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

Putten, M. van

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Author: Putten, Marijn van

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

C.1.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra gan amədən aməqqərən u=qərīb a=yəmmūt w=iwīn n=iṣf illūm
aməzɣi=nnəs w=ifk=isin əlhəzmət n=təyariwīn w=in=isin: yaxət aržāt=tət.
U=yuyi=tət kull iwinān syar=sin iyəlli a=irzi=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=tya-
riwīn=iyək, əndu¹ təllumàm (or: təllummàm) iman=nəkīm məfá bəfəd
=kum a=ttəqqímam am=təyariwīn=iyək, təllumàm ká iman=nəkīm a=ttə-
qímam am=iwatān n=təyarīt izmīra kull iwīn a=yərzi=tət bišwāš. U=ini
=sin: llummāt 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 aməzžìn=n-əs w=i-fk=ísìn*
 and=one:sm of=day 3sm-gather:*pf. sons=of-3s and=3sm-give:*pf.=10.3pm
əlhəzmət n=təyariwìn w=i-n=ísìn: yax-ət
 bundle of=sticks and=3sm-say:*pf.=10.3pm take:imp.-pm
arž-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-uyì=tət kull iwinàn syar-sìn i-yəlli*
 And=3sm-take:*pf.=DO.3sf each one:sm from-3pm 3sm-want:*pf.
a=i-ržì=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-uyì=tət ššàrəf 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 iwin təyarit.
 each one:sm stick
 'Then the old man took it and untied it and gave each one a stick.'
- (291) *Bəʕədèn kull iwin y-uyá təyarit u=y-əržì=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=ísìn: akká, kəmmim am=təyariwìn=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-əqqíma-m
 2p-gather:*pf.-m self=of-2pm with.each.other fut.=2p-stay:fut.-m
am=təyariwìn=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.
 - *attəqqíma* breaks the general accent rule that a final heavy syllable always takes the accent. There is no obvious explanation for this.
- (293) *t-əllumà-m ká iman=nə-kim a=tt-əqíma-m am=iwatàn*
 2pm-gather:*pf.-2pm neg. self=of-2pm fut.=2pm-remain:fut.-2pm like=one:sf
n=təyarit i-zmìr=a kull iwin a=y-əržì=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 yuġāya ksūm u yušād yaḥṭīma af ammūd n sīdi Ḥāmed ėz-Zarrūq. Yufīten ‘amma mūdān l’ášār; yūnā ammūd-ī w-íddes ksūm. Iggīt dīta w-alimām sīdi Ḥāmed ėz-Zarrūq u ba‘ād ikkēmmel ya‘ádd irrōūwah u šummān ksūm wa yerfī‘a; ‘ala-má fekkān-ís afīu yelġām ayémm. Ba‘adēn ya‘ádd yēnšed ārrafāqānnes wi iżīnāna net-tīn idsīn ksūm. Nānīs: nekkenī nēšummitīya u nčītīya. Inīsīn: nek ‘ala-má fekkās afīu yelġām ayémm. Nānīs: ddīwa dgīta? Inīsīn: ba‘ád ušīgd unīḥ ammūd-ī, ufīḥten ‘amma mūdān, gīḥ dītī ksūm u qqāimīḥ mūdīḥ, wēn-mā kemmelḥ ‘addīḥ; wa d-elā šārāna. Nānīs ėrrafāqānnes: ‘ádd anīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed āz-Zarrūq. Ya‘ádd inīst am-alā nānīsa. Wēn-mā inīst i-sīdi Ḥāmed ėz-Zarrūq, inīs: nek lukān wā (anche: wāsa) ammūdān déffer-ī āīččīt afīu, ma‘ádč ammudālḥ s-ḥíddan. Inīs: ksūm-āya ġāreḥ ‘ádd keffént, u ‘ádd mtīt žebbānet; ya‘ádd yemtīt u yāqqīm iḥabbār mīddēn. Wēn-mā slānt mīddēn n ašāl kull, ušānd ġallīyēn ammūdān kull déffer-a w-ammūd meššék iġelli-ká ayūġ mīddēn n ašāl. Yeḥammém elfekrēnnes sīdi Ḥaméd, illúff dbāšēnnes w-inīsīn: ġallīḥ a‘ddaāḥ (sic) fḥālī. Nānīs lēhāl n ašāl: anna‘ádd kull-íddek. U škīyēn íddes ir ahlébeḥ ašāl u ba‘adēn inīsīn: šbārāt annākīm nek d-awīl tlāta marrāt ilā yōm ėlqiyāma: wāsa anzurrān s-ġarkīm a‘ayyāten-dīk tálāta marrāt; āūšāzd w-affukkāḥt. Undú ušīgd-ká, anmhāseb neḥ íddes yōm ėlqiyāma.

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 yuyà=ya ksūm u=yušād yəx-ṭīm=a af=ammūd n=sīdi Ḥāməd əz-Zarrūq. Yufi=tən ġəmma mudān l’əšəṛ; yūna ammūd=i w=íddəs ksūm. Iggì=t dīta w=alimām sīdi Ḥāməd əz-Zarrūq

u=bəfəd ikkəmməl yəfədd irrəwwəḥ u=šəmmàn ksùm wa yərɸi=a; ɣala-má fəkkən=is aɸw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Bəfədèn yəfədd yənsəd ərrəfəq=ən-nəs wi ižinàn=a nəttin idsin ksùm. Nan=is: nəkkəní nəšummi=tì=ya u nçi=tì=ya. In=isin: nək ɣəla-má fəkkà=s aɸw yəlyəm a=yəmm. Nan=is: ddiwa dgìt=a? In=isin: bəfəd ušiy=d unìx ammùd=i, uɸix=tən ɣəmma mudàn, gix diti ksùm u=qqimix mudix, wèn-ma kəmməlx ɣəddix; wa d=əlá ɣaràn=a. Nan=is ərrəfəq=ənnəs: ɣədd an=is=t i=sidi ɤəməd əz-Zarruq. Yəfədd in=is=t am=alá nan=is=a. Wèn-ma in=is=t i=sidi ɤəməd əz-Zarruq, in=is: nək lukán wa (or: wása) a=mmudàn dəffəri a=ičçi=t aɸw, məfəddə ammudəx s=ɰiddan. In=is: ksum=aya ɣàrək ɣədd kəffən=t, u=ɣədd mtì=t žəbbànət; yəfədd yəmtì=t u=yəqqim ixəbbàr middən. wèn-ma slàn=t mīd-dən n=ašəl kùll, ušàn=d ɣəlliyən a=mmudàn kull dəffəra w=ammud məš-šək iyəlli ká a=yùɣ mīddən n=ašəl. Yəxəmməm əlfəkr=ənnəs sidi ɤáməd, illuff dbaš=ənnəs w=in=isin: ɣəllix a=ɣəddəx ɸàli. 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 ɣyar=kim a=ɣəyyátən=dik təlàta marrət; a=ušà=z=d w=a=ffukkàx=t. Undú ušiy=d ká, a=nmḥàsəb nək iddəs yom əlqiyàma.

Nək wa d=əlá slìx=a sar mīddən ləwwəl kəddimən, ɰəkkàn=dik af=sidi ɤəməd 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-əxṭim=a*
 once 3sm-take:res.=res. meat and=3sm-come:pf.=come 3sm-pass.by:res.=res.
af=ammùd n=sidi ɤəməd 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 ɣəmma mudà-n lɣəṣər;*
 3sm-find:pf.=DO.3pm prog. pray:impf.-3pm afternoon.prayer
 ‘He found them praying the afternoon prayer’
- (298) *y-ùna ammùd=i w=idd-əs ksùm.*
 3sm-enter:seq. mosque=loc. and=with-3s meat
 ‘He entered the mosque, and with him (was) the meat’

- (299) *I-ggì=t* *dìt-a* *w=alimàm sidi Hāmād əz-Zarrùq u=bəʕád*
 3sm-put:P=DO.3sm in.front-3sm and=imam sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq and=after
i-kkəmməl y-əʕədd i-rrəwwəḥ u=šəmmà-n ksùm wa
 3sm-finish:*pf. 3sm-go:*pf. 3sm-return:*pf. and=cook:*pf.-3pm meat PMPH:ms
y-ərʕiʕ=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) *ʕalamá fəkkə-n=ìs* *aftw 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) *Bəʕədèn y-əʕədd y-ənšəd ərrəʕəq=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-či=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 ʕalamá fəkk-à=s* *aftw 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:* *bəʕád ušì-y=d unì-x* *ammùd=i, uftì-x=tən*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm after go:*pf.-1s enter:*pf.-1s mosque=loc. find:*pf.-1s=DO.3pm
ʕəmma mudà-n, gì-x dìt-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 kəmmə̀l-x ʕəddi-x; wa d=əlá ʕarà-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* *arrafaq=ànn-əs:* *ḡàdd* *an=ìs=t*
 say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s companions=of-3s go:imp. say:imp.=IO.3s=DO.3sm
i=sìdi Ḥàmməd əz-Zarruq.
 dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq
 'His companions said to him: Go and tell it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq.'
- (307) *Y-əḡàdd* *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 Ḥàmməd əz-Zarruq, i-n=ìs:*
 as.soon.as 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s=DO.3sm dat.=sidi.Hamid.Zarrouq 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-is
a=i-ččì=t *aftw, məḡàdč* *a=mmudà-x* *s=ḡiddan.*
 fut.=3sm-eat:fut.=DO.3sm fire, no.longer fut.=pray:fut.-is with=anyone
 'As soon as he had said it to Sidi Hamid Zarrouq, he said to him: If those who
 pray behind me would be eaten by fire, I would no longer pray with anyone.'
- (309) *I-n=ìs:* *ksum=àya* *ḡàr-ək ḡàdd* *kəffàn=t,* *u=ḡàdd*
 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-əḡàdd* *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
ḡəlliy-ən *a=mmudà-n* *kull dáffər-a* *w=ammud məššək*
 want:*pf.-3pm fut.=pray:fut.-3pm all behind-3sm and=mosque be.small:ms
i-ḡəlli *ká* *a=y-ùḡ* *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-əxəmmám 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=isin: yəlli-x a=ʔəddà-x fhàli.
 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 *yəxəmmám* has a final phonological accent. Verbs of this type are usually only found with default accent. Perhaps this verb distinguishes the perfective from the sequential perfective, but it would be the only verb that does so of the *cĕc* verbs.

- (313) *Na-n=is ləhəl n=ašàl: a=n-nəʔədd 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=bəʔədèn*
 and=leave:P-3pm with-3s until=fut.=surpass:fut.-3pm village and=then
i-n=isin: 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=ʔəyyát-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-mhàsəb 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=əlá slì-x=a sar=middən ləwwəl kəddim-ən,*
 I PMPH:ms pred.=rel. hear:res.-1s=res. from=people formerly old:mp
həkkà-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 elḥāml zḡāk s-gār lemluḥīyet w-iḡgāḡ zen-qīn-ī n ašāl u nettīn i'āyāt w-itennīs: lemluḥīyet bāhīyet. W-iḡgāḡ ggūt iṣfīwan u iḡḡ lūda u tāfūt taḥmāya fellīs u taqqīm tettā afišēnnes id el-gefānnes u tāqqīm am ẓḡḡaḥīm fellīs u nettīn llekkā iḡgāḡ u i'āyāt: ʔlm-luḥīyet bāhīyet. U taḡzér ḡāres tēmīgnī w-ētnīs: i-kú a-wán lemluḥīyet. U yāḡzér nettīn ḡāres w- igā elḡamēlēnnes dīt n tēmīgnī u tenšéd: z-dīwa? Inīs: sséba'a n millīm. Tnīs ennāt: s-árba'a béss. Inīs: árba'a ḡenṭā. Tnīs: nek nāka s-árba'a n millīm, ya'ḡeb-kūya nāḡ ya'ḡeb-kūya-ká? Inīs: ya'ḡebīya-ká. Tnīs: blaš, u tāqqāš elbāb fellīs u ba'adēn yēḡzér af elḡamēl-ēnnes wa-zḡāken daḡ ayerfā't lākēn yekrī yévdēd u ba'adēn yemmúdd afūs-ēnnes yeddúgg af elbāb u teškī tēmīgnī ḡāres w-ētnīs: amūr dḡīḡīt s-alūwel aḡēr-lek-ká? Yekrī-ká fellīs ḡlān u ba'adēn yerfā' ʔlmīzānnes wa yaḡmeltīya u yēḡbōṭṭ af tēgīlī n tēmīgnī u tīvā tēmīgnī temmūt u yeqqīm yevdīda agūrēnnes ir ayūš el-bulīs.

C.1.3.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan iwīnan yərɸiʔ=a af=təgili=nnəs əlḡəml zḡək sɣər ləmluxiyət w=iḡgəḡ dzənqin=i n ašāl u=nəttin iʔayət w=itənn=is: ləmluxiyət bəh(ə)yət. W=iḡgəḡ ggūt iṣfīwən u=iḡḡ lūda u=tafūt təḡmā=ya fəllis u=təqqim tətta afiš=ənnəs id=əlḡəfā=nnəs u=təqqim am=əḡḡəḡim fəllis u=nəttin lləkkā iḡgəḡ u=iʔayət: əlmluxiyət bəh(ə)yət. U=təxzər ɣərəs təmīgni w=ətn=is: i=kú a=wá=n ləmluxiyət. U=yəxzər nəttin ɣərəs w=igā əlḡəm(ə)l=ənnəs dīt n=təmīgni u=tənšəd=t: z=dīwa? In=is: ssəb(ə)ʔa n=millim. Tn=is ən-nāt: s=ərb(ə)ʔa bəss. In=is:ərb(ə)ʔa ḡenṭa. Tn=is: nək nə=k=a s=ərb(ə)ʔa n=millim, yəʔḡəb=kū=ya naɣ yəʔḡəb=kū=ya ká? In=is: yəʔḡəb=i=ya ká. Tn=is: blaš, u=təqqəš əlbəb fəllis u=bəʔədən yəxzər af=əlḡəm(ə)l=ənnəs wa zḡəkən dax a=yərɸəʔ=t ləkən yəkri yəvdəd u=bəʔədən yəmmúdd afus=ənnəs yəddúgg af=əlbəb u=təškī təmīgni ɣərəs w=ətn=is: amūr dḡiḡīt s=alūwəl axər lək ká? Yəkri ká fəll=is ḡlən u=bəʔədən yərɸəʔ əlmizən=nəs wa yəḡməl=tī=ya u yəxbəṭ=ṭ af=təgili n=təmīgni u=tiva təmīgni təmmūt u=yəqqim yəvdid=a agur=ənnəs ir=a=yūš əlbulis.

C.1.3.3 Glossed translation

- (318) *Gan iwīnan y-ərɸiʔ=a af=təgili=nn-əs əlḡəml zḡək*
 there one.ms 3sm-lift.up:res.=res. on=head=of-3s load heavy:3sm
sɣər=ləmluxiyət w=iḡgəḡ dzənqin=i n=ašāl u=nəttin iʔayət
 from=mulukhiya and=3sm-walk:impf. street=loc. of=village and=he 3sm-yell:impf.

w=itənn=ìs: 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-žigàž ggūt išfiwən u=i-žiz lida 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=əžžəhīm fəlli-s u=nattin llakká i-žigàž
 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=ìs: 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-əxzór 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=ìs: s=səbəša n=millim.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s with=seven of=milliem
 'He said to her: For seven milliemes.'

- (323) *T-n=ìs 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=ìs: ərbəša həntə.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s four little
 'He said to her: Four is (too) little.'

- (325) *T-n=ìs: 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-əʕžəb=kù=ya naɣ y-əʕžəb=kù=ya ká?
 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. or 3sm-please:res.=DO.2sm=res. neg.
 'She said to him: I've told you for four milliemes, does it please you or doesn't it please you?'

- (326) *I-n=ìs: y-əʕžəb=ì=ya ká.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s 3sm-please:res.=DO.1s=res. neg.
 'He said to her: It doesn't please me.'

- (327) *T-n=ìs: blaš, u=t-əqqəš 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=bəʕədèn y-əxzər af=əlħəməl=ənn-əs wa zžək-ən dax*
 and=then 3sm-look:pf. on=load=of-3s PMPH:ms be.heavy-ptc. in.order.to
a=y-ərʕəʕ=t ləkən y-əkri y-əvdəd u=bəʕədèn
 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 təmigni yàr-əs w=ət-n=ìs: amùr d-žizì-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=bəʕədèn y-ərʕəʕ əlmizàn=n-əs wa*
 3sm-return:*pf. neg. on-3s words and=then 3sm-lift:pf. scales=of-3s PMPH:ms
y-əħməl=tì=ya u=y-əxbəṭ=t af=təgìli n=təmigni
 3sm-carry:res.=DO.3sm=res. and=3sm-hit:*pf.=DO.3sm on=head of=woman
u=t-ìva təmigni 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 əlbulis.
 besides=of-3s until fut.=3sm-come:fut. police

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

C.1.4 Text IV

C.1.4.1 Original transcription

Yeškî Žhâ ssûq-î u iddes azîōtēnnes igēlli āīzīzīt. Ba'adên yefkît i-ddellâl dāh āīzīzīt. Ba'adên yāqqîm ēddellâl i'āyât (anche: i'āiyât) w-itennîs: wāya d-azîț fešûš, qāwî u d-azîț mrî. Ba'adên āqqîmân mîddēn rennîyen (anche: rennân) fellîs s-ar žlân-îya. Ba'adên yeslâ Žhâ žlân-îya w-inîs y-imānnes: la-búdda azîōtēnnûk kuwēyes šahîh. Ba'adên yqâqîm [sic] irēnni id mîddēn. Ba'adên yeškî elbārât u yefkîțēnēț y-āddellâl u yugâ azîōț u ya'ādd yefrîha. Ba'adên ēl'aqqâb-î yāqqîm nettîn id-dmēgnîs (anche: id-tēmignînnes) u yaḥkîs af laḥkâyet n-arennî (anche: arēnnu). Tnîs ēnnât: qâma annâk laḥkâyet aḥîr n-tānnek. Tnîs: yeḥâtṭām sîla wa žizân lemluḥîyet, yāqqîm itāzândîk ba'adên gîḥ eddémlež n eddâhab êlkéffet ta-gân êlmizân; ba'adên yekkémmeł uzúnnes, ēntârḥ ēddemlež-ennûk elmizân-î rwîḥḥa āīnidîk: kem ttākârt s-gâr-î. Ba'adên inîs Žhâ: bâhi, nek šügârḥ s-elhawáyî u kem s-arēzgîg u tudîk atta'mîr tēfillinnâḥ.

Perhaps *y-āddellâl* is *y-āddelâl*, 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 azyt=ēnnēs iyēlli a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəfkî=t i=ddəllâl dax a=ižizî=t. Bəfədēn yəqqîm əddəllâl i'əy(y)ət w=itənn=îs: wāya d=azîț fəšûš, qəwi u=d=azîț mrî. Bəfədēn əqqimân mîddən rənnîyən (or: rənnân) fəllîs sar žlan=îya. Bəfədēn yəslâ Žhâ žlan=îya w=in=îs y=imân=nəs: la-búdda azyt=ənnûk kəwəyəs šəḥîḥ. Bəfədēn yəqqîm irən-ni id=mîddən. Bəfədēn yēškî əlbarət u=yəfkî=tənət y=əddəllâl u=yuyâ azyt=yəfədd yəfrîḥ=a. Bəfədēn əl'əqqâb=i yəqqîm nəttîn id=dməgni=s (or: id=təmnignî=nnəs) u=yəḥk=îs af=ləḥkâyet n=arənnî (or: arənnu). Tn=îs ənnât: qâma a=nnâ=k ləḥkâyet axîr n=tà nnək. Tn=îs: yəxəṭṭam sîla wa žizân ləmluxəyət, yəqqîm itazən=dîk bəfədēn gîx əddəmləž n=əddəhəb əlkəffət ta=gân əlmizân; bəfədēn yəkkəmməl uzùn=nəs, əntərx əddəmləž=ənnûk əlmizân=i rwîḥḥ=a a=ini=dîk: kəm ttākərt syâri. Bəfədēn in=îs Žhâ: bâhi, nək šuyârx s=əlhəwəyyi u=kəm sar=əzgîg 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-əfkì=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-əy(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 fəššùš, 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 səhih.
 certainly donkey=of-is very be.healthy:3sm
 'Then Jha heard these words and he said to himself: Certainly, my donkey is very healthy!'
- (336) *Bəfədèn y-əqqim i-rənni id=middən.*
 then 3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-bid:impf. with=people
 'Then he started bidding along with the people.'
- (337) *Bəfədèn y-əški əlbarət u=y-əfkì=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=təməgnì-nn-əs)*
 Then evening=loc. 3sm-stay:*pf. he with=wife-3s (with=wife=of-3s)
u=y-əḥk=iš af=ləḥkàyəṭ n=arənni (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 ləḥkàyəṭ 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-əxəṭṭam sila wa žižà-n ləmluxəyəṭ,*
 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, *yəxəṭṭam* 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.
rwiḥ-ḥ=a a=i-ni=dik: kəm t-tàkər-t syàr-i.
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.1s you 2s-steal:impf.-2s from-1s
 'Then (when) he finished the weighing, I left my bracelet on the scales, I was afraid he would say to me: You are stealing from me!'

- (342) *Bəʕədèn i-n=iš Žḥà: bəḥi, nək šuyàr-x s=əlhəwəyyi*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha: be.good:3sm, I lose:impf.-1s from=outside
u=kəm sar=əzgig u=tudik a=t-təṣmìr 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, *šuyàrx* appears to be an imperfective. In the context of the text, a perfective would be expected.

C.1.5 Text V

C.1.5.1 Original transcription

Žhâ yeteménna s-gâr rábbī ayefkīs elf znī u yāqqīm itélleb u itennīs: ya rábbī undú yenqīsa iwīnān auǵāḥ-tenet-ká. Ba‘adēn yeslīt ēlhūdi aringīnnes ba‘adēn inīs lhūdi y-imānnes wāllāhī qāma aḥdefās tésa‘a míyet id tésa‘a u tes‘īn žnī w-aggulāḥt ayuǵitēnet naǵ wélā. W-igītēnet arāqūt-ī u yaḥdefētēnet dīt nē Žhâ s-ar ǝrrōšen. U yefráḥ Žhâ sénet u inīs: rábbī yefkīdīka amalā ḡellīḥ. U yetuār arāqūt u yaḥsebtēnet yufītēnet ānqāšnīta iwīnān u ba‘adēn inīs: Wa yefkīdīka l‘ālla ayefkīdīk iwīnan; ba‘adēn igītēnet ššundūq-ī u nettīn yefrīḥa. Ba‘adēn yeškī ēlhūdi w-inīs yē-Žhâ: aǵīd elbarāt-ennūk. Inīs Žhâ: rábbī yefkīdīka albāšīret u ku tǵallīt attuǵāttet s-gār-ī? Inīs ēlhūdi: nek wa aḥdefḥtīta ī-kú dah aggulāḥku attuǵāttēnet ēnqāšnīta nāǵ wélā. Yelǵóm ayefkitēnet y-elhūdi. Ba‘adēn inīs ēlhūdi: nek anṭārāḥku-ká īr anna‘ādd nek-īddek ar elqāḍī. Inīs Žhâ: nek ‘ayyānaḥ u zmerḥ-ká a‘addāḥ af ṭārīnnūk w-ǝrwēḥa (‘ḥ>ḥḥ>ḥ) s-gār šmut u ḡārī-ká telāba. Inīs ālhūdi: afkāk azīt id telāba ḡār ‘ādd idd-ī ar ēlqāḍī. Ba‘ād ušālēn ar elqāḍī išerwīs lēhūdi s-alā šārāna. Inīs elqāḍī i-Žhâ: šaḥīḥ žlān-īya? Ba‘adēn inīs: lhūdi iqāllez fellīwi u nek rwīḥḥa ayéqlez w-āinīs ḥátta tlābannūk ta-tennī fellīwī t-tānnes (dt>tt) nettīn īd azītennūk āinīs d-wānnes nettīn. Ba‘adēn i‘āyet elhūdi w-inīs y-elqāḍī: wāllāhī t-tinnūk. Inīs elqāḍī: ku teqāllez šaḥīḥ ‘ādd ‘ādd rōūwah. U ya‘ādd Žhâ yefrīḥa yaḥaššīla ēdbūš īd azīt īd elbarāt.

C.1.5.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhâ yetəmənna syar řəbbi a=yəfk=īs əlf žnī u=yəqqīm itəlləb u=itənn=īs: ya řəbbi əndú yənqīş=a iwīnan a=uǵəx=tənət ká. Bəfədēn yəsli=t əlhūdi aringī=nnəs bəfədēn in=īs lhūdi y=imən=nəs wəllāhi qāma əḥdəfə=s təs(ə)-fa məyət id=təs(ə)fa u=təsīn žnī w=a=gguləx=t a=yuyi=tənət naǵ wəla. w=igi=tənət arəqūt=i u=yəḥdəf=tənət dīt nə=Žhâ sar=ərrōšen. U=yəfrəḥ Žhâ sənət u=in=īs: řəbbi yəfki=dik=a am=alā ǵəllīx. U=yətuwār arəqūt u=yəḥsəb=tənət yufi=tənət ənqəşnīt=a iwīnan u=bəfədēn in=īs: wa yəfki=dik=a lʿālla a=yəfki=dik iwīnan; bəfədēn igi=tənət ššundūq=i u=nəttīn yəfrīḥ=a. Bəfədēn yəškī əlhūdi w=in=īs yə=Žhâ: aǵi=d əlbarat=ənnūk. In=īs Žhâ: řəbbi yəfki=dik=a albəşīret u=ku tǵəllīt a=ttuyət=tət syāri? In=īs əlhūdi: nək wa əḥdəfx=tīt=a i=kú dax a=gguləx=ku a=ttuyə(t)=tənət ənqəşnīt=a naǵ wəla. yəlyəm a=yəfki=tənət y=əlhūdi. Bəfədēn in=īs əlhūdi: nək anṭər(ə)x=ku ká ir=a=nnəfədd nək idd=ək ar=əlqəḍi. In=īs Žhâ: nək fəyyānəx u=zmarx ká a=fəddəx af=ṭarin=núk w=ərwiḥ=a s yar=šmut u=yari ká tələba. In=īs əlhūdi: a=fkə=k azīt id=tələba yar fədd iddi ar=əlqəḍi.

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 rwīhə=a a=yəqləz w=a=in=is hətta tlabə=nnək ta tənnī fəllīwi t=tá=nnəs nəttin id=ažit=ənnək a=in=is d=wà=nnəs nəttin. Bəfədèn ifəyət əlhùdi w=in=is y=əlqədi: wəllāhi t=ti=nnək. In=is əlqədi: ku təqəlləzt şəhīh fədd ədd rəwwəh. U=yəfədd Žhà yəfrīh=a yəhəşşil=a ədbüş id=ažit id=əlbarət.

C.1.5.3 Glossed translation

- (343) *Žhà y-atəmənna syar=rəbbi a=y-əfk=is əlf žni*
 Jha 3sm-wish:*pf. from=God fut.=3sm-give:fut.=IO.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.=IO.3s voc.=God if
y-ənqış=a iwīnan a=uğá-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-əsli=t əlhùdi aringì=nn-əs bəfədèn i-n=is*
 Then 3sm-hear:P=DO.3sm. Jew neighbour=of-3s then 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s
lhùdi y=imàn=n-əs wəllāhi qàma a=hədaf-à=s təs(ə)fa məyət
 Jew dat.=self=of-3s by.God now fut.=throw:fut.-1s=IO.3s nine hundred
id=təs(ə)fa u=təsfin žni w=a=ggulà-x=t
 with=nine and=ninety pound and=fut.=see:fut-1s=DO.3sm
a=y-uğí=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 arəqut=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=ərrəšan.
 from>window
 'And he put them in a bag and threw it in front of Juha from a window.'

- (346) *U=y-əfrəh Žhà s-ənət u=i-n=is: rəbbi*
 and=3sm-become.happy:pf. Jha with-3pf and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s God
y-əfki=dik=a am alá yəllī-x.
 3sm-give:res.=IO.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-əfriḥ=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-əʕkí əlhùdi w=i-n=is yə=Žḥà: 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 Žḥà: rəbbi y-əfki=dik=a albəʕìrət u=ku*
 3sm-say:*pf.-IO.3s Jha God 3sm-give:res.=IO.1s=res. willingly and=you
t-yəlli-t a=tt-uyà-t=tət syàr-i?
 2s-want:*pf.-2s fut.=2s-take:fut.-2s=DO.3sf from=1s
 ‘Jha said to him: God has given me this willingly and you want to take it from
 me?’
- (351) *I-n=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=gguḷà-x=ku a=t-tuyà-(t)=tənət ənqəş-nit=a nəy 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=nṭər-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=əlqəḍi.
 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=is 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 syar=řmuṭ u=yar-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=is əlhùdi: a=fk-à=k ažiṭ id=təlàba yar řədd*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew fut.=give:fut.-1s=10.2sm donkey with=gown but go:imp.
idd-i ar=əlqàḍi.
 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=əlqàḍi i-řərw=is 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=is əlqàḍi i=Žhà: řəḥiḥ žlan=iya?*
 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s judge dat.=Jha be.true:3m words-PROX:p
 'The judge said to Jha: Are these words true?'
- (358) *Bəřadèn i-n=is: lhùdi i-qəlləz řəlli-wi u=nək*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jew 3sm-lie:impf. on-1s and=I
rwih-ḥ=a a=y-əqləz w=a=i-n=is ḥàtta
 become.afraid:res.-1s=res. fut.=3sm-lie:fut. and=fut.=3sm-say:fut.=10.3s even
tłaba=nn-úk ta t-ənní řəlli-wi t=tà=nn-əs nàttin
 gown=of-1s rel:sf 3sf-exist:*pf. on-1s pred.=PMPH:sf=of-3s he
id=ažiṭ=ənn-úk a=i-n=is d=wà=nn-əs nàttin.
 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=is y=əlqàḍi: 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 *aẓit* 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 ʃəhùh ʃàdd ʃàdd rəwwəh.*
 3sm-say:*.pf.=IO.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-əʃàdd Žhà y-əfrìh-a y-əhəʃšil-a ədbùš id*
 And 3sm-go:P Jha 3sm-be.happy:res.=res. 3sm-obtain:res.=res. clothes
aẓit 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 yəʃkîna l'allî-y-î, ba'aden [MvP: sic] yušâd iwînan isâsa af tēfillînes.
 Ba'aden yáħzer Žhà s-ar-zût w-inîs: ddiwa tgallît a-y-amédēn? Inîs amédēn:
 yîd-dîla. Yušîzd Žhà. Ba'aden inîs amédēn: fkîdik s-ar (anche: s-gâr) elháqq
 ərǝábbî (nǝ > rǝ). Ba'aden inîs Žhà: yîd zôt. U yelbúb nettîn iddes ar-zût
 w-inîs: ġārî-ká. Ba'aden inîs wa sâsan: af-îwa tneddik-ká (anche: ur tned-
 dik) žlan-îya u nek nnîh ar-ûtā? Ba'aden inîs Žhà: w-afiwa tēneddik ərəš
 arûtā?

C.1.6.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà yəʃkîna=a lʃəlli=yi, bəʃədèn yuʃà=d iwînan isâsa af=təfillî=nnəs. Bəʃə-
 dèn yəħzər Žhà sar=zût w=in=îs: ddiwa tǵəllît ay=amədən? In=îs amədən:
 yi=d dila. Yuš=iz=d Žhà. Bəʃədèn in=îs amədən: fki=dik sar=(or: syâr=)
 əlhàqq ər=ɾəbbi. Bəʃədèn in=îs Žhà: yîd zût. U=yəlbəb nəttîn iddəs ar=zût
 w=in=îs: ɣari ká. Bəʃədèn in=îs wa sâsan: af-îwa tnəd=dik ká (or: ur=tnəd
 =dik) žlan=îya u=nək nnîx ar=ûtā? Bəʃədèn in=îs Žhà: w=af-îwa tənəd=dik
 ɪrəʃ ar=ûtā?

C.1.6.3 Glossed translation

(362) *Žhà y-əʃkîna=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=təfilli=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=ìs:*
 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-yəlli-t ay=amədən?*
 what 2s-want:*pf..-2s voc.=man
 ‘What do you want, man?’

(366) *I-n=ìs 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=ìz=d Žhà.*
 3sm-come:*pf.=10.3s Jha
 ‘Jha came to him’

(368) *Bəʕədèn i-n=ìs 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=ìs Žhà: yid zùt.*
 Then 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s Jha come:imp. up
 ‘Then Jha said to him: come up.’

(370) *U y-əlbáb nattìn idd-əs ar=zùt w=i-n=ìs: yar-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=ìs wa sása-n: aḫiwa 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=ìya u=nək nni-x ar=ùṭa?*
 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) *Bəʕədən 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 ssûq-î w-iság azîṭ u yeqqánt s-ažîker u ya’add w-ažîṭṭ déffer-a (anche: déffer-ah). Ba’adên ušanîzd itnên ěn-qàṭṭá’ân, iwînan itûar azîṭṭ u yerfá’t iddes w-iwînan yaqqán imânnēs amakân n-ažîṭ. Ba’adên yáḥzer Žhà yufâ amédên amakân n-ažîṭ yugâ yekrî sîs ssûq-î w-inîs y-ettâžer wa-yugâya s-gâres azîṭ: šekrî-dîk elbarâtennûk, wâya d-ažîṭ-ká, wâya d-amédên. W-igîs lêharžet. Ba’adên išekrîs elbarâtēnnēs u ya’add Žhà iróūwah.

C.1.7.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəʕədd Žhà ssûq=i w=isəy azîṭ u=yəqqən=t s=ažîkər u=yəʕədd w=ažîyṭ dəffəra (or: dəffərah). Bəʕədən ušan=iz=d itnən ən=qəṭṭáʕan, iwínan itûar azîyṭ u=yərʕəʕ=t iddəs w=iwínan yəqqən imàn=nəs amakàn n=ažîṭ. Bəʕədən yəxzər Žhà yufá amədən amakàn n=ažîṭ yuyá yəkrî sîs ssûq=í w=in=ís y=əttāžər wa yuyà=ya syàrəs azîṭ: šəkrî=dîk əlbarat=ənnûk, wàya d=ažîṭ ká, wàya d=amədən. W=ig=ís ləhəržət. Bəʕədən išekr=ís əlbarat=ənnəs u=yəʕədd Žhà irəwwəh.

C.1.7.3 Glossed translation

- (373) *Y-əʕədd Žhà ssûq=i* *w=i-səy* *azîṭ*
 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=ažîkər* *u=y-əʕədd* *w=ažîṭ*
 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) *Bəʕədən uša-n=iz=d* *itnən ən=qəṭṭáʕan, iwínan i-túwar*
 Then come:*pf.-3pm=10.3s=come two of=thieves, one:ms 3sm-open:*pf.
azîṭ u=y-ərʕəʕ=t *idd-əs w=iwínan y-əqqən*
 donkey and=3sm-take.away:*pf.=DO.3sm with-3s and=one:ms 3sm-tie:*pf.

imàn=n-əs amakàn n=aẓiṭ.

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-əxzər Žhà y-ufá amàdàn amakàn n=aẓiṭ 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 aẓiṭ:
 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=aẓiṭ 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 ləhəržət.*
 and=3sm-do:*pf.=10.3s noise
 ‘And he made a fuss to him.’

(379) *Bəṣadèn i-šəkr=ís əlbarat=ənn-əs u=y-əṣədd 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 nettîn iddahwâr ir itûg Žhâ. Ba’adên in-šétt w-inîs: māg innî ennûšš ên temûrt kkúll? Inîs Žhâ: amakân wa innî aẓiṭennûk w-öndú tšaddâqtîya-ká āžvót temûrt. Itaháyyär el’âlem w-inšétt: ammágwa al’âded nē-nġûm? Inîs Žhâ: d-el’âded n aẓévû n aẓiṭennûk, undú tšaddâqtîya-ká aḥséb ěnġûm w-aḥséb aẓévû n aẓiṭennûk. Ba’adên yenšétt amēdēn u inîs: ammágwa el’âded n aẓévû n tamirtennûk.

Inīs Žhà: el'áded n ažévū n tamīrténnek am el'áded n ažévū n azif n ažiṭen-nūk w-undú tšaddáqtīya-ká aḥséb. Ba'adēn ittōūwīyel amédēn u yekrí yendīma.

C.1.8.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəški iwīn n=əlʕāləm iddəhwār lhəwāyyi u=yəqqīm iddəhwār ašəl=i kkūll inəššəd əlʕulamá u=iyəlləb=tən u=nəttin iddəhwār ir itūg Žhà. Bəʕədēn inšət=t w=in=ís: mag inni ənnúšš ən=təmurt kkūll? In=ís Žhà: aməkàn wa inni ažiṭ=ənnūk w=əndú tšəddəqt=i=ya ká əžvət təmurt. Itəḥəyyər əlʕāləm w=inšət=t: am=məgwa əlʕədəd nə nžum? In=ís Žhà: d=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=ažiṭ=ənnūk, əndú tšəddəqt=i=ya ká əḥsəb ənžum w=əḥsəb ažəvu n=ažiṭ=ənnūk. Bəʕədēn yənšət=t amədən u=in=ís: am=məgwa əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənnūk. In=ís Žhà: əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənnək am=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=azif n=ažiṭ=ənnūk w=əndú tšəddəqt=i=ya ká əḥsəb. Bəʕədēn ittəwīyəl amədən u=yəkrí yəndim=a.

C.1.8.3 Glossed translation

- (380) *Y-əški iwīn n=əlʕāləm i-ddəhwār lhəwāyyi u=y-əqqīm*
 3sm-left:*pf. one of=scholar 3sm-go.around:impf. outside and=3sm-stay:*pf.
i-ddəhwār ašəl=i kkūll i-nəššəd əlʕulamá
 3sm-go.around:impf. village=loc. whole 3sm-ask:impf. scholars
u=i-yəlləb=tən u=nəttin i-ddəhwār ir=i-tūg
 and=3sm-defeat:impf.=DO.3pm and=he 3sm-go.around:impf. until=3sm-meet:*pf.
 Žhà.

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) *Bəʕədēn 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.
ənnúšš ən=təmurt kkūll?
 middle of=earth whole

'Then he asked him and said: where is the middle of the whole earth?'

- (382) *I-n=ís Žhà: aməkàn wa i-nni ažiṭ=ənn-ūk w=əndú*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha place PMPH:sm 3sm-be(loc.):*pf. donkey=of-is and=if
t-šəddəq-t=i=ya ká əžvət təmurt.
 2s-believe:res.-2s=DO.1s=R neg. measure:imp. earth

'Juha said to him: It is the place where my donkey is, and if you do not believe me, measure the earth.'

- (383) *I-təhəyyər əlʕələm w=i-nšət=t: am=màgwa əlʕədəd*
 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=əlʕədəd 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) *Bəʕədən 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
əlʕədəd 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: əlʕədəd n=ažəvu n=tamirt=ənn-ək am=əlʕədəd n=ažəvu*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s Jha: number of=hairs of=beard=of-2sm like=number of=hairs
n=azif 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) *Bəʕədən i-ttəwwiyəl amədən u=y-əkri*
 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’add Žhà elbáħār-ī igélli āisébbaħ u yekkés dbūšénnes; ba’adên ušând qāttā’ān ukéren ědbūšénnes. Ba’adên yekrî tfillinnes ‘aryân. Ba’adên u

ba'ád séba'a āiyām ya'ádd marrât (anche: marrâtet) aqûtet igéllī āiséb-
baḥ elbáḥr-ī; yuná s-edbūšennes elmarrât-āya. Ba'ádēn igulīt iwinān n-
eṣṣāḥbennes, inīs: ddiwa ttudīk, attūnat s-edbūšennek ālbáḥr-ī. Yekrí fel-
līs Žḥā w-inīs: aunāḥ s-edbūšennūk aḥīr āūkerēntēn qeṭṭā'an.

C.1.9.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəfədd Žḥā əlbəhr=i iɣəlli a=isəbbəḥ u=yəkkəš (ə)dbuš=ənnəs; bəfədən
ušan=d qəṭṭáfan ukəɾən ədbuš=ənnəs. Bəfədən yəkrí tfilli=nnəs fəryàn.
Bəfədən u=bəfəd səb(ə)fa ayyam yəfədd mərrát (mərrátət) aqûtet iɣəlli
a=isəbbəḥ əlbəhr=i; yuná s=ədbuš=ənnəs əlmərrat=āya. Bəfədən igulīt
iwinān n=eṣṣaḥb=ənnəs, in=is: ddiwa ttudīk, a=ttūnat s=ədbuš=ənnək
əlbəhr=i. Yəkrí fəllīs Žḥā w=in=is: a=unāx s=ədbuš=ənnūk axīr (axər)
a=ukəɾən=tən qəṭṭáfan.

C.1.9.3 Glossed translation

- (388) *Y-əfədd Žḥā əlbəhr=i i-ɣəlli a=i-səbbəḥ u=y-əkkəš*
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 ušan=d qəṭṭáfan ukəɾ-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 (mərrátət) aqû-tət*
then and=after seven days 3sm-go:*pf. time another-sf
i-ɣəlli a=i-səbbəḥ əlbəhr=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) *Bəḍədən 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=ìs: 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=ìs: 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 qəttáfan.
 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 iğəlli ayessen akelliménnes amakân baʿîd lâkən akellîm iššen-kâ amakân w-iššen-kâ tebārût u yérwaʿ ayúger w-inîs i-Žhâ: rwəḥḥa āūgəṛḥ. Inîs Žhâ: undú tuğərt yîd-dîla ašəglâk tebārût.

C.1.10.2 Phonemic transcription

Yušâ=d Žhâ mârâ iɣəlli a=yəssən akəllim=ənnəs amakân baʿîd ləkən akəl-lim iššən kâ amakân w=iššən kâ təbarût u=yərwəʿ a=yùɣər w=in=ìs i=Žhâ: rwìḥḥ=a a=uɣərx. In=ìs Žhâ: əndú tuyərt yi=d dila a=šəglà=k təbarût.

C.1.10.3 Glossed translation

- (396) *Y-ušá=d Žhâ mârâ i-yəlli a=y-əssən akəllim=ənn-əs*
 3sm-come:pf.=come Jha once 3sm-want:*pf. fut.=3sm-send:fut. servant=of-3s
amakân baʿîd
 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-ərwəʃ a=y-ùɣər
 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: rwiḥ-ḥ=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-ī. U nettîn iḥâttâm af mîdden u mîdden sellâmən fellis s-kemma maktar n-mîdden ššenən-tiya. Ba'adên igûl iwînān, yušād Žhà issellem fellis l'alla. Ba'adên amédên yenséd Žhà w-inîs: ku tsentiya s-ālōwâl? Ba'adên inîs Žhà: lā ġār gulih-kûya tudînta elqābbûṭ am wannûk w-el'amamet am tannûk, aḥsəbh-kûya 'annek ku d-nék.

C.1.11.2 Phonemic transcription

Márra Žhà yəʔidd=a ssùq=i. U=nəttîn ixəttâm af=mîddən u=mîddən səl-lâmən fəllis skəmma məktar n=mîddən ššenən=tì=ya. Bəʔədèn igûl iwî-nan, yušà=d Žhà issəlləm fəllis lʔəlla. Bəʔədèn amədən yənsəd Žhà w=in=ìs: ku tsənt=ì=ya s=ələwwâl? Bəʔədèn in=ìs Žhà: la ɣar gulix=kù=ya tudint=a əlqəbbûṭ am=wa=nnûk w=əlʔəmàmət am=ta=nnûk, əḥsəbx=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-xəttəm af=middən u=middən səlləm-ən fəlli-s*
 and=he 3sm-meet.with:impf. on=people and=people greet:impf.-3pm on-3s
skəmma 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 ləlla.*
 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-ənšəd 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=əlṣəməmət am=ta=nn-ùk,
 robe like=PMPH:sm=of-1s and=turban like=PMPH:sf=of-1s
əḥsəb-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 aḏiṭennes. Ba’adèn isāḡ hénṭā n el-ḥāḏārāt w-iggītet skāret-ī³ lākān yélgām āīgītet af azīṭ w-igītet af elket-fénnes u ya’ādd yelbība af azīṭennes. Ba’adèn igulīt iwīnān n-əṣṣāḥbénnes

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

³Probably a printing error of <škāret>.

tēbarūt-ī yensēdt w-inîs: adgât-ká škâret af aziṭ? Inîs Žhâ: erwá‘ s-gār
râbbi a-y-amēden; issudda-ká nek elbúbha af aẓiṭ u tēgellit-ī aḥmélh fellîs
škâret u arnâs etta‘áb af etta‘abénnes.

C.1.12.2 Phonemic transcription

Iwîn n=išf yəški Žhâ ssùq=i w=iddəs aẓiṭ=ənnəs. Bəfədèn isəy həntə n=
əlxəd(ə)rət w=iggi=tət škárət=i⁴ làkən yəlyəm a=igi=tət af=aẓiṭ w=igi=tət
af=əlkətf=ənnəs u=yəfədd yəlbib=a af=aẓiṭ=ənnəs. Bəfədèn igulī=t iwinàn
n=əşşahb=ənnəs təbarūt=i yənšədd=t w=in=îs: a=dgât ká škárət af=aẓiṭ?
In=îs Žhâ: ərwəf syar=rəbbi ay=amədən; issudda ká nek əlbəbx=a af=aẓiṭ
u=təyəllit=i a=ḥməlx 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 aẓiṭ=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-sáy həntə n=əlxədərət w=i-ggi=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-gi=tət af=aẓiṭ w=i-gi=tət*
but 3sm-refuse:seq. fut.=3sm-put:fut.=DO.3sf on=donkey and=3sm-put:*pf.=DO.3sf
af=əlkətf=ənn-əs u=yəfədd y-əlbib=a af=aẓiṭ=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-gulī=t iwinàn n=əşşahb=ənn-əs təbarūt=i*
Then 3sm-see:*pf.=DO.3sf one:sm of=friend=of-3s road=loc.
y-ənšədd=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=aẓiṭ?
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 *əttəʕəb af=əttəʕəb=ənn-əs.*
 and=fut.=increase:fut.-1s=10.3s burden on=burden=of-3s
 'Is it not enough that I mount the donkey? and you want me to load the bag on
 the donkey and increase the burden upon his burden!'

- One would expect *əlbəb-x-a* to be ***əlbib-x-a*.

C.1.13 Text XIII

C.1.13.1 Original transcription

Yəškî Žhà s-ar (anche: s-ġâr) tēfillînnēs w-iddēs irîu fellîs tēkabért tēzwâġt
 u yerfa'tîya af agârâţēnnēs. Ba'adên ittuwît u yâqqîm idōwâr fellîs u net-
 tîn af agârâţēnnēs u itennîs i-kùll amédēn: dgulît-ká irîu fellîs tēkabért
 tēzwâġt? Ba'adên inîs iwîn n amédēn: bâlek nettîn wa nnîyen af êlketfēn-
 nek. Ba'adên yerfa' Žhà tēġilînnēs ar-zûţ igûl irîu w-inîs y-irîu: ur-nâka-ká
 ba'ád atqîmât iddî ta'addît-ká?

C.1.13.2 Phonemic transcription

Yəškî Žhà sa= (or: syâr=) tēfillî=nnēs w=iddēs irîw fəllîs təkabərt təzwəyt
 u=yərfəʕ=tî=ya af=agərəʕ=ənnəs. Bəʕədən ittuwî=t u=yəqqîm idəwwār
 fəllîs u=nəttîn af=agərəʕ=ənnəs u=itənn=îs i=kùll amədən: dgulît ká irîw
 fəllîs təkabərt təzwəyt? Bəʕədən in=îs iwîn n=amədən: bələk nəttîn wa
 nnîyən af=əlkətf=ənnək. Bəʕədən yərfəʕ Žhà təġilî=nnəs ar=zûţ igûl irîw
 w=in=îs y=irîw: ur=nà=k=a ká bəʕəd a=tqimât iddî təʕəddît ká?

C.1.13.3 Glossed translation

- (411) *Y-əškî* *Žhà sar (or: syâr)=təfîllî=nn-əs w=idd-əs* *irîw fəlli-s təkabərt*
 3sm-leave:*pf. Jha from=house=of-3s and=with-3s child on-3s shirt
təzwəyt 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=kull amədən
 and=he on=neck=of-3s and=3sm-say:impf.=IO.3s dat.=each person
 ‘Then he forgot him and he started looking around for him, and he was (still)
 on his neck, and started saying to each person.’
- (413) *d-gulì-t ká irìw fəlli-s təkabərt təzwàyt?*
 2s-see:*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-ələsláʕ; baʕadèn iwìn n iʃf yaʕədd i-wa tezzàmən u izemîs. Baʕadèn ikkémmeḷ yefkîs ennûş n elbarât. Baʕadèn inîs wa tezzàmən: af-iwâ tēfkî-dîk nnûş n elḥəqqennûk? Inîs Žhà: s-kémma (or: sémma) nek d-aləsláʕ.

C.1.14.2 Phonemic transcription

Žhà d=ələsləʕ; bəʕədèn iwìn n=iʃf yəʕədd i=wa təzzàmən u=izəm=is. Bə-
 ʕədèn ikkəmməl yəfk=is ənnûş n=əlbərât. Bəʕədèn in=is wa təzzàmən:
 af-iwâ təfki(t)=dik (ə)nnûş n=əlḥəqq=ənnûk? In=is Žhà: skəmma nək
 d=ələsləʕ.

C.1.14.3 Glossed translation

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

- *ələšlǝʕ* 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=ìs.
 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-kkámmał y-əfk=ìs ənnùš n-əlbəràt.*
 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=ìs wa təzzàm-ən: aʕwá 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=əlḥəqq=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* <teḥkīdīk> the final -t of the 2sg. is lost.

- (421) *I-n=ìs Žhà: skámma nək d=ələšlǝʕ.*
 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 temígnī w-iggâda s-gâres sébaʕa n tirīwîn (anche: tirīwī) wē nettīn gâres ɛlḥarbušénnes innī ʕāngarā w-išúwwa gān ɛlgârsāt-énnes w-igāi gān timzīn id ɛlgafûli (anche: ṅgafûli) u gâres gān tnūvīn nē bẓālīm w-išuwitēnēt af afūsénnes w-irōūwāḥ af tfillínnes w-ayaʕádd elgábeš w-ayûš mnišīu u gān tirīut tmoqqārânt tnīs y-abbās: arfáʕ-ī id-dek aggûlaḥ sâwāninnāk. Yekrī fellīs, inīs: qámak ammânēt timzīn w-annaʕádd gān kúll, kem id ɛmmâm id setmâm. U baʕadèn yaʕádd nettīn

elħarbüşennes u yaqqîm išúwwa tnūvînes w-irrôūwah mnišîu w-inîsneţ i-tirîwînes id emmâtsneţ: şbâĥ annaśádd suwânînnâĥ. U fráĥneţ tirîwîn u šîredneţ ksûmennésneţ (anche: ġâstînnésneţ = le loro ossa) u yuşâd âr temignînes w-inîs: neġállî annaśádd şbâĥ u ddiwa dgulî? Tekrî fellîs ênnât w-êtnîs: alá dgît bâĥî. W-inîs: wétti-dikkénî ččunnâĥ şbâĥ id báśad şábâĥ. Tekrî fellîs, tnîs: kullî šêi yutâya. Yuşâd, yunâ nettîn iddes amakânnesîn u yemĥâţţât avoţ-idîn. Kkêreĥ elġâbeş, iwâtân twétta elmetſatenésneţ w-iwâtân tčîrâd u baśadên udênneţ udûn kuwâyes u ſaddân ġalliyeĥ azréden elħarbüşennesîn u baśadên tîvâ tafût tebârût-î u ġalliyeĥ ašelĥâmen afîu; yeĥzêr abbâs žibereténnes yûfa gallûda n afîu. Ĥzêrneţ tirîwîn u nânêtîs: ábbâ, ábbâ akkiwân elbâqîs n afîu. Inîs abbâs: wetţîmet šġîren, qâmak agġâġd afîu s-ġâr tēfilli-y-îwan. Yaśádd abbâs, yufît d-âmzâ, inîs: ssalâmu ſalêikum. Inîs âmzâ: s-mâġ tuşidda Abû-dábâr. Inîs: uşîġda s-aşâli nek id lêhilennûk. W-inîs âmzâ: mâġ ênnîyeĥ lêhilénnek. Inîs Bû-dábâr: akkiwân eřişîna diliwân. W-inîs: ġalliĥ afîu. Inîs: arfâſi zûţ lek-tûfénnek. Yerwaſ Bû-dabar s-ar âmzâ u yerfâſât zûţ lektûfénnes u yaśádd ar lêhilénnes. Uşâleĥ w-inîs âmzâ: aġreşdik tirîut tmoqqârânt. U yefkişîn afîu w-inîsîn: âuśâġd âufâĥtet temmâya. Yaśádd âmzâ w-âqqîmân abbâs n tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ vellânneţ u yeqâreb uşû n âmzâ

Tékker temígnî w-êtnîs i-tirîwînes: kkérmet, ĥzêrmet. W-ekkérneţ tirîwîn id emmâtsneţ qqâimânneţ ddôūwârneţ u baśadên nehînet ufânet alûgom yemmûta u kkérneţ, erfâſneţ z-gân šummânneţ y-âmzâ u taĥzêr emmâtsneţ tmûrt-î u tûfa êlmeġġâret u ččân (tş > čč) gân tirîut tēmoqqârânt u yuşâd âmzâ u fkânîs ksûm wa mmâna u yeččît w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk tirîut tâten, amişîw-ennûk. U gân-îs am tâten. U şbahénnes: šummât-dîk tâten. U gân-îs am-alâ ġâna i-wertnâs u yuşad âmzâ u yeččâ amekliwénnes w-inîsîn: šummât-dîk amişîwennûk. U šummân-îs s-ar alôġôm yemmûta u yuşad âmzâ u yeččâ amişîúnnes w-inîsîn: şábâĥ amekliû af temignînnnek. U nânîs bâĥî. Şbaĥ šummân amekliû u tûna ar tirîwînes u yuşad âmzâ u yeččâ amekliúnnes w-inîs âmzâ: amişîu fellîk-kú Abû-dabâr. U yaśádd Bû-dabar yeggâd ġâstîn id glîménnes id mlâl w-igîten elgedêrénnes u yûna ar tirîwînes u yuşad âmzâ u yeččâ ġâstîn wē nettîn itétta yaqqîm itennîs: Ksûménnek aĥâş, kkull d-ġâstîn. W-ênhînet sennâţnet žlân n âmzâ.

Baśad yeččâ, âmzâ yekkér u yaqqîm inékki u baśadên yeslâ žlân elmoġġâret-î u yaſâyât âmzâ, slân amziwen uşând lahheden, nânîs: kénnek? Inîsîn: gân mîdden dîla, qqâimât dîla u nek aunâĥ elmâġġâret-î w-endú iškî azîfennûk de-şţâf, rwelât. Tsennâţ temígnî alá itennîs âmzâ; yuşâd âmzâ, işân azîfénnes elmoġġâret-î. Tekkér temígnî u tegġâd tebaqqûşt u tşetţâf azîf n âmzâ w-iškî azîf n âmzâ d-şţâf u ġulânt amziwen dē-şţâf w-êrwelêĥ kkull u tēškî ênnât [X?]id amédénneş it-tirîwînes ufân âmzâ id

amzîwen êrwilîna kkull wê frâhneṭ tiriwîn u faddân elḥarbušenneṣîn u baḥadên uṣâlen gân u ččân u šuân w-ëkkéren rrōuwāhan tfillinnesîn.

C.1.15.2 Phonemic transcription

Gan Abú-dabr yàrəs təmìgni w=iggà=d=a syàrəs səbəfa n=tiriwîn (or: tiriwi) wə=nəttin yàrəs əlxərbus=ənnəs inni fángara w=išəwwa gan əlyərsat=ən-nəs w=igây gan timzîn id=əlgafûli (or: ngafûli) u=yarəs gan tnuvîn nə=bza-lim w=išəwwi=tənət af=afus=ənnəs w=irəwwəḥ af=tfillî=nnəs w=a=yəfədd əlyəbəš w=a=yuš mnišiw u=gan tiriwt tməqqərānt tn=is y=abbā=s: ər-fəf=i iddək a=ggüləx səwanî=nnək. Yəkrî fəllis, in=is: qámak a=mmānət timzîn w=a=nnəfədd gan kull, kəm id=əmmām id=sətmām. U=bəfədèn yəfədd nəttin əlxərbus=ənnəs u=yəqqim išəwwa tnuvîn=nəs w=irrəwwəḥ mnišiw w=in=isnət i=tiriwîn=nəs id=əmmā=tsnət: šbah a=nnəfədd səwanî=nnax. U=frəhnət tiriwîn u=širədnət ksum=ənnəsnət (or: yəstin=nəsnət) u=yuša=d ar=təmignî=nnəs w=in=is: nəyəlli a=nnəfədd šbah u=ddiwa dgu-lit? Təkrî fəllis ənnət w=ətn=is: alá dgît bahi. W=in=is: wətti=dikkəni čču=nnax šbah id=bəfəd šbah. Təkrî fəllis, tn=is: kulli šəy yutā=ya. Yuša=d, yuná nəttin iddəs amakan=nəsîn u=yəmhəṭ=tət avəṭ=idin. Kkərən əlyəbəš, iwátan twətta əlməṭṣat=ənnəsnət w=iwátan tsírad u=bəfədèn udənnət udùn kəwəyəs u=fəddàn yəlliyən a=zrədən əlxərbus=ənnəsîn u=bəfədèn tiva tafūt təbarūt=i u=yəlliyən a=šəlhəmən afiw; Yəxzər abbās žibərət=ən-nəs yufa gal=lūda n=afiw. xzərnət tiriwîn u=nanət=is: əbba, əbba akki-wàn əlbəqis n=afiw. In=is abbās: wəttimət šyirən, qámak a=ggây=d afiw syàr=təfilli=yíwan. Yəfədd abbās, yufi=t d=əmza, in=is: ssalāmu faləy-kum. In=is əmza: s=māg tušid=d=a Abu-dabr. In=is: ušiy=d=a s=ašāl=i nək id=ləhil=ənnək. W=in=is əmza: māg ənniyən ləhil=ənnək. In=is Bu-dabr: akkiwàn irišin=a dilíwan. W=in=is: yəllix afiw. In=is: ər-fəf=i zut ləktuf=ənnək. Yərwəfí Bú-dabr sar=əmza u=yərfəf=ət zut=ləktuf=ənnəs u=yəfədd ar=ləhil=ənnəs. Uşələn w=in=is əmza: ayrəs=dik tiriwt tməqqərānt. U=yəfk=isin afiw w=in=isin: a=ušây=d a=ufāx=tət təmmā=ya. Yəfədd əmza w=əqqimān abbās n=tiriwîn id=əmmātsnət vèllānət u=yəqārəb ušú n əmza.

Təkkər təmìgni w=ətn=is i=tiriwîn=nəs: kkərmət, xzərmət. W=əkkərnət tiriwîn id=əmmātsnət qqimānət ddəwwārnət u=bəfədèn nəhīnət ufānət aləyəm yəmmūta u=kkərnət, ər-fəfnət z=gan šəmmānət yāmza u=təxzər əmmātsnət tmurt=i u=tufa əlməyyārət u=tšan gan tiriwt təməqqərānt u=yuša=d əmza u=fkán=is ksūm wa mmān=a u=yəčči=t w=in=isin: šəmmāt=dik tiriwt tātən, amišiw=ənnək. U gan=is am=tātən. U=šbah=ənnəs: šəmmāt=dik tātən. U gān=is am=alá gān=a i=wərtnās u=yuša=d əmza u=yəčča aməkliw=ənnəs w=in=isin: šəmmāt=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=təmignì=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=ənhìnət sənnàṭnət žlàn
n=àmza.

Bəfəd yəčča, àmza yəkkər u=yəqqim inəkki u=bəfədèn yəslà žlàn əlməy-
yàrət=i u=yəfəyət àmza, slàn amziwən ušan=d ləhhədən, nan=is: kən-
nək? In=isin: gan mīddən dila, qqimət dila u=nək a=unəx əlməyàrət=i
w=əndú iški azif=ənnək də=štəf, rwəlat. Tsənnàṭ təmigni alá itənn=is
àmza; Yúša=d àmza, isàn azif=ənnəs əlməyàrət=i. Təkkər təmigni u=təggà
=d təbəqqūšt u=tšəttəf azif n=àmza w=iški azif n=àmza d=štəf u=gulant
amziwən də= štəf w=ərwlən kkull u=təški ənnət id=amədèn=nəs it=tiri-
wìn=nəs ufàn àmza id=amziwən ərwiln=a kkull wə=frəḥnət tiríwin u=
fəddàn əlxarbuš=ənnəsìn u=bəfədèn ušələn gan u=ččàn u=šwàn w=əkkə-
rən rrəwwəḥən tfilli=nnəsìn.

C.1.15.3 Glossed translation

- (422) *Gan Abúdabr yàr-əs təmigni w=i-ggàd=a* *syàr-əs sàbəfa*
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 yàr-əs əlxarbuš=ənn-əs i-nni* *ŷángara 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=bəzalim*
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=tfilli=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=ànn=às* literally means ‘on his hand’, Paradisi translates ‘da solo’. This is probably an expression that indeed has the meaning that Paradisi translates.

(424) *w=a=y-əfədd əlyəbəš w=a=y-ùš mnišiw u=gan tiriwt*
 and=fut.=3sm-go:fut. morning and=fut.=3sm-come:fut. evening and=there girl
tməqqərənt t-n=is y=abbà-s: əfəf=i idd-ək
 big:sf 3sf-say:*pf.=10.3s dat.=father-3s take:imp.=DO.1s with-2sm
a=ggùl-ax 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 timžin*
 3sm-return:*pf. on-3s 3sm-say:*pf.=10.3s now fut.=be.ready:fut.-3pf barley
w=a=n-nəfədd gan kull, 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=bəfədən y-əfədd nəttin əlxərbuš=ànn-əs u=y-əqqim i-šəwwa*
 and=then 3sm-go:*pf. he garden=of-3s and=3sm-stay:*pf. 3sm-water:impf.
tnuvin=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=təmigñi=nn-əs
 bones=of-3pf and=3sm-come:*pf.=come to=woman=of-3s
w=i-n=is: nə-ğəlli 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 ənnàt w=ətn=ìs: alá d-gì-t bàhi.*
 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=ìs: wàtti=dikkəni ċċu=nn-àx šbàh id=bəḡəd*
 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=ìs: kùlli 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-əmḡəṭ=ṭəṭ 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) *Kkəṛ-ən əḡəbəš, iwátan twətta əlməṭṭat=ənnəsənəṭ w=iwátan*
 get.up:*pf.-3pm morning, one:sf 3sf-prepare:*pf. stuff=of-3pf and=one:sf
tšírad u=bəḡədèn udən-nəṭ 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=ḡəddà-n ḡəlliy-ən a=zrəd-ən əlxərbuš=ənn-əsìn u=bəḡədèn*
 and=go:*pf.-3pm want:*pf.-3pm fut.=eat:fut.-3pm garden=of-3pm and=then
t-iva tafūt təbarūt=i u=ḡəlliy-ən a=šəḡḡəm-ən aḡīw;
 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 žibəṛət=ənn-əs y-ùfa gal lùda n=aḡīw.*
 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-nat tiriwìn u=na-nat=ìs: àbba, àbba akkiwàn əlbəqis n=afīw.*
 look:*pf.-3pf girls and=say:*pf.-3pf=IO.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.=IO.3s father-3s prepare:imp.-fp firewood now fut.=bring:fut.-1s=bring
afīw syār=təfilli=yíwan.
 fire from=house=dist.:s
 ‘The father said: prepare firewood, now I will bring fire from that house.’
- (437) *Yə-šədd 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.=IO.3s
ssalāmu šaləykum.
 as-salāmu šalaykum
 ‘The father went and found out that it was an ogre and he says yo him: *as-salāmu šalaykum*’
- (438) *I-n=ìs àmza: s=màg t-uši-d=d=a Abudàbr.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.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: uši-γ=d=a s=ašəl=i nək id=ləhil=ənn-ùk.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.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: mæg ənniy-ən ləhil=ənn-ək.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s ogre where exist:*pf.-3pm family=of-2sm
 ‘And the ogre said: Where is your family?’
- (441) *I-n=ìs Budàbr: akkiwàn iriš-in=a dilíwan.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.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 afīw.*
 and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s want:*pf.-1s fire
 ‘And he said to him: I want fire.’
- (443) *I-n=ìs: ərfəʔ=i zut=ləktuf=ənn-ək.*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s carry:imp.=DO.1s on.top.of shoulders=of-2sm
 ‘He (the ogre) said to him: Carry me on your shoulders.’

- (444) *Y-ərwəʃ Bú-dabr sar=àmza u=y-ərʃəʃ=ət*
 3sm-be.afraid:*pf. Abu.dabr from=ogre and=3sm-carry:*pf.=DO.3sm
ʒùt=ləktuf=ənn-əs u=y-əʃədd 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) *Uʃəl-ən w=i-n=ìs àmza: ayrəʃ=dik tirìwt*
 arrive:*pf.-3pm and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3s ogre slaughter:imp.=IO.1s girl
tmaqqaṛànt.
 big:sf
 ‘They arrived and the ogre said to him: Slaughter your oldest daughter for me.’
- (446) *U=y-əʃk=isìn aʃiw w=i-n=isìn: a=ušà-γ=d*
 and=3sm-give:*pf.=IO.3pm fire and=3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm fut.=come:fut.-1s
a=uʃà-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-əʃədd 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 ušú 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 təmiḡni w=ət-n=ìs i=tiriwìn=n-əs: kkàr-mət,*
 3sf-get.up:*pf. woman and=3sf-say:*pf.=IO.3s dat.=children=of-3s get.up:imp.-pf
xzàr-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 *tàkkər* here is the only exception.
- (449) *W=əkkàr-nət tiriwìn id=əmmà-tsnət qqimà-nət ddəwwàr-nət*
 and=get.up:*pf.-3pf children with=mother-2pf stay:*pf.-3pf go.around:impf.-3pf
u=bəʃədèn nəhìnət uʃà-nət aləyəm y-əmmùt=a u=kkàr-nət,
 and=then they(f) find:*pf.-3pf camel 3sm-die:res.=res. and=get.up:*pf.-3pf,
əʃəʃ-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-əxzór 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 gá-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-əččà 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-əččà 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=təmigñi=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=tiriwìn=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 yəstìn 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-gì=tən əlgədar=ənn-əs u=y-ùna ar=tiriwìn=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 yəstìn wə=nəttìn 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=yəstìn.
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=ənhinət 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. *tšírad* earlier in the text).

- (459) *Bəfəd y-əčča, àmza y-əkkár 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 əlməyyàrat=i u=y-əfəyət àmza,
and=then 3sm-hear:pf. words cave=loc. and=3sm-scream:*pf. ogre,

slà-n amzìwən ušà-n=d ləhhəd-ən, na-n=ìs:
 hear:*pf.-3pm ogres came:*pf.-3pm=come run:impf.-3pm say:*pf.-3pm=IO.3s
kənnək?
 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 middən dila, qqim-àt dila u=nək*
 3sm-say:*pf.=IO.3pm there people at.here, stay:imp.-pm at.here and=I
a=unà-x əlməyarət=i w=əndú i-ški azif=ənn-ùk də=štəf,
 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.=IO.3s ogre
 'The woman heard what the ogre was saying'

- (462) *Y-ušà=d àmza, i-šàn azif=ənn-əs əlməyarət=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-šəttəf*
 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=štəf
 tail of=ogre and=3sm-leave:*pf. tail of=ogre pred.=black:sm
u=gùla-n=t amzìwən də=štəf 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=amədàn=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=amzìwən 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=frəḥ-nət tiriwin u=ʕəddà-n əlxarbuš=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 rrəwwəḥ-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

ǧillǧ kàm uggūt uggūt. / min ǧair tǧélli tìkra⁵

C.2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

ɣəlliɣ=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 *ǧillǧ* 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 tǧéllit-i kra*.

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

C.2.2 Song II

C.2.2.1 Original transcription

ul-innôḥ iṭāra aî-mma / iḡàlli wullîs inṡamma

C.2.2.2 Phonemic transcription

ul-innùx iṭara ay-əmma / iɣəlli wullî-s ən ɣəmma

C.2.2.3 Glossed translation

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

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

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

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

C.2.3 Song III

C.2.3.1 Original transcription

gilliḥ kîra šāināt / ‘alì 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 *ɣəlliḥ* 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 famma* ‘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 Bālǵu / Gān laḥbûb imrijêt

C.2.4.2 Phonemic transcription

ya iriw lu rayt Balǵu / gan laḥbûb əmriyît.

C.2.4.3 Glossed translation

- (472) *ya=irîw lû rayt Balǵú*
 voc.=child if you could see Place
 ‘O child, if you could see Balǵu’

- *Jā rijù*, and should be read as *ya iriḡ*. 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 laḥbùb 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

Agənninən 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-nînen* ‘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 / kâzân itkîra sorróz

C.2.6.2 Phonemic transcription

ʕamma tgəbbəš qama attûš / kazàn itkîra s-ərrùz

C.2.6.3 Glossed translation

- (474) *ʕamma t-gəbbəš 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 *tgəbbəš* 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

gillîh tika Dimmîs / 'ali hw lli ġān iġġilib.

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'îbta 'alā šān Nānna

C.2.8.2 Phonemic transcription

tūšidda s Tangižəm / titʕibta 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-ətfîb-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 / fî zinîm wóħra twšġi

C.2.9.2 Phonemic transcription

mabruk ʕalàyk tuliʕa / fî zənîm w əxra təʕyəl.

C.2.9.3 Glossed translation

- (480) *mabruk ʕalàyk* *t-ulîʕ=a* *fî=zənîm*
 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-ulîʕ-a* has a Berber conjugation. The object of the verb is marked with the Arabic preposition *fî*.

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

- *twšġi* probably is a very badly transcribed reflex of Arabic word *šaġala* '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 Sawilħaġ / abbāk jā Moħammed iām išina mqlázîn

C.2.10.2 Phonemic transcription

yûna s Timillîl iškî Sawilħaž / abbak ya Məħəmməd 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 ġġûli / ġ'āl laslām inšûnit.

C.2.11.2 Phonemic transcription

əngûli, əngûli, nəttin iɣlaya ġiġ-ùl-i / ʒʕəl ləsləm ən-sùnit

C.2.11.3 Glossed translation

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

- *əngûli* is probably related to the verb *agál, gul* ‘to see’, but a further morphological analysis is not possible.
- *ġiġ* is a common Berber preposition for ‘in’, but it is unattested as such in Paradisi, which only has a compound preposition *ar-z-ġiġ*. 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 tərɤəʃt 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* *əttəšwəyt*
 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

alḥamdūlillāḥi azīṭannek iškī iddîra

C.2.13.2 Phonemic transcription

alḥamdulillāhi azít=ənnək iški iddîr=a

C.2.13.3 Glossed translation

- (488) *alḥamdulillāhi* *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!'

