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A grammar of Tagdal: a Northern Songhay language

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¹²⁹ This one of a series of folk tales in Tagdal, relating the adventures of a trickster character played by a jackal named *Maḥammad ən šikárbaayen*. ("Maḥammad of the Coulottes"; in popular imagination, the lighter-coloured legs of the jackal resemble pants.) In this tale, *Maḥammad ən šikárbaayen* matches wits against a bustard and a pack of guinea fowl.

abáy şat .
 a= bay şat
 3SG know fly
 ...knew how to fly.'

4 Ámmaaka abté, atəfərkək.
 ammaaka a= b- te a= tə- fərkək
 when 3SG IMP arrive 3SG FUT vibrate; move
 'Whenever he would come, he would shake about.'

5 Abjín isa «Yan jibáraaren , wa
 a= b- jín i= sa Ya= n jibaraaren wa
 3SG IMP say 3PL DAT 1SG GEN daughters COMM
 'He would say, "My daughters,

zumbúkat, yamzín ánzi kan
 zumbu -kat ya= m- zin anzi= kan
 descend VEN 1SG SBJ grab;take 2PL LOC
 ...come down so that I can take

aafóoda!»
 aafo da
 one EMPH
 ...only one of you.'

6 Ámmaaka yazín ánzi kan aafóoda,
 ammaaka ya= zin anzi kan aafo da
 when 1SG grab;take 2PL.IND LOC one EMPH
 'After I've taken only one of you,

anzimyéd aafóoda meeda híinka meeda kárad!
 anzi= m- yed aafo da meeda hinka meeda karad
 2PL SBJ return one EMPH or two or three
 ...or maybe two or three, you can go back!

7 Ámmaaka yažiini íngi, anziimyéd, aayóonen
 amaka ya= žini inga anzi= m- yed ayo
 when 1SG take 3PL.IND 2PL SBJ return DEF.PL

'When I've taken them (emphatic),

fáydaanen imyéd.»
 faydan -en i= m- yed
 other ADJR 3PL SBJ return
 ...the rest can go back.'

8 Ibáara énguži.
 i= baara énguži
 3PL be place

'They were there.'

9 Žáyzi kullu híinka aaró an álwaq ató, aayó kan
 žayži kullu hinka aro a= n alwaq a= to aayo kan
 day each two man 3SG GEN moment 3SG arrive DEF LOC

'Every two days the time would come

abɣwá.
 a= b- ɣwa
 3SG IMP eat
 ...for him to eat.'

10 Atəyérkat, amʒín an táylal,
 a= tə- yer -kat a= m- ʒin a= n taylal
 3SG FUT return VEN 3SG SBJ grab;take 3SG GEN guinea hen

'He would return, in order to take his guinea hen,

táylaalen híinka meeda kárad, ékat kan abaáya
 taylaalen hinka meeda karad ekat kan a= baaya
 guinea hens two or three measure LOC 3SG love; desire;

...(or) two or three, however many he wanted

amʒiiní.
 a= m- ʒin =i
 3SG SBJ grab;take 3PL
 '...so that he could take them.'

11 Ibáara énguuzi. .
 i= baara ənguʒi
 3PL be place

'They were there.'

12 Ibáara énguuzi, ibáara énguuzi ar agayəs até
 i= baara ənguʒi i= baara ənguʒi ar agayəs a= te
 3PL be place 3PL be place until bustard 3SG arrive

'They were there they were there, they were there a long time, until the bustard arrived

ído.¹³⁰
 i= daayo
 3PL place
 ...at their place.'

¹³⁰ In the Abargan and Kəl Ilokkod varieties of Tagdal, *daayó* 'place' is pronounced *do*, which is actually closer to mainstream Songhay. (Zarma and Songhay from Gao also use *do* for 'place'.) Therefore, in the Tarbun and kəl Amdid varieties, the expression would have been *idaayó* 'their place', rather than *ido*.

13 Aʃín ísa « Wa zumbúkat,
 a= ʃín i= sa wa zumbu -kat
 3SG say 3PL DAT COMM put_down;descend; install VEN

'He said to them, "My daughters, come down

yan ʃibáraaren, áŋzi aayó!
 ya= n ʃibaraaren anzi= aayo
 1SG GEN daughters 2PL DEF
 ...all of you there!'

14 ʒayzi zi tatartaara áŋzi aayó, kaalá anʒibdáw!»
 ʒayzi zi tatartaara anzi= aayo kala anzi= b- daw
 day MED 2PL DEF before 2PL IMP send

'Today, before I send for you (i.e. come up there)!''

15 Iʃín ása « Anəʃí írim ba aayó
 i= ʃín a= sa a= nə ʃí iiri= m ba aayo
 3PL say 3SG DAT 3SG NEG.PRF to be 1PL GEN father DEF

'They said to him, "Isn't that our father, who

əbʃín Maḥammad ən
 ə- b- ʃín Maḥammad ən
 SUB.REL IMP be.called GEN
 ...is called Mahammad

ʃikárbaayen, əbté,
 ʃikarbaayen ə- b- te
 coulottes SUB.REL IMP arrive
 ...of the coulottes, who comes

əbʒɪn			ʔiri	kan	ahinka
ə-	b-	ʒin	ʔiri	kan	ahinka
SUB.REL	IMP	grab;take	1PL.IND	LOC	two

...and takes away two

meda k'arad?»

meda karad

or three

...or three of us?"

16	Agáyəs,	ánga,	aʃin	ísa	«	Ámmaaka	até,		
	agayəs	anga	a=	ʃin	i=	sa	ammaaka	a=	te
	bustard	3SG.IND	3SG	say	3PL	DAT	when	3SG	arrive

"The bustard, for his part, said to them, "when he arrives,

anzimfin		ása,		ánzi,
anzi=	m-	fin	a=	sa
2PL	SBJ	say	3SG	DAT
				2PL

...you should say to him that you (emphatic)

anʒisəbzumbú				ʒáʒzi aayó.	
anʒi=	sə	b-	zumbu	ʒaʒzi	aʒo
2PL	IMP.NEG	IMP	descend	day	DEF

...won't come down today.'

17	Áygas	anʒimsəsəffəga				yaay,	yaay	aayó
	aygas	anʒi=	m-	sə-	sə-	əffəga	yaay	yaay
	but	2PL	SBJ	NEG.IMP	CAUS	reveal	1SG.IND	1SG.IND
							DEF	

"But don't tell him that it was me

ga,	əhar		ʔnʒisa-a !»		
ga	ə-	har	anʒi=	sa	=a
against; between	SUB.REL	tell	2PL	DAT	3SG

...who told you that!"

18 (Ha zi n aláqqam) ahar ísa sa (káyne) ,
 ha zi -n alaqqam a= har i= sa sa kayne
 thing MED of back 3SG tell 3PL DAT SBDR jackal

'Then he told them about how he (Mahammad of the coulottes) didn't

asəbáy şat, abfərkək
 a= sə- bay şat a= b- fərkək
 3SG NEG.IMP know fly 3SG IMP vibrate

...know how to fly, and he only shook his fur...'

bénnan wani da abdá-a. .
 bennan wani da a= b- da =a
 good for nothing POSS EMPH 3SG IMP do 3SG
 ...for nothing.'

19 Sa (káyne) até, aḡin ísa « Ȳan
 sa kayne a= te a= ḡin i= sa Ȳa= n
 SBDR jackal 3SG arrive 3SG say 3PL DAT 1SG GEN

'When the jackal came back, he said to them, "My

ḡibáraaren, wa zumbúkat,
 ḡibaraaren wa zumbu -kat
daughters COMM put_down;descend; install VEN
 ...daughters, come down,'

yamwá áḡzi kan ahínka meeda kárad!»
 ya= m- wa anḡi= kan ahinka meeda karad
 1SG SBJ eat 2PL LOC two or three
 so that I can eat two or three from among you!'''

20 (Maʃʃán) táylaalen iwánzin sa itəzumbúkat.

maʃʃan taylaalen i= wanzin sa i= tə- zumbu -kat
but guinea hens 3PL refuse SBDR 3PL FUT descend VEN

'But the guinea hens refused to come down.'

21 Təzzar akí in ʃiddáy, aʃín ísa

təzzar a= kí i= n ʃiddáy a= ʃín i= sa
then 3SG stand_up; stop 3PL GEN below 3SG say 3PL DAT

'Then he stood underneath them and said to them,

« Meerádda yatəkeʒíinan ánzigga! »

meera da ya= tə- keʒi -nan anzi= ga
now EMPH 1SG FUT climb ALL 2PL against

...'Now I'm going to climb up there to you!''

22 Akóy, amzuurú, amdá bətər bətər.

a= koy a= m- zuuru a= m- da bətər bətər
3SG go 3SG SBJ run 3SG SBJ do stand back stand back

'He went, farther and farther back, so that he could run (at them).'

23 Ámmaaka atóonan ayʃén,

ammaaka a= to -nan ayʃén
when 3SG be enough ALL COMP.DIS

'When he got far enough

atəyərɣarkat.

a= t- əyərɣar -kat
3SG DIM jump into VEN

...to jump up,'

24 Təzzár ašát.

təzzar a= şat
then 3SG jump

'Then he jumped.'

25 (Maǰǰán) sa ašát, atəyérkat gánda kan. .
maǰǰan sa a= şat a= tə- yed -kat ganda kan
but SBDR 3SG jump 3SG FUT return VEN land LOC

'(But) when he humped, he would come back down to the ground.'

26 Anətóonan təguzi n táddaara. .
a= nə- to -nan təguzi n taddaara
3SG NEG.PRF be enough ALL tree GEN trunk

'He never even made it to the trunk of the tree.'

27 Harwá ibáara ənguuzi.
harwa i= baara ənguuzi
still 3PL be place

'They were still there.'

28 (Ha zi n aláqqam) iǰín ímmaayan za ho:
ha zi n alaqqam i= ǰín immaayan za ha aayo
thing MED GEN back 3PL say souls EMPH thing DEF

'Then they said to themselves this:

abhar isa ǰiimí da, aǰi waala
a= b- har i= sa ǰiimi da a= ǰi wala
3SG IMP say 3PL DAT truth EMPH 3SG to be nothing
...he (the bustard) told them the truth,

tanyarí.

tanyari

lie

...it was nothing but a lie.'

29 Təzzár iṣát təguʒi ʒi ga, ikóy, aafó əmán
 təzzar i= ʃat təguʒi ʒi ga i= koy aafó ə- man
 then 3PL fly tree MED on 3PL go INDEF SUB.REL near

'Then they flew away from that tree and went to another near

ánga.

anga

3SG.IND

...that one.'

30 Káyne abzuurú in ʃiddáy néeda.
 kayne a= b- zuuru i= n ʃidday ne da
 jackal 3SG IMP run 3PL GEN below there EMPH

'The jackal was running beneath them to there.'

31 Abʃin ísa « Wa zumbúkat!
 a= b- ʃin i= sa wa zumbu -kat
 3SG IMP say 3PL DAT COMM descend VEN

'He was saying to them, "I command you to come down!"

32 Yaay, yabáy ʃat!
 yaay ya= bay ʃat
 1SG.IND 1SG know; require; take care of fly

'I (emphatic) know how to fly!'

33 ʔatəkóy, ʔamʒín ánʒi, ánʒi kullú,
 ʔa= tə- koy ʔa= m- ʒin anʒi= anʒi kullu
 1SG FUT go 1SG SBJ take 2PL.IND 2PL.IND all

'I'm going to take all of you

ʔamɲwá ánʒi kullú!
 ʔa= m- ɲwa anʒi kullu
 1SG SBJ eat 2PL.IND all
 ... and eat you!

34 Kan ʔán Koy əyiṯkáalan aayó ga,
 kan ʔa= n koy ə- əṯkəl -an aayo ga
 LOC 1SG GEN master; lord SUB.REL lift ADJR DEF on

'(I swear) by God most high,

ʔabáy ʃat!»
 ʔa= bay ʃat
 1SG know fly
 ...I know how to fly!'''

35 (Ha ʒi n aláqqam táylaalen iʃín in gá
 ha ʒi n alaqqam taylaalen i= ʃín i= n ga
 thing MED of back guinea hens 3PL say 3PL GEN between

'(Then the guinea hens said among themselves),

kan) «Asəbáy ʃat,
 kan a= sə- bay ʃat
 LOC 3SG NEG.IMP know fly
 ... "He doesn't know how to fly,

asəbay waalá ha aafó.»
 a= sə- bay waala ha aafó
 3SG NEG.IMP know nothing thing INDEF
 ...he doesn't know anything."

36 Sa atéenan, igar sa jīimí da.
 sa a= te -nan i= gar sa jīimi da
 SBDR 3SG arrive ALL 3PL guard SBDR truth EMPH

'After he left, they realised that it was true.'

37 Təzzár aĵin ísa «Ēnta may əhar ánĵisa
 təzzar a= ĵin i= sa ənta may ə- har anĵi= sa
 then 3SG say 3PL DAT INT who? SUB.REL tell 2PL DAT

'Then he asked them, "Who told you

sa yasəbáy şat?»
 sa ya= sə- bay şat
 SBDR 1SG NEG.IMP know fly
 ...(that) I don't know how to fly?"'

38 Isəsəm, inəhar
 i= səsəm i= nə- har
 3PL quiet.be 3PL NEG.PRF announce;say;declare; praise

'They stayed quiet, they didn't tell

(ása) waalá ha fo.
 a= sa waala ha fo
 3SG DAT none thing INDEF
 ...him anything.'

sa táylaalen iyəwər am béena.
 sa taylaalen i= əwər a= n beena
 SBDR guinea hens 3PL ascend 3SG GEN top

...where the guinea hens had gone to the top.'

44 Ifin agáyəs, anga da, kan «Agáyəs abkaw
 i= fin agayəs anga da kan agayəs a= b- kaw
 3PL say bustard 3SG.IND EMPH LOC bustard 3SG IMP remove

'They told him, "The bustard eats

an deerán.»
 a= n deeran
 3SG GEN gum arabic
 ...his gum arabic (i.e. from this tree)."

45 (Meera) agáyəs fáw da abté,
 meera agayəs faw da a= b- te
 now bustard always EMPH 3SG IMP arrive

'Now, the bustard always came

abkáw an deerán, ar záyzi aayó kan
 a= b- kaw a= n deeran ar záyzi aayo kan
 3SG IMP remove 3SG GEN gum arabic man day DEF LOC

...and ate gum arabic until that day

ayíktət sa ánga da ahár
 a= əktət sa anga da a= har
 3SG remember SBDR 3SG.IND EMPH 3SG tell

...that he remembered that it was he who told

táylaalen sa (kayne)
 taylaalen sa kayne
 guinea hens SBDJR jackal
 ...the guinea hens that (the jackal)
 asəbəy şat.
 a= sə- bay şat
 3SG NEG.IMP know fly
 ...didn't know how to fly.'

46 fíkkeenan asəsəm.

fíkkeenan a= səsəm
 then 3SG quiet be
 'So he got quiet.'

47 (Káyne) aʃín ísa «ʔabáy aaró aayó zindé
 Kayne a= ʃín i= sa ʔa= bay aaro aayo zinde
 jackal 3SG say 3PL DAT 1SG know man DEF neck

'The jackal said to them, "I know a man

kukuunan wani.

kuku -nan wani

long ADJR POSS

...with a long neck.'

48 Ánga da aʃín ánʒisa ʔasəbəy şat!»
 anga da a= ʃín anʒi= sa ʔa= sə bay şat
 3SG.IND EMPH 3SG say 2PL DAT 1SG CAUS know fly

'It was he who told you that I don't know how to fly!'"

49.1 Inəʃin ása, kay!
 i= nə- ʃin asa kay
 3PL NEG.PRF say SBDR

'They didn't tell him anything.'

50 Íngi inəhar ása waalá ha fo.
 inga i= nə- har asa wala ha fo
 3PL.IND 3PL NEG.PRF say SBDR none thing INDEF

'They (emphatic) didn't say anything to him at all.'

51 (Maʃʃán) ibtuk asa-a felás ánga
 maʃʃan i= b- tuk =a a= sa =a felas anga
 but 3PL IMP hide 3SG 3SG DAT 3SG because 3SG.IND

'So they hid it from him because he (the bustard)

aʃin ísa, imsəhár
 a= ʃin i= sa i= m- sə- har
 3SG say 3PL DAT 3PL SBJ NEG.IMP tell

...had told them not to tell

Maḥammad ən ʃikárbaayen sa, ha aayó ga
 ən ʃikarbaayen sa ha aayo ga
 GEN coulottes DAT thing DEF about

...Mahammad of the coulottes that

 ánga da ahar ísa-a.
 anga da a= har i= sa =a
 3SG.IND EMPH 3SG tell 3PL DAT 3SG

...it was he who told it to them.'

52 Haʒiggá, akóy təguʒi aayó kan,
 ha ʒi ga a= koy təguʒi aayo kan
 thing MED because 3SG go tree DEF LOC

'Therefore he went to that tree where

abzáwkat deerán.
 a= b- zaw -kat deeran
 3SG IMP bring VEN gum arabic
 ...he (the bustard) got his gum arabic.'

53 (Harwá) inəʃin ása waalá ha fo.
 harwa i= nə- ʃin asa waala ha fo
 still 3PL NEG.PRF say SBDR none thing INDEF

'(But) they still wouldn't tell him anything.'

54 Sa atéenán təguʒi aayó kan, deerán báara ayalen.
 sa a= te -nan təguʒi aayo kan deeran baara ayalen
 SBDR 3SG arrive ALL tree DEF LOC gum arabic be on top

'When he returned to the tree, there was gum arabic all over it.'

55 Sa atéenán deerán do, təzzár aʒin təguʒi,
 sa a= te -nan deran daayo təzzar a= ʒin təguʒi
 SBDR 3SG arrive ALL gum arabic place then 3SG grab tree

'(So) when he arrived at the place where there was gum arabic, he grabbed the tree

afik (ar) akawkat mo
 a= fik ar a= kaw -kat mo
 3SG bury until 3SG remove VEN eyes
 ...and dug (himself in) until

fóoda za (do aayó).
 fo da za daayo aayo
 INDEF EMPH EMPH place DEF
 ...only one eye was sticking out.'

56 (Sa) agáyəs akóykat, álwaq aayó deerán
 sa agáyəs a= koy -kat alwaq aayo deerán
 SBDR bustard 3SG go VEN moment DEF gum arabic

'When the bustard came, the time for

amwá wani até.
 a= m- wa wani a= te
 3SG SBJ eat POSS 3SG arrive
 ...eating gum arabic arrived.'

57 Abórkəb an zindé ar agún mo fóoda
 a= b- ərkəb a= n zinde ar a= gun mo fo da
 3SG IMP pull 3SG GEN neck until 3SG see eye INDEF EMPH

'He was leaning out his neck until he saw one solitary eye

báara gánda.
 baara ganda
 be ground
 ...in the ground.'

58 Aǰin «Ǽnta ganda ne ada mo?»
 a= ǰin ənta ganda ne a= da mo
 3SG say INT ground here 3SG do eye

'He said, "Does the dirt in this place have eyes?"

59 (Maǰǰán) sa aháǰi, anəgún addə́rəz waalá ha
 maǰǰan sa a= haǰi a= nə- gun addə́rəz waala ha
 but SBDR 3SG look 3SG NEG.PRF see trace none thing

'(But) when he looked closely, he didn't see anything,

fo, akóy amhiini.
 fo a= koy a= m- hiini
 INDEF 3SG go 3SG SBJ win
 so he thought he should be fine.'

60 Maǰammad ən ǰikárbaayen, ánga, abaára daayo.
 ən ǰikarbaayen anga a= baara daayo
 GEN coulottes 3SG.IND 3SG be place

'As for Mahammad of the coulottes, he was there.'

61 Abaára ənguuzi ar (ǰíliay) ahúrkaat-a ǰiizi.
 a= baara ənguuzi ar a= hur -kat =a ǰiizi
 3SG be place until fatigue 3SG enter VEN 3SG night.

'He was there until exhaustion overtook him in the evening.'

62 ǰílyay ayídgəzkaat-a.
 ǰílyay a= ədgəz -kat =a
 fatigue 3SG worry VEN 3SG

'Exhaustion was bothering him.'

63 Təzzar agáyəs até.
 təzzar agayəs a= te
 then bustard 3SG arrive

'Then the bustard arrived.'

64 Sa até daayó kan amkáwkat an
 sa a= te daayo kan a= m- kaw -kat a= n
 SBDR 3SG arrive place LOC 3SG SBJ remove VEN 3SG GEN

'When he arrived at the place where he was going to take the

deerán, (káyne) ánga da kan ažiin-á,
 deran kayne anga da kan a= 3in =a
 gum arabic jackal 3SG.IND EMPH LOC 3SG grab;take 3SG

...gum arabic, right there the jackal grabbed him

har atuunúukat ənda «La-ilah ilah Allah.»¹³¹
 har a= tunu -kat nda
 until 3SG get up VEN with
 ...and he (the bustard) got up (saying) "La-ila ila Allah."

65 (Təzzár agáyəs) aḥin ása «Nin, fiizén kon
 təzzar agayəs a= ḥin a= sa nin fiizen koyyen
 then bustard 3SG say 3SG DAT 2SG.IND sheep (PL) masters

"Then the bustard said to him, "Aren't you the one (that)

kullú ifilas nin aayó ga
 kulu i= filas nin aayo ga
 all 3PL= have confidence 2SG.IND DEF about
 ...all the shepherds trust...

nin da abáy şat?»
 nin da a= bay şat
 2SG.IND EMPH 3SG know fly
 ...(that) you (emphatic) how to fly?"

¹³¹ The first part of the Islamic *Shahada*. In many parts of West Africa, including Niger, it is used as an interjection communicating shock or surprise.

66 (Íkkeenán,) ¹³² tazzar aḵín ása , amẓín
 ikkeenán tazzar a= ḵín a= sa a= m- ẓín
 then then 3SG say 3SG DAT 3SG SBJ grab;take

'Then he said to him that he should stick out

an áfraw amhánga-a.
 a= n afraw a= m- hanga =a
 3SG GEN wing 3SG SBJ ear 3SG
 ...his wing so that he could hear it.'

67 (Aḵín ása) «Ámmaaka itéenán, ámmaaka
 a= ḵín a= sa ammaaka i= te -nán ammaaka
 3SG say 3SG DAT when 3PL= arrive ALL when

'(He also said,) "When the shepherds arrive

fiiẓén kon iḵín "Maḥámád ən ḵíkarbaayen
 fiiẓen koyyen i= ḵín Maḥammad n ḵíkarbaayen
 sheep (PL) masters 3PL= say GEN coulottes
 ...and say "Mahammad of the coulottes

abáy şat," nimḵín
 a= bay şat ni= m- ḵín
 3SG know; require; take care of fly 2SG= SBJ say
 ...knows how to fly," you should say

"Mhmm , Təbārək Allah."¹³³

allah

"Tebarek Allah."

¹³² In the *Kəl Amdid* variety of Tagdal, *Íkkeenán* and its variant *ḵikkeenán* (borrowed from Hausa) seem to have functions similar to *təzzár* (see chapter 4).

¹³³ It is common in many West African cultures to use the Arabic expression *təbārek Allah* 'Thanks be to God' to ward off the evil eye. The expression is often used when someone is given a complement, in case it was given with evil intent or out of jealousy.

68 *ʃikkénan, nibáara ma ziida.*»¹³⁴
ʃikkeenan ni= baara ma zi da
 then 2SG= be what MED EMPH

'So, you are there (at the place now).'

69 (Həzigga,) *sa ikárvat fiizén*
ha zi ga sa i= kar -kat fiizén
 hear MED against; between SBDR 3PL= hit VEN sheep (PL)

'Therefore, when they were flying

kon əm béena, təzzár iʃín «ʃik Maḥammad ən
koyyen n beena təzzar i= ʃin ʃik Maḥammad n
 masters GEN over then 3PL= say GEN

...over the shepherds, they said, "Wow, Mahammad..."

ʃikárbaayan abáy ʃat!»
ʃikarbaayan a= bay ʃat
 coulottes 3SG know; require; take care of fly
 '...of the coulottes knows how to fly!'"

70 *Təzzár aʃín «Mmhm gəmoq qəm maga.*»¹³⁵
təzzar a= ʃin
 then 3SG say

'Then he said, "Mmhm, gemoq qəm maga."'

¹³⁴ At this point in the story, the jackal is holding on to the bustard by its mouth (while holding out its "wings" to show off) as they fly above the place where the shepherds were. This bit of implied information seems to have been understood by everyone (except me).

¹³⁵ Nonsense phrases, trying to say *təbārek Allah* without opening his mouth.

71 Asəsəm, anəhar waalá ha
 a= səsəm a= nə- har waala ha
 3SG quiet.be 3SG NEG.PRF announce;say;declare; praise none thing
 'He (then) got quiet and didn't say
 fo.
 fo
 INDEF
 ...anything (else).'

72 (Ha zi n aláqqam) agoorá abáara
 ha zi n alaqqam a= goora a= baara
 thing MED GEN back 3SG sit 3SG be

'Then he started to go over the

amsədæg aʃín, «ʃiimi sa
 a= m- s- ədæg a= ʃín ʃiimi sa
 3SG SBJ CAUS head toward 3SG say truth SBDR
 ...same spot. He said, "Is it really true that
 Maḥammad abáy ʃat?»
 Maḥammad a= bay ʃat
 3SG know; require; take care of fly
 ...Mahammad knows how to fly?'"

73 Aʃín, «Mmhm hmm.»
 a= ʃín
 3SG say

'He said, "Mmhm hmm."'

74 Ayíləs aháar-a ar kárad wani.
 a= ələs a= har =a ar karad wani
 3SG repeat 3SG say 3SG until 3 POSS

'He asked him again, up to three (more) times.'

75 Káyne (agáyəs) ayíləs aḵín ása «Nimḵín
 kayne agayəs a= ələs a= ḵín a= sa ni= m- ḵín
 jackal bustard 3SG repeat 3SG say 3SG DAT 2SG= SBJ say

'The bustard asked him again, saying, "You should say

 ása 'təbarək Allah.'
 a= sa
 3SG DAT
 ...to him "təbarək Allah."

76 Konné, nimḵín (isa) 'Təbarək Allah.'»
 koyyen ni= m- ḵín i= sa
 masters 2SG= SBJ say 3PL= DAT

'To the shepherds you should say, "təbarək Allah."'»

77 (Káyne) afér am me, aḵín «Təbarək Allah.»
 kayne a= fer a= m me a= ḵín
 jackal 3SG open 3SG GEN mouth 3SG say

'(The jackal) opened his mouth and said, "təbarək Allah."'»

78 Təzzár akán gánda, fiizén kon kan.
 təzzar a= kan ganda fiizen koyyen kan
 then 3SG fall ground sheep (PL) masters LOC

'Then he fell to the ground, among the shepherds.'

79 Ikəmma-a, ibkáar-a, ibkáar-a,
 i= kəmma =a i= b- kar =a i= b- kar =a
 3PL= find 3SG 3PL= IMP hit 3SG 3PL= IMP hit 3SG

'They found him, they hit him, they hit him,

 ibkáar-a, igiif-á.
 i= b- kar =a i= gif =a
 3PL= IMP hit 3SG 3PL= leave 3SG
 ...they hit him, and they left him (for dead).'