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A grammar of Tagdal: a Northern Songhay language

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Appendix, short folk tale in Tagdal

Maḥammad ən fīkárbaayen ənda agáyəs ənda táylaalen ('Maḥammad of the coulottes and the bustard and the guinea fowls') – (by H.A. recorded May 8, 2003 with H.A., I.S. Redacted into Toolbox with H.A., I.S and AF between May 10-16 2003. Corrections by H.A., 2003)¹²⁹

1 ʏatəda ánzisa isálan ən Maḥámmad ən fīkárbaayen
 ya= tə- da anzi= sa isalan ən Maḥammad ən fīkarbaayen
 1SG FUT do 2PL DAT news GEN GEN coulottes

'I'm going to tell you(pl) the tale of Mahammad of the coulottes,

 ənda agáyəs ənda táylaalen.
 nda agayəs nda taylaalen
 and bustard and guinea hens
 ...the bustard and the guinea hens.'

2 Ibáara ənguuzi.
 i= baara ənguuzi
 3PL be place

'They were there.'

3 Maḥámmad ən Takárbay aǰín táylaalen sa ánga
 Maḥammad n takarbay a= fín taylaalen sa anga
 of culotte 3SG say guinea hens DAT 3SG.IND

'Mahammad of the coulottes said to the guinea hens that he (emphatic)

¹²⁹ This one of a series of folk tales in Tagdal, relating the adventures of a trickster character played by a jackal named *Maḥámmad ən fīkárbaayen*. ('Maḥammad of the Coulottes'; in popular imagination, the lighter-coloured legs of the jackal resemble pants.) In this tale, *Maḥammad ən fīkárbaayen* 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, atəfə̀rə̀krək.
 ammaaka a= b- te a= tə- fə̀rə̀krək
 when 3SG IMP arrive 3SG FUT vibrate; move
 'Whenever he would come, he would shake about.'

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

zumbúkat, ɣamzín ánzi kan
 zumbu -kat ɣa= 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 ɣazín ánzi kan aafóoda,
 ammaaka ɣa= zin anzi kan aafo da
 when 1SG grab;take 2PL.IND LOC one EMPH
 'After I've taken only one of you,

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

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

'They were there.'

9 Žáyži 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, amzín an táylal,
 a= tə- yer -kat a= m- zin 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

amziini.
 a= m- zin =i
 3SG SBJ grab;take 3PL

'...so that he could take them.'

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

'They were there.'

12 Ibáara énguuzi, ibáara énguuzi ar agayəs até
 i= baara ənguuzi i= baara ənguuzi 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 Afín ísa « Wa zumbúkat,
 a= fín i= sa wa zumbu -kat
 3SG say 3PL DAT COMM put_down;descend; install VEN

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

yan fíbaraaren, ázi aayó!
 ya= n fíbaraaren anzi= aayo
 1SG GEN daughters 2PL DEF
 ...all of you there!

14 3ayzi zi tatartaara anzi aayó, kaalá anzibdáv!»
 3ayzi 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 Ifín ása « Anəfí írim ba aayó
 i= fín a= sa a= nə fí 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

əbfín Maḥammad ən
 ə- b- fín Maḥammad ən
 SUB.REL IMP be.called GEN
 ...is called Mahammad

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

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...'

bənnan 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, aʃin ísa « ʃan
 sa kayne a= te a= ʃin i= sa ʃa= n
 SBDR jackal 3SG arrive 3SG say 3PL DAT 1SG GEN

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

ʃibáraaren, wa zumbúkat,
 ʃibaraaren wa zumbu -kat
 daughters COMM put_down;descend; install VEN

...daughters, come down,'

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

20 (Maɟɟán) táylaalen iwánzin sa itəzumbúkat.
 maɟɟan 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 Təzzár akí in ɟiddáy, aɟín ísa
 təzzar a= kí i= n ɟiddáy a= ɟín i= sa
 then 3SG stand_up; stop 3PL GEN below 3SG say 3PL DAT

'Then he stood underneath them and said to them,

« Meerádda ɣatəkeɟíinan ánzigga!»
 meera da ɣa= tə- kezi -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 ayɟén,
 ammaaka a= to -nan ayɟén
 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= šat
then 3SG jump

'Then he jumped.'

25 (Maǰǰán) sa ašát, atəyérkat gánda kan. .
maǰǰan sa a= šat 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= ǰin immaayan za ha aayo
thing MED GEN back 3PL say souls EMPH thing DEF

'Then they said to themselves this:

abhar isa ǰimí da, aǰi waala
a= b- har i= sa ǰimi 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 fiddáy néeda.
 kayne a= b- zuuru i= n fidday ne da
 jackal 3SG IMP run 3PL GEN below there EMPH

'The jackal was running beneath them to there.'

31 Abjín ísa « Wa zumbúkat!
 a= b- jín 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 ʎatəkóy, ʎamʒín ánzi, ánzi kullú,
 ʎa= tə- koy ʎa= m- ʒin anzi= anzi kullu
 1SG FUT go 1SG SBJ take 2PL.IND 2PL.IND all

'I'm going to take all of you

ʎamɲwá ánzi kullú!
 ʎa= m- ɲwa anzi kullu
 1SG SBJ eat 2PL.IND all
 ... and eat you!

34 Kan ʎán Koy əyitkáalan aayó ga,
 kan ʎa= n koy ə- ətkəl -an aayo ga
 LOC 1SG GEN master; lord SUB.REL lift ADJR DEF on

'(I swear) by God most high,

ʎabáy ʃat!»
 ʎa= 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 j̄imi da.
 sa a= te -nan i= gar sa j̄imi da
 SBDR 3SG arrive ALL 3PL guard SBDR truth EMPH

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

37 Təzzár aḵ̄in ísa «Énta may əhar án̄zisa
 təzzar a= j̄in i= sa ənta may ə- har an̄zi= sa
 then 3SG say 3PL DAT INT who? SUB.REL tell 2PL DAT

'Then he asked them, "Who told you

sa ɣasəbáy şat?»
 sa ɣa= 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.'

39 (Haʒiggá) ibáy sa ha aayó jīimí da.
 ha ʒi ga i= bay sa ha aayo jīimi da
 thing MED because 3PL know SBDR thing DEF truth EMPH

'Therefore, they knew that it was true.'

40 Asəbáy ʂat.
 a= sə- bay ʂat
 3SG NEG.IMP know fly

'He didn't know how to fly.'

41 Maʃʃán agáyəs , ahar ísa ha aayó ga kan.
 maʃʃan agayəs a= har i= sa ha aayo ga kan
 but bustard 3SG tell 3PL DAT thing DEF about LOC

'But the bustard (had) told them not to tell about it.'

42 Harwáza aʃin ísa imsəhar
 harwa za a= ʃin i= sa i= m- sə- har
 still EMPH 3SG say 3PL DAT 3PL SBJ NEG.IMP tell

'Even more than that, he told them not to tell

ása ha aayó ga ánga da (aʃi).
 asa ha aayo ga anga da a= ʃi
 SBDR thing DEF about 3SG.IND EMPH 3SG be

...him (the jackal) that it was him.'

43 Sa (káyne) atéenan, anga abáy təgúzi aayó
 sa kayne a= te -nan anga a= bay təguzi aayo
 SBDR jackal 3SG arrive ALL 3SG.IND 3SG know tree DEF

'When the jackal returned, he knew that tree

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= ĩn 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

abkáv an deerán, ar záyzi aayó kan
 a= b- kaw a= n deeran ar zayzi 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 SBDR jackal
 ...the guinea hens that (the jackal)

asəbáy 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) aĵin ísa «Ŷabáy aaró aayó zindé
 Kayne a= ĵin i= sa ya= bay aaro aayo zinde
 jackal 3SG say 3PL DAT 1SG know man DEF neck

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

kukuúnan wani.
 kuku -nan wani
 long ADJR POSS
 ...with a long neck.'

48 Ánga da aĵin ánɣisa ɣasəbáy şat!»
 anga da a= ĵin anɣi= sa ya= 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 Inəjɪn ása, kay!
 i= nə- jɪn 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 (Maɟɟán) ibtuk asa-a felás ánga
 maɟɟan 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)

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

...had told them not to tell

Mahammad ən ɟikárbaayen sa, ha aayó ga
 ən ɟikarbaayen 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 təgúzi aayo kan,
 ha zi ga a= koy təguzi aayo kan
 thing MED because 3SG go tree DEF LOC

'Therefore he went to that tree where

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

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

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

54 Sa atéenan təgúzi aayo kan, deerán báara ayalen.
 sa a= te -nan təguzi 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 atéenan deerán do, təzzár aʒin təguzi,
 sa a= te -nan deran daayo təzzar a= ʒin təguzi
 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) agáyæs akóykat, álwaq aayó deerán
sa agayæs 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 Abórkøb an zindé ar agún mo fóoda
a= b- ørkøb 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 ðnta 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 addərəz waalá ha
 maǰǰan sa a= haǰi a= nə- gun addərəz 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 ayídəzkaat-a.
 ǰilyay a= ədgəz -kat =a
 fatigue 3SG worry VEN 3SG

'Exhaustion was bothering him.'

63 Təzzár 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= zin =a
 gum arabic jackal 3SG.IND EMPH LOC 3SG grab;take 3SG

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

har atuunúukat ɔnda «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 aƴín ása , amzín
 ikkeenán tazzar a= ƴín a= sa a= m- zín
 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 (Aƴín ása) «Ámmaaka itéenan, ámmaaka
 a= ƴín a= sa ammaaka i= te -nan ammaaka
 3SG say 3SG DAT when 3PL= arrive ALL when

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

fiizén kon iƴín "Maḥámád ən ƴikárbaayen
 fiizen koyyen i= ƴín Maḥammad n ƴikarbaayen
 sheep (PL) masters 3PL= say GEN coulottes
 ...and say "Mahammad of the coulottes

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

"Mhmm , Təbárək Allah."¹³³

allah

"Tebarek Allah."

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

¹³³ It is common in many West African cultures to use the Arabic expression *təbárek 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 *fikkénan, nibáara ma ziida.*¹³⁴
fikkeenan ni= baara ma zi da
 then 2SG= be what MED EMPH

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

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

'Therefore, when they were flying

kon əm béena, təzzár iġín «ġik Maḥammad ən
koyyen n beena təzzar i= ġin ġik Maḥammad n
 masters GEN over then 3PL= say GEN

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

ġikárbaayan abáy şat!»
ġikarbaayan a= bay şat
 coulottes 3SG know; require; take care of fly

'...of the coulottes knows how to fly!'"

70 *Təzzár aġín «Mmhm ġəmoq qəm maga.»*¹³⁵
təzzar a= ġin
 then 3SG say

'Then he said, "Mmhm, ġəmoq 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 *təbárek Allah* without opening his mouth.

71 Asəsəm, anəhár 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 aǰín, «ǰíimí sa
 a= m- s- ədæg a= ǰín ǰíimí sa
 3SG SBJ CAUS head toward 3SG say truth SBDR

...same spot. He said, "Is it really true that

Maḥámmad abáy şat?»

Maḥammad a= bay şat

3SG know; require; take care of fly

...Mahammad knows how to fly?"

73 Aǰín, «Mmhm hmm.»

a= ǰín

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 aƒin ása «Nimƒin
 kayne agayəs a= ələs a= ƒin a= sa ni= m- ƒin
 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 Konnén, nimƒin (isa) 'Təbarək Allah.››
 koyyen ni= m- ƒin i= sa
 masters 2SG= SBJ say 3PL= DAT

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

77 (Káyne) afér am me, aƒin «Təbarək Allah.››
 kayne a= fer a= m me a= ƒin
 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 Ikemma-a, ibkaár-a, ibkaár-a,
 i= kemma =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,

ibkaár-a, igiif-á.
 i= b- kar =a i= gijf =a
 3PL= IMP hit 3SG 3PL= leave 3SG

...they hit him, and they left him (for dead).'