, wâya d=amédən. W=ig=ís lêhəržet. Bəfədən išekr=ís əlbarat=ənnəs u=yəfədd Žhâ irəwwəh.

### C.1.7.3 Glossed translation

- (373) *Y-əfədd Žhâ ssùq=i w=i-səy azít*  
 3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. Jha market=loc. and=3sm-buy:<sup>x</sup>pf. donkey  
 'Jha went to the marker and bought a donkey.'
- (374) *u=y-əqqən=t s=ažikər u=y-əfədd w=ažit*  
 and=3sm-tie:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. and=donkey  
*dáffər-a (or: dáffər-ah).*  
 behind-3sm  
 'And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.'

- (375) *Bəfədən uša-n=ız=d itnén ən=qəttâñan, iwínán i-túwar*  
 Then come:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm=IO.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:<sup>x</sup>pf.  
*azít u=y-ərfəñ=t ìdd-əs w=iwínán y-əqqən*  
 donkey and=3sm-take.away:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:<sup>x</sup>pf.

*imàn=n-as amakàn n=ažit.*  
self=of-3s place of=donkey

'Then came two thieves, one untied the donkey and took it away with him, and one tied himself (in) place of the donkey.'

- The phonological accent of *itúar* is unusual, and not found in this position for any other attestation of this word in the texts.

(376) *Bəñədèn y-àxzər Žhà y-ufá amàdən amakàn n=ažit y-uyá  
then 3sm-look:seq. Jha y-find:pf. man place of=donkey 3sm-take:pf.  
y-əkrí s=iš ssùq=i w=i-n-iš y=əttàžər wa  
3sm-return:^pf. with-3s market=loc. and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms  
y-uyà=ya syàr-as ažit:  
3sm-take:res.=res. from-3s donkey*

'Then Jha looked (back) and found a man (in) place of the donkey, he took (it) and returned with it to the market and said to the merchant whom he had taken the donkey from:'

(377) *šəkri=dik əlbarat=ənn-ùk, wàya d=ažit ká, wàya d=amàdən.  
return:imp.=10.1s money=of-1s, this:sm pred.=donkey neg., this:sm pred.=man  
'Give back my money, this is not a donkey, this is a man.'*

(378) *W=i-g=iš ləhəržət.  
and=3sm-do:^pf.=10.3s noise  
'And he made a fuss to him.'*

(379) *Bəñədèn i-šəkr=iš əlbarat=ənn-as u=y-əfədd Žhà  
then 3sm-return:^pf.=10.3s money=of-3s and=3sm-go:^pf. Jha  
i-rəwwəh.  
3sm-return.home:^pf.  
'Then he returned his money and Jha went home.'*

## C.1.8 Text VIII

### C.1.8.1 Original transcription

Yeškî iwîn n el'âlem iddahwâr lhawáyyî u yåqqîm iddahwâr ašálî kkúll inéšsed ēl'ulamâ u iğellébten u nettîn iddahwâr ir iṭûg Žhâ. Ba'adêñ in-şétt w-inîs: māg ínnî ennúşş en temûrt kkúll? Inîs Žhâ: amakâñ wa ínnî ažiöténnûk w-öndú tsâddâqtîya-ká äžvót temûrt. Itaháyyär el'âlem w-in-şétt: ammágwa al'áded n-e-nğûm? Inîs Žhâ: d-el'áded n ažévûn ažiöténnûk, undú tsâddâqtîya-ká ahséb eňğûm w-ahséb ažévûn ažiöténnûk. Ba'adêñ yen-şétt amédén u inîs: ammágwa el'áded n ažévûn tamîrténnûk.

Inîs Žħâ: el'áded n ažévū n tamīrténnek am el'áded n ažévū n azîf n azîten-nûk w-undú tsåddåqtýa-ká ahxséb. Ba'adēn ittōuwîyel amédēn u yekrî yendîma.

### C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription

Yëškí iwìn n=əlfàləm iddəhwàr lhewàyyi u=yøqqìm iddəhwàr ašàl=i kkùll inššàd əlfulamá u=iyøllèb=tən u=nættin iddəhwàr ir iṭùg Žħà. Bəfədèn inšàt=t w=in=ís: mag ìnni ənnúş ən=təmùrt kkùll? In=ís Žħà: aməkàn wa ìnni ažiṭ=ənnùk w=əndù tsøddøqt=i=ya ká əžváṭ təmùrt. Itəħħøyyər əlfàləm w=inšàt=t: am=màgwa əlfàdəd nə nžùm? In=ís Žħà: d=əlfàdəd n=ažèvu n=ažiṭ=ənnùk, əndù tsøddøqt=ì=ya ká əħséb ənžùm w=əħséb ažèvu n=ažiṭ=ənnùk. Bəfədèn yənšàt=t amàdən u=in=ís: am=màgwa əlfàdəd n=ažèvu n=tamirt=ənnùk. In=ís Žħà: əlfàdəd n=ažèvu n=tamirt =ənnèk am=əlfàdəd n=ažèvu n=ažiṭ=ənnùk w=əndù tsøddøqt=ì=ya ká əħsèb. Bəfədèn ittəwwìyel amàdən u=yekrí yəndim=a.

### C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

- (380) *Y-əškí      iwìn n=əlfàləm i-ddəhwàr      lhewàyyi u=y-əqqìm*  
 3sm-left:^pf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:^pf.  
*i-ddəhwàr      ašàl=i      kkùll i-nàššàd      əlfulamá*  
 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars  
*u=i-yøllèb=tən      u=nættin i-ddəhwàr      ir=i-ṭùg*  
 and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:^pf.  
 Žħà.  
 Jha  
 'A scholar left to go around outside, 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.'
- (381) *Bəfədèn i-nšàt=t      w=i-n=ís:      mag i-nni*  
 then 3sm-ask:^pf.=DO.3sm. and=3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s where 3sm-be(loc.):^pf.  
*ənnúş ən=təmùrt kkùll?*  
 middle of=earth whole  
 'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?'
- (382) *I-n=ís      Žħà: aməkàn wa      i-nni      ažiṭ=ənn-ùk w=əndù*  
 3sm-say:^pf.=IO.3s Jha place PMPH:sm 3sm-be(loc.):^pf. donkey=of-is and-if  
*t-ṣøddøq-t=ì=ya      ká əžváṭ      təmùrt.*  
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=R neg. measure:imp. earth  
 'Juha said to him: It is the place where my donkey is, and if you do not believe me, measure the earth.'

- (383) *I-təhàyyər*      *əlʃàləm w=i-nšàt=t:*      *am=màgwa əlʃàdəd*  
 3sm-be.confused:<sup>x</sup>pf. scholar and=3sm-ask:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm: like=what:sm number  
*nə=nžùm?*  
 of=stars

'The scholar was confused and he asked him: How much is the number of stars?'

- (384) *I-n=ıs*      *Žhà: d=əlʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=ažit=ənn-ùk, əndú*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-is if  
*t-şəddəq-t=ı=ya*      *ká əhsáb ənžùm w=əhsáb ažàvu*  
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp. stars and=count:imp. hairs  
*n=ažit=ənn-ùk.*  
 of=donkey=of-is

'Jha said to him: It is the number of hairs of my donkey, if you do not believe me, count the stars and count the hairs of my donkey.'

- (385) *Bəʃədèn y-ənšàt=t*      *amàdən u=i-n=ıs:*      *am=màgwa*  
 Then 3sm-ask:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm. man and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s like=what:sm  
*əlʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.*  
 number of=hairs of=beard=of-is
- 'Then the man asked him and said: How much is the number of hairs of my beard?'

- (386) *I-n=ıs*      *Žhà: əlʃàdəd n=ažàvu n=tamirt=ənn-ək am=əlʃàdəd n=ažàvu*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha: number of=hairs of=beard=of-2sm like=number of=hairs  
*n=ažit n=ažit=ənn-ùk w=əndú t-şəddəq-t=ı=ya*      *ká əhsáb.*  
 of=tail of=donkey=of-is and-if 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp.  
 'Jha said to him: The number of hairs of your beard is like the number of hairs of the tail of my donkey, and if you don't believe it, count.'

- (387) *Bəʃədèn i-ttəwwiyəl*      *amàdən u=y-əkrí*  
 then 3sm-be.dumbfounded:<sup>x</sup>pf. man and=3sm-return:<sup>x</sup>pf.  
*y-əndim=a.*  
 3sm-become.sad:res.=res.
- 'Then the man was dumbfounded and he returned saddened.'

## C.1.9 Text IX

### C.1.9.1 Original transcription

Ya'add Žhâ elbáhär-ı iğéllî aísébbah u yekkésh dbüshéennes; ba'adén ušând qåtå'ān ukéren édbüshéennes. Ba'adén yekrî tfillînnes 'aryân. Ba'adén u

ba'ád séba'a aīyām ya'ádd marrát (anche: marrátet) aqùt̄et igéllī aīséb-bah elbáh̄r-ī; yunâ s-edbūšennes elmarrát-āya. Ba'adēn igulít iwīnân n-eşşāhbéennes, inîs: ddíwa ttudik, attûnat s-edbūšennek älbáh̄r-ī. Yekrî fel-lîs Žhâ w-inîs: aunâh s-edbūšénnûk ahîr aūkerénten qet̄tâ'ān.

### C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfèdd Žhà əlbəh̄r=i iyèlli a=isəbbəh u=yəkkáš (ə)dbuš=ənnəs; bəfədèn ušàn=d qət̄tāfan ukərən ədbuš=ənnəs. Bəfədèn yəkrí tfillì=nnəs fəryàn. Bəfədèn u=bəfád səb(ə)fa ayyam yəfèdd mərrät (mərrätet) aqùt̄et iyèlli a=isəbbəh əlbəh̄r=i; yunâ s=ədbuš=ənnəs əlmərrat=āya. Bəfədèn igulì=t iwinàn n=eşşahb=ənnəs, in=is: ddíwa ttudik, a=ttúnat s=ədbuš=ənnək əlbəh̄r=i. Yekrí fəllis Žhà w=in=is: a=unàx s=ədbuš=ənnùk axìr (axèr) a=ukərən=tən qət̄tāfan.

### C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

- (388) *Y-əfèdd Žhà əlbəh̄r=i i-yèlli a=i-səbbəh u=y-əkkáš*  
 3sm-go:^pf. Jha sea=loc. 3sm-want:^pf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. and=3sm-take.off:^pf.  
 (ə)dbuš=ənn-əs;  
 clothes=of-3s;  
 'Jha went to the sea, he wanted to swim and he took off his clothes.'
- (389) *bəfədèn ušà-n=d qət̄tāfan ukər-ən ədbuš=ənn-əs.*  
 then come:^pf.-3pm=come thieves steal:P-3pm clothes=of-3s  
 'then thieves came and stole his clothes.'
- (390) *Bəfədèn y-əkrí tfillì=nn-əs fəryàn.*  
 then 3sm-return:^pf. house=of-3s be.naked:3sm  
 'Then he returned to his house naked.'
- (391) *Bəfədèn u=bəfád səbəfa ayyam y-əfèdd mərrät (mərrätet) aqùt̄-ət*  
 then and=after seven days 3sm-go:^pf. time another-sf  
*i-yèlli a=i-səbbəh əlbəh̄r=i*  
 3sm-want:^pf. fut.=3sm-swim:fut. sea=loc.  
 'Then after seven days he went another time, he wanted to swim in the sea.'
- (392) *y-uná s=ədbuš=ənn-əs əlmərrat=āya*  
 3sm-enter:pf. with=clothes=of-3s time=prox.:s  
 'He entered with his clothes this time.'

- In the first sentence 'time' was written as *mərrät* and in that sentence it was indefinite. In this sentence it is written as *əlmərrat*, and here it is definite. It appears

that the Arabic definite marker *al-* actually marks definiteness here, while in the rest of the language, and in most other Berber languages, this marker is oblique.

- (393) *Bəʃədèn i-gulì=t iwinàñ n=əʃʃaḥb=ànn-əs,*  
 then 3sm-see:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm one of=friend=of-3s  
 ‘Then a friend of his saw him.’
- (394) *i-n=ìs: ddìwa ttudìk, a=tt-úna-t s=ədbuš=ànn-ək əlbəhr=i.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s what so fut.=2s-enter:fut.-2s with=clothes=of-2sm sea=loc.  
 ‘What are you doing! (litt. what so) you are entering the see with your clothes on.’
- *attúnat* irregularly has the accent on the penultimate syllable.
- (395) *Y-əkrí fəllì-s Žhà w=i-n=ìs: a=unà-x*  
 3sm-return:<sup>x</sup>pf. on-3s Jha and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s fut.=enter:fut.-1s  
*s=ədbuš=ənn-ùk axìr a=ukər-ən=tən qət̄áfan.*  
 with=clothes=of-is better fut.=steal:fut.-3pm=DO.3sm thieves  
 Jha answered him and said: it would be better if I would enter with my clothes than if they would be stolen by thieves.’

## C.1.10 Text X

### C.1.10.1 Original transcription

Yušâd Žhâ márra iğélli ayéssen akellíménnes amakân ba'îd lâken akellím  
 iššen-ká amakân w-iššen-ká tebárût u yérwa' ayúger w-inîs i-Žhâ: rwéhha  
 āúgérh. Inîs Žhâ: undú tuğért yîd-dîla ašeglâk tebárût.

### C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušà=d Žhâ màrra iŷélli a=yèssən akellim=ènnəs amakàn baſid lâkən akel-  
 lím iššən ká amakàn w=iššən ká təbarùt u=yèrwəf a=yùyər w=in=ìs i-Žhâ:  
 rwìlhə=a a=uyèrx. In=ìs Žhâ: əndú tuyèrt yi=d dîla a=šəglà=k təbarùt.

### C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

- (396) *Y-ušá=d Žhâ màrra i-ŷélli a=y-èssən akellim=ànn-əs*  
 3sm-come;pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:<sup>x</sup>pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s  
*amakàn baſid*  
 place be.far:3sm  
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’

- (397) *lákən akəllím i-ššən*      *ká amakán w=i-ššən*      *ká təbarùt*  
 but servant 3sm-know:<sup>x</sup>pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:<sup>x</sup>pf. neg. way  
*u=y-àrwər*      *a=y-ùyər*  
 and=3sm-become.afraid:seq. fut.=3sm-get.lost:fut.

'But the servant did not know the place and he did not know the way and he became afraid to get lost.'

- Especially in verbs with no object suffixes, the negative particle *ká* and the verb seem to share one accent.

- (398) *w=i-n=ıs*      *i=Žhà: rwìh-h=a*      *a=uγər-x.*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha: become.afraid:res.-ıs=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-ıs  
 'and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.'

- (399) *I-n=ıs*      *Žhà: əndú t-uyər-t*      *yi=d*      *dila*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-10.3s Jha: if 2s-get.lost:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s come:imp.=come here  
*a=šəgl-à=k*      *təbarùt.*  
 fut.-show:fut.-ıs=10.2sm way  
 'Jha said to him: If you get lost, come here and I will show you the way.'

- Apparently *yi=d dila* forms a single accentual word, *yi=d* is unaccented.

## C.1.11 Text XI

### C.1.11.1 Original transcription

Márra Žhâ ya'ídda ssùq-í. U nettîn iħåṭṭâm af mídden u mídden sellâmén fellis s-kémma mäktar n-mídden ššenéñ-tíya. Ba'adén igûl iwînân, yušâd Žhâ isséllem fellis l'allâ. Ba'adén amédén yenšéð Žhâ w-inís: ku tšentîya s-älōūwâl? Ba'adén inís Žhâ: lá gâr gulih-kûya tudînta elqâbbût am wannûk w-el'amámet am tannûk, aħsébh-kûya 'annek ku d-nék.

### C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra Žhâ yəʃídd-a ssùq=i. U=nəttîn ixəṭṭâm af=mídden u=mídden səl-lámén fəllis skəmما məktar n=mídden ššenéñ=tí=ya. Bəʃədèn igûl iwí-nan, yušâ=d Žhâ issəlləm fəllis lʃəlla. Bəʃədèn amədən yənšéð Žhâ w= in=ıs: ku tšent=ı=ya s=ələwwâl? Bəʃədèn in=ıs Žhâ: lá ʃar gulix=kù=ya tudînt=a əlqâbbût am=wa=nnûk w=əlʃəmàmət am=ta=nnûk, aħsébh=kù=ya ?ənnək ku d=nék.

### C.1.11.3 Glossed translation

- (400) *Màrra Žhà y-əñidd=a ssùq=i.*  
 once Jha 3sm-go:res.=res market=loc.  
 ‘Once, Jha had gone to the market.’
- (401) *U=nattìn i-xət̪àm af=mìddən u=mìddən səllàm-ən fəlli-s*  
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s  
*skàmma məktar n=mìddən ššən-ən=tì=ya.*  
 because many of=people know:res.-3pm=DO.3sm=res.  
 ‘And he would meet people and they would greet him because many of the  
 people had met him (before).’ [PT:XI]
- The verb *ššən* ‘to know’ in the resultative takes on the meaning ‘to have gotten to know, to have met’, see also the example sentence in the dictionary sub *wa*.
- (402) *Bəñadèn i-gùl iwínan, y-ušà-d Žhà i-ssàlləm fəlli-s lʃàlla.*  
 Then 3sm-see:<sup>x</sup>pf. one:sm 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha 3sm-greet:<sup>x</sup>pf. on-3s greatly  
 ‘Then he saw someone and Jha came and greeted him greatly.’
- (403) *Bəñadèn amàdən y-ənšád Žhà w=i-n=ìs: ku*  
 Then man 3sm-ask:pf. Jha and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s: you  
*t-šən-t=i=ya s=ələwwàl?*  
 2s-know:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. from=before?  
 ‘Then the man asked Jha and said: Do you know me from before?’
- (404) *Bəñadèn i-n=ìs Žhà: la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha: no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res.  
*əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk w=əlʃəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk,*  
 robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s  
*əhsáb-x=kù=ya ɻənn-ək ku d=nòk.*  
 think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmplzr.2sm you pred.=I  
 ‘Then Jha said to him: No, but I saw that you wore a robe like mine and a turban  
 like mine; (so) I figured that you are me!’

### C.1.12 Text XII

#### C.1.12.1 Original transcription

Iwín n ísf yeškí Žhà ssûk-í<sup>2</sup> w-íddes ažiöténn̄es. Ba'adēn iság hén̄tā n el-  
 h̄áđärät w-iggítet skâret-í<sup>3</sup> lâkän yélgám aīgítet af ažít w-igítet af elket-  
 fénnes u ya'ádd yelbîba af ažíténn̄es. Ba'adēn igulít iwínâñ n-ěşşâħbénnes

<sup>2</sup>Unusually Paradisi writes *ssuq* with a *k* here.

<sup>3</sup>Probably a printing error of <skâret>.

tēbarût-ī yenšédt w-inís: adgát-ká škâret af aziot? Inís Žhâ: erwá‘ s-ğār râbbi a-y-amédën; issúdda-ká nek elbûbha af azit u tégellít-ī ahmélh fellis škâret u arnâs ētta’áb af etta’abénnés.

### C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwìn n=ǐsf yeshí Žhâ ssùq=i w=ìddəs azit=ànnəs. Bəñdèn iséy hòn̄ta n=əlxəd(ə)rət w=iggi=tət škárət=i<sup>4</sup> lákən yòlyəm a=igì=tət af=azit w=igí=tət af=əlkətf=ànnəs u=yəfədd yəlbib=a af=azit=ànnəs. Bəñdèn iguli=t iwinàn n=əşşahb=ànnəs tēbarût=i yənşəd=t w=in=ìs: a=dgàt ká škárət af=azit? In=ìs Žhâ: ərwéř syar=rəbbi ay=amədən; issúdda ká nək əlbəbx=a af=azit u=təyəllit=i a=həməlx fallis škárət u=a=rnà=s əttəřéb af=əttəřəb=ànnəs.

### C.1.12.3 Glossed translation

- (405) *Iwìn n=ǐsf y-əší Žhâ ssùq=i w=ìdd-əs azit=ànn-əs.*  
one of-day 3sm-leave:<sup>x</sup>pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s  
'One day Jha left for the market and with him (he had) his donkey.'
- (406) *Bəñdèn i-sáy hòn̄ta n=əlxədərət w=i-ggi=tət škárət=i.*  
then 3sm-buy:<sup>x</sup>pf. bit of=vegetable and=3sm-put:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.  
'Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.'
- (407) *lákən y-əlyəm a=i-gi=tət af=azit w=i-gi=tət*  
but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sf  
*af=əlkətf=ànn-əs u=y-əfədd y-əlbib=a af=azit=ànn-əs.*  
on=shoulder=of-3s and=3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-climb:res.=res. on=donkey=of-3s  
'But he did not want to put it on the donkey and put it on his shoulder and he went sitting on the donkey (i.e. having climbed it).'
- (408) *Bəñdèn i-guli=t iwinàn n=əşşahb=ànn-əs tēbarût=i*  
Then 3sm-see:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.  
*y-ənşəd=t w=i-n=ìs: a=d-gà-t ká škárət*  
3sm-ask:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag  
*af=azit?*  
on=donkey?  
'Then a friend of his saw him on the road and asked him: will you not put the bag on the donkey?'
- (409) *I-n=ìs Žhâ: ərwéř syar=rəbbi ay=amədən;*  
3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha fear:imp. from=god voc.=man;  
'Jha said: Fear god o man!'

<sup>4</sup>On the discussion of the accent see section 8.2.

- (410) *i-ssùdd=a ká nək əlbàb-x=a af=ažit*  
 3sm-be.enough:res.=res. neg. I climb:res.-is=res. on=donkey  
*u=t-əyəlli-t=i a=hməl-x falli-s škàrət*  
 and=2s-want:^pf.-2s=DO.is fut.=load:fut.-is on-3s bag  
*u=a=rn-à=s attəřáb af=attəřáb=ònн-əs.*  
 and=fut.=increase:fut.-is=10.3s burden on=burden=of-3s  
 'Is it not enough that I mount the donkey? and you want me to load the bag on  
 the donkey and increase the burden upon his burden!'

- One would expect *əlbàb-x-a* to be *\*\*əlbib-x-a*.

## C.1.13 Text XIII

### C.1.13.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žhâ s-ar (anche: s-ğâr) těfillînnes w-íddes irûu fellîs těkabért tězwâgt u yerfa'čîya af agârâténnes. Ba'adêñ ittuwît u yâqqîm idôuwâr fellîs u net-tîn af agârâténnes u itennîs i-kúll améden: dgulît-ká irûu fellîs těkabért tězwâgt? Ba'adêñ inîs iwîn n améden: bâlek nettîn wa nnîyen af ēlkettéfén-nek. Ba'adêñ yerfa' Žhâ těgilînnes ar-żût igûl irûu w-inîs y-irûu: ur-nâka-ká ba'ád atqîmât iddî ta'addît-ká?

### C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yeškí Žhà sa= (or: syàr=) təfilli=nnəs w=iddəs irìw fəllîs təkabərt təzwàyt u=yərfəf=tì=ya af=agərət=ənnəs. Bəfədèñ ittuwì=t u=yəqqîm idəwwâr fəllîs u=nəttîn af=agərət=ənnəs u=itənn=is i=kúll amədən: dgulît ká irìw fəllîs təkabərt təzwàyt? Bəfədèñ in=is iwîn n=amədən: bâlək nəttîn wa nnîyen af=ēlkətf=ənnək. Bəfədèñ yərfé Žhà təgilî=nnəs ar=żût igûl irìw w=in=is y=irìw: ur=nà=k=a ká bəfəd a=tqimât iddî təfəddît ká?

### C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

- (411) *Y-əškí Žhà sar (or: syàr)=təfilli=nn-əs w=idd-əs irìw fəllî-s təkabərt təzwàyt u=y-ərfəf=tì=ya af=agərət=ənn-əs.*  
 3sm-leave:^pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt  
*təzwàyt u=y-ərfəf=tì=ya af=agərət=ənn-əs.*  
 red:sf and=3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. on=neck=of-3s  
 'Jha left his house and with him (was his) child had a red shirt on and he carried  
 him on his neck.'

- (412) *Bəfədən i-ttuwi=t u=y-əqqim i-dəwwär fəlli-s*  
 Then 3sm-forget:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-look.around:impf. on-3s  
*u=nəttin af=agərət=ənn-as u=i-tənn=is i=kull amədən*  
 and=he on=neck=of-3s and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person  
 'Then he forgot him and he started looking around for him, and he was (still)  
 on his neck, and started saying to each person.'
- (413) *d-gulì-t ká irìw fəlli-s təkabərt təzwàyt?*  
 2s-see:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf  
 'Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?'
- (414) *Bəfədən i-n=is iwìn n=amədən: bələk nəttin wa*  
 Then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s one:sm of=man: perhaps he PMPH:sm  
*nnyì-ən af=əlkətəf=ənn-ək.*  
 be(loc.):<sup>x</sup>pf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm  
 'Then a man said to him: perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?'
- (415) *Bəfədən y-ərfəř Žhà təgilì=nn-as ar=zùt i-gùl irìw*  
 Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:<sup>x</sup>pf. child  
*w=i-n=is y=irìw:*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s dat.=child:  
 'Then Jha lifted his head up and saw the child and he said to the child:'
- (416) *ur=n-à=k=a ká bəfədən a=t-qimà-t idd-í t-əfəddi-t ká?*  
 neg.=say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. neg. when fut.-2s-stay:fut.-2s with-1s 2s-go-impf.-2s neg.  
 'Did I not tell you that when you stay with me not to go (anywhere?)'

## C.1.14 Text XIV

### C.1.14.1 Original transcription

Žhà d-alešlá‘; ba‘adēn iwîn n išf ya‘ádd i-wa tezzâm en u izem s. Ba‘adēn ikk  mmel yefk  s enn  s n elbar  t. Ba‘ad  n in  s wa tezzâm  n: af-iw   t  fki   d  k nn  s n elh  qqenn  k? In  s Žh  : s-k  mma (or: s  mma) nek d-al  sl  .

### C.1.14.2 Phonemic transcription

Žh   d=  l  sl  ; b  f  d  n i  w  n n=i  f y  f  d  d i=w   t  ezz  m  n u=i  z  m  =  s. B  f  d  n ikk  mm  l y  f  k  =  s   nn  s n=  lb  r  t. B  f  d  n in=  s wa t  ezz  m  n: af-iw   t  fki(t)=d  k (  )nn  s n=  lh  qq=  nn  k? In=  s Žh  : sk  mma n  k d=  l  sl  .

### C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

- (417) Žḥà d=ələslář  
 Jha pred.=bald  
 'Juha was bald.'

• *ələslář* has an unexpected final accent. The final sentence of this text has the word with the correct accent in the same syntactic environment.

- (418) bəřədèn iwin n=išf y-əřàdd i=wa təzzàm-ən  
 then one:sm of=day 3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. dat.-PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.  
*u=i-zəm=ìs.*  
 and=3sm-shave:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s  
 'Then one day he went to the barber (litt. He who shaves) and he (the barber)  
 shaved him.'

- (419) Bəřədèn i-kkámməl y-əřfk=ìs ənnùš n-əlbəràt.  
 then 3sm-finish:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-give:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s half of=money  
 'Then he finished and he (Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him).'

- (420) Bəřədèn i-n=ìs wa təzzàm-ən: afiwa t-əřfki-(t)=dik  
 then 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.: why 2s-give:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s=IO.1s  
*(ə)nnùš n=əlhəqq=ənn-ùk?*  
 half of=right=of-1s?  
 'Then the barber said: Why did you give me half of what is rightfully mine?'

• Note that in Paradisi's transcription of *təřfki(t)=dik* <تەڭلىدىك> the final *-t* of the 2sg. is lost.

- (421) I-n=ìs Žḥà: skámma nək d=ələslář.  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s Jha: because I pred.=bald  
 'Jha said to him: Because I am bald!'

## C.1.15 Text XV

### C.1.15.1 Original transcription

Gān Abû-dabär ġâres témígnī w-iggâda s-ġâres sébařa n tirīwîn (anche: tirîwî) wě nettîn ġâres ēlħarbūšénnes ínni ſángarā w-išúwwa gān ēlgârsât-énnes w-igái gān timz̄in id ēlgařuli (anche: ñgařuli) u ġares gān tnūvîn ně bzälîm w-išuwîtéñet af afūsénnes w-irōúwâh af tfillînnes w-ayařádd elgâbeš w-ayûš mnišü u gān tirîut tmoqqârânt tnîs y-abbâs: arfâř-í id-dek aggûlař såwânînnâk. Yekrî fellîs, inîs: qámak ammânët timz̄in w-annařádd gān kúll, kem id émmâm id setmâm. U bařadêñ yařádd nettîn

elħarbūšennes u yāqqim išúwwa tnūvînnes w-irrōūwah mnišiu w-inisnēt i-tirīwînnes id ēmmâtsnēt: sbáh annaſádd suwānînnâh. U fráhnēt tirīwîn u ſhîrdnēt ksūmennésnēt (anche: ġâſtînnésnēt = le loro ossa) u yuſâd ār tēmignînnes w-inis: nēgâllî annaſádd sbáh u ddîwa dgulît? Tekrî fellis ēnnât w-ētnîs: alá dgît bâhî. W-inis: wettî-dikkénî čunnâh sbáh id baſad s̄abáh. Tekrî fellis, tnîs: kúlli ſéi yutâya. Yuſâd, yunâ nettîn íddes amakânnesîn u yemħâṭṭât avq̄t-idîn. Kkérēn elgábeš, iwâtān twéttâ elmetaten-nésnēt w-iwâtān tcîrâd u baſadê uđenñet udûn kuwâyes u faddâñ ġallîyen azréden elħarbūſenesîn u baſadê tivâ tafût tebârût-ī u ġallfîyen aſelħâmen afîu; yehzér abbâs žiberetennes yûfa gallûda n afîu. Hzérnēt tirīwîn u nānetîs: ábbâ, ábbâ akkîwâñ elbâqîs n afîu. Inis abbâs: wettîmet šgîren, qâmak aggâġd afîu s-ġâr tefilli-y-îwan. Yaſádd abbâs, yufit d-ámzâ, inis: ssalâmu fâlêikum. Inis ámzâ: s-mâg tušídda Abû-dâbâr. Inis: uſíga s-ašâlî nek id lěhilennûk. W-inis ámzâ: mâg ēnnîyen lěhilénnek. Inis Bû-dâbâr: akkîwâñ ेriſhâna dilîwâñ. W-inis: ġallîh afîu. Inis: arfâsi zūt lektûfénnek. Yerwaſ Bû-dabar s-ar ámzâ u yerfâſat zūt lektûfénnes u yaſádd ar lěhilénnes. Usâlen w-inis ámzâ: aġrešdîk tirîut tmoqqârânt. U yefkiſin afîu w-inisn: aūšágð aūfâħtet temmâya. Yaſádd ámzâ w-äqqimâñ abbâs n tirīwîn id ēmmâtsnēt vellânet u yeqâreb uſû n ámzâ

Tékker tēmignî w-ētnîs i-tirīwînnes: kkérmet, hzérmet. W-ekkérnēt tirīwîn id ēmmâtsnēt qqâimâñet ddôūwârnēt u baſadê něhînet ufânet alû-ġom yemmûta u kkérnēt, erfâñet z-gâñ ſummâñet y-ámzâ u taħzér ēmmâtsnēt tmûrt-ī u tûfa ēlmeġġâret u čcān (tš > čč) gâñ tirîut tēmoqqârânt u yuſâd ámzâ u fkâniſ ksûm wa mmâna u yeċċit w-inisn: ſummât-dîk tirîut tâten, amiši-w-ennûk. U gâñ-is am tâten. U ſbahénnes: ſummât-dîk tâten. U gâñ-is am-alá gâna i-wertnâs u yúſad ámzâ u yéċċâ amēklîwénnes w-inisn: ſummât-dîk amiši-wennûk. U ſummâñ-is s-ar alögöm yemmûta u yúſad ámzâ u yéċċâ amišiúnnes w-inisn: ſabáh amēklîu af tēmignînnek. U nānîs bâhî. Šbah ſummâñ amēklîu u tûna ar tirīwînnes u yúſad ámzâ u yéċċâ amēklîúnnes w-inis ámza: amiši fellik-kú Abû-dabâr. U yaſádd Bû-dabar yeggâd ġâſtîn id glîménnes id mlâl w-igîten elgederénnes u yûna ar tirīwînnes u yúſad ámzâ u yéċċâ ġâſtîn w  nettîn itéitta yāqqim itennîs: Ksūménnek aħħâš, kkúll d-ġâſtîn. W-ēnhînet sennât net ɬâñ n ámzâ.

Baſâd yéċċâ, ámzâ yekkér u yāqqim inékki u baſadê yeslâ ɬâñ elmoġ-ġâret-ī u yaſâyât ámzâ, slân amžîwen uſând lahhéden, nānîs: kénnek? Inisn: gâñ mídden dîla, qqâimât dîla u nek aunâh elmâġâret-ī w-endú iškî azifennûk de-štâf, rweħât. Tsennât tēmignî alá itennîs ámzâ; yuſâd ámzâ, iſān azifénnes elmoġâret-ī. Tekkér tēmignî u teggâd tebaqqûst u tšéttâf azif n ámzâ w-iškî azif n ámzâ d-štâf u gûlânt amžîwen d-e-štâf w-ewrélen kkull u těskî ēnnât [X?]id amédénnes it-tirīwînnes ufâñ ámzâ id

amžīwen ērwilīna kkull wě fráhnēt tirīwīn u ſaddān elħarbūšennēsīn u baſadēn uſālen gān u ččān u ſuān w-ékkérēn rrōūwáḥan tfillinnesīn.

### C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan Abú-dabr yàrəs təmīgni w=iggà=d=a syàrəs sàbəfa n=tiriwīn (or: tirīwi) w=e-nəttīn yàrəs əlxərbuš=ànnəs īnni fángara w=išèwwa gan əlyərsat=ànnəs w=igày gan timzìn id=əlgafūli (or: ngafūli) u=yarəs gan tnuvīn nə=bza-lím w=išəwwi=tənət af=afus=ànnəs w=iràwwəh af=tfilli=nnəs w=a=yəfèdd əlyəbəš w=a=yùš mnišīw u=gan tiriwt tməqqərānt tn=ìs y=abbà=s: ərfèf=i iddək a=ggùləx səwanì=nnək. Yəkrí fəllīs, in=ìs: qámak a=mmànət timzìn w=a=nnəfèdd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmàm id=sətmàm. U=bəfədèn yəfèdd nəttīn əlxərbuš=ànnəs u=yəqqìm išèwwa tnuvīn=nəs w=irrəwwəh mnišīw w=in=ìsnət i=tiriwīn=nəs id=əmmà=tsnət: əbàh a=nnəfèdd səwaní=nnax. U=frəhnət tiriwīn u=širədnət ksum=ənnəsnət (or: yəstin=nəsnət) u=yušà=d ar=təmīgni=nnəs w=in=ìs: nəyəlli a=nnəfèdd əbàh u=ddìwa dgu-lit? Təkrí fəllīs ənnət w=etn=ìs: alá dgìt báhi. W=in=ìs: wətti=dikkəni čču=nnàx əbàh id=bəfədən əbàh. Təkrí fəllīs, tn=ìs: kùlli šèy yutà=ya. Yušà=d, yuná nəttīn iddəs amakan=nəsin u=yəmhèt=tət avət=idìn. Kkərən əlyəbəš, iwátan twətta əlmətſat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan tšīrad u=bəfədèn udənnət udùn kəwəyəs u=fəddàn yəlliyən a=zrədən əlxərbuš=ənnəsin u=bəfədèn tīva tafüt təbarüt=i u=yəlliyən a=šəlhəmən aſi̥w; Yəxzér abbàs žibərət=ànnəs yùfa gal=lùda n=aſi̥w. Xzərnət tiriwīn u=nanət=ìs: àbba, àbba akki-wàn əlbəqìs n=aſi̥w. In=ìs abbàs: wəttimət šyırən, qámak a=ggày=d aſi̥w syàr=təfilli=yíwan. Yəfèdd abbàs, yufi=t d=àmža, in=ìs: ssalámu ſalèykum. In=ìs àmža: s=màg tušid=d=a Abu-dabr. In=ìs: ušiy=d=a s=ašál=i nək id=ləhil=ənnùk. W=in=ìs àmža: màg ənniyən ləhil=ənnək. In=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn irišin=a dilíwan. W=in=ìs: yəllix aſi̥w. In=ìs: ərfèf=i züṭ ləktuf=ənnək. Yərwəf Bú-dabr sar=àmža u=yərfèf=ət züṭ=ləktuf=ənnəs u=yəfèdd ar=ləhil=ənnəs. Uşələn w=in=ìs àmža: ayraš=dik tiriwt tməqqərānt. U=yəfk=isìn aſi̥w w=in=isìn: a=ušay=d a=ufax=tət təmmà=ya. Yəfèdd àmža w=eqqimàn abbàs n=tiriwīn id=əmmàtsnət vəllənət u=yəqàrəb ušú n àmža.

Təkkər təmīgni w=etn=ìs i=tiriwīn=nəs: kkərmət, xzərmət. W=əkkərmət tiriwīn id=əmmàtsnət qqimànət ddəwwärnət u=bəfədèn nəhìnət ufanət aləyəm yəmmùta u=kkərnət, ərfəfnət z=gan şəmmànət yàmža u=təxzér əmmàtsnət tmùrt=i u=tùfa əlməyyàrət u=tšan gan tiriwt təməqqərānt u=yušà=d àmža u=fkán=is ksùm wa mmàn=a u=yəčči=t w=in=ìsin: şəmmät=dik tiriwt tətən, amišiw=ənnùk. U gan=ìs am=tətən. U=əbàh=ənnəs: şəmmät=dik tətən. U gán=is am=alá gàn=a i=wərtnàs u=yúša=d àmža u=yəčča aməkliw=ənnəs w=in=isìn: şəmmät=dik amišiw=ənnùk. U=şəm-

mán=is sar=alòyəm yəmmùt=a u=yúša=d àmža u=yèčča amišiw=ènnəs w=in=ísin: şəbàḥ aməklìw af=təmigni=nnək. U=nan=is: báhi. Şbah ʃəm-màn aməklìw u=tùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmža u=yèčča aməklìw =ènnəs w=in=ís àmža: Amišiw fəllik=kú Abu-dabér. U=yəfədd Bú-dabr yəggà=d ɣəstìn id=glim=ènnəs id=mlàl w=igì=tən əlgədər=ènnəs u=yùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmža u=yèčča ɣəstìn wə=nəttìn itətta yəqqìm itənn=ís: Ksum=ènnək ahàš, kùll d=yəstìn. W=ənhìnət sənnàtnət žlàn n=àmža.

Bəfəd yèčča, àmža yəkkér u=yəqqìm inèkki u=bəfədèn yəslá žlàn əlməy-ŷarət=i u=yəfayət àmža, slàn amžiwbən ušàn=d ləhhədən, nan=ís: kən-nək? In-isìn: gan middən dila, qqimàt dila u=nək a=unàx əlməyàrət=i w=əndú iški azif=ənnùk də=št̪éf, rwələt. Tsənnat təmìgni alá itənn=ís àmža; Yušà=d àmža, išàn azif=ənnəs əlməyərət=i. Təkkér təmìgni u=təggà =d təbəqqùst u=tšət̪t̪əf azif n=àmža w=iški azif n=àmža d=št̪éf u=gùlant amžiwbən də=st̪éf w=ərwələn kkull u=təškí ənnat id=amádən=nəs it=tiriwìn=nəs ufən àmža id=amžiwbən ərwilin=a kkull wə=frəhnət tiríwin u=fəddàn əlxarbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəfədèn usələn gan u=ččan u=šwàn w=əkkə-rən rrəwwəhən tfilli=nnəsìn.

### C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

- (422) *Gan Abúdabr yàr-əs təmìgni w=i-ggàd=a syàr-əs sàbəfa*  
 there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife and=3sm-bring:res.=res. from-3s seven  
*n=tiriwìn (or: tirìwi)*  
 of=girls

'There once was (a man called) Abu-Dabr, he had a wife and he received seven girls from her.'

- (423) *wə=nəttìn yàr-əs əlxarbuš=ənn-əs i-nni ſángara w=i-šəwwa*  
 and=he to-3s garden=of-3s 3sm-exist:<sup>\*</sup>pf. ſAngara and=3sm-water:impf.  
*gan əlyərsat=ənn-əs w=i-gày gan timzìn*  
 there young.palms=of-3s and=3sm-cultivate:impf. there barley  
*id=əlgafūl (or: ngafūl) u=yar-əs gan tnuvìn nə=bzalìm*  
 with=maize and=to-3s there irrigation.canals of=onions  
*w=i-šəwwi=tənət af=afus=ənn-əs w=i-rəwwah*  
 and=3sm-water:impf.=DO.3sm on=hand=of-3s and=3sm-return:impf.  
*af=tfilli=nn-əs*  
 on=house=of-3s

'And he had a garden that lay in ſAngara and he always watered his young palms there and cultivate the barley and maize there and he had irrigation canals of onions and he would water them by himself, and he would go home.'

- *af=afus=ànn=às* literally means ‘on his hand’, Paradisi translates ‘da solo’. This is probably an expression that indeed has the meaning that Paradisi translates.

(424) *w=a=y-əfàdd əlyàbəš w=a=y-ùš mnišìw u=gan tirìwt*  
 and=fut.=3sm-go:fut. morning and=fut.=3sm-come:fut. evening and=there girl  
*tmaqqarànt t-n=ìs y=abbà-s: arfàf=i idd-ák*  
 big:sf 3sf-say:^pf.=10.3s dat.=father-3s take:imp.=DO.1s with-2sm  
*a=ggùl-ax səwaní=nn-ák.*  
 fut.=see:fut.-1s garden=of-2sm

‘He would go in the morning, and come (back) in the evenings, and the oldest girl there said to her father: take me with you so I can see your garden.’

- One would expect *əlyàbəš, mnišìw* to take the locative postposition *-i*.

(425) *Y-əkrí fəlli-s, i-n=ìs: qámak a=mmà-nàt timzìn*  
 3sm-return:^pf. on-3s 3sm-say:^pf.=10.3s now fut.=be.ready:fut.-3pf barley  
*w=a=n-nəfàdd gan küll, kám id=əmmà-m id=satmà-m.*  
 and=fut.=1p-go:fut. there all, you with=mother-2sf with=sisters-2sf  
 ‘He answered to her and said: Now, when the barley will have ripened, we will all go there, you, your mother and your sisters.’

(426) *U=bəfàdèn y-əfàdd nattìn əlxərbuš=ànn-às u=y-əqqìm i-šòwwa*  
 and-then 3sm-go:^pf. he garden=of-3s and=3sm-stay:^pf. 3sm-water:impf.  
*tnuvìn=n-às w=i-rròwwəh mnišìw w=i-n=ìsnàt*  
 irrigation.canals=of-3s and=3sm-return:^pf. evening and=3sm-say:^pf.=DO.3pf  
*i-tiriwìn=n-às id=əmmà-tnàt: sbàh a=n-nəfàdd səwaní=nn-ax.*  
 dat.=children=of-3s and=mother-3pf: tomorrow fut.=1p-go:fut. garden=of-1p  
 ‘And then he went to his garden and started watering his irrigation canals and he returned that evening and said to his daughters and their mother: Tomorrow we will go to our garden.’

(427) *U=fròh-nàt tiriwìn u=širòd-nàt ksum=ənn-àsnàt (or:*  
 and=be.happy:^pf.-3pf girls and=wash:^pf.-3pf meat=of-3pf  
*yəstìn=n-àsnàt) u=y-ušà=d ar=təmignì=nn-às*  
 bones=of-3pf and=3sm-come:^pf.=come to=woman=of-3s  
*w=i-n=ìs: nə-γàlli a=n-nə-fàdd sbàh u=ddìwa d-gulì-t?*  
 and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3s 1p-want:^pf. fut.=1p-go:fut. tomorrow and=what 2s-see:^pf.-2s  
 ‘The girls became happy and washed themselves and he came to his wife and said to her: We want to go tomorrow, what do you think? (litt. what do you see?)’

- (428) *T-əkrí fəlli-s ənnàt w=ətn=ìs: alá d-gì-t báhi.*  
 3sf-return:<sup>x</sup>pf. on-3s she and=3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s rel. 2s-do:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s be.good:3sm  
 'She answered to him and said: What(ever) you do is fine.'
- (429) *W=i-n=ìs: wàtti=dikkàni čču=nn-àx ʂbàh id=bàñad*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s prepare:imp.=1o.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after  
*ʂbàh.*  
 tomorrow.  
 'And he said to her: prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.'
- (430) *T-əkrí fəlli-s, t-n=ìs: külli šòy y-utà=ya.*  
 3sf-return:<sup>x</sup>pf. on-3s 3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=1o.3s everything 3sm-be.prepared:res.=res.  
 'She answered to him: Everything is prepared.'
- (431) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttin idd-əs amakan=n-əsin*  
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm  
*u=y-əmħàt=tat avət=idin.*  
 and=3sm-make.love:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s  
 'He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.'
- (432) *Kkàr-ən əlýàbëš, iwátan twàtta əlmətʃat=ənnàsnət w=iwátan*  
 get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:<sup>x</sup>pf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf  
*tšírad u=bəñadèn udàn-nət udùn kəwàyəs*  
 3sf-wash:impf. and=then dress:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf clothing good  
 'They got up in the morning, one (of the girls) prepared their stuff and one washed, and then they dressed in fine clothes'
- *tšírad* looks like an imperfect (albeit with the wrong accent), but must be translated as a perfect.
- (433) *u=səddà-n yəlliy-ən a=zràd-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəñadèn*  
 and=go:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then  
*t-iva tafüt təbarùt=i u=yəlliy-ən a=šəlħàm-ən afi<sup>w</sup>*  
 3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm fut.=light:fut.-3pm fire  
 'And they went and they wanted to eat (in) their garden and then the sun fell on the road and they wanted to light a fire.'
- (434) *Y-əxzár abbà-s žibərət=ənn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=afi<sup>w</sup>.*  
 3sm-search:pf. father-3s travelling.bag=of-3s 3sm-found:seq. there nothing of=fire  
 'The father searched his travelling bag (but) found there was nothing for (lighting the) fire.'

- The *n* of *gan* has assimilated to the *l* of *lùda*.

- (435) *xzàr-nət tiriwìn u=na-nət=ìs: àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqìs n=aftw.*  
 look:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-3pf girls and=say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-3pf=10.3s: father father that.there glimmer=of=fire.  
 ‘The girls looked around and said to him: Father, father! There! the glimmer of fire!’
- (436) *I-n=ìs abbà-s: wàttì-mət šjìrən, qámak a=ggà-y=*  
 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-is=bring  
*aftw syàr=təfili=yíwan.*  
 fire from=house=dist.:s  
 ‘The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’
- (437) *Yə-fàdd abbà-s, y-ufi=t d=àmża, i-n=ìs:*  
 3sm-go:<sup>\*</sup>pf. father-3s, 3sm-find:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=DO.3sm pred.=ogre, 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s  
*ssalámu fàlèykum.*  
 as-salāmu fàlacykum  
 ‘The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: *as-salāmu fàlacykum’*
- (438) *I-n=ìs àmża: s=màg t-ušì-d=d=a Abudàbr.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s ogre from=where 2s-come:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr  
 ‘The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?’
- (439) *I-n=ìs: usì-y=d=a s=ašàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s come:res.-1s=come=res. from=village=loc. I with=family=of-1s  
 ‘He said to him: I’ve come from the village, together with my family.’
- (440) *W=i-n=ìs àmża: màg ənniy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s ogre where exist:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-3pm family=of-2sm  
 ‘And the ogre said: Where is your family?’
- (441) *I-n=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn iriš-in=a dilíwan.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s Abu.dabr that.there descend:res.-3pm=res. at.there  
 ‘Abu-dabr. said to him: Over there, they’ve descended down there.’
- (442) *W=i-n=ìs: yølli-x aftw.*  
 and=3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s want:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-is fire  
 ‘And he said to him: I want fire.’
- (443) *I-n=ìs: ərfəř-i zut=ləktuf=ənn-ək.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>\*</sup>pf.=10.3s carry:imp.=DO.1s on.top.of shoulders=of-2sm  
 ‘He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.’

- (444) *Y-ərwəř*                    *Bú-dabr sar=àmža u=y-ərfəř=ət*  
       3sm-be.afraid:<sup>x</sup>pf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3sm  
       *ȝùt=ləktuf=ənn-əs*            *u=y-əřədd*            *ar=ləhil=ənn-əs.*  
       on.top.of=shoulders=of-3s and=3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. to=family=of-3s  
       'Abu dabr was afraid of the ogre and he carried him on his shoulders and went to his family.'
- (445) *Uṣəl-ən*                    *w=i-n=is*                    *àmža: ayṛəš=dik*                    *tirıwt*  
       arrive:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s ogre    slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl  
       *tməqqərənt.*  
       big:sf  
       'They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.'
- (446) *U=y-əfk=isın*                    *aftw w=i-n=isın:*                    *a=ušà-y=d*  
       and=3sm-give:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3pm fire    and=3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3pm fut.=comefut.-1s  
       *a=ufà-x=tət*                    *t-əmmà=ya.*  
       fut.=find:fut.-1s=DO.3sf 3sf-be.cooked:res.=res.  
       'And he gave them fire and said to them: I will come (back) and I will find her cooked.'
- (447) *Y-əřədd*                    *àmža w=əqqimà-n*                    *abbà-s n=tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət*  
       3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. ogre    and=stay:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm father-3s of=children with=mother-3pf  
       *vəllà-nət*                    *u=y-əqàrəb*                    *ušú n=àmža.*  
       cry:impf.-3pf and=3sm-draw.near:<sup>x</sup>pf. coming of=ogre.  
       'The ogre went (away) and the father of the children and their mother started to cry and the coming of the ogre drew near.'
- (448) *T-əkkər*                    *təmìgni w=ət-n=is*                    *i=tiriwìn=n-əs: kkàr-mət,*  
       3sf-get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf. woman and=3sf-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=IO.3s dat.=children=of-3s get.up:imp.-pf  
       *xzər-mət.*  
       look:imp.-pf  
       'The woman stood up and she said to her children: get up and look around.'
- Verbs of the ċc type usually have a phonological final accent in all stems. The verb *təkkər* here is the only exception.
- (449) *W=əkkər-nət*                    *tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət qqimà-nət ddəwwàr-nət*  
       and=get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf  
       *u=bəřədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət*            *aləyam y-əmmùt=a*            *u=kkàr-nət,*  
       and=then they(f) find:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf,  
       *ərfəř-nət*                    *z=gan*                    *šəmmà-nət y=àmža*  
       lift.up:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf from=there cook:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf dat.=ogre

'And the children and the mother got up and started going around and then they found a dead camel and they stood up and lifted (it) from there and cooked it for the ogre.'

- (450) *u=t-əxzár      əmmà-tsnət tmùrt=i    u=t-úfa      əlməyyàrət*  
 and=3sf-look:pf. mother-3pf land=loc. and=3sf-find:seq. cave  
*u=t-šan      gan tìriwt təməqqərànt u=y-ušá=d      àmża*  
 and=3sf-make.enter:^pf. there girl big:sf and=3sm-come:pf.=come ogre  
*u=fká-n=is      ksùm wa      mmà-n=a*  
 and=give:^pf.-3pm=10.3s meat PMPH:sm be.cooked:res.-ptc.=res.  
*u=y-əčči=t      w=i-n=ísin:      šəmm-át=dik      tìriwt*  
 and=3sm-eat:^pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm cook:imp.-pm=10.1s child  
*tàtən, amišiw=ənn-ùk.*  
 other:sf dinner=of-1s

'And the mother searched the area and found a cave and made oldest girl go in there, and the ogre came and they gave him the meat that had been cooked and he ate it and said: Cook me another girl, (for) my dinner.'

- (451) *U=ga-n=ís      am=tàtən.*  
 and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf  
 'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.'
- (452) *U=şbah=ənn-əs      šəmm-át=dik      tàtən.*  
 and=tomorrow=of-3s cook:imp.-pm=10.1s other:sf  
 'And the next day: cook another for me'

**Notes 1** *şbah=ənn-əs* literally translates to 'his/her tomorrow'. This construction is only found here, so little more can be said about it.

- (453) *U=gá-n=is      am=alá gá-n=a      i=wərtnà-s*  
 and=do:^pf.-3pm=10.3s like=rel. do:res.-3pm=res. dat.=sister-3s  
*u=y-úša=d      àmża u=y-əčča      aməkliw=ənn-əs*  
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s  
*w      i-n=ísin:      šəmm-át=dik amišiw=ənn-ùk.*  
 and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm cook:imp.-pm=10.1s dinner=of-1s  
 'And they did to here like they had done to her sister and the ogre came and ate his meal and he said to them: cook me dinner.'
- (454) *U=şəmmá-n=is      sar=alàyəm y-əmmùt-a      u=y-úša=d*  
 and=cook:^pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=3sm-come:seq.=come  
*àmża u=y-əčča      amišiw=ənn-əs w=i-n=ísin:      şəbàh*  
 ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. dinner=of-3s and=3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm tomorrow  
*aməkliw af=təmignì=nn-ək.*  
 meal on=woman=of-2sm

'and they cooked for him from the dead camel and the ogre came and ate his dinner and said: tomorrow (I will have) a meal on your wife.'

- (455) *U=na-n=is: bāhi.*  
 and=say:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm=10.3s be.good:3sm  
 'And they said to him: fine.'
- (456) *Şbah šəmmà-n aməklıw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*  
 tomorrow cook:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s  
*u=y-úša=d àmża u=y-àčča aməklıw=ànn-əs*  
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s  
*w=i-n=is àmża: Amištw fəllì-k kú Abudabór.*  
 3sm-say:<sup>x</sup>pf.=10.3s ogre: dinner on=2sm you Abu.dabr  
 'The next day, they the cooked the meal and (the mother) entered (the cave with her) children and the ogre came and ate his meal and the ogre said to him: Dinner (will be) on you, Abu.dabr'
- (457) *U=y-əʃàdd Búdabr y-aggà=d yəstìn id=glim=ànn-əs id=mlàl*  
 and=3sm-go:<sup>x</sup>pf. Abu.dabr 3sm-bring:pf.=bring bones with=skin=of-3s with=sand  
*w=i-gì=tən algədär=ànn-əs u=y-ùna ar=tiriwìn=n-əs*  
 and=3sm-put:<sup>x</sup>pf.=DO.3pm pot=of-3s and=3sm-enter:seq. to=children=of-3s  
*u=y-úša=d àmża u=y-àčča yəstìn wə=nəttìn i-tàtta*  
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. bones and=he 3sm-eat:impf.  
*y-əqqìm i-tənn=is: Ksum=ànn-ək aħàš, kùll d=yəstìn.*  
 3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3sm meat=of-2sm bad all pred.=bones  
 'and Abu-dabr went and brought the bones and skin and sand and put it in the cooking pot and he entered (the cave with his) children and the ogre came and ate the bones and he while eating he kept on saying: your meat is bad, all of it is bones.'
- (458) *W=ənhìnət sənnàt-nət žlàn n=àmża.*  
 and=they(f) hear:impf.-3pf words of=ogre  
 'And they heard to the words of the ogre'
- *sənnàt-nət* looks like an imperfect but must be a perfect (cf. *tšírad* earlier in the text).
- (459) *Bəʃád y-àčča, àmża y-akkár u=y-əqqìm i-nòkki*  
 After 3sm-eat:seq. ogre 3sm-get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf. and=3sm-stay:<sup>x</sup>pf. 3sm-smell:impf.  
*u=bəʃàdèn y-əslá žlàn əlməyyàrət=i u=y-əʃayət àmża,*  
 and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:<sup>x</sup>pf. ogre,

*slà-n amžìwən ušà-n=d ləhhàd-ən, na-n=ìs:  
 hear:^pf.-3pm ogres came:^pf.-3pm=come run:impf.-3pm say:^pf.-3pm=10.3s  
 kànnak?  
 what is it?*

'After the ogre had eaten he got up and started sniffing, and then he heard words from the cave and the ogre screamed and (other) ogres heard (it) and came running and said to him: What is it?'

- (460) *I-n=isìn: gan mìddən dìla, qqim-àt dìla u=nək  
 3sm-say:^pf.=10.3pm there people at.here, stay:imp.-pm at.here and=I  
 a=unà-x əlməyàrət=i w=əndú i-ški azif=ənn-ùk də=štàf  
 fut=enter:fut.-1s cave=loc. and-if 3sm-leave:^pf. tail=of-1s pred.=black:sm,  
 rwəl-àt.  
 flee:imp.-pm*

'He said to them: there are people here, stay here and I will enter the cave, and if I come out and my tail is black, flee!'

- (461) *T-sənnàt təmìgni alá i-tənn=ìs àmža;  
 3sf-hear:impf. woman rel. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3s ogre  
 'The woman heard what the ogre was saying'*

- (462) *Y-ušà=d àmža, i-šàn azif=ənn-əs əlməyàrət=i.  
 3sm-come:^pf.=come ogre 3sm-insert:^pf. tail=of-3s cave=loc.  
 'The ogre came and inserted his tail into the cave.'*

- (463) *T-əkkár təmìgni u=t-əggà-d təbəqqùšt u=t-šàttàf  
 3sf-get.up:^pf. woman and=3sf-take:pf.=take pan and=3sf-make.black:^pf.  
 azif n=àmža w=i-škí azif n=àmža d=štàf  
 tail of=ogre and=3sm-leave:^pf. tail of=ogre pred.=black:sm  
 u=gùla-n=t amžìwən də=štàf w=ərwəl-ən kkull  
 and=see:^pf.-3pm=DO.3sm ogres pred.=black:sm and=flee:^pf.-3pm all  
 'The woman got up and she took the pan and she made the tale of the ogre black, and the tale of the ogre came out being black and the ogres saw it being black and they all fled.'*

- (464) *u=t-əškí ənnàt id=amódàn=n-əs it=tiriwìn=n-əs uƒà-n àmža  
 and=3sf-leave:^pf. she with=man=of-3s with=children=of-3s find:^pf.-3pm ogre  
 id=amžìwən ərwili-n=a kkull  
 with=ogres flee:res.-3pm=R all  
 'And she came out with her husband and her children and she found that the ogre and the ogres had all fled.'*

- (465) *wə=frəħ-nət*                    *tiríwin*    *u=ʃəddā-n*            *əlxarbuš=ənn-əsin*  
 and=become.happy:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pf children and=go:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm garden=of-3pm  
*u=bəʃədən uṣəl-ən*                *gan*    *u=ččà-n*                    *u=šwà-n*  
 and=then arrive:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm there and=eat:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm and=drink:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm  
*w=əkkər-ən*                        *rrəwwəħ-ən*    *tfilli=nn-əsin.*  
 and=get.up:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm return:<sup>x</sup>pf.-3pm house=of-3pm  
 'And the children became happy and they went to their garden and then they arrived there and they ate and drank and they got up and returned to their house.'

## C.2 Texts from Zanon

### C.2.1 Song I

#### C.2.1.1 Original transcription

gillīg kàm uggūt uggūt. / min ǵair tǵélli tıkra<sup>5</sup>

#### C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

ȝəlliy=kəm uggut uggut. / min ȝayr tyéllit=i kra

- (466) *ȝəlli-ȝ=kəm*                *uggut uggut.*  
 want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-1s=DO.2sf much much  
 'I want you so much'

- notice that the form *ȝillīg* still has the original Berber -ȝ as 1sg. ending rather than -x as is found universally in Paradisi (1960a).
- In Paradisi (1960a), the 2sg.f. direct object is *-kəm*, as this is the common form in Berber languages, it would seem that this was misheard by Zanon, rather than an archaism.
- In Paradisi (1960a), *uggūt* is found as *ēggūt /əggūt/*. In Sokni (Sarnelli 1924) we find *uggūt* 'much, many', perhaps this *u* had not yet shifted to *a* in the time of Zanon's fieldwork.

- (467) *min ȝayr t-ȝálli-t=i*                *kra*  
 without 2s-want:<sup>x</sup>pf.-2s-DO.1s neg.  
 'without you wanting me'

<sup>5</sup>As pointed out by Brugnatelli (1987: 54), the second line should be reanalysed as *min ȝair tǵéllit-i-kra*.

- *min yayr* ‘without’ < Ar. *min ḡayri* ‘id.’ does not usually take negation in Arabic.
- *kra* is found in Paradisi (1960a;b) as *ká*. The form found in Zanon (1932) appears to be an archaism, reflecting the origin of *ká* to be from *kóra* ‘thing’ (Brugnatelli 1987: 55). But if this really is an archaism, then we find a striking anachronism in the much earlier wordlist of Müller (1827), where we find *ghaleika* غلیکه /yəli-ka/ from Ar. *yalī* ‘expensive’ with the negative particle *-ká*.

## C.2.2 Song II

### C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḥ iṭāra aî-mma / iğalli wullîs infámma

### C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innùx iṭara ay-əmma / iŷəlli wullì-s ən fəmma

### C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

- (468) *ul=ənn-ùx i-ṭar=a*      *ay=əmma*  
 heart=of-is 3sm-fly:res.=res. voc.=mother  
 ‘my heart has flown, o mother!’

- The possessive 1sg. in this text is *-innôx*, probably /-ənnùx/. This is different from Paradisi (1960a;b) which have /-ənnùk/. This may be an indication that the Ajila of Paradisi represents a slightly different dialect than that of Zanon.
- The form <aîmma> ‘for (my) mother’ is remarkable. Paradisi (1960a) has *mmâ*, the form found in Zanon rather implies that there is an initial *a* which was accented, as per the regular accent rules.

- (469) *i-ŷəlli*      *wullì-s*      *ən=fəmma*  
 3sm-want:<sup>x</sup>pf. daughter-3s of=aunt  
 ‘it wants the daughter of my aunt’

- Note that <infámma> must stand for =*ən fəmma*, where the <i> stands for *a*.
- Paradisi (1960b) has *ámmî* for ‘uncle’. *fəmma*, probably means ‘aunt’, cf. Ar. *fam̥ma* ‘id.’ It is remarkable that the masculine form has lost its *f*, and the feminine form has not.

## C.2.3 Song III

### C.2.3.1 Original transcription

gillih kira shaīnāt / 'alì simeh diwîs uāmmi

### C.2.3.2 Phonemic transcription

yəllix kira šəynat / ŋalı simih d=iwì-s n=ammi.

- (470) *yəlli-x kira šəynat*  
want:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-is neg. ugly.ones  
'I do not want ugly ones'

- Unlike the first Zanon text, this time *yəllix* has a final *-x* rather than *-y* for the 1sg. PNG-marking.

- (471) *ŋalı simih d=iwì-s n=ammi*  
Name kind pred.=son-3s of=uncle  
'(I want) kind Ali, he is the son of my uncle'

- <simeh> must be ELA *símih* ‘sweet, pretty, handsome’ (p.c. Benkato).
- The <u> in <uāmmi> is probably a misreading of *n*. A cursively written *u* can easily be confused for an *n*, combine that with unfamiliarity with the language, and it does not seem unlikely that these two sounds were confused. If we assume this confusion, we have a perfect parallel between text II and text III. Text II has *wulli-s ən ŋəmma* ‘daughter of my aunt’, this text has ‘son of my uncle’.

## C.2.4 Song IV

### C.2.4.1 Original transcription

Jā rijù lû rāit Bālgu / Gān lahbûb imrijét

### C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya iriw lu rayt Balžu / gan ləhbùb əmriyìt.

### C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

- (472) *ya=iriw lù rayt Balžú*  
voc.=child if you could see Place  
‘O child, if you could see Balžu’

- *Jā rijù*, and should be read as *ya irìw*. The loss of the initial *i* is not easily understood.
- *lù rāit Bālgū* is a codeswitch to Arabic. This is a fixed expression, very common in poetry. Many short poems open with, e.g. *yā lu reytu ſeyn el-bneyyya* ‘O if you (pl.) only saw the girl’s eyes...’ (p.c. Benkato)

(473) *Gan ləhbùb əmriy-it*  
 there dates be.beautiful-p  
 ‘There the dates are (so) beautiful.’

## C.2.5 Song V

As Zanon (1932: 272) points out, this song is a nonsense text. It is a joke concerning a Bedouin custom. When a girl addresses a song to her lover, it is customary for the Bedouin to respond on the same topic. Because the girl singing is Berber, and the boy responding is a Bedouin Arab, his form of ‘response’ on the same topic, is answering the nonsense he hears, with nonsense.

Because there this text is not meant to make sense, no attempt has been made to make a translation.

### C.2.5.1 Original transcription

Agennîmen da Šuf / Taqabbît dâr awlafná

### C.2.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Agənnìnən da Šuf / Taqəbb̩it dar awlafná

### C.2.5.3 Notes

- Zanon explains that <Agennîmen> is a circle that women put on their head to carry a pitcher of water. Thus is surely equivalent to Paradisi’s *agennîn* pl. *gen-nînən* ‘a small cushion one wears on the head to carry loads’. It is unclear whether the form is the singular or the plural form, as it has features of both.
- *Šuf* and *Taqəbb̩it* are both placenames.
- *dar* is the common North-African Arabic word for ‘house’.
- *awlafná* is probably *ā ullāf-na* ‘O our lover!’

## C.2.6 Song VI

This is a song that is sung during ‘Fantasia’s’ while men sit in a circle, looking forward to the coming of the dancer, who is getting dressed in a secluded place and, allegedly, will execute the long and grueling task without being properly nourished before, (performing) it purely (on a meal of) rice, like the song says (translated from Zanon 1932: 272).

### C.2.6.1 Original transcription

'amma tqábbiš qāma attūš / kāzán itkíra sorróz

### C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ɻamma tgàbbəš qama attūš / kazàn itkìra s-ərrùz

### C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

- (474) *ɻamma t-gàbbəš qama a=tt-ùš*  
 prog. 3sf-gird:impf. now fut.=3sf-come:fut.  
 ‘She is getting dressed (litt. girding herself), now she will come’

- Not that *tgàbbəš* is written with a *q* in the original transcription by Zanon. This gives the impression that the text was originally written down in Arabic script. Both *g* and *q* would be written with Arabic ڦ.

- (475) *kazàn i-tkìr=a s=ərrùz*  
 pot 3sm-full:res.=res. with=rice  
 ‘(Her) pot (fig. belly) is filled with rice.’

## C.2.7 Song VII

### C.2.7.1 Original transcription

ȝillîḥ tika Dommîs / 'ali hw llì ȝān iğğîlib.

### C.2.7.2 Phonemic transcription

yəllîx=t əka Dommîs / ȝali hu əlli gan əżżələb.

### C.2.7.3 Glossed translation

- (476) *yəllîx=t əka Dommîs*  
 want:pf.-1s=DO.3sm neg. Dommis  
 ‘I do not want him, Dommis’

- There are no attestations in Paradisi's text where a direct object is marked both pronominally and lexically. This of course does not mean it is impossible, the corpus of texts is so small that this gap may simply be due to chance, but it makes the analysis of this sentence somewhat problematic. Especially because Dimmis is a highly unusual name.
- Zanon translates this sentence as *Non voglio saperne de Dimmis*, there is clearly no reflex of 'to get to know' in 'I do not want to get to know Dimmis' in this sentence.

(477) *Sali hu əlli gan əžžəlab*  
 Ali he.who there riches  
 '(who I want) is Ali, where the riches are'

- This is a hybrid Arabic-Berber sentence. *hu əlli* is clearly the introduction of a relative clause.
- <ğān> betrays that the text was written down in Arabic script, it must be the locative adverb *gan* 'there; there is, there are', which introduces the locative relative phrase.

## C.2.8 Song VIII

### C.2.8.1 Original transcription

tūšidda s Tangīğum / tit'ibta 'alā šān Nānna

### C.2.8.2 Phonemic transcription

tušidda s Tangiżəm / titiħbta ſala šan Nànna

### C.2.8.3 Glossed translation

(478) *t-uši-d=d=a*                    *s=Tangiżəm*  
 2s-come:res.-2s=come=res. from=Tangijem  
 'You have come from Tangiżəm'

(479) *t-atħib-t=a*                    *ſala šan*            *Nànna*  
 2-toil:res.-2s=res. for.the.sake.of Nanna  
 'You have exerted yourself for Nanna'

## C.2.9 Song IX

### C.2.9.1 Original transcription

mabrūk 'alàik tul̩'a / f̩ zin̩im wóh̩ra tw̩šgi

### C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ſalàyk tul̩ſa / f̩ zən̩im w àxra təšyəl.

### C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

- (480) *mabruk ſalàyk t-ul̩ʃ-a f̩=zən̩im*  
 congratulations.to.you 3sf-fall.in.love:res.=res. in=bastard  
 'Congratulations to you! She has fallen in love with a bastard!'

- This sentence is a strange mix between Berber and Arabic. Every single word is of Arabic origin, but *t-ul̩ʃ-a* has a Berber conjugation. The object of the verb is marked with the Arabic preposition *f̩*.

- (481) *w àxra t-əšyəl*  
 and shit 3sf-work:pf.  
 'And she works (in) shit!'

- *tw̩šgi* probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word *šajala* 'to occupy, busy'.

## C.2.10 Song X

This song is sung about a girl that is waiting for a promised wedding. The father of her boyfriend is constantly travelling between the two respective places where the lovers live, constantly talking and making arrangements, but never deciding on anything concrete. Today, this song serves as a proverb that corresponds to the English 'All talk, no walk'.

### C.2.10.1 Original transcription

íuna s Timill̩l iškī Sawilhāg / abbāk jā Moħammed iām išina mqlázīn

### C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yùna s Timill̩l iški Sawilhāž / abbak ya Məħəmməd yam išina əqlazən

### C.2.10.3 Glossed translation

- (482) *y-una s=Timillil i-ški Sawilhaž*  
 3sm-enter:<sup>x</sup>pf. from=Place 3sm-leave:<sup>x</sup>pf. Sawilhaj  
 'He has entered Timillil and left Sawilhaj'

- *s* in Paradisi is always the ablative preposition 'from'. But in this context such an interpretation does not make sense. It seems like it rather has an allative meaning.

- (483) *abba-k ya=Məhəmməd yam i-šin=a əqlazən*  
 father-2sm voc.=Mohammed only 3sm-know:res.=res. lies  
 'Your father, O Mohammed, only(?) knows tall tales (litt. lies).'

- *yam* is an otherwise unattested word, in the context it seems likely that it means 'only'.
- Zanon transcribed <mqlázīn>, the initial <m> is certainly incorrect. Perhaps it was a misread *u*, which stood for the *ə* in front of *q*.

## C.2.11 Song XI

This song is a nursery rhyme, singing the praise of a child who will be circumcised. The translation provided by Zanon deviates strongly from the actual text.

### C.2.11.1 Original transcription

ingûli, ingûli, nittîn iğlâia gîgûli / ȝ'âl laslâm inšûnit.

### C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcription

əngûli, əngûli, nəttîn iylaya gig-ùl-i / ȝəslâm ən-sùnit

### C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

- (484) *əngûli, əngûli, nəttîn i-yla=ya gig=ùl=i*  
 see(nursery) see(nursery) he 3sm-be.expensive:res.=res. in=heart=loc.  
 'Come and see, come and see, he is dear in the heart!'

- *əngûli* is probably related to the verb *agál*, *gul* 'to see', but a further morphological analysis is not possible.
- *gig* is a common Berber preposition for 'in', but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition *ar-z-gig*. In this phrase it is combined with the locative suffix *i*

- Zanon translates this line as: Vedilo, vedilo! L'amo con tutto il fegato: Come and see, come and see! I love him with all my liver. He points out that, like the Arabic, Aujila considers the liver as the source of warm emotions. This is of course wrong, as the text actually has the word for 'heart' rather than liver. Therefore Aujila follows the European tradition of considering the heart as the source of warm emotions.

(485) *ğ̫sal l̫slam ən=ş̫unət*  
 believe:imp. islam of=sunnah  
 'Believe the Islam of the Sunnah!'

- *ş̫unət* Probably stands for *sunna(t)* 'Habitual practice (of the Islam)', but the *ş* instead of *s* and the long vowel *u* are unexpected.
- The second line is translated as: e farò cresca da buon musulmano. Lett: 'sarà da musulmano circonciso': And I will make him become a good muslim; litt.: He will become a circumcized muslim.; clearly both the literal and non literal translations do not correspond to the actual text. Although also the actual text is clearly a wish, or command to the child for it to become a good muslim.

## C.2.12 Song XII

This story refers to an old custom in Koran school, where, if a student has been able to learn some important sura's, he will offer lunch to his fellow students. He will have to serve the lunch himself, and will, among other things, remove the lid that covers the couscous. This song is a incitement to study.

### C.2.12.1 Original transcription

inṭar fillik tītīn tik'waît / ddāh tarfā't ittiš'waît

### C.2.12.2 Phonemic transcription

ənṭər fəllək tita n tikwàyt / ddax tərfəñt əttəšwàyt

### C.2.12.3 Glossed translation

(486) *ənṭər fəll-ək tita ən=tikwàyt*  
 abandon:imp. on-2sm hitting of=ball  
 'Abandon (to you) the playing (litt. hitting) of the ball'

- Zanon's transcription does not reflect the final *-a* of the verbal noun *tita* of the verb *awīt* 'to hit'. Perhaps Zanon's form reflects a variant *titi*.

- (487) *dax t-ərfəñ-t attəšwāyt*  
 in.order.to 2s-raise:<sup>\*</sup>pf.-2s couscous  
 ‘So that you may raise (the lid off) the couscous!’

- In Paradisi’s texts, *dax* is always followed by a future stem. In this text, it appears to be followed by a perfective.

### C.2.13 Song XIII

#### C.2.13.1 Original transcription

alḥamdūlillāhi azīṭannek iškî iddīra

#### C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

alḥamdu-lillāhi azīṭ=ənnək iški iddīr=a

#### C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

- (488) *alhamdulillāhi azīṭ=ənn-ək i-ški i-ddīr=a*  
 praise.be.to.god donkey=of-2sm 3sm-leave:<sup>\*</sup>pf. 3sm-live:res.=res.  
 ‘Praise be to god, your donkey came out alive!’

