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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 amoqqārān u qārīb ayemmūt w-iwīn n išf illūm amez-
zīnnes w-ifkīsīn elhāzmet n tēgarīwīn w-inīsīn: yaḥāt arzāttet. U yuḡītēt
kull iwīnān s-ḡarsīn igēlli āirzītēt, yezmeḡ-ká, ba‘adēn yuḡītēt ššāref u yuf-
fukkītēt u yefká kull iwīn tāḡarīt. Ba‘adēn kull iwīn yuḡā tāḡarīt u yerzītēt
fisa fisa. Ba‘adēn inīsīn: akká, kemmīm am tgarīwīn-īyek, úndu tellūmām
(anche: tellummām) imannekīm ma‘á ba‘ádkum attēqqīmām am tēgarī-
wīn-īyāk, úndu tellūmām-ká imannekīm attēqīmām am iwatān n tēgarīt
izmīra köll-iwīn ayerzītēt bišwāš. U inīsīn: lllummāt imannekīm, āissa‘ad-
kīm řábbi.

C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra gan amədən aməqqərən u=qərīb a=yəmmūt w=iwīn n=išf illūm
aməzɰi=nnəs w=ifk=isin əlhəzmət n=təyarīwīn w=in=isin: yaxət arzət=tət.
U=yuyi=tət kull iwīnān sɰar=sin iyəlli a=irzī=tət, yəzmər ká, bəfədən yuyi
=tət ššārəf u=yufukkī=tət u=yəfká kull iwīn təyarīt. Bəfədən kull iwīn
yuyá təyarīt u=yərzi=tət fisa fisa. Bəfədən in=isin: akká, kəmmīm am=tɰa-
riwīn=iyək, əndu¹ təllumām (or: təllumàm) iman=nəkīm məfá bəfəd
=kum a=ttəqqīmam am=təyarīwīn=iyək, təllumàm ká iman=nəkīm a=ttə-
qīmam am=iwatān n=təyarīt izmīra kull iwīn a=yərzi=tət bišwāš. U=ini
=sin: lllummāt iman=nəkīm, a=issəfəd=kīm řəbbi.

C.1.1.3 Glossed translation

(287) *Márra gan amədən aməqqərən u=qərīb a=yəmmūt*

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.’

¹Perhaps *úndu*

- (288) *w=iwìn n=išf i-llùm aməzzìn=n-əs w=i-fk=ísin*
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s and=3sm-give:*pf.=10.3pm
əlhəzmət n=təyarwìn w=i-n=ísin: yax-ət
 bundle of=sticks and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm take:imp.-pm
arz-ət=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-uyi=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yəlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-rzi=tət, y-əzmər ká
 fut.=3sm-break:fut.=DO.3sf 3sm-be.able:*pf. neg.
 ‘And each one of them took it and wanted to break it, (but) could not.’
- (290) *bəʕədèn y-uyi=tət ššàraf u=y-uffukkì=tət u=y-əfká*
 Then 3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf old.man and=3sm-untie:*pf.=DO.3sf and=3sm-give:pf.
kull iwìn təyarit.
 each one:sm stick
 ‘Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.’
- (291) *Bəʕədèn kull iwìn y-uyá təyarit u=y-ərzi=tət fisa fisa.*
 Then each one:sm 3sm-take:P stick and=3sm-break:*pf.=DO.3sf quickly quickly
 ‘Then each one took the stick and broke it quickly.’
- (292) *Bəʕədèn i-n=ísin: akká, kəmmim am=tyariwin=iyək, àndu*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm this.here you(pl.m.) like=stick-prox.:p if
t-əllumà-m iman=nə-kim məʕá bəʕəḍkum a=tt-əqqima-m
 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyarwìn=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.’
- *məʕá bəʕəḍkum* is a completely Arabic phrase.
 - *attəqqimam* 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-əqima-m am=iwatàn*
 2pm-gather:*pf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf
n=təyarit i-zmìr=a kull iwìn a=y-ərzi=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=isìn: llumm-àt iman=nə-kìm,*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm gather:imp.-pm self=of-2pm
a=i-ssəʕəd=kìm 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. Mārā yugāya ksūm u yušād yaḥṭīma af ammūd n sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq. Yufīten ‘amma mūdān l’āšār; yūnā ammūd-ī w-iddes ksūm. Iggīt dīta w-alimām sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq u ba‘ād ikkēmmel ya‘ādd irrōūwah u šummān ksūm wa yerfī‘a; ‘ala-mā fekkān-īs afīu yelgām ayémm. Ba‘adēn ya‘ādd yēnšed ārrafāqānnes wi iżīnāna net-tīn idsīn ksūm. Nānīs: nekkenī nēšummitīya u nčītīya. Inīsīn: nek ‘ala-mā fekkās afīu yelgām ayémm. Nānīs: ddīwa dgīta? Inīsīn: ba‘ād ušīgd unīḥ ammūd-ī, ufīḥten ‘amma mūdān, gīḥ dītī ksūm u qqāimīḥ mūdīḥ, wēn-mā kemmelḥ ‘addīḥ; wa d-elā šārāna. Nānīs ʕrrafāqānnes: ‘ādd anīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed āz-Zarrūq. Ya‘ādd inīst am-alā nānīsa. Wēn-mā inīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed ʕz-Zarrūq, inīs: nek lukān wā (anche: wāsa) ammūdān déffer-ī āīččīt afīu, ma‘ādč ammudāḥ s-ḥīddan. Inīs: ksūm-āya gāreḥ ‘ādd keffent, u ‘ādd mtīt zebbānet; ya‘ādd yemtīt u yāqqīm iḥabbār mīddēn. Wēn-mā slānt mīddēn n ašāl kull, ušānd gālīyēn ammūdān kull déffer-a w-ammūd meššék igēlli-kā ayūg mīddēn n ašāl. Yeḥammēm elfekrēnnes sīdi Ḥaméd, illúff dbāšēnnes w-inīsīn: gālīḥ a‘ddaāḥ (sic) fḥālī. Nānīs lēhāl n ašāl: anna‘ādd kull-īddek. U škīyēn iddes ir ahlēben ašāl u ba‘adēn inīsīn: šbārāt annākīm nek d-awīl tlāta marrāt ilā yōm ʕlqiyāma: wāsa anzurrān s-garkīm a‘ayyāten-dīk tālāta marrāt; āūšāzd w-affukkāḥt. Undú ušīgd-kā, anmhāseb neḥ iddes yōm ʕlqiyāma.

Nek wa d-elā slīḥa s-ār mīddēn lóūwel keddīmen, ḥakkān-dīk af sīdi Ḥāmed ez-Zarrūq.

C.1.2.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan n=amēdēn ašāl n=awīlēn. Mārā yuyā=ya ksūm u=yušād yəḥ-ṭīm=a af=ammūd n=sīdi Ḥāməd ʕz-Zarrūq. Yufī=tēn ʕəmma mudān l’əšəḥ; yūna ammūd=i w=iddəs ksūm. Iggī=t dīta w=alimām sīdi Ḥāməd ʕz-Zarrūq

u=bəfəd ikkəmməl yəfədd irrəwwəḥ u=šəmmàn ksùm wa yərfi=a; falamá fəkkən=is afiw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Bəfədèn yəfədd yənsəd ərrəfəq=ən-nəs wi iżinàn=a nəttin idsin ksùm. Nan=is: nəkkəni nəsummi=tì=ya u nçi=tì=ya. In=isin: nək fəla-má fəkkà=s afiw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Nan=is: ddiwa dgìt=a? In=isin: bəfəd ušiy=d unix ammùd=i, ufix=tən fəmma mudàn, gix diti ksùm u=qqimix mudix, wèn-ma kəmməlx fəddix; wa d=əlá šaràn=a. Nan=is ərrəfəq=ənnəs: fədd an=is=t i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq. Yəfədd in=is=t am=alá nan=is=a. Wèn-ma in=is=t i=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq, in=is: nək lukán wa (or: wása) a=mmudàn dəffəri a=ičçi=t afiw, məfəddə ammudəx s=ħiddan. In=is: ksum=aya yàrək fədd kəffən=t, u=fədd mtì=t žəbbànət; yəfədd yəmtì=t u=yəqqim ixəbbàr middən. wèn-ma slàn=t mīddən n=ašəl kùll, ušàn=d yəlliyən a=mmudàn kull dəffəra w=ammùd məš-šək iyəlli ká a=yüy mīddən n=ašəl. Yəxəmməm əlfəkr=ənnəs sidi Həməd, illuff dbaş=ənnəs w=in=isin: yəllix a=fəddəx fəli. Nan=is ləhəl n=ašəl: a=nnəfədd kull iddək. U=škìyən iddəs ir=a=hləbən ašəl u=bəfədèn in=isin: šbərət anna=kim nək d=awil tlàta marrət ila yom əlqiyàma: wása a=nzurràn syar=kim a=fəyyátən=dik təlàta marrət; a=ušà=z=d w=a=ffukàx=t. Undú ušiy=d ká, a=nmhəsəb nək iddəs yom əlqiyàma.

Nək wa d=əlá slix=a sar mīddən ləwwəl kəddimən, həkkan=dik af=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq.

C.1.2.3 Glossed translation

- (295) *Gan iwínan n=amədən ašəl n=awilən.*
 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-əxtim=a*
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammùd n=sidi Həməd əz-Zarruq.
 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 fəmma mudà-n lšəşər;*
 3sm-find:pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
 ‘He found them praying the afternoon prayer.’
- (298) *y-ùna ammùd=i w=iidd-əs ksùm.*
 3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc. and=with-3s meat
 ‘He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat’

- (299) *I-ggì=t dīt-a w=alimàm sidi Hāməd əz-Zarrùq u=bəṣád*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm and=imam sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq and=after
i-kkəmməl y-əṣádd i-rrəwwəḥ u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa
 3sm-finish:*pf. 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-return:*pf. and=cook:*pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms
y-ərfiṣ=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) *Ṣalamá fəkkə-n=ìs aṭw y-əlyám a=y-əmm.*
 as.much.as give:impf.-3pm=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-cook:fut.
 ‘No matter how much fire they would give it, it refused to cook.’
- (301) *Bəṣádèn y-əṣádd y-ənšəd ərrəfəq=ənn-əs wi ižinà-n=a*
 then 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-ask:seq. companions=of-3s PMPH:pm divide:res.-3pm=res.
nəttìn 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: nəkkəní n-əšummi=tì=ya u=n-čì=tì=ya.*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.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: nək Ṣalamá fəkk-à=s aṭw y-əlyám*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm I as.much.as. give:impf.-1s=IO.3s fire 3sm-refuse:pf.
a=y-əmm.
 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: ddiwa d-gì-t=a?*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s what 2s-do:res.-2s=res.
 ‘They said to him: what did you do?’
- (305) *I-n=isìn: bəṣád ušì-γ=d unì-x ammùd=i, ufi-x=tən*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm after go:*pf.-1s enter:*pf.-1s mosque=loc. find:*pf.-1s=DO.3pm
Ṣamma mudà-n, gì-x dīt-i ksùm u=qqimì-x mudì-x,
 prog. pray:impf.-3pm put:*pf.-1s in.front-1s meat and=stay:*pf.-1s pray:impf.-1s
wènma kəmməl-x Ṣəddi-x; wa d=əlá šarà-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* *arrafaḡ=ànn-əs: ʕàdd an=ìs=t*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm
i=sìdi Həməd əz-Zarruq.
 dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarruq
 'His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarruq.'
- (307) *Y-əʕàdd i-n=ìs=t* *am=alá na-n=ìs=a.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3s like=rel. say:res.-3pm=IO.3s=res.
 'He went and told it to him like they had told him'
- (308) *Wènma i-n=ìs=t* *i=sìdi Həməd əz-Zarrùq, i-n=ìs:*
 as.soon.as 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarruq 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s
nək lukàn wa (or: *wàsa*) *a=mmudà-n dáffər-i*
 I if PMPH:sm rel. fut.=pray:fut.-ptc. behind-1s
a=i-ččì=t *aftw, məʕàdč a=mmudà-x s=ḥiddan.*
 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 Zarruq, 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 ɣàr-ək ʕàdd kəffən=t, u=ʕàdd*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s meat*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-əʕàdd y-əmtì=t* *u y-əqqim i-xəbbàr middən.*
 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-bury:*pf.=DO.3sm and 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-tell:impf. people
 'He went and buried it and he started telling people (about what had happened).'
- (311) *wènma slà-n=t* *middən n=ašàl kùll, ušà-n=d*
 as.soon.as hear:*pf.-3pm=DO.3sm people of=village all come:*pf.-3pm=come
ɣəlliy-ən a=mmudà-n kull dáffər-a w=ammùd məššák
 want:*pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms
i-ɣəlli ká a=y-ùɣ middən n=ašàl.
 3sm-want:*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-axəmmám əlfəkr=ənn-əs sidi Háməd, i-llüff dbaş=ənn-əs*
 3sm-think:pf. thought=of-3s sidi.Hamid 3sm-wrap.up:*pf. stuff=of-3s
w=i-n=isìn: γəlli-x a=ʕəddà-x fḥàli.
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm want:*pf.-1s fut.=go:fut.-1s by.myself
 ‘Sidi Hamid thought his thought, wrapped up his stuff and said to them: I want to go by myself.’

• Notice that *yaxəmmám* 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 *cĕc* verbs.

- (313) *Na-n=is ləhəl n=ašàl: a=n-nəʕədd 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=škìy-ən idd-əs ir=a-hləb-ən ašàl u=bəʕədèn*
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then
i-n=isìn: šbər-àt a=nn-a=kìm nək d=awil tlàta
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm wait:imp.-pm fut.=say:fut.-1s=10.2pm I pred.=Aujilan three
marràt ila 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=ʕəyyát-ən=dik təlàta marràt;*
 rel. fut.=suffer:fut.-ptc. from-2pm fut.=call:fut.-3pm=10.1s three times
a=uš-à=z=d w=a=ffukkà-x=t.
 fut.=come:fut.-1s=10.3s=come and=fut.=solve:fut.-1s=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-mḥàsəb nək idd-əs yom əlqiyàma.*
 if come:*pf.-1s 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=ələ sli-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən,*
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
ḥəkkà-n=dik af=sidi 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 iwīnān yerfī‘a af tēgīlīnnes elhāml zḡāk s-gār lemluḡīyet w-iḡgāḡ zen-qīn-ī n ašāl u nettīn i‘āyāt w-itennīs: lemluḡīyet bāhīyet. W-iḡgāḡ ggūt išfīwan u iḡḡ lūda u tāfūt taḡmāya fellīs u taqqīm tettā afišēnnes id elgefānnes u tāqqīm am ʿžžahīm fellīs u nettīn llekkā iḡgāḡ u i‘āyāt: ʿlm-luḡīyet bāhīyet. U taḡzér gāres tēmīgnī w-ʿtnīs: i-kú a-wán lemluḡīyet. U yāḡzér nettīn gāres w- igā elḡamēlēnnes dīt n tēmīgnī u tenšéd:t: z-dīwa? Inīs: sséba‘a n millīm. Tnīs ennāt: s-árba‘a béss. Inīs: árba‘a ḡēntā. Tnīs: nek nāka s-árba‘a n millīm, ya‘žeb-kūya nāḡ ya‘žeb-kūya-ká? Inīs: ya‘žebīya-ká. Tnīs: blaš, u tāqqāš elbāb fellīs u ba‘adēn yeḡzér af elḡamēl-ēnnes wa-zḡāken daḡ ayerfā‘t lākēn yekrī yévded u ba‘adēn yemmúdd a-fūs-ēnnes yeddúgg af elbāb u teškī tēmīgnī gāres w-ʿtnīs: amūr dḡīḡīt s-alūwel aḡēr-lek-ká? Yekrī-ká fellīs ḡlān u ba‘adēn yerfā‘ ʿlmīzānnes wa yaḡmeltīya u yeḡbōtṭ af tēgīlī n tēmīgnī u tīvā tēmīgnī temmūt u yeqqīm yevdīda aḡūrēnnes ir ayūš el-bulīs.

C.1.3.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan yərffīʿa af=təgīlī=nnəs əlhəml zḡāk sḡar ləmluxiyət w=iḡgāḡ dzənqīn=i n ašāl u=nəttīn iʿayāt w=itənn=īs: ləmluxiyət bāh(ə)yət. W=iḡgāḡ ggūt išfīwən u=iḡḡ lūda u=tafūt təḡmā=ya fəllīs u=təqqīm tettā afiš=ənnəs id=əlgəfā=nnəs u=təqqīm am=əžžəḡīm fəllīs u=nəttīn lləkkā iḡgāḡ u=iʿayāt: əlmluxiyət bāh(ə)yət. U=təxzér ḡarəs təmīgnī w=ətn=īs: i=kú a=wá=n ləmluxiyət. U=yəxzér nəttīn ḡarəs w=igā əḡəm(ə)l=ənnəs dīt n=təmīgnī u=tənšəd=t: z=dīwa? In=īs: ssəb(ə)ʿa n=millīm. Tn=īs ən-nāt: s=ərb(ə)ʿa bəss. In=īs:ərb(ə)ʿa ḡēntā. Tn=īs: nək nā=k=a s=ərb(ə)ʿa n=millīm, yəʿžəb=kū=ya naḡ yəʿžəb=kū=ya ká? In=īs: yəʿžəb=i=ya ká. Tn=īs: blaš, u=təqqāš əlbāb fəllīs u=bəʿədən yəxzér af=əḡəm(ə)l=ənnəs wa zḡākən dax a=yərʿəfət=lākən yəkrī yəvdəd u=bəʿədən yəmmúdd afus=ənnəs yəddúgg af=əlbāb u=təškī təmīgnī ḡarəs w=ətn=īs: amūr dḡīḡīt s=alūwəl axər lək ká? Yəkrī ká fəll=īs ḡlān u=bəʿədən yərʿəf əlmīzān=nəs wa yəḡməl=tī=ya u yəxbətṭ=ṭ af=təgīlī n=təmīgnī u=tīva təmīgnī təmmūt u=yəqqīm yəvdīd=a aḡur=ənnəs ir=a=yūš əlbulīs.

C.1.3.3 Glossed translation

- (318) *Gan iwīnan y-ərffīʿa* *af=təgīlī=nn-əs əlhəml zḡāk*
 there one:ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
sḡar=ləmluxiyət w=iḡgāḡ *dzənqīn=i n=ašāl u=nəttīn iʿayāt*
 from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.

w=i-tənn=is: ləmluxiyət bəh(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-žigəž ggüt išfiwən u=i-žič lūda u=tafūt*
 and=3sm-walk:impf. many days and=3sm-sell:*pf. nothing and=sun
t-əhmà=ya fəlli-s u=t-əqqim (t)-tattà afiš=ənn-əs id=əlgəfā=nn-əs
 3sf-burn.res.=res. on-3s and=3sf-stay:*pf. 3sf-eat:impf. face=of-3s with=neck=of-3s
u=t-əqqim am=əžžəhəm fəlli-s u=nattin llakká i-žigəž
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. like=hell on-3s and=he still 3sm-walk:impf.
u=i-šayàt: əmluxiyət bəhəy-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-əxzór yār-əs təmigni w=ət-n=is: i=kú a=wá=n*
 and=3sf-see:pf. to-3s woman and=3sf-say:*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 nattin yār-əs w=i-gá əlhəməl=ənn-əs dit n=təmigni*
 and=3sm-see:pf. he to-3s and=3sm-put:pf. load=of-3s in.front of=woman
u=t-ənšə̀d=t: zdīwa?
 and=3sf-ask:*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=is: s=səbəša n=millim.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s with=seven of=milliem
 ‘He said to her: For seven milliemes.’

- (323) *T-n=is ənnàt: s=ərbəša bəss.*
 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s she: with=four enough
 ‘She said to him: for four (milliemes should be) enough.’

- (324) *I-n=is:ərbəša həntə.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s four little
 ‘He said to her: Four is (too) little.’

- (325) *T-n=is: nək n-à=k=a s=àrbəfa n=millim,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s I say:res.-1s=IO.2sm=res. with=four of=milliem,
y-əʃžəb=kù=ya naɣ y-əʃžəb=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=is: y-əʃžəb=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=is: 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=bəʃədèn y-əxzár af=əlhəməl=ənn-əs wa zžàk-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərfəʃ=t ləkən y-əkri y-əvdəd u=bəʃədèn
 fut.=3sm-lift:fut.=DO.3sm but 3sm-return:*pf. 3sm-stop:seq. and=then
y-əmmùdd 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.’
- *ləkən* ‘but’ does not translate well into the English translation here. But it seems to be indicate that the salesman has changed his mind.
- (329) *u=t-əški təmìgni yàr-əs w=ət-n=is: amùr d-žìžì-t*
 and=3sf-leave:*pf. woman to-3s and=3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s if 2s-sell:*pf.-2s
s=alìwəl axèr lək 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-ìs žlàn u=bəʃədèn y-ərfəš əlmizàn=n-əs wa*
 3sm-return:*pf. neg. on-3s words and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms
y-əhməl=tì=ya u=y-əxbəʃ=t af=təgìli 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-əqqim 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 əbulìs.
 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-î u iddes azîōténnes igélli āīzīzît. Ba'adên yefkît i-ddellâl dâh āīzīzît. Ba'adên yâqqîm êddellâl i'âyât (anche: i'āiyât) w-itennîs: wâya d-azîṭ fešûš, qâwî u d-azîṭ mrî. Ba'adên âqqîmân mîddēn rennîyen (anche: rennân) fellîs s-ar žlân-îya. Ba'adên yeslâ Žhâ žlân-îya w-inîs y-imânnēs: la-búdda azîōtēnnûk kuwéyes šahîḥ. Ba'adên yqâqîm [sic] irénni id mîddēn. Ba'adên yeškî elbârât u yefkîṭeṇet y-âddellâl u yugâ azîōṭ u ya'âdd yefrîḥa. Ba'adên êl'âqqâb-î yâqqîm nettîn id-dmēgnîs (anche: id-tēmignînnes) u yaḥkîs af laḥkâyet n-arennî (anche: arēnnu). Tnîs ênnât: qâma annâk laḥkâyet aḥîr n-tânnēk. Tnîs: yeḥâtṭâm sîla wa žizân lemluḥîyet, yâqqîm itâzândîk ba'adên gîḥ eddémlež n eddâhab êlkéffet ta-gân êlmizân; ba'adên yekkémmeḥ uzúnnes, êntârhê eddemlež-ennûk elmizân-î rwîḥḥa āīnidîk: kem ttâkârt s-gâr-î. Ba'adên inîs Žhâ: bâhi, nek šûgârḥ s-elhawâyî u kem s-arēzgiḡ u tudîk attâ'mîr tēfillinnâḥ.

Perhaps *y-âddellâl* is *y-âddelâl*, 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

Yēškî Žhâ ssûq=i u iddēs aziyṭ=ēnnēs iyēlli a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəfkî=t i=ddəlləl dax a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəqqîm əddəlləl ifəy(y)ət w=itənn=îs: wâya d=azîṭ fəšûš, qəwi u=d=azîṭ mrî. Bəfədēn əqqîmân mîddən rənnîyən (or: rənnân) fəllîs sar žlan=îya. Bəfədēn yəslâ Žhâ žlan=îya w=in=îs y=imân=nēs: la-búdda aziyṭ=ənnûk kəwəyəs šəḥîḥ. Bəfədēn yəqqîm irən-ni id=mîddən. Bəfədēn yēškî əlbarət u=yəfkî=tənət y=əddəlləl u=yuḡâ aziyṭ u=yəfədd yəfrîḥ=a. Bəfədēn əlfəqqâb=i yəqqîm nəttîn id=dməgnî=s (or: id=təmignî=nnēs) u=yəḥk=îs af=ləḥkâyəṭ n=arənnî (or: arēnnu). Tn=îs ənnât: qâma a=nnâ=k ləḥkâyəṭ axîr n=tâ nnək. Tn=îs: yəxəṭṭam sîla wa žizân ləmluxəyət, yəqqîm itazən=dîk bəfədēn gîx əddəmləž n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta=gân əlmizân; bəfədēn yəkkəmməl uzún=nēs, əntərx əddəmləž=ənnûk əlmizân=i rwîḥḥ=a a=ini=dîk: kəm ttākərt syəri. Bəfədēn in=îs Žhâ: bâhi, nək šuyàrx s=əlhəwəyî u=kəm sar=əzgiḡ u=tudîk a=ttəfîmîr tēfilli=nnâx.

C.1.4.3 Glossed translation

- (331) *Y-əški Žhà ssùq=i u=idd-əs azit=ənn-əs i-yəlli*
 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=with-3s donkey=of-3s 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-žiži=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-əfki=t i=ddəlləl dax a=i-žiži=t.*
 then 3sm-give:*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 əddəlləl i-ŋəy(y)ət w=i-tənn=is: wàya*
 then 3sm-stay:*pf. auctioneer 3sm-yell:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s this:sm
d=azit fəšùš, qəwi u=d=azit mrì.
 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=iya.*
 Then stay:*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=iya w=i-n=is y=imàn=n-əs:*
 Then 3sm-hear:pf. Jha words=prox.:p and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s dat.=self=of-3s
labùdda azit=ənn-ùk kəwəyəs şəhih.
 certainly donkey=of-1s 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:*pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
 'Then he started bidding along with the people.'
- (337) *Bəfədèn y-əški əlbarət u=y-əfki=tənət y=əddəlləl*
 Then 3sm-take.out:*pf. money and=3sm-give:*pf.=DO.3pf dat.=auctioneer
u=y-uyá azit u=y-əfədd y-əfrih=a.
 and=3sm-take:pf. donkey and=3sm-go:*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.'

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

- (338) *Bəʕədèn əlʕəqqàb=i y-əqqim nəttin id=dməgnì-s (or: id=təmignì-nn-əs)*
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:*pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
u=y-əħk=iš af=ləħkàyət n=arənní (or: arənnu).
 and=3sm-tell:*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=iš ənnàt: qàma a=nn-à=k ləħkàyət axir*
 3pf-say:P=10.3s she now fut.=tell:fut.-1s=10.2sm story better
n=tà=nn-ək.
 of=PMPH=of-2sm

'She said to him: Now I will tell you a story (even) better than yours!'

- (340) *T-n=iš: y-əxəttam sila wa žizà-n ləmluxəyət,*
 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s 3sm-pass.by:impf. along.here PMPH:sm sell:impf.-ptc. mulukhiya
y-əqqim i-tazən=dik bəʕədèn gè-x əddəmləž n=əddəhəb
 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-weigh:impf.=10.1s then put:*pf.-1s bracelet of=gold
əlkəffət ta gàn əlmizàn;
 plate PMPH: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, *yəxəttam* looks like an imperfective with an irregular accent on the penultimate syllable. Semantically, this verb rather looks like a perfective

- (341) *bəʕədèn y-əkkəmməl uzùn=n-əs, ənṭər-x əddəmləž=ənn-ùk əlmizàn=i*
 Then 3sm-finish:*pf. weighing=of-3s leave:*pf.-1s bracelet=of-1s scales=loc.
rwiħ-ħ=a a=i-ni=dik: kəm t-tàkər-t şyàr-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) *Bəʕədèn i-n=iš Žhà: bəhi, nək şuyàr-x s=əlhəwəyyi*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside
u=kəm sar=əzgiğ u=tudik a=t-təʕmìr təfilli=nn-àx.
 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, *şuyàrx* 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 yętemęnna s-gār rābbī ayefkīs elf znī u yāqqīm itęlleb u itennīs: ya rābbī undū yenqīsa iwīnān auǵāh-tęneť-ká. Ba‘adēn yeslīt ęlhūdi aringīnnes ba‘adēn inīs lhūdi y-imānnes wāllāhī qāma aħdefās tésa‘a mīyet id tésa‘a u tes‘īn žnī w-aggulāht ayuǵíteņeť naǵ wélā. W-igítęneť arāqūt-ī u yaħdefťeņeť dīt nę Žhâ s-ar ęrrōšen. U yefrāh Žhâ sénet u inīs: rābbī yefkīdīka amalā ǵellīh. U yetuār arāqūt u yaħsebtęneť yufítęneť ānqāšnīta iwīnān u ba‘adēn inīs: Wa yefkīdīka l‘ālla ayefkīdīk iwīnan; ba‘adēn igítęneť ššundūq-ī u nettīn yefrīha. Ba‘adēn yeškī ęlhūdi w-inīs yę-Žhâ: aǵīd elbarāt-ennūk. Inīs Žhâ: rābbī yefkīdīka albāšīret u ku tǵallīt attuǵāttet s-ǵār-ī? Inīs ęlhūdi: nek wa aħdefťtīta ī-kú dah aggulāhku attuǵāttęneť ęnqāšnīta nāǵ wélā. Yelǵóm ayefkítęneť y-elhūdi. Ba‘adēn inīs ęlhūdi: nek anťārāhku-ká īr anna‘add nek-īddek ar elqāđī. Inīs Žhâ: nek ‘ayyānah u zmerh-ká a‘addāh af țārīnnūk w-ērweħa (‘h>hħ>h) s-gār šmut u ǵārī-ká telāba. Inīs ālhūdi: afkāk azīt id telāba ǵār ‘add īdd-ī ar ęlqāđī. Ba‘ad ušālęn ar elqāđī išerwīs lēhūdi s-alā šārāna. Inīs elqāđī i-Žhâ: šahīh žlān-īya? Ba‘adēn inīs: lhūdi iqāllez fellīwi u nek rwīhħa ayęqlez w-āinīs ħátta tlābannūk ta-tennī fellīwī t-tānnes (dt>tt) nettīn īd azītēnnūk āinīs d-wānnes nettīn. Ba‘adēn i‘āyet elhūdi w-inīs y-elqāđī: wāllāhī t-tinnūk. Inīs elqāđī: ku teqāllezt šahīh ‘add ‘add róuwaħ. U ya‘add Žhâ yefrīha yaħšašīla ędbūš īd azīt īd elbarāt.

C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhâ yętęmęnna sȳar řębbi a=yęfk=īs ęlf žnī u=yęqqīm itęllęb u=itęnn=īs: ya řębbi ęndū yęnqīsa=iwīnan a=uyǵx=tęnęť ká. Bęfędęn yęslī=t ęlhūdi aringī=nnęs bęfędęn in=īs lhūdi y=imān=nęs wāllāhī qāma aħdęfā=s tęs(ę)-fa męyęť id=tęs(ę)fa u=tęsīn žnī w=a=ggulāx=t a=yuyī=tęnęť naǵ węla. w=igī=tęnęť aręqūt=i u=yęħdęf=tęnęť dīt nę=Žhâ sar=ęrrōšen. U=yęfrāh Žhâ sęnęť u=in=īs: řębbi yęfkī=dīk=a am=alá ȳęllīx. U=yętuwār aręqūt u=yęħsęb=tęnęť yufī=tęnęť ęnqęšnīt=a iwīnan u=bęfędęn in=īs: wa yęfkī=dīk=a l‘ālla a=yęfkī=dīk iwīnan; bęfędęn igī=tęnęť ššundūq=i u=nęttīn yęfrīh=a. Bęfędęn yęškī ęlhūdi w=in=īs yę=Žhâ: aȳī=d ęlbarat=ęnnūk. In=īs Žhâ: řębbi yęfkī=dīk=a albāšīret u=ku tȳęllīt a=ttuȳat=tęť sȳārī? In=īs ęlhūdi: nęk wa aħdęfęx=tīt=a ī=kú dax a=ggulāx=ku a=ttuȳa(t)=tęnęť ęnqęšnīt=a naǵ węla. yęlȳęm a=yęfkī=tęnęť y=ęlhūdi. Bęfędęn in=īs ęlhūdi: nęk anťęr(ę)x=ku ká īr=a=nnęfędd nęk īdd=ęk ar=ęlqęđī. In=īs Žhâ: nęk fęyyānęx u=zmerx ká a=fęddāx af=țarin=nūk w=ęrwīh=a sȳar=šmut u=ȳārī ká tęlāba. In=īs ęlhūdi: a=fkā=k azīt id=tęlāba ȳar fędd īddī ar=ęlqęđī.

Bəfəd uşələn ar=əlqədi išərw=is ləhùdi s=alá şarán=a. In=is əlqədi i=Žhà: şəhīh žlan=iya? Bəfədèn in=is: lhùdi iqəlləz fəllīwi u=nək rwiħħ=a a=yəqləz w=a=in=is hətta tlabannük ta tənni fəllīwi t=tá=nnəs nəttin id=azit=ənnük a=in=is d=wà=nnəs nəttin. Bəfədèn ifəyət əlhùdi w=in=is y=əlqədi: wəllàhi t=ti=nnük. In=is əlqədi: ku təqəlləzt şəhīh fədd ədd rəwwəh. U=yəfədd Žhà yəfriħ=a yəhəşşil=a ədbüş id=azit id=əlbarət.

C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

- (343) *Žhà y-atəmàнна şyar=rəbbi a=y-əfk=is əlf žni*
 Jha 3sm-wish:*pf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=10.3s 1,000 pound
u=y-əqqim i-təlləb u=i-tənn=is: ya=rəbbi əndú
 and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-request:impf. and=3sm-say:impf.=10.3s voc.=God if
y-ənqiş=a iwīnan 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) *Bəfədèn y-əslī=t əlhùdi aringī=nn-əs bəfədèn i-n=is*
 Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s
lhùdi y=imàn=n-əs wəllàhi qàma a=hədaf-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=təsīn žni w=a=ggulà-x=t
 with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm
a=y-uyí=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 arəqūt=i u=y-əhdəf=tənət dit nə=Žhà*
 and=3sm-put:*pf.-DO.3pf bag=loc. and=3sm-throw:*pf.=DO.3pf front of=Jha
sar=ərrəşən.
 from=window
 'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.'

- (346) *U=y-əfráh Žhà s-ənət u=i-n=is: rəbbi*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s God
y-əfki=dik=a am alá yəllī-x.
 3sm-give:res.=10.1s=res. like rel. want:*pf.-1s
 'And Jha became happy with it and said: God has given like I wanted!'

- (347) *U=y-ətuwàr arəqùt u=y-əhsəb=tənət y-ufi=tənət*
 and=3sm-open:×pf. bag and=3sm-count:×pf.=DO.3pf 3sm-find:×pf.=DO.3pf
ənqəş-nit=a iwínan u=bəʕədèn i-n=is: wa
 lack:res.-3pf=res. one:sm and=then 3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm
y-əfki=dik=a lʕàlla a=y-əfki=dik iwínan;
 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) *bəʕədèn i-gi=tənət ʕʕundùq=i u=nəttìn y-əfrih=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) *Bəʕədèn y-əški əlhùdi w=i-n=is yə=Žhà: ayid*
 then 3sm-leave:×pf. Jew and=3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s dat.=Jha bring:imp.
albarat=ənn-ùk.
 money=of-1s
 ‘Then the Jew came out and said to Jha: Bring my money (back)’
- (350) *I-n=is Žhà: rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albəširət u=ku*
 3sm-say:×pf.-IO.3s Jha God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you
t-γəlli-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=is əlhùdi: nək wa əhdəf-x=tit=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-tuyà-(t)=tənət ənqəş-nit=a naγ wəla.
 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=tənət y=əlhùdi.*
 3sm-refuse:pf. fut.=3sm-give:fut.=DO.3pf dat.-Jew
 ‘He refused to give them to the Jew.’
- (353) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is əlhùdi: nək a=nʕər-əx=ku ká*
 then 3sm-say:×pf.=IO.3s Jew I fut.=let.go:fut.-1s=DO.2sm neg.
ir=a=nnə-ʕədd nək idd-ək ar=əlqəđi.
 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-nṭār-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=ìs* *Žhà: nək řayyán-əx* *u=zmər-x* *ká a=řaddà-x*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha I be.sick:impf.-1s and=be.able:*pf.-1s neg. fut.=go:fut.-1s
af=řarin=n-úk w=ərwiḥ-(ḥ)=a *řyar=řmuṭ u=řar-i* *ká təlàba.*
 on=legs=of-1s and=be.afraid:res.-1s=res. from=cold and=to-1s 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=ìs* *əlhùdi: a=fk-à=k* *ažiṭ* *id=təlàba řar řədd*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.
idd-i ar=əlqàdi.
 with-1s 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) *Bəřád uřàl-ən* *ar=əlqàdi i-řərw=ìs* *ləhùdi s=alá*
 Then arrive:*pf.-3pm to=judge 3sm-tell:*pf.=10.3s Jew from=rel.
řarà-n=a.
 happen:res.-ptc.=res.
 ‘Then they arrived at the Judge and the Jew told him about what had happened.’
- (357) *I-n=ìs* *əlqàdi i=Žhà: řəḥiḥ* *žlan=iya?*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words-PROX:pf.
 ‘The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?’
- (358) *Bəřadèn i-n=ìs:* *lhùdi i-qəlləz* *fəlli-wi u=nək*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s and=I
rwiḥ-ḥ=a *a=y-əqləz* *w=a=i-n=ìs* *hətta*
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s even
tłaba=nn-úk ta t-ənní *fəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs* *nəttin*
 gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=ažiṭ=ənn-úk *a=i-n=ìs* *d=wà=nn-əs* *nəttin.*
 with=donkey=of-1s fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s 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) *Bəřadèn i-řayəṭ* *əlhùdi w=i-n=ìs* *y=əlqàdi: wəllàhi*
 Then 3sm-yell:*pf. Jew and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=judge by.God
t=ti=nn-úk.
 pred.=PMPH:PMPH=of-1s
 ‘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 *ažit* 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=ìs əlqàdi: ku t-əqəlləz-t şəhùh fədd fədd rəwwəh.*
 3sm-say:* 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 Žhà y-əfrìh-a y-əhəşşil-a ədbùş id*
 And 3sm-go:P Jha 3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes
ažit 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

Žhà yəşkìna l‘allì-y-ì, ba‘adeñ [MvP: sic] yušád iwínān isāsa af tēfillinnes. Ba‘adēn yáħzer Žhà s-ar-zùt w-inìs: ddiwa tğallit a-y-amédēn? Inìs amédēn: yīd-dìla. Yušizd Žhà. Ba‘adēn inìs amédēn: fkiđik s-ar (anche: s-gār) elháqq ərṛábbi (nr̥ > r̥r̥). Ba‘adēn inìs Žhà: yīd zòt. U yelbúb nettīn iddes ar-zùt w-inìs: gārī-ká. Ba‘adēn inìs wa sāsān: af-ìwa tneddík-ká (anche: ur tneddík) žlan-ìya u nek nnìh ar-ùtā? Ba‘adēn inìs Žhà: w-afìwa tēneddík ərəš arùtā?

C.1.6.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà yəškìn=a lʃəlli=yi, bəʃədèn yuša=d iwínān isāsa af=təfilli=nnəs. Bəʃədèn yəħzər Žhà sar=zùt w=in=ìs: ddiwa tɣəllit ay=amədən? In=ìs amədən: yi=d dila. Yuš=iz=d Žhà. Bəʃədèn in=ìs amədən: fki=dik sar=(or: sɣər=) əlhàqq ər=rəbbi. Bəʃədèn in=ìs Žhà: yid zùt. U=yəlbəb nətīn iddəs ar=zùt w=in=ìs: ɣari ká. Bəʃədèn in=ìs wa sāsān: af-ìwa tnəd=dik ká (or: ur=tnəd=dik) žlan=ìya u=nək nnix ar=ùtā? Bəʃədèn in=ìs Žhà: w=af-ìwa tənəd=dik irəš ar=ùtā?

C.1.6.3 Glossed translation

(362) *Žhà y-əškìn=a lʃəlli=yi,*
 Jha 3sm-live:res.=res. high=loc.
 ‘Jha lived in a high (place),’

- (363) *bəʕədèn y-ušà=d iwínan i-sàsa af=təʕfilli=nn-əs.*
 then 3sm-come:pf. one:sm 3sm-beg:impf. on=house-of-3s
 ‘Then someone came begging at his house.’
- (364) *Bəʕədèn y-əxzər Žhà sar=zùt w=i-n=is:*
 Then 3sm-look:seq. Jha from=above and 3sm-say:*pf.-10.3s
 ‘Then Jha looked from above and said to him.’
- (365) *ddiwa t-ɣəlli-t ay=amədən?*
 what 2s-want:*pf.-2s voc.=man
 ‘What do you want, man?’
- (366) *I-n=is amədən: yi=d dila.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s 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=iž=d Žhà.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=10.3s Jha
 ‘Jha came to him’
- (368) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is amədən: fki=dik sar (or: syàr)=əlhàqq*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s man give:imp.=10.1s from=right
ər=rəbbi.
 of=God
 ‘Then he said to him: give me (something) from the right of God.’
- (369) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is Žhà: yid zùt.*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha come:imp. up
 ‘Then Jha said to him: come up.’
- (370) *U y-əlbáb nəttìn idd-əs ar=zùt w=i-n=is: ɣar-i ká.*
 and 3sm-climb:pf. he with-3s to=up and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s to=1s neg.
 ‘And he climbed up with him and he (Jha) said to him: I don’t have (anything).’
- (371) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is wa sása-n: aʕiwa t-nə-d=dik ká*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s PMPH:ms beg:impf.-ptc. why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s neg.
 (or: *ur=t-nə-d=dik*) *žlan=iya u=nək nnì-x ar=ùta?*
 neg.=2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s words-prox.:p and=I be(loc.):*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) *Bəfədèn i-n=is* *Žhà: w=afīwa t-ənə-d=dik* *irəš*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: and=why 2s-say:*pf.-2s=10.1s 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’add Žhà ssùq-ī w-iság azīt u yeqqánt s-ažiker u ya’add w-azīōt déffer-a (anche: déffer-ah). Ba’adèn ušānīzd itnèn ěn-qāttā’an, iwīnān itūar azīōt u yerfát iddes w-iwīnān yaqqán imānnes amakān n-azīt. Ba’adèn yáhzar Žhà yufā améděn amakān n-azīt yugā yekrī sīs ssùq-ī w-inīs y-ettāžer wa-yugāya s-gāres azīt: šekrī-dik elbarātennūk, wāya d-azīt-ká, wāya d-améděn. W-igīs lěharžet. Ba’adèn išekrīs elbarātěnnes u ya’add Žhà iróūwah.

C.1.7.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žhà ssùq=i w-isəy azīt u=yəqqən=t s=ažikər u=yəfədd w=aziyt dəffəra (or: dəffərah). Bəfədèn ušan=iz=d itnèn ən=qəttā’an, iwīnan itūar aziyt u=yərfəf=t iddəs w=iwīnan yəqqən imən=nəs amakān n=azīt. Bəfədèn yəxzər Žhà yufā amədən amakān n=azīt yugā yəkri sīs ssùq=i w=in=is y=əttāžər wa yugā=ya sgarəs azīt: šekri=dik əlbarat=ənnūk, wāya d=azīt ká, wāya d=amədən. W=ig=is ləharžət. Bəfədèn išəkr=is əlbarat=ənnəs u=yəfədd Žhà irəwwəh.

C.1.7.3 Glossed translation

- (373) *Y-əfədd Žhà ssùq=i* *w=i-səy* *azīt*
 3sm-go:*pf. Jha market=loc. and=3sm-buy:*pf. donkey
 ‘Jha went to the marker and bought a donkey.’
- (374) *u=y-əqqən=t* *s=ažikər* *u=y-əfədd* *w=azīt*
 and=3sm-tie:*pf.-3sm=DO.3sm with=rope and=3sm-go:*pf. and=donkey
dəffər-a (or: *dəffər-ah*).
 behind-3sm
 ‘And he tied it with a rope and went and the donkey (was) behind him.’
- (375) *Bəfədèn uša-n=iz=d* *itnèn ən=qəttā’an, iwīnan i-túwar*
 Then come:*pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:*pf.
azīt *u=y-ərfəf=t* *idd-əs w=iwīnan y-əqqən*
 donkey and=3sm-take.away:*pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf.

imàn=n-əs amakàn n=azìt.
 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) *Bəṣadèn y-àxzər Žhà y-ufá amàdàn amakàn n=azìt y-uḡá*
 then 3sm-look:seq. Jha y-find:pf. man place of=donkey 3sm-take:pf.
y-əkrí s=ís ssùq=í w=i-n=ís y=attàžər wa
 3sm-return:*pf. with-3s market=loc. and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=merchant PMPH:ms
y-uḡá=ya syàr-əs azìt:
 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) *šəkrí=dík əlbarat=ənn-ùk, wàya d=azìt ká, wàya d=amàdàn.*
 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=ís lahəržət.*
 and=3sm-do:*pf.=10.3s noise
 ‘And he made a fuss to him.’

(379) *Bəṣadèn i-šəkr=ís əlbarat=ənn-əs u=y-əṣàdd Žhà*
 then 3sm-return:*pf.=10.3s money=of-3s and=3sm-go:*pf. Jha
i-rəwwəḥ.
 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 yâqqîm iddahwâr ašâli kkúll inéššed el’ulamâ u igellébtén u nettín iddahwâr ir itûg Žhâ. Ba’adên inšétt w-inîs: mäg innî ennûšš ên temûrt kkúll? Inîs Žhâ: amakân wa innî azîötennûk w-öndú tšaddâqtîya-ká äžvot temûrt. Itaháyyär el’âlem w-inšétt: ammágwa al’âded nē-nġûm? Inîs Žhâ: d-el’âded n aževû n azîötennûk, undú tšaddâqtîya-ká aḥséb ěnġûm w-aḥséb aževû n azîötennûk. Ba’adên yenšétt amêdċen u inîs: ammágwa el’âded n aževû n tamîrtennûk.

Inîs Žhâ: el'âded n aźvû n tamirténnek am el'âded n aźvû n azîf n azîten-nûk w-undú tşaddâqtîya-ká aḥséb. Ba'adên ittôuwîyel amédçen u yekrí yendîma.

C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəški iwîn n=əlɣâləm iddəhwâr lhəwàyyi u=yəqqim iddəhwâr ašâl=i kkùll inəššəd əlɣulamá u=iɣəlləb=tən u=nəttin iddəhwâr ir itùg Žhâ. Bəfədèn inšət=t w=in=ís: mag inni ənnúşş ən=təmùrt kkùll? In=ís Žhâ: aməkàn wa inni aziṭ=ənnùk w=əndú tşəddəqt=i=ya ká əžvət təmùrt. Itəḥəyyər əlɣâləm w=inšət=t: am=màgwa əlɣədəd nə nžùm? In=ís Žhâ: d=əlɣədəd n=ažəvu n=aziṭ=ənnùk, əndú tşəddəqt=i=ya ká əḥséb ənžùm w=əḥséb ažəvu n=aziṭ=ənnùk. Bəfədèn yənšət=t amədən u=in=ís: am=màgwa əlɣədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənnùk. In=ís Žhâ: əlɣədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənnək am=əlɣədəd n=ažəvu n=azîf n=aziṭ=ənnùk w=əndú tşəddəqt=i=ya ká əḥséb. Bəfədèn ittəwîyel amədən u=yəkrí yəndim=a.

C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

- (380) *Y-əški iwîn n=əlɣâləm i-ddəhwâr lhəwàyyi u=y-əqqim*
 3sm-left:*pf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:*pf.
i-ddəhwâr ašâl=i kkùll i-nəššəd əlɣulamá
 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
u=i-ɣəlləb=tən u=nəttin i-ddəhwâr ir=i-tùg
 and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:*pf.
 Žhâ.

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-nšət=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.
ənnúşş 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 Žhâ: aməkàn wa i-nni aziṭ=ənn-ùk w=əndú*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha place PMPH:sm 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. donkey=of-is and=if
t-şəddəq-t=i=ya ká əžvət təmùrt.
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.IS=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-təhəyyər əlfələm w=i-nšət=t: am=màgwa əlfədəd*
 3sm-be.confused:*pf. scholar and=3sm-ask:*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=is Žhà: d=əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=ažit=ənn-ùk, əndú*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha pred.=number of=hairs of=donkey=of-1s if
t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əhsáb ənžùm w=əhsáb ažəvu
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=res. neg. count:imp. stars and=count:imp. hairs
n=ažit=ənn-ùk.
 of=donkey=of-1s
 ‘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) *Bəfədən y-ənšət=t amədən u=i-n=is: am=màgwa*
 Then 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm. man and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s like=what:sm
əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ùk.
 number of=hairs of=beard=of-1s
 ‘Then the man asked him and said: How much is the number of hairs of my beard?’
- (386) *I-n=is Žhà: əlfədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ək am=əlfədəd n=ažəvu*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: number of=hairs of=beard=of-2sm like=number of=hairs
n=ažif n=ažit=ənn-ùk w=əndú t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əhsáb.
 of=tail of=donkey=of-1s 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) *Bəfədən i-ttəwwiyəl amədən u=y-əkrí*
 then 3sm-be.dumbfounded:*pf. man and=3sm-return:*pf.
y-əndim=a.
 3sm-become.sad:res.=res.
 ‘Then the man was dumbounded and he returned saddened.’

C.1.9 Text IX

C.1.9.1 Original transcription

Ya‘ádd Žhà elbáħār-ī igéllī āisébbaħ u yekkéš dbūšénnes; ba‘adên ušând qáttá‘ân ukéren ědbūšénnes. Ba‘adên yekrî tfillinnes ‘aryân. Ba‘adên u

ba'ád séba'a āiyām ya'ádd marrát (anche: marrátet) aqûtet igélli āiséb-bah elbáħr-ī; yuná s-edbūšennes elmarrát-āya. Ba'ádên igulît iwīnân n-eşşahbennes, inîs: ddiwa ttudîk, attûnat s-edbūšennek ālbáħr-ī. Yekrí fel-lis Žĥâ w-inîs: aunâĥ s-edbūšennûk aĥîr āūkerénten qeţţâ'ân.

C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žĥâ əlbəħr=i iyəlli a=isəbbəħ u=yəkkəs (ə)dbuš=ənnəs; bəfədən uşân=d qəţţáfan ukə̀rən ədbuš=ənnəs. Bəfədən yəkrí tfilli=nnəs fəryàn. Bəfədən u=bəfəd səb(ə)fa ayyam yəfədd mərrát (mərrátet) aqûtet iyəlli a=isəbbəħ əlbəħr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ənnəs əlmərrat=āya. Bəfədən igulî=t iwīnân n=eşşahb=ənnəs, in=is: ddiwa ttudîk, a=ttúnat s=ədbuš=ənnək əlbəħr=i. Yəkrí fəllis Žĥâ w=in=is: a=unàx s=ədbuš=ənnək axir (axèr) a=ukə̀rən=tən qəţţáfan.

C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

- (388) *Y-əfədd Žĥâ əlbəħr=i i-yəlli a=i-səbbəħ u=y-əkkəs*
 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) *bəfədən uşā-n=d qəţţáfan ukə̀r-ən ədbuš=ənn-əs.*
 then come:*pf.-3pm=come thieves steal:P-3pm clothes=of-3s
 'then thieves came and stole his clothes.'
- (390) *Bəfədən y-əkrí tfilli=nn-əs fəryàn.*
 then 3sm-return:*pf. house=of-3s be.naked:3sm
 'Then he returned to his house naked.'
- (391) *Bəfədən u=bəfəd səbəfa ayyam y-əfədd mərrát (mərrátet) aqût-ət*
 then and=after seven days 3sm-go:*pf. time another-sf
i-yəlli a=i-səbbəħ əlbəħr=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 *mərrát* and in that sentence it was indefinite. In this sentence it is written as *əlmərrát*, 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) *Bəʕədèn i-gulì=t* *iwinàn n=aššahb=ənn-əs,*
 then 3sm-see:*pf.=DO.3sm one of=friend=of-3s
 ‘Then a friend of his saw him.’
- (394) *i-n=is:* *ddìwa ttudik, a=tt-úna-t* *s=adbuš=ənn-ək* *əlbəhr=i.*
 3sm-say:*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 sea with your clothes on.’

• *attúnat* irregularly has the accent on the penultimate syllable.

- (395) *Y-əkrí* *fəlli-s Žhà w=i-n=is:* *a=unà-x*
 3sm-return:*pf. on-3s Jha and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s fut.=enter: fut.-1s
s=adbuš=ənn-ùk axir a=ukər-ən=tən *qəttáʕan.*
 with=clothes=of-1s 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 mârâ igélli ayéssen akelliménnes amakân baʕid lâkən akellim iššen-ká amakân w-iššen-ká tebārût u yérwaʕ ayúger w-inîs i-Žhâ: rwəḥḥa āügərh. Inîs Žhâ: undú tuğərt yid-dîla ašəglâk tebārût.

C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušâ=d Žhâ mârâ iɣəlli a=yəssən akəllim=ənnəs amakân baʕid ləkən akəl-lim iššən ká amakân w=iššən ká təbārūt u=yərwəʕ a=yùɣər w=in=îs i=Žhâ: rwihḥ=a a=uɣərx. In=îs Žhâ: əndú tuyərt yi=d dila a=šəglà=k təbārūt.

C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

- (396) *Y-ušá=d* *Žhâ mârâ i-ɣəlli* *a=y-əssən* *akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send: fut. servant=of-3s
amakân baʕid
 place be.far:3sm
 ‘One day Jha came and he wanted to send his servant to a place far away.’

- (397) *lākən akəllim i-ššən ká amakàn w=i-ššən ká təbarùt*
 but servant 3sm-know:*pf. neg. place and=3sm-know:*pf. neg. way
u=y-ərwəf a=y-ùγər
 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=ìs i=Žhà: rwìh-h=a a=uyər-x.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=Jha: become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=get.lost:fut.-1s
 'and he said to Jha: I am afraid of getting lost.'

- (399) *I-n=ìs Žhà: andú t-uyər-t yi=d dila*
 3sm-say:*pf.-10.3s Jha: if 2s-get.lost:*pf.-2s come:imp.=come here
a=šəgl-à=k təbarùt.
 fut.-show:fut.-1s=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 Žhà ya'idda ssùq-ì. U nettîn ihâttâm af mîddən u mîddən sellâmən fellís s-kémma máktar n-mîddən ššənən-tíya. Ba'adèn igùl iwínān, yušád Žhà isséllem fellís l'álla. Ba'adèn amédən yenséd Žhà w-inís: ku tséntíya s-älōuwâl? Ba'adèn inís Žhà: lā gār gulih-kúya tudînta elqábbùt am wannûk w-el'amámet am tannûk, ahsébh-kúya 'annek ku d-nék.

C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra Žhà yəfidd=a ssùq=i. U=nəttin ixəttəm af=middən u=middən səl-ləmən fəllis skəmma məktar n=middən ššənən=tí=ya. Bəfədèn igùl iwínan, yušà=d Žhà issəlləm fəllis l'əlla. Bəfədèn amədən yənsəd Žhà w=in=ìs: ku tsənt=ì=ya s=ələwwâl? Bəfədèn in=ìs Žhà: la γar gulix=kù=ya tudint=a əlqəbbùt am=wa=nnùk w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nnùk, əhsəbx=kù=ya ʔənnək ku d=nək.

C.1.11.3 Glossed translation

- (400) *Màrra Žhà y-əṣidd=a ssùq=i.*
 once Jha 3sm-go:res.=res market=loc.
 ‘Once, Jha had gone to the market.’
- (401) *U=nəttin i-xəṭṭam af=middən u=middən səlləm-ən fəlli-s*
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skəm̄ma məktar n=middən 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) *Bəṣadèn i-gùl iwīnan, y-ušà-d Žhà i-ssəlləm fəlli-s lʕàlla.*
 Then 3sm-see:*pf. one:sm 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha 3sm-greet:*pf. on-3s greatly
 ‘Then he saw someone and Jha came and greeted him greatly.’
- (403) *Bəṣadèn amədən y-ənsəd Žhà w=i-n=is: ku*
 Then man 3sm-ask:pf. Jha and=3sm-say:*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) *Bəṣadèn i-n=is Žhà: la yar guli-x=kù=ya t-udìn-t=a*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: no but see:res.=1s=DO.2sm=res. 2s-wear:res.-2s=res.
əlqəbbùt am=wa=nn-ùk w=əlʕəmàmət am=ta=nn-ùk,
 robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
əhsáb-x=kù=ya ʔənn-ək ku d=nək.
 think:res.-1s=DO.2sm=res. cmlpr.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

Iwīn n iṣf yeškī Žhà ssùk-ī² w-iddes ažiṭennes. Ba‘adèn iság hénṭā n el-
 ḥáḍārāt w-iggītet skāret-ī³ lākān yélgām āīgītet af ažiṭ w-igītet af elket-
 fennes u ya‘ádd yeḷbība af ažiṭennes. Ba‘adèn igulīt iwīnān n-əššāḥbennes

²Unusually Paradisi writes *ssuq* with a *k* here.

³Probably a printing error of <škāret>.

tēbarūt-ī yensédēt w-inîs: adgát-ká škâret af aziöt? Inîs Žhâ: erwá‘ s-gâr rábbi a-y-amédēn; issúdda-ká nek elbúbħa af aẓit u tēgellit-ī aħméllħ fellîs škâret u arnâs etta‘áb af etta‘abénnes.

C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwîn n=išf yəški Žhâ ssùq=i w=iddəs aẓit=ənnəs. Bəfədèn isəy ħənta n=əlxəð(ə)rət w=iggì=tət škárət=i⁴ làkən yəlyəm a=igì=tət af=aẓit w=igì=tət af=əlkətf=ənnəs u=yəfədd yəlbīb=a af=aẓit=ənnəs. Bəfədèn igulì=t iwìnàn n=əşşahb=ənnəs təbarùt=i yənsəð=t w=in=îs: a=dgát ká škárət af=aẓit? In=îs Žhâ: ərwəf syar=rəbbi ay=amədən; issúdda ká nek əlbəbx=a af=aẓit u=təyəllit=i a=ħməlx fəllis škàrət u=a=rnà=s əttəfəb af=əttəfəb=ənnəs.

C.1.12.3 Glossed translation

- (405) *Iwîn n=išf y-əší Žhâ ssùq=i w=idd-əs aẓit=ənn-əs.*
 one of=day 3sm-leave:*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) *Bəfədèn i-səy ħənta n=əlxəðərət w=i-ggì=tət škárət=i.*
 then 3sm-buy:*pf. bit of=vegetable and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf bag=loc.
 ‘Then he bought some vegetables and put them in a bag.’
- (407) *lākən y-əlyəm a=i-gì=tət af=aẓit w=i-gì=tət*
 but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf
af=əlkətf=ənn-əs u=y-əfədd y-əlbīb=a af=aẓit=ənn-əs.
 on=shoulder=of-3s and=3sm-go:*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) *Bəfədèn i-gulì=t iwìnàn n=əşşahb=ənn-əs təbarùt=i*
 Then 3sm-see:*pf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.
y-ənsəð=t w=i-n=îs: a=d-gà-t ká škàrət
 3sm-ask:*pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s fut.=2s-put:fut.-2s neg. bag
af=aẓit?
 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=îs Žhâ: ərwəf syar=rəbbi ay=amədən;*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha fear:imp. from=god voc.=man;
 ‘Jha said: Fear god o man!’

⁴On the discussion of the accent see section 8.2.

- (410) *i-ssùdd=a* *ká nək əlbəb-x=a* *af=aʒit*
 3sm-be.enough:res.=res. neg. I climb:res.-1s=res. on=donkey
u=t-əyalli-t=i *a=ħməl-x* *fəlli-s škàrət*
 and=2s-want:*pf.-2s=DO.1s fut.=load:fut.-1s on-3s bag
u=a-rn-à=s *attəʕəb af=attəʕəb=ənn-əs.*
 and=fut.=increase:fut.-1s=IO.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 *əlbəb-x-a* to be ***əlbib-x-a*.

C.1.13 Text XIII

C.1.13.1 Original transcription

Yeškí Žhâ s-ar (anche: s-gâr) tēfillînes w-iddes irîu fellîs tēkabêrt tēzwâgt u yerfa'tîya af agârâţennes. Ba'adên ittuwît u yâqqîm idōwâr fellîs u net-tîn af agârâţennes u itennîs i-kull amêdçen: dgulît-ká irîu fellîs tēkabêrt tēzwâgt? Ba'adên inîs iwîn n amêdçen: bâlek nettîn wa nnîyen af êlketfêç-nek. Ba'adên yerfa' Žhâ tēgîlînes ar-zût igûl irîu w-inîs y-irîu: ur-nâka-ká ba'ád atqîmât iddî ta'addît-ká?

C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškí Žhâ sa= (or: syâr=) tēfillî=nnəs w=iddəs irîw fəllîs təkabêrt təzwàyt u=yərfəʕ=tî=ya af=agərəʕ=ənnəs. Bəʕədèn ittuwî=t u=yəqqîm idəwwâr fəllîs u=nəttîn af=agərəʕ=ənnəs u=itənn=îs i=kull amədçen: dgulît ká irîw fəllîs təkabêrt təzwàyt? Bəʕədèn in=îs iwîn n=amədçen: bələk nəttîn wa nnîyən af=əlkətf=ənnək. Bəʕədèn yərfəʕ Žhâ tēgîlî=nnəs ar=zût igûl irîw w=in=îs y=irîw: ur=nà=k=a ká bəʕəd a=tqîmât iddî təʕəddît ká?

C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

- (411) *Yəškí* *Žhâ sar (or: syâr)=təfîllî=nn-əs w=idd-əs* *irîw fəllî-s təkabêrt*
 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwàyt u=y-ərfəʕ=tî=ya *af=agərəʕ=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) *Bəʕədèn i-ttuwì=t u=y-əqqim i-dəwwàr fəlli-s*
 Then 3sm-forget:*pf.=DO.3sm and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-look.around:impf. on-3s
u=nəttin af=agərət=ənn-əs u=i-tənn=is i=kùll 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 təkabàrt təzwàyt?*
 2s-see:*pf.-2s neg. child on-3s shirt red:sf
 ‘Have you not seen a child with a red shirt on?’
- (414) *Bəʕədèn i-n=is iwìn n=amədən: bələk nəttin wa*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s one:sm of=man: perhaps he PMPH:sm
nniy-ən af=əlkətf=ənn-ək.
 be(loc.)*pf.-ptc. on=shoulder=of-2sm
 ‘Then a man said to him: perhaps he is the one that is on your shoulder?’
- (415) *Bəʕədèn y-ərfəʕ Žhà təgìlì=nn-əs ar=zùt i-gùl irìw*
 Then 3sm-lift.up:pf. Jha head=of-3s to=up 3sm-see:*pf. child
w=i-n=is y=irìw:
 and=3sm-say:*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 bəʕəd a=t-qimà-t idd-í t-əʕəddì-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-ələšlá; ba‘adèn iwìn n išf ya‘add i-wa tezzàmən u izemîs. Ba‘adèn ikkémmeł yefkîs ennûs n elbarât. Ba‘adèn inîs wa tezzàmən: af-iwá tēfkî-dîk nnûs n elhəqqennûk? Inîs Žhà: s-kémma (or: sémma) nek d-aləšla‘.

C.1.14.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà d=ələšləʕ; bəʕədèn iwìn n=išf yəʕədd i=wa təzzàmən u=izəm=is. Bə-ʕədèn ikkəmməl yəfk=is ənnûs n=əlbərât. Bəʕədèn in=is wa təzzàmən: af-iwá təfki(t)=dik (ə)nnûs n=əlḥəqq=ənnûk? In=is Žhà: skəmma nək d=ələšləʕ.

C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

(417) *Žhà d=aləšləʕ*
 Jha pred.=bald
 'Juha was bald.'

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

(418) *bəʕədèn iwìn n=išf y-əʕədd i=wa təzzàm-ən*
 then one:sm of=day 3sm-go:*pf. dat.-PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.
u=i-zəm=iš.
 and=3sm-shave:*pf.=IO.3s

'Then one day he went to the barber (litt. He who shaves) and he (the barber) shaved him.'

(419) *Bəʕədèn i-kkəmməl y-əfk=iš ənnùš n-əlbərət.*
 then 3sm-finish:*pf. 3sm-give:*pf.=IO.3s half of=money

'Then he finished and he (Jha) gave him half of the money (he owed him):'

(420) *Bəʕədèn i-n=iš wa təzzàm-ən: aʕtəwá t-əfki-(t)=dik*
 then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s PMPH:sm shave:impf.-ptc.: why 2s-give:*pf.-2s=IO.1s
(ə)nnùš n=əlħəqq=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 *təfki(t)=dik* <təfkīdīk> the final *-t* of the 2sg. is lost.

(421) *I-n=iš Žhà: skəmma nək d=aləšləʕ.*
 3sm-say:*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-dabār gâres tēmígnī w-iggâda s-gâres sébaʕa n tirîwîn (anche: tirîwî) wě nettîn gâres əlħarbüşənnəs innī ʕangarā w-išúwwa gān əlgârsāt-ənnəs w-igāi gān timzîn id əlgafûli (anche: ñgafûli) u gares gān tnūvîn nə bẓālīm w-išuwitəneṭ af afusənnəs w-irōūwāḥ af tfillīnnes w-ayaʕádd elgábeš w-ayûš mnišiu u gān tirîut tmoqqârânt tnīs y-abbās: arfáʕ-ī id-dek aggûlaḥ sâwāninnāk. Yekrî fellīs, inīs: qámak ammāneṭ timzîn w-annaʕádd gān kúll, kem id əmmām id setmām. U baʕadèn yaʕádd nettîn

elħarbüşennes u yâqqîm išúwwa tnūvînes w-irrôūwah mnišîu w-inîsneţ i-tirîwînes id emmâtsneţ: şbâĥ annaśadd suwânînnâĥ. U fráĥneţ tirîwîn u šîredneţ ksûmennésneţ (anche: ġâstînnésneţ = le loro ossa) u yuśâd âr temignînes w-inîs: neġâllî annaśadd şbâĥ u ddiwa dgulî? Tekrî fellîs ênnât w-êtnîs: alá dgîť bâĥî. W-inîs: wétti-dikkénî ččunnâĥ şbâĥ id báśad şábâĥ. Tekrî fellîs, tnîs: kullî šei yutâya. Yuśâd, yunâ nettîn iddes amakânnesîn u yemĥâţţât avoţ-idîn. Kkêreĥ elġâbeš, iwâtân twétta elmetŕatenésneţ w-iwâtân tčîrâd u baśadên udênneţ udûn kuwâyes u ŕaddân ġallîyen azréden elħarbüşennesîn u baśadên tívâ tafût tebârût-î u ġallîyeĥ ašelĥâmen afîu; yeĥzêr abbâs žibereténnes yûfa ġallûda n afîu. Ĥzêrneţ tirîwîn u nânêtis: ábbâ, ábbâ akkiwân elbâqîs n afîu. Inîs abbâs: wettîmet šġîren, qâmak agġâġd afîu s-ġâr tēfilli-y-îwan. Yaśadd abbâs, yufit d-âmzâ, inîs: ssalâmu ŕalêikum. Inîs âmzâ: s-mâġ tuśidda Abû-dábâr. Inîs: ušġda s-ašâli nek id lêĥilennûk. W-inîs âmzâ: mâġ ênnîyeĥ lêĥilennek. Inîs Bû-dábâr: akkiwân eřišina dilîwân. W-inîs: ġallîĥ afîu. Inîs: arfâŕi zûţ lek-tûfénnek. Yerwaŕ Bû-dabar s-ar âmzâ u yerfâŕât zûţ lektûfénnes u yaśadd ar lêĥilennes. Uşâleĥ w-inîs âmzâ: aġreśdîk tirîut tmoqqârânt. U yefkišîn afîu w-inîsîn: âuśâġd âufâĥtet temmâya. Yaśadd âmzâ w-âqqîmân abbâs n tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ vellânneţ u yeqâreb ušû n âmzâ

Têkker temîgnî w-êtnîs i-tirîwînes: kkêrmet, ĥzêrmet. W-ekkérneţ tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ qqâimânneţ ddôūwârneţ u baśadên neĥînet ufânet alúġom yemmûta u kkêrneţ, erfâŕneţ z-ġân šummânneţ y-âmzâ u taĥzêr emmâtsneţ tmûrt-î u túfa êlmeġġâret u ččân (tš > čč) ġân tirîut tēmoqqârânt u yuśâd âmzâ u fkânîs ksûm wa mmâna u yeččît w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk tirîut tâţen, amišîw-ennûk. U ġân-îs am tâţen. U şbahénnes: šummât-dîk tâţen. U ġân-îs am-alâ ġâna i-wertnâs u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amēklîwénnes w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk amišîwennûk. U šummân-îs s-ar alóġom yemmûta u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amišîúnnes w-inîsîn: şábâĥ amēklîu af temignîennek. U nânîs bâĥî. Şbaĥ šummân amēklîu u túna ar tirîwînes u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ amēklîúnnes w-inîs âmzâ: amišîu fellîk-kú Abû-dabâr. U yaśadd Bû-dabar yegġâd ġâstîn id ġlîménnes id mlâl w-igîten elgedêrénnes u yûna ar tirîwînes u yuśad âmzâ u yeččâ ġâstîn wē nettîn itétta yâqqîm itennîs: Ksûménnek aĥâš, kkull d-ġâstîn. W-ênhînet sennâţnet žlân n âmzâ.

Baśad yeččâ, âmzâ yekkêr u yâqqîm inékki u baśadên yeslâ žlân elmoġġâret-î u yaśâyâţ âmzâ, slân amzîwen ušând lahhéden, nânîs: kénnek? Inîsîn: ġân mîddeĥ dîla, qqâimât dîla u nek aunâĥ elmaġġâret-î w-endú iškî azîfennûk de-šţâf, rwelât. Tsennâţ temîgnî alá itennîs âmzâ; yuśad âmzâ, išân azîfénnes elmoġġâret-î. Tekkêr temîgnî u tegġâd tebaqqûšt u tšêţţâf azîf n âmzâ w-iškî azîf n âmzâ d-šţâf u ġulânt amzîwen dē-šţâf w-êrwelēĥ kkull u tēškî ênnât [X?]id amédénneş it-tirîwînes ufân âmzâ id

amzîwen ərwilîna kkull wë fráhnɛt tirîwîn u faddân elħarbüşennɛsîn u baƒadên uşâlen gân u ççân u şuân w-ëkkérɛn rrôuwâhan tfillinnesîn.

C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan Abú-dabr Ƴarəs təmigni w=iggà=d=a syàrəs səbəfa n=tiriwîn (or: tirîwi) wə=nəttin Ƴarəs əlxərbuš=ənnəs inni Ƴángara w=işəwwa gan əlyərsat=ən-nəs w=igây gan timzîn id=əlgafûli (or: ngafûli) u=Ƴarəs gan tnuvîn nə=bza-lim w=işəwwi=tənət af=afus=ənnəs w=irəwwəh af=tfilli=nəs w=a=yəfədd əlyəbəš w=a=yüş mnišiw u=gan tirîwt tməqqərânt tn=is y=abbà=s: ər-fəf=i iddək a=gguləx səwanî=nnək. Yəkrî fəllis, in=is: qámak a=mmànət timzîn w=a=nnəfədd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmàm id=sətmàm. U=bəfədèn Ƴəfədd nəttin əlxərbuš=ənnəs u=yəqqim išəwwa tnuvîn=nəs w=irrəwwəh mnišiw w=in=isnət i=tiriwîn=nəs id=əmmà=tsnət: şbah a=nnəfədd səwanî=nnax. U=frəhnət tirîwîn u=širədnət ksum=ənnəsnət (or: Ƴəstin=nəsnət) u=yuşà=d ar=təmigni=nəs w=in=is: nəyəlli a=nnəfədd şbah u=ddiwa dgu-lit? Təkrî fəllis ənnət w=ətn=is: alá dgît bəhi. W=in=is: wətti=dikkəni ççu=nnax şbah id=bəfəd şbah. Təkrî fəllis, tn=is: kùlli šəy yutà=ya. Yuşà=d, yuná nəttin iddəs amakan=nəsîn u=yəmhət=tət avət=idin. Kkərən əlyəbəš, iwátan twətta əlmətsat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan tsírad u=bəfədèn udənnət udùn kəwəyəs u=fəddàn Ƴəlliyən a=zrədən əlxərbuš=ənnəsîn u=bəfədèn tiva tafût təbarût=i u=Ƴəlliyən a=šəlhəmən afiw; Yəxzər abbàs žibərət=ən-nəs yufa gal=lüda n=afiw. xzərnət tirîwîn u=nanət=is: əbba, əbba akki-wàn əlbəqis n=afiw. In=is abbàs: wəttimət šyirən, qámak a=ggây=d afiw syàr=təfilli=yíwan. Yəfədd abbàs, yufi=t d=àmza, in=is: ssalámu Ƴalèy-kum. In=is àmza: s=màg tušid=d=a Abu-dàbr. In=is: ušiy=d=a s=ašàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənnək. W=in=is àmza: màg ənniyən ləhil=ənnək. In=is Bu-dàbr: akkiwàn irišin=a dilíwan. W=in=is: Ƴəllix afiw. In=is: ər-fəf=i zut ləktuf=ənnək. Yərwəfí Bú-dabr sar=àmza u=yərfəf=ət zut=ləktuf=ənnəs u=yəfədd ar=ləhil=ənnəs. Uşələn w=in=is àmza: aƳrəs=dik tirîwt tməqqər- rânt. U=yəfk=isîn afiw w=in=isîn: a=ušây=d a=ufàx=tət təmmà=ya. Yə-fədd àmza w=əqqimàn abbàs n=tiriwîn id=əmmàtsnət vèllànət u=yəqàrəb ušú n àmza.

Təkkər təmigni w=ətn=is i=tiriwîn=nəs: kkərmət, xzərmət. W=əkkərnət tirîwîn id=əmmàtsnət qqimànət ddəwwərnət u=bəfədèn nəhinət ufànət aləƳəm yəmmùta u=kkərnət, ər-fəfnət z=gan šəmmànət yàmza u=təxzər əmmàtsnət tmürt=i u=tufa əlməƳyərət u=tšan gan tirîwt təməqqərânt u=yuşà=d àmza u=fkán=is ksùm wa mmàn=a u=yəççi=t w=in=isîn: šəmmát =dik tirîwt tətən, amišiw=ənnək. U gan=is am=tətən. U=şbah=ənnəs: šəmmát=dik tətən. U gán=is am=alá gán=a i=wərtnəs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəçça aməkliw=ənnəs w=in=isîn: šəmmát=dik amišiw=ənnək. U=šəm-

mán=is sar=aləyəm yəmmùt=a u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča amišiw=ənnəs
w=in=isin: šəbàḥ aməklīw af=təmiḡni=nnək. U=nan=is: bāhi. Šbaḥ šəm-
màn aməklīw u=tùna ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča aməklīw
=ənnəs w=in=is àmza: Amišiw fəllik=kú Abu-dabər. U=yəfədd Bú-dabr
yəggà=d yəstìn id=glim=ənnəs id=mlàl w=igì=tən əlgədər=ənnəs u=yùna
ar=tiriwìn=nəs u=yúša=d àmza u=yəčča yəstìn wə=nəttìn itətta yəqqim
itənn=is: Ksum=ənnək aḥàš, kull d=yəstìn. W=ənhinət sənnàṭnət žlàn
n=àmza.

Bəfəd yəčča, àmza yəkkər u=yəqqim inəkki u=bəfədèn yəslá žlàn əlməy-
yərət=i u=yəfəyət àmza, slàn amziwən ušan=d ləhhədən, nan=is: kən-
nək? In=isin: gan mīddən dila, qqimət dila u=nək a=unàx əlməyərət=i
w=əndú iški azif=ənnək də=štəf, rwəlāt. Tsənnàṭ təmiḡni alá itənn=is
àmza; Yušà=d àmza, išàn azif=ənnəs əlməyərət=i. Təkkər təmiḡni u=təggà
=d təbəqqūst u=tšəttəf azif n=àmza w=iški azif n=àmza d=štəf u=gùlant
amziwən də= štəf w=ərwlən kkull u=təški ənnət id=amədən=nəs it=tiri-
wìn=nəs ufàn àmza id=amziwən ərwilìn=a kkull wə=frəḥnət tiriwìn u=
fəddàn əlxarbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəfədèn ušələn gan u=ččàn u=šwàn w=əkkə-
rən rəwwəḥən tfilli=nnəsìn.

C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

- (422) *Gan Abúdabr yār-əs təmiḡni w=i-ggàd=a* *syār-əs səbəfa*
there Abu.Dabr to-3s wife and=3sm-bring:res.=res. from-3s seven
n=tiriwìn (or: tiriwi)
of=girls

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

- (423) *wə=nəttìn yār-əs əlxarbuš=ənn-əs ì-nni* *ŷàngara w=i-šəwwa*
and=he to-3s garden=of-3s 3sm-exist:*pf. ŷAngara and=3sm-water:impf.
gan əlyərsat=ənn-əs w=i-gày *gan timžìn*
there young.palms=of-3s and=3sm-cultivate:impf. there barley
id=əlgafūli (or: ngafūli) u=yar-əs gan tnuvìn *nə=bzəlīm*
with=maize and=to-3s there irrigation.canals of=onions
w=i-šəwwi=tənət *af=afus=ənn-əs w=i-rəwwaḥ*
and=3sm-water:impf.=DO.3sm on=hand=of-3s and=3sm-return:impf.
af=tfillì=nn-əs
on=house=of-3s

‘And he had a garden that lay in ŷAngara 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=ənn=əs* 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-əfədd əlyəbəš w=a=y-üş mnišiw u=gan tirìwt*
 and=fut.=3sm-go:fut. morning and=fut.=3sm-come:fut. evening and=there girl
tməqqərànt t-n=is y=abbà-s: əfəf=i idd-ək
 big:3f 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=father-3s take:imp.=DO.1s with-2sm
a=ggùl-əx səwanì=nn-ək.
 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 *əlyəbəš, mnišiw* to take the locative postposition *-i*.

(425) *Y-əkrí fəlli-s, i-n=is: qámak a=mmà-nət timzìn*
 3sm-return:*pf. on-3s 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s now fut.=be.ready:fut.-3pf barley
w=a=n-nəfədd gan kùll, kəm id=əmmà-m id=sətmà-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=bəfədèn y-əfədd nəttìn əlxərbus=ənn-əs u=y-əqqim i-šəwwa*
 and=then 3sm-go:*pf. he garden=of-3s and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-water:impf.
tnuwin=n-əs w=i-rrəwwəh mnišiw w=i-n=isnət
 irrigation.canals=of-3s and=3sm-return:*pf. evening and=3sm-say:*pf.=DO.3pf
i-tiriwin=n-əs id=əmmà-tsnət: šbàh a=n-nəfədd səwanì=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=frəh-nət tiriwin u=širəd-nət ksum=ənn-əsnət (or:*
 and=be.happy:*pf.-3pf girls and=wash:*pf.-3pf meat=of-3pf
yəstin=n-əsnət) u=y-ušà=d ar=təmiḡnì=nn-əs
 bones=of-3pf and=3sm-come:*pf.=come to=woman=of-3s
w=i-n=is: nə-ḡəlli a=n-nəfədd šbàh u=ddiwa 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 ənnət w=ətn=is: alá d-gì-t bəhi.*
 3sf-return:*pf. on-3s she and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s rel. 2s-do:*pf.-2s be.good:3sm
 ‘She answered to him and said: What(ever) you do is fine.’
- (429) *W=i-n=is: wətti=dikkəni čču=nn-àx šbàh id=bəfəd*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s prepare:imp.=10.1p food=of-1p tomorrow and=after
šəbàh.
 tomorrow.
 ‘And he said to her: prepare food for us for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.’
- (430) *T-əkrí fəlli-s, t-n=is: kulli šəy y-utà=ya.*
 3sf-return:*pf. on-3s 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s everything 3sm-be.prepared:res.=res.
 ‘She answered to him: Everything is prepared.’
- (431) *Y-ušá=d, y-uná nəttin idd-əs amakan=n-əsìn*
 3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-enter:pf. he with-3s place=of-3pm
u=y-əmḥəṭ=ṭət avəṭ=idìn.
 and=3sm-make.love:*pf.=DO.3sf night=dist.:s
 ‘He came and entered their place with her and he made love to her that night.’
- (432) *Kkə̀r-ən əlyəbəš, iwátan twə̀tta əlmətʕat=ənnəsənət w=iwátan*
 get.up:*pf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:*pf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf
tšírad u=bəfədèn udən-nət udùn kəwəyəs
 3sf-wash:impf. and=then dress:*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=ʕəddà-n yəlliy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəfədèn*
 and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-iva tafūt təbarūt=i u=yəlliy-ən a=šəllə̀m-ən afīw;
 3sf-fall:seq. sun road=loc. and=want:*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=afīw.*
 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=afìw.*
 look:*pf.-3pf girls and=say:*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: wətti-mət šyirən, qámak a=ggà-γ=d*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring
afìw syàr=təfilli=yíwan.
 fire from=house=dist.:s
 ‘The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’
- (437) *Yə-řədd abbà-s, y-ufi=t d=àmza, i-n=ìs:*
 3sm-go:*pf. father-3s, 3sm-find:*pf.=DO.3sm pred.=ogre, 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s
ssalāmu řaləykum.
 as-salāmu řalaykum
 ‘The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: *as-salāmu řalaykum*’
- (438) *I-n=ìs àmza: s=màg t-uři-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre from=where 2s-come:*pf.-2s=come=res. Abu.Dabr
 ‘The ogre said to him: Where did you come from Abu-dabr?’
- (439) *I-n=ìs: uři-γ=d=a s=ařàl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
 3sm-say:*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 àmza: mąg ənnìy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre where exist:*pf.-3pm family=of-2sm
 ‘And the ogre said: Where is your family?’
- (441) *I-n=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn iriř-ìn=a dilíwan.*
 3sm-say:*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: γəlli-x afìw.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s want:*pf.-1s fire
 ‘And he said to him: I want fire.’
- (443) *I-n=ìs: əřfəř=i zut=ləktuf=ənn-ək.*
 3sm-say:*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-ərwəʕ* *Bú-dabr sar=àmza u=y-ərʕəʕ=ət*
 3sm-be.afraid:*pf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:*pf.=DO.3sm
zùt=ləktuf=ənn-əs u=y-əʕədd ar=ləhil=ənn-əs.
 on.top.of=shoulders=of-3s and=3sm-go:*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) *Uşəl-ən w=i-n=ìs àmza: ayrəş=dik tirìwt*
 arrive:*pf.-3pm and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s ogre slaughter:imp.=10.1s girl
tməqqərànt.
 big:sf
 ‘They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.’
- (446) *U=y-əfk=isìn aftw w=i-n=isìn: a=uşà-γ=d*
 and=3sm-give:*pf.=10.3pm fire and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm fut.=come:fut.-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-əʕədd àmza w=əqqimà-n abbà-s n=tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət*
 3sm-go:*pf. ogre and=stay:*pf.-3pm father-3s of=children with=mother-3pf
vəllà-nət u=y-əqàrəb uşú n=àmza.
 cry:impf.-3pf and=3sm-draw.near:*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=ìs i=tiriwìn=n-əs: kkər-mət,*
 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s 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 tirìwìn id=əmmà-tsnət qqimà-nət ddəwwàr-nət*
 and=get.up:*pf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:*pf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf
u=bəʕədèn nəhìnət ufà-nət aləyəm y-əmmùt=a u=kkər-nət,
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
ərʕəʕ-nət z=gan šəmmà-nət y=àmza
 lift.up:*pf.-3pf from=there cook:*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 ammà-tsnət tmùrt=i u=t-ùfa əlməyyàrat*
 and=3sf-look:pf. mother-3pf land=loc. and=3sf-find:seq. cave
u=t-šan gan tirìwt təməqqərànt u=y-ušà=d àmza
 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-əččì=t w=i-n=ísìn: šəmm-át=dik tirìwt
 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=is am=tàtən.*
 and=do:P-3pm=10.3s like=other:sf
 'And they did to her like (they did to) the other.'
- (452) *U=šbaḥ=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 *šbaḥ=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 gà-n=a i=wərtná-s*
 and=do:*pf.-3pm=10.3s like=rel. do:res.-3pm=res. dat.=sister-3s
u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklīw=ənn-əs
 and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
w i-n=ísìn: 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=šəmmá-n=is sar=aləyəm y-əmmùt-a u=y-úša=d*
 and=cook:*pf.-3pm=10.3s from=camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=3sm-come:seq.=come
àmza u=y-əčča amišiw=ənn-əs w=i-n=ísìn: šəbàḥ
 ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. dinner=of-3s and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm tomorrow
aməklīw af=təmiǵnì=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:*pf.-3pm=10.3s be.good:3sm
'And they said to him: fine.'

- (456) *Šbah šammà-n aməklīw u=t-ùna ar=tiriwīn=n-əs*
tomorrow cook:*pf.-3pm meal and=3sf-enter:seq to=children=of-3s
u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča aməklīw=ənn-əs
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. meal=of-3s
w=i-n=is àmza: Amišīw fəllī-k kú Abudabār.
3sm-say:*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-əfədd Búdabr y-əggà=d yəstīn id=glim=ənn-əs id=mləl*
and=3sm-go:*pf. Abu.dabr 3sm-bring:pf.=bring bones with=skin=of-3s with=sand
w=i-gī=tən əlgədər=ənn-əs u=y-ùna ar=tiriwīn=n-əs
and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3pm pot=of-3s and=3sm-enter:seq. to=children=of-3s
u=y-úša=d àmza u=y-əčča yəstīn wə=nəttīn i-tàtta
and=3sm-come:seq.=come ogre and=3sm-eat:seq. bones and=he 3sm-eat:impf.
y-əqqīm i-tənn=is: Ksum=ənn-ək aḥàš, kùll d=yəstīn.
3sm-stay:*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=ənhīnət sənnàt-nət žlàn n=àmza.*
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. *tšīrad* earlier in the text).

- (459) *Bəfəd y-əčča, àmza y-əkkār u=y-əqqīm i-nəkki*
After 3sm-eat:seq. ogre 3sm-get.up:*pf. and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-smell:impf.
u=bəfədèn y-əslá žlàn əlməyyārət=i u=y-əfāyət àmza,
and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:*pf. ogre,

slà-n amzìwə̀n ušà-n=d ləhhəd-ən, na-n=ìs:
 hear:*pf.-3pm ogres came:*pf.-3pm=come run:impf.-3pm say:*pf.-3pm=10.3s
kə̀nnək?
 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=ìsìn: gan mìddən dila, qqim-àt dila u=nək*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm there people at.here, stay:imp.-pm at.here and=I
a=unà-x əlmə̀yàrət=i w=əndú i-ški azif=ənn-ùk də=štə̀f,
 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 àmza:*
 3sf-hear:impf. woman rel. 3sm-say:impf.=10.3s ogre
 'The woman heard what the ogre was saying'

- (462) *Y-ušà=d àmza, i-šàn azif=ənn-əs əlmə̀yàrət=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-šə̀ttə̀f*
 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-take:pf.=take pan and=3sf-make.black:*pf.
azif n=àmza w=i-ški azif n=àmza d=štə̀f
 tail of=ogre and=3sm-leave:*pf. tail of=ogre pred.=black:sm
u=gùla-n=t amzìwə̀n də=stə̀f 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-əški ənnàt id=amədən=n-əs it=tiriwìn=n-əs ufà-n àmza*
 and=3sf-leave:*pf. she with=man=of-3s with=children=of-3s find:*pf.-3pm ogre
id=amzìwə̀n ərwilì-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=frəh-nət* *tiríwin* *u=ʕəddà-n* *əlɣarbuš=ənn-əsìn*
 and=become.happy:*pf.-3pf children and=go:*pf.-3pm garden=of-3pm
u=bəʕədèn uʂəl-ən *gan* *u=ččà-n* *u=šwà-n*
 and=then arrive:*pf.-3pm there and=eat:*pf.-3pm and=drink:*pf.-3pm
w=əkkàr-ən *rrəwwəh-ən* *tfilli=nn-əsìn.*
 and=get.up:*pf.-3pm return:*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

ǧillig kàm uggūt uggūt. / min ǧair tǧelli tikra⁵

C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

ǧəllig=kəm uggut uggut. / min ɣayr tɣəllit=i kra

- (466) *ɣəlli-ɣ=kəm* *uggut uggut.*
 want:*pf.-1s=DO.2sf much much
 ‘I want you so much’

- notice that the form *ǧillig* still has the original Berber *-ɣ* 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 *əggūt* /*əggút*/. In Sokni (Sarnelli 1924) we find *uggút* ‘much, many’, perhaps this *u* had not yet shifted to *ə* in the time of Zanon’s fieldwork.

- (467) *min ɣayr t-ɣəlli-t=i* *kra*
 without 2s-want:*pf.-2s-DO.1s neg.
 ‘without you wanting me’

⁵As pointed out by Brugnatelli (1987: 54), the second line should be reanalysed as *min ǧair tǧellit-i kra*.

- *min γayr* ‘without’ < Ar. *min ġayri* ‘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 *kára* ‘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* غليكة /γəli-ka/ from Ar. *γali* ‘expensive’ with the negative particle *-ká*.

C.2.2 Song II

C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḥ iṭāra aî-mma / iğàlli wullis inṡamma

C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innùx iṭara ay-əmma / iyəlli wulli-s ən ṡamma

C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

(468) *ul=ənn-ùx i-ṭar=a ay=əmma*
 heart=of-1s 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 Au-jila of Paradisi represents a slightly different dialect than that of Zanon.
- The form <aîmma> ‘for (my) mother’ is remarkable. Paradisi (1960a) has *mmá*, the form found in Zanon rather implies that there is an initial ə which was accented, as per the regular accent rules.

(469) *i-γəlli wulli-s ən=ṡamma*
 3sm-want:*pf. daughter-3s of=aunt
 ‘it wants the daughter of my aunt’

- Note that <inṡamma> must stand for *ən ṡamma*, where the <i> stands for ə.
- Paradisi (1960b) has *ámmī* for ‘uncle’. *ṡamma*, probably means ‘aunt’, cf. Ar. *ṡamma* ‘id.’. It is remarkable that the masculine form has lost its ṡ, and the feminine form has not.

C.2.3 Song III

C.2.3.1 Original transcription

gilliḥ kîra šāināt / ‘ali simeḥ diwîs uāmmi

C.2.3.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəlliḥ kîra šəynat / ʕali simiḥ d=iwî-s n=ammi.

(470) *ɣəlli-x kîra šəynat*
 want: *pf.-1s neg. ugly.ones
 ‘I do not want ugly ones’

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

(471) *ʕali símiḥ d=iwî-s n=ammi*
 Name kind pred.=son-3s of=uncle
 ‘(I want) kind Ali, he is the son of my uncle’

- <simeḥ> must be ELA *símiḥ* ‘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 ʕamma* ‘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 Bālǧu / Gān laḥbùb imrijét

C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya iriw lu rayt Balǧu / gan laḥbùb əmrijèt.

C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

(472) *ya=irìw lù rayt Balǧú*
 voc.=child if you could see Place
 ‘O child, if you could see Balǧu’

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

(473) *Gan laħbùb əmriy-ìt*
 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 dār awlāfná

C.2.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Agənnìnən da Šuf / Taqəbbît 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-nîneḡ* ‘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 *Taqəbbît* 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 attûš / kázán itkîra sorróz

C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ʕamma tǵəbbəš qama attuš / kazàn itkîra s-ərrùz

C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

(474) ʕamma t-ǵəbbəš 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 *tǵəbbəš* 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 ق.

(475) kazàn i-tkîr=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

ǵillîḥ tika Dimmîs / 'ali hw lli ǵān iǵǵilib.

C.2.7.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəllix=t əka Dimmîs / ʕali hu əlli gan əžžələb.

C.2.7.3 Glossed translation

(476) ɣəlli-x=t əka Dimmîs
 want:*pf.-1s=DO.3sm neg. Dimmis

‘I do not want him, Dimmis’

- 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) *ʕali hu əlli gan əžžələb*

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 Tangiğum / tit'ibta 'alā šān Nānna

C.2.8.2 Phonemic transcription

tūšidda s Tangižəm / tit'ibta ʕala šan Nānna

C.2.8.3 Glossed translation

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

(479) *t-ət'ib-t=a* *ʕala šan Nānna*
 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 tulî'a / fi zinîm wóhra twšgi

C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ʕalàyk tuliʕa / fi zənìm w əxra təʕyəl.

C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

(480) *mabruk ʕalàyk* *t-uliʕ=a* *fi=zənìm*
 congratulations.to.you 3sf-fall.in.love:res.=res. in=bastard
 'Congratulations to you! She has fallen in love with a bastard!'

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

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

- *twšgi* probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word *šaǧala* '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

îuna s Timillîl iškî Sawilḥāǧ / abbāk jā Moḥammed iām išina mqlázîn

C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yùna s Timillîl iški Sawilḥaǧ / abbak ya Məḥəmməd yam išina əqlazən

C.2.10.3 Glossed translation

(482) *y-una s=Timillil i-ški Sawilḥaž*
 3sm-enter:*pf. from=Place 3sm-leave:*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=Məḥəmməd 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 <mqłázīn>, 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 iğlāia gîgûli / ġ'āl laslām inšûnit.

C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcription

əngûli, əngûli, nəttin iɣlaja gîg-ùl-i / ʒʔəl ləsləm ən-sùnit

C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

(484) *əngûli, əngûli, nəttin i-ɣla=ya gîg=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 *agól, gul* ‘to see’, but a further morphological analysis is not possible.
- *gîg* is a common Berber preposition for ‘in’, but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition *ar-z-gîg*. 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) *ğʕal ləslam ən=šùnət*
 believe:imp. islam of=sunnah
 'Believe the Islam of the Sunnah!'

- *šùnət* Probably stands for *sunna(t)* 'Habitual practice (of the Islam)', but the *š* 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 tītín tik'waît / ddāḥ tarfá't ittiš'waît

C.2.12.2 Phonemic transcription

ənṭər fəllək tita n tikwàyt / ddax tərɸəʔt 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 *awit* 'to hit'. Perhaps Zanon's form reflects a variant *titi*.

(487) *dax* *t-ərfəf-t* *əttəšwàyt*
 in.order.to 2s-raise:*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

alḥamdülillàḥi azîṭannek iškî iddîra

C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

alḥamdulillàhi azít=ənnək iški iddîr=a

C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

(488) *alḥamdulillàhi* *azít=ənn-ək* *i-ški* *i-ddîr=a*
 praise.be.to.god donkey=of-2sm 3sm-leave:*pf. 3sm-live:res.=res.
 'Praise be to god, your donkey came out alive!'

