La-fala:lac'a ħĭč'ey: Tigre (Samhar) text and grammatical notes

1. Introduction

The litterature on the Tigre language is not ample. There is one complete grammar, based on the Mansaʕ dialect (Raz 1983), and a partial grammar of the Habab dialect (Elias 2005). More specific studies include Lowenstamm & Prunet (1986), Palmer (1956, 1962), Raz (1980), Rose (2003), Voigt (2004, 2009), all reflecting the Mansaʕ dialect. Both grammars contain several instances of naturally-occuring texts in the dialects they treat, although only the Habab texts are transcribed phonetically.

  The text presented here is in a third dialect, the Samhar dialect. It was delivered by Mohammad Abdu, a 22-year-old Eritrean currently working in Israel. The text sheds light on several differences between this dialect and the documented ones, which I briefly mention in the grammatical discussion. In the discussion, I focus on grammatical features that do not appear in the previous two grammars, or have not received sufficient exposure or explanation in them. The discussion of these features is not limited to the data in the text, but is rather supplemented by the rest of my fieldwork.[1]

  The recording of this story is available on request. In the transcription, I attempted to remain as closely as possible to the the speaker's pronunciation. Special effort was put into identifying the position of stress, since both grammars offer only passing observation on this issue.

2. Grammatical features of Samhar Tigre

2.1. Phonology

2.1.1. Fricativization. Non-ejective stops, with the exception of [t], very often fricativize inter-vocalically: [b,d,g,k] become [β,ð,γ,x], [x] emerging as palatalized, as in Russian. The voiced stops [b,d,g] may undergo this process post-vocalically, too, especially utterance-medially ([naðʔa], line 28). Occasionally, this occurs across word-boundaries ([ħattʌ βalʕattu], line 103). Since geminates are quite short in Samhar, distinct non-fricativization is one of the signals of gemination.

2.1.2. Receding Vowel Harmony in rounding. On several occasions - though not consistently - the rounding of a final vowel spreads to preceding instances of /a/, making it into an [ɔ], unless these instances immediately follow a pharyngeal or an ejective, or are separated from the rounding agent by a pharyngeal or an ejective. The rounding agent may be part of a person suffix ([ʔˀkkɔb-ow-u], line 151) or even an object marker ([gəl-ħədog-gu], line 52). Clearly, the presence in the syllable of consonants with a labial or rounding element in their makeup, in Samhar [k,g,b,f], favors this process; but it is also attested in the absence of that presence ([bɔʔɔs-ow] 'they fought'). Note, however, that in some cases the stressed vowel seems to be salvaged from the harmony, while remaining transparent to it ([ʔɔkkɔb-ʌ-yu], line 220). Although receding harmony of /a/ is reported for Mansaʕ as early as Palmer

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(1956), it is not in rounding, but in height. Receding rounding harmony is the topic of Faust (forthcoming, a).

2.1.3. The realization of /ʔ/ and /ʕ/. The glottal stop is not always fully realized. Especially between two vowels, its underlying presence is detectible only through a creaky quality of the vowels. In the transcriptions, however, it is always transcribed. In word-initial position, /ʔ/ is often deleted if the word is concatenated to the preceding word. In this same position, as well as in word-final position (though there is no example here), /ʕ/ and /ʔ/ tend to neutralize. An interesting case of /ʔ/-deletion is *lə-bəs-a* 'to her husband (very fast pronuncuiation)' in line 196.

2.1.4. Pre-pharyngeal vowel. on several occasions, vowels other than /a/ were performed as [a] before guttural. Notes in the text indicate these vowels.

2.1.5. Ejectives /t'/ and /q/ are often realized as unrealeased [t˺], [k˺]. In other cases, the distinction between ejectives and non-ejectives can be detected in the quality of the surrounding vowels: an /a/ preceding an ejective /t'/ or /q/ is pronounced closer to [ɑ] (transcribed <a> here), whereas before a non-ejective it will be [ʌ] or [ɛ].

2.1.6. Long vowels in clodes syllables. Long vowels in Samhar, unlike what is reported for Mansa', may persist in closed syllables. Thus, whereas /ge:sko/ in Raz (1983) is realized as [gəsko], in Samhar, this form exists alongside [ge:sko]. In the present text, it can be seen in the varied pronunciation of the word /derho/ 'chicken'. The word is pronounced [de:rho(ʔ)] in line 151, [dirho(ʔ)] with a full but not-especially long [i] in line 157, and [dərho] in line 169.

2.1.7. Stress. In this text, stress-bearing vowels are underlined. As mentioned, stress in Tigre has not been throughly studied. However, from scrutiny of the present text, several generalizations arise. First, there is a two-syllable window: very few cases exhibit antepenultimate stress, virtually all of them utterance-final. Otherwise, stress falls on the final or penultimate syllables. Syllable weight definitely plays a role in the assignment of stress. If the last syllable is closed, it is almost always stressed. If it is open, the first long vowel from the end is stressed within this window. Otherwise, if the penultiumate syllable is closed, it is stressed. If the word ends in two non-long vowels in open syllables, either one may be stressed, depending on other prosodic factors such as the stress of the following word and the position in the utterence.

One recurrent example in the text is *fala:lac'a ħəč'ey* 'wood chopper', a Semitic-type construct compound. The second stress is as expected; the stress on the first word falls on the last syllable to avoid a long stressless stretch.

Utterance-final CV syllables may be stress-bearers because of their position. For instance, the type A perfective 3MSG has the prosodic form CVCC-a, and should thus be stressed on the penultimate vowel. It is (see naðʔ-a 'he sent', line 19), but when it is utterance-final, the suffix vowel is stressed, e.g. *hall-a* 'be (progressive)-3SGM'. But in some cases, especially when two non-long vowels stand at the end of the utterence, it is hard to hear which is more stressed than the other, e.g. *ra²-ɛ-ya* 'he saw her' (line 19).

Some particles should be classified as clitics, because they are never stressed, whether utterance-final or not. Such are the copulas *-tu* and *-ta* (also appearing in the future construction, see §2.3.5), and the second part of the negative circumfix *-ni*.

2.2. Morphology and morpho-phonology

2.2.1. Assimilation of person markers and passive marker. As elaborated upon in Voigt (2004, 2009) and further analyzed in Faust (to appear), the person markers *l-* and *t-* of the imperfective disappear in natural speech if they do not form a single syllable with the first consonant of the stem (and that consonant is not a guttural, *ťˀ-ˀˀmr-i-ni* 'you know me', line 73). However, if the preceding word ends in a vowel, the prefix may resurface as gemination of the first consonant: *ǝndʌ f-fa:llǝt'* 'while he was chopping' (line 97) is underlyingly /l-fallǝt/.

The same occurs to the passive prefix *t-*. In the perfective, nothing more needs to be added. In the imperfective, because the person prefixes precede the passive prefix, they form a syllable with it and thus both necessarily surface. However, the passive marker occasionally assimilates to a following non-guttural: lǝ-p-pǝhal 'he is called' (line 248) is underlyingly /l-t-b-ahal/ (notice the devoicing of the /b/); but in line 254 there is no assimilation for the same verb [tĭtbahal] 'she is called' (for an analysis of a very similar case in Tigrinya, see Kenstowicz 1994: 420).

2.2.2. Assimilation of /l/ of function words. The /l/ of the function words *ǝgǝl* 'PURP' and *la-* 'the' assimilates to adjacent consonants. For *la-*, see §2.2.6 below. The /l/ of *ǝgǝl* commonly assimilates to the following consonant in the infinitive/future constructuction ǝgǝl(+person)+jussive(+person)+tu, e.g. *ǝgǝ**n**-nǝ-mbʌr-tu* 'we will live'(line 85) (see §2.3.5 below).

2.2.3. "Transposition". When the imperative form has a suffix (i.e. the adressee is not MSG), which is followed by a 3ʳᵈ person object suffix (all of which are V-initial), hiatus is predicted to occur. If the Imperative person suffix is *-i* (FMSG) or *-o* (MPL), the stem absorbs this vowel: if the stem vowel is /a/, it becomes a longish [e] or [o], and if it is /ǝ/ it becomes [i] or [u]. The vowel, because of its length, will be stressed. For instance, in line 46 we find *ħĭðǝɣ-u* 'you (FMSG) leave him!'; this form is based on /ħĭðaɣ-i-u/. This phenomenon is responsible for the homophony betweenn *bel-ɛ* 'he said' and *bel-ɛ* (</bal-i-a/) 'you (3FMSG) tell her' (see line 34). The phenomenon, already described in Raz (1983), is analyzed in Faust (forthcoming, b).

2.2.4. The connective *yɛni*. I have not not found any reference to this marker in the literature. It seems to function somwhat like English "so" or "then", shifting the topic of the discourse to another person. It was therefore glossed "TOP" here. It occurs most commonly after free pronouns, e.g. *hǝtu yɛni* "so then he…", but can also appear after entire noun phrases, e.g. *la-mĭn-nɛ ďhɛb sarˀq-aw ˀoro yɛ:ni* 'so then one of those who stole the gold' (line 269).

2.2.5. *ǝgǝl-* and *la-* and their gloss. In the text, *ǝgǝl* is glossed as PURP. This term was chosen in order to give a uniform label to the three main uses of *ǝgǝl*, which are: 1) infinitive/future construction (see §2.3.5 below), 2) direct object marker (*lĕ-mǝlĭk **gǝl**-la ˀǝsit (...) raˀ-ɛ-ya* 'the king saw the woman', Line 19), and 3) direction. In all three uses, I feel, *ǝgǝl* introduces the concept of a purpose of the event.

Similarly, I glossed *la / lɛ / lʌ* as 'the'. This particle can be either a definite article or a relative clause marker. In Tigre, there does not have to be an antecedent, so that *lɛ-lemun lĭ-t-pahɛl* (Line 272) is translated as 'the **one** called Lemun', even though there is no equivalent of English "one". It seems to me that this fact justifies using the gloss 'the' for both the definite article and the relative clause marker. Also notice that /la/ can precede a noun that has a genitive suffix: *lɛ-dhɛβ-yɛ* 'my gold' (line 235).

A word is due as to the second function of *əgəl*, namely direct object marker. As is not clearly put in the two grammars, *əgəl* marks only definite objects. Animacy also plays a role: Nn *əgəl* appears in the present text as an object marker before an inanimate noun, although Raz does report such a case, and I have also encoutered some such cases. In this respect, *əgəl* functions like Spanish *a.* Still, even with animate, definite direct objects, it is not obligatory: *lⁱ-ʔinaːs falaːlatˈa ħičˈey ħĭðey-u* 'leave the wood-chopper!' (Line 46). The absence of *əgəl* here is not due to the marking of the direct object on the verb, as both can cooccur: **gəl**-*lɛ dərhɔ ħᵃrˀd-ow-u* 'they slaughtered the chicken' (line 169). Indefinite direct objects are not marked, be they animate or inanimate: *ʔəsiθ ħattɛ naðʔ-a diβ-a:* 'he sent a woman to her' (Line 28)

2.2.6. Assimilation of *la-* to preceding consonant and the construct. As mentioned above, The definite marker *la-* assimilates to the final consonant of a preceding preposition, e.g. *t-ta* 'in the' (line 239), *mən-na* 'from the' (line 100), *dib-ba* 'in the' (no example in present text). This also happens when the definite marker stands between the two parts of a Construct noun *lɛ-syerqat-(t)ʌ ðˀhɛb* (line 278). In the last example, notice that, unlike in Hebrew and Arabic, definiteness may appear on both parts of the construct. There is thus no doubt that the assimilated /la/ belongs to the following noun conceptually. Nevertheless, as the assimilation shows, it is grouped with the preceding noun prosodically.

In this respect, it is important to note that assimilation was not attested outside these two contexts. For instance, in line 124, we find *lɛ-ynaːs lɛ-falaːlacˈa la-ħĭčˈey* 'the man, the wood-chopper'. The boundary between *lɛ-ynaːs* and *lɛ-falaːlacˈa* is not the one that exists between a construct-head and its complement. The *l* of the second constituent does not assimilate.

2.2.7. The different forms of the verb *gabʔa* 'happen, come to be, become'. This verb has an alternative form in the past, without the [b]: *gaʔako, gaʔaka, gaʔa* etc. In the imperfective and jussive, the [b] is present. The verb is used in the fossilized conditional marker *mən gabbəʔ* 'if (litt. from come.to.be)', and has an even more grammaticalized form *mĭnge* (line 205), in which the second component lost even the appearance of a verb.

2.2.8. The use of *ħatte/ʔoro* as indefinite articles. When *ħatte* 'one.FM' follows the noun, it fuctions as an indefinite pronoun of sorts, equivalent to English 'a' or colloquial 'some', e.g. line 28, *ʔəsiθ ħatte* 'a woman'. This contrasts with its pre-nominal use, as in *ħatte nahaːr* 'one day'. *ʔoro* 'one.MS' also has the indefinite function and may also follow the noun, though no such example is found in this text. Notice that *ħatte* has the indefinite function in line 1 *ħattə dəɣəm* 'a story'; this might be a special formula for opening stories (it opens all the stories I have recorded).

2.3. Syntax

2.3.1. Word order: post-verbal constituents. The regular word order in Tigre is SOV. However (as also noted in Elias 2005: 229), suffixed prepositions may follow the verb. For example, in line 10 *wŭ-ysi̱ð ʕal-ɛt ʔŭl-u̱* 'and he had a woman', or in line 28 *ʔəsi̱θ ħatte̱, na̱ðʔ-a di̱ß-a:* 'he sent a woman to her'. This is nevertheless not obligatory: in line 157, *ʔi̱lli dirhɔ(ʔ) lɛ-ʤhɛb di̱ß-u̱ hall-a̱* 'the gold is in this chicken'. Less commonly, full complement clauses follow the verb, as in line 181 *na̱ðʔ-ʌ di̱ß-a gɔl-la ʔəsi̱t ta məli̱k* 'he sent to her, to the king's wife'.

In addition to declined prespositions, several occurrences of post-verbal adverbs were attested, e.g. line 166 *əɣəl-ye̱ tə-ħᵃrðo (t'a)wa̱:li* 'kill me immediately'.

Other aspects of the word order are somewhat surprising from a cross-linguistic perspective. Tigre seems to be head final in CPs: it is verb-final, and the conditional *if* is also clause-final. But it has prepositions, not postpositions, and the definite article if also prefixed. The construct noun is also left-headed, as in Arabic and Hebrew, but adjectives usually precede the head, unlike Arabic and Hebrew.

2.3.2. Copula and Focus. Focus can be expressed in cleft sentences, as in line 260, where a copula follows the focused element: *ənta-tu lʌ-saraq-ka̱* 'it is *you* who stole'. The copula *-tu/ -ta/ -tom/ -tən* corresponds to the 3rd person independent pronouns *hətu/ həta/ hətom/ hətən*, only without the /h/. Apperently, Tigre is the only Ethio-Semitic language where a pronoun functions as a copula (Crass et al. 2005) (Outside Ethio-Semitic, this is common in Modern Hebrew, for instance). In fact, some regard the copula as little more than a repeated subject pronoun: this explains the obligatory repetition of all pronouns in nominal sentences such as *ʔana doktor ʔana* 'I'm a doctor', impossible without the repeated pronoun. The formal difference in the realization of the repeated 3rd person subject pronouns can be attributed to their prosodically dependent status and their frequency.[2] That said, all cases of dependent *-tu* were glossed here as COP. On the copula of future/infinitive constructions see §2.3.5 below.

Another, more original strategy of marking forcus is by switching the order of subject and object, as in line 226 *ʤhɛb ʔəsič-če̱ nta na̱ðʔa-kʌ-wu* 'you took my woman's gold'.

2.3.3. Conditionals. As reported in Raz, sentences expressing a real condition have the structure perfect + mən gabbəʔ, imperfect/əgəl+juss. The second part of negation, *-ni*, appears on *mən gabbə ʔ*: *ʔɛlbʌs-kɛ-nni mĭnge- tama̱:m, y-ɛlbʌs-kɛ-nni mĭn gʌbbə-**ni** gəl-ħəðʌɣ-akka̱-tu* (line 205) 'if you clothe me (in a queen's attire) -ok; (but) if you do not clothe me (so), I will leave you.'

In line 85, the first part of the conditional can be translated as "if not", with the verb used as a filler: *yi-ɣəßat mĭn gʌbbə-ni*, literally 'if this does not happen'.

2.3.4 Negation. As reported in Elias for Rigbat (2005, §43), but not mentioned for Mansaʕ by Raz (1983), negation is bipartite: it is composed of a prefix *yĭ-* and a suffix *-ni*. It seems that *-ni*, although almost constantly used, is not obligatory: *yĭ-qa̱ddər* 'he cannot' (line 58) vs. *yĭ-qʕaddər-na* (line 199) 'I cannot' (the final vowel here is the influence of a following guttural). *yĭ-f-faham-o* 'they do not agree'. As mentioned in the previous note, in conditionals, *yĭ-* precedes the verb while *-ni* follows *mən gabbə ʔ*.

Only *-ni* is used with the preposition *əb* in its possessive function, e.g. line 202 *(ə)b-ye-ni* 'I don't have'.

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[2] I thank a colleague (whose name will appear in the final version) for calling my attention to this issue.

2.3.5. The future/infinitive construction. This construction is headed by *əgəl*, which has the meaning of *for, in order to*. It is followed by the inflected form of the jussive stem of the verb, which is distinct from its imperfective form only in the unaugmented triradical type A. The copula *-tu* follows the verb in some cases. Because the verbal form is fully inflected and includes the subject, the entire construction is somewhat analogous to an English purpose clause 'for X to V'. This meaning still survives when the clause is dependent on some other verb, e.g. line 25 *wʌʔ-gəl-hɛðɛ-ya ħað-a* 'and he wanted to marry her', litt. 'and he$_i$ wanted for him$_i$ to marry her'. In these cases, there is no final *-tu* element.

The same construction, when it is not the complement of some other verb is used to express the future, e.g. line 40 *gəruš-ḵi gə-hʌbʌ-ḵi-tŭ* 'I will give you your money'. The copula becomes obligatory in such cases. The reason is clear from the 'for X to' gloss: since the construction is basically a purpose clause, it may not head a sentence. Therefore, a verb is necessary, and the copula *tu* must be realized. In Samhar, this copula (or subject marker, see §2.3.2) does not show agreement with anything, so the sentence above is somehow translatable into 'It is for me to give you your money', *-tu* standing for 'it is'. Interestingly, in interrogative sentences, the copula is not obligatory, e.g. line 50 *ko gŭl-ħədog-gu* 'how will I leave him'? It is possible that in this case, the interrogative pronoun stands in for the copula.

My consultant affirmed that when *-tu* is used, it means that the speaker is "sure". But this may simply reflect the contrast with the subordinate, pure purposive use of the construction. At any rate, a unifying, synchronic analysis of all uses of *-tu* may link the focus and certainty functions, and present the future construction as a sort of nominal sentence.

2.3.6. The connective *ende, enda* (and other reduced forms). This particle was glossed here STR, because its main function in Tigre seems to string together two events. The event that follows *ende* provides the background for the next event, but is not necessarily prior to it, nor does it necessarily end when the next event begins. Examples: *nnə hamt^o-xo* 'having brought' (line 76); *əndʌ f-fa:llət'* 'while he (was) chopping' (line 97); *ne yĭ-f-faham-o ge:s-a.* 'they having disagreed, he left' (line 211). Notice that the verb after *ende* may be either a perfective or an imperfective.[3]

2.3.7. Direct vs. indirect speech. The text has several examples of the predominance of direct speech in a story, which to western ears may seem surprising. For instance, in line 55, the messenger tells the woodchopper's wife to tell her husband to clothe her in a queen's attire. But there is only direct speech in the story:

ʔĭntĭ ləβa:s ne:y ʔĭsit məlĭk ʔʌlbəs-ɛnni be:l-u.
"you, 'dress me in a king's woman's attire' tell him"

Indeed, very little indirect speech, if any, appears in my collected stories. This does not mean that there is no indirect speech in Tigre: see Ullendorf (1965).

2.3.8. Adjectival use of prepositional phrase. In line 269, *la-mĭn-nɛ ďhɛb sarᵊq-aw ʔoro* 'one of those who stole the gold' is peculiar because, as the gloss indicates, what modifies *ʔoro* 'one' is not a VP, but a PP headed by *mĭn* 'from', itself preceded by *la* 'the, that'. It seems like the PP fuctions as a sort of an adjectival modifier, analogous to *la-c'əgub ʔəna:s* 'the rich man' (Raz 1983: 32). I found other cases with the complex *la*+preposition, but they followed the noun, which itself was preceded by *la-*: *l-ʔəna:s la-dib məgəb halla* 'the person on the right (litt. the person the in right is)'.

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[3] The similar behavior of *ənde* in Amharic is discussed in Goldenberg (1968).

3. *la-fala:lac'a ħĭč'ey* 'the woodchopper'[4]

01	ʌze ħattə dəɣǝm gɛl-ɛ-ða:ɣǝm-tu,
02	now one story PURP-1MSG.JUSS-recount-COP.3MSG
03	now I will tell a story
04	lɛ-dəgǝm ye:nị, Ɂəb (sʌbbʌt) məlĭk ta:.
05	the story TOP, on (because) king-COP.3SFM
06	the story is about a king
07	badịr dĭβ ħattɛ ʕad, Ɂoro məlĭk ta:yɛr ʕal-a,
08	in.old.times in one place/tribe one.MSG king rich.MSG be.PRF-3MSG
09	A long time ago, in one place, there was a rich king
10	wŭ-ysịð ʕal-ɛt Ɂŭl-u, w-oro: na:s,
11	and-woman be.PRF-3FMSG poss.3MSG and-one man
12	and he had a woman, and one man
13	fala:lac'a ħǝč'ey lĕ-lĕ-tβˀhal,
14	chopper wood the-3MSG-be.called.IMPF.3MSG
15	who was called wood-chopper
16	Ɂĭsịt marɛ gərǝm ʕal-ɛt ĭl-u,
17	woman very beautiful.FMSG be.PRF-3FMSG POSS-3MSG
18	had a very beautiful woman
19	ħattĕ nha:r, lĕ-məlĭk gǝl-la Ɂǝsit-tʌ fala:lat'a, raɁ-ɛ-ya,
20	one day the-king PURP-the woman-the chopper see.PRF-3MSG -3FMSG.OBJ.
21	one day, the king saw the chopper's woman
22	wʌ-kʌm raɁ-ɛ-ya mara fʌt-ɛ-ya.
23	and-when see.PRF-3MSG -3FMSG.OBJ. very like.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ.
24	and when he saw her he liked her very much
25	wʌɁ-gǝl-hɛðɛ-ya ħað-a,
26	and-PURP-marry.JUSS.3MSG -3FMSG.OBJ. want.PRF-3MSG
27	and he wanted to marry her
28	ħako-ha, Ɂǝsiθ ħatte, naðɁ-a diβ-a:, bel-ɛ-ya,
29	after-that.FM, woman one send.PRF-3MSG LOC-3FMS tell.PRF-3MSG -3FMSG.OBJ
30	so he sent one woman to her, and he told her (that woman)
31	gǝl Ɂĭllɛ Ɂˀsịt məlĭk la-ħadde-ka[5] hall-a,
32	PURP this.FM woman king 3MSG-want.IMPF-2FMSG.OBJ be-3MSG.IMPF
33	"(tell) that woman 'the king wants you'
34	bel-ɛ Ɂĭye βel-ɛ-ya,
35	tell.IMP-3FMSG POSS.1SG tell.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ
36	tell her for me" he told her
37	

	wɛ-həta tˀ-hɛdd-ɛt-təni̯	mĭnge:, Ɂana, gəruš-ki̯
38	and-she PASS-get.married.PRF-3SGFM-1SG.OBJ if	I money.POSS.2FMSG
39	and her, if she gets married to me, (…)	
40	gə-hʌbʌ-ki̯-tŭ	bel-ɛ-ya̱.
41	PURP-give.JUSS.1SG.-2FMSG-COP.3MSG tell.PRF-3MSG -3FMSG.OBJ	
42	I shall give you money," he told her	
43	ħakw-a̱:[6] (gəl)l-Ɂˀsi̱t mat'-at-tɛ	kɛ-
44	after-that.FM (PURP)the-woman come.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ and	
45	then she came to the woman and	
46	bel-a̱t-tɛ Ɂənti̱ lⁱ-Ɂina:s fala:lat'a̱ hič'ey hĭðeɣ-u	
47	tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ you.FM the-man chopper woodleave.IMP.FM-3MSG.OBJ	
48	told her "you, leave the wood chopper…	
49	ka diβ məli̱k t-hɛddḛ-y. bel-a̱t-ta.	
50	and LOC king PASS-get.married.IMPF-2SGFM tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ	
51	and get married to the king" she told her.	
52	həta̱ yeni̱ ko gŭl-hədo̱g-gu bel-a̱t-ta ~~(atta həta yeni̱)~~	
53	she TOP how PURP-leave.1SG.JUSS-3MSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ	
54	Then *she* told her "how will I leave him"?	
55	Ɂinti̱ ləβa̱:s ne:y Ɂĭsi̱t məli̱k (Ɂɛlbĭsi̱ni̱) Ɂʌlbəs-ɛnni̱. be:l-u.	
56	you.FM attire of woman king clothe.IMP.2SG-1SG.OB tell.IMP.2FM-3MSG.OBJ	
57	"tell him 'clothe me the in attire of a king's wife'.	
58	hˀtu̱ yɛni̱, gəl-Ɂɛlbˀs-ɛk(k)ĭ sɛbbɛt yĭ-qaddər	
59	he TOP PURP-clothe.JUSS.3SG-2SGFM.OBJ because NEG-can.IMPF.3SG,	
60	Because he will not be able to clothe you,	
61	gəl-(l)ə-ħˀðɛɣ-ɛkki̱-tŭ	
62	PURP-3MSG-leave.JUSS-2SGFM.OBJ-COP.3MSG	
63	will leave you.	
64	u-ĭnti̱ ðiβ mə̱lək tˀ-t-hɛddḛ-y, bel-a̱t-ta.	
65	and-you.fm LOC king 2-PASS-get.married.IMPF-2SGFM tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ	
66	and you will get married to the king", she told her.	
67	hĭta̱ yeni̱ gəl-la (ħ–) ˀβəɁəs-ʌ gəl-la̱ qala:lɛyɛ hič'ey bel-ɛt-tu	
68	she TOP PURP-THE husband-POSS.3FMSG PURP-THE chopper[7] wood tell.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ	
69	So she told her husband, the wood-chopper	
70	ləβa̱:s nɛy Ɂəsi̱t məli̱k Ɂʌlbˀs-ɛnni̱ βɛl-ɛt-tu.	
71	attire of woman king clothe.IMPF.2SG-1SG.OBJ tell.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ	
72	"clothe me in the attire of a king's woman", she told him.	
73	(hŭ)tu̱ yɛni̱ tˀ-Ɂˀmr-i̱-ni ma:m(i)	
74	he TOP 2-know.IMPF-FMSG-1MSG.OBJ very well	
75	(But) He (told her) "you know me very well,	
76	Ɂa̱na mˀn Ɂiššḛ nnə hamtᵒ-xo̱ ləβa̱:s (Ɂˀ)si̱t məli̱k	
77	I from where STR bring.PRF-1SG attire woman king	
78	From where, having brought the attire of a king's woman	

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[6] The form *ħakwa* is abridged from *ħakoha*. The *w* might be only a secondary place of articulation [ħakʷa]; still, in the present text, I avoid that transcription, because I do not hear a difference for say, the French [kwa] 'quoi'.
[7] A different verb is used here to describe the main character. The consultant says it means roughly the same: *qara:rač'a* means 'cut (pluractional)', *fala:lat'a* 'chop (pluractional)'

79	gəl-ʔʌlbˀs-ɛkki βel-ɛ-ya
80	PURP-clothe.IMPF.1SG-2FMSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ
81	could I clothe you?" he told her.
82	bel-ɛt-tu, ləβa:s ĭsit məlĭk ʔʌlbʌs-kɛ-nni mĭnge,
83	tell.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ attire woman king clothe.PRF-2MSG-3FMSG.OBJ if
84	she told him: "if you clothe me in the attire of a king's woman,
85	məsəl əgən-nə-mbʌr-tu. (y)i-γɛβ-ʌt⁸ mĭn gʌbbə-ni,
86	together PURP-1PL-live.JUSS-COP.3MSG NEG-come.to.be.PRF-3FMSG from come.to.be.IMPF-NEG
87	we shall live together. If this does not happen,
88	gəl-ħəðʌγ-ʌkkʌ-tu βel-ɛt-tu.
89	PURP-leave.IMP.1SG-2MSG.OBJ- COP.3MSG tell.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ
90	I will leave you," she told him
91	w-ɛnde yĭ-f-faham-o, ge:s-a hᵃtu.
92	and-STR NEG-PASS-agree.IMPF-3MSPL go.PRF-3MSG he.
93	And since they disagreed, he went (about his business).
94	hŭtu ħat(t)ɛ nᵃha:r əndɛ γeys - dib ʕad məlĭk šakf-a
95	he one day, STR go.3MSG.IMPF, LOC place king stray.PRF-3MSG
96	one day, while walking, he strayed to the the king's zone
97	wa-ħəčʼey fallað-a. (ħičʼay) əndʌ f-fa:llət'–, ənda f-fa:llət'–
98	and-wood chop.PRF-3MSG. (wood) STR 3MSG-chop.IMPF, STR 3MSG-chop.IMPF
99	and chopped wood. While he was chopping wood, while he was chopping,
100	dɛhab nɛy ʔĭsit məlĭk- mən-na ʔĭsit məlĭk malčʼ-a
101	gold of woman king from-the woman king drop.PRF-3MSG
102	the king's woman's gold fell from her
103	wa-kʌm malčʼa, dərhaⁿ⁹ ħattʌ βʌlʕ-at-tu
104	and-as drop.PRF-3MSG, chicken one eat.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ
105	and as it was dropped, a chicken ate it.
106	wʌ-l-ʔəna:s, lɛ-fala:laθa ħəčʼey raʔ-a-ya, ħičʼay-u fallat'-a,
107	and-the-man, the-chopper wood see.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG, wood-POSS.3MSG cut.PRF-3MSG
108	and the man, the wood chopper, saw her, chopped his wood,
109	wʌ-ħaγβal-a. ħakw-a, lɛ-ysit mĭlək, dəhɛβ-yĕ bad-ɛ
110	and-return.PRF-3MSG. after-that.FM, the-woman king gold-POSS.1SG get.lost.PRF-3MSG
111	and returned home. Then the king's woman (said) "my gold got lost"
112	bel-ɛt, u-gŭ-l-məlĭk ʌs(ʔ)ɛl-ɛt.
113	tell.PRF-3FMSG and-(PURP)-the-king explain.PERF-3FMSG
114	she said, and explained (it) to the king.
115	(wa-m)-dəhɛb ʔĭsič-e lɛ-rakb-a la-ħad-ʌ
116	(and-the-)gold woman-POSS.1SG the-find.PRF-3MSG. the-want.PRF-3MSG
117	"He who finds my woman's gold, that which he wants

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⁸ Here an unmentioned demonstrative 'that' is referenced by the feminine (!) suffix -ʌt.
⁹ Again, should be *dərho*, probably effect of guttural.

118	gəl-hawb-<u>u</u>-tu be:l-a.
119	PURP-give.JUSS.1MSG-3MSG.OBJ-COP.3MSG tell.PRF-3MSG
120	I shall give him" he said.
121	wᵃʔᵃdd<u>a</u>:m k<u>u</u>ll-u ʔokkʌβ-ʌ-yu
122	and-people all-3MSG gather.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
123	and he gathered all the people.
124	ħakw-<u>a</u> lɛ-yn<u>a</u>:s lɛ-fala:lacʼa l<u>a</u>-hĭčʼey be:l-<u>a</u>, ʔana məlĭ̆k (ʔi̶s̶s̶i̶:̶t̶-̶k̶a̶-̶)
125	after-that.FM the-man, the-chopper the-wood gather.PRF-3MSG 1SG king
126	then the man, the wood-chopper said: "I, king,
127	dəh<u>a</u>b ʔəsit-k<u>a</u> raxoβ-ku-w<u>u</u>-kka mən gɛbb<u>ə</u>ʔ
128	gold woman-POSS.2FMSG find.PRF.-1SG-3MSG.OBJ-2MSG.OBJ. from come.to.be.IMPF
129	if I found your woman's gold for you,
130	mĭ t-heyb-ɛnni β<u>e</u>l-ɛ-yu
131	what 2MSG-give.IMPF-1MSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
132	what will you give me?" he said to him.
133	l-<u>ə</u>g-la-hade:-k<u>a</u> ʔᵃ-hĕyβ-akk<u>a</u> βel-a lɛ-məlĭ̆k
134	the-PURP-the-want.PRF-2MSG 1sg-give.IMPF-2MSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MSG the-king
135	"that which you (had) wanted I will give you." said the king
136	ləb<u>a</u>:s ʔᵊsit-kʌ tᵊ-heyβ-ɛnn<u>i</u>
137	attire woman-POSS.2FMSG 2MSG-give.IMPF-1MSG.OBJ
138	"you will give me your woman's attire"
139	be:l-ɛ-y<u>u</u> lɛ-fala:laθ<u>a</u> hĭčʼ<u>e</u>y.
140	tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ the-chopper wood
141	said to him the wood-chopper
142	heyβ-akk<u>a</u> be:l-ɛ-y<u>u</u>. ħakw-<u>a</u> lʌ-fala:lacʼ<u>a</u> hĭčʼ<u>e</u>y
143	give.IMPF.1SG-2MSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ after-that.FM the-chopper wood
144	"I will give (it to) you" he said to him. Then, the wood chopper
145	matʔ-<u>a</u> wɛ-dɛwɛrhi-k<u>u</u>m k<u>u</u>ll-u ʔŭkk<u>u</u>β-ŭ
146	come.PRF-3MSG and-chickens-POSS.2MPL all-3MSG gather.IMP-MPL
147	came and (said) "gather all your chickens"
148	β<u>e</u>l-ɛ-y<u>o</u>m. dɛwɛr<u>i</u>h akk<u>ɔ</u>β-ow-<u>u</u>.
149	tell.PRF-3MSG-3MPL.OBJ chickens gather.PRF-3MPL-3MSG.OBJ.
150	he told them. They gathered the chickens.
151	dɛwɛr-h<u>ɔ</u>m kɔm ʔᵊkk<u>ɔ</u>β-ow-u, ʔĭ̆lli de:rh<u>ɔ</u>(ʔ) ħer<u>o</u>:d-u
152	chickens-POSS.3MPL when gather.PRF-3MPL-3MSG.OBJ. this.MSG chicken slaughter.IMP.3MSPL-3MSG.OBJ
153	when they had gathered their hens, "slaughter this one!"
154	βe:l-ɛ-y<u>o</u>m. ʔəgəm mĭ nᵊ̆-ħarŭd-d<u>u</u> be:l-<u>o</u>w.
155	tell.PRF-3MSG-3MPL.OBJ PURP what 1PL-slaughter.JUSS-3MSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MPL
156	he told them. "What should we slaughter it for?" they said
157	

		ʔɨ̆lli dirhɔ(ʔ) lɛ-dˤħɛb diβ-u hall-a ħˀro:d-u
	158	this.ms hen the-gold in-3MSG be.PRF-3MSG slaughter.IMP.3MSPL-3MSG.OBJ
	159	"The gold is in this chicken. slaughter it."
	160	be̠:l-ɛ-yom. lɛ-dˤhɛβ yĭ-t'anħ-a t-tu mən gɛbbiy-ɛni[10]
	161	tell.PRF-3MSG-3MPL.OBJ the-gold NEG-wait.PRF-3MSG in-3MSG from come.to.be.IMPF-NEG
	162	he told them. "and if the gold does not await in it?"
	163	be̠:l-ow-u. yĭ-t'anħ-a t-tu mən gabbəʔ,
	164	tell.PRF-3MPL-3MPL.OBJ NEG-wait-3MSG in-3MSG from come.to.be.IMPF
	165	they told him. "If it does not await,
	166	əɣəl-ye̠ tə-ħˤrð-o (t'a)wa:li bel-ɛ-yu̠m
	167	PURP-POSS.1SG 2-slaughter.IMPF-2PL. directly tell.PRF-3MSG-3MPL.OBJ
	168	you will kill me immediately" he told them.
	169	ħakw-a gəl-lɛ dərhɔ ħˤrˤd-o̠w-u,
	170	after-that.FM PURP-the chicken slaughter.PRF-3MPL-3MSG.OBJ
	171	then they slaughtered the chicken.
	172	kʌm ħarˤd-o̠-wu, lɛ-ðˤhʌb ət-ta jiwʌt (t)ʌ derhɔ t'anħ-a,
	173	when slaughter.PRF-3MPL-3MSG.OBJ, the-gold in-the inside the chicken wait.PRF-3MSG
	174	When they slaughtered the chicken, the gold awaited in the insides in the chicken.
	175	wʌ-lʌ-məlĭ̠k lɛ-ləβa̠:s ʔɨ̆si̠t-u hoβɛ̆-yu (ɣulala:t'a),
	176	and-the-king the-attire woman-POSS.3MSG give.PRF-3MSG.OBJ
	177	and the king gave him his woman's attire.
	178	wʌ-la-fala:lat'a̠ ʔˤsi̠t-u ʔalbas-a̠[11].
	179	and-the-chopper woman-POSS.3MSG clothe.PRF-3MSG
	180	and the chopper clothed his woman.
	181	kalɛt mɛrɛt, məlĭk ka(l)ət ʔəsi̠t nʌðʔ-ʌ diβ-a gəl-la ʔəsi̠t ta məlĭ̠k[12],
	182	second.FM time king second.FM woman sent.PRF-3MSG LOC-3FMSG PURP-the woman the king
	183	For the second time, the king sent a second woman to her, to the king's woman.
	184	be̠:l-ɛ-ya, ɛde̠ dˤhɛb nɛy ʔəsi̠t məlĭ̠k ʔʌlβˤs-ɛnni,
	185	tell.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ now gold of woman king clothe.IMP.2MSG-1SG.OBJ
	186	he told her, "(tell her) 'now clothe me in the gold of the king's woman'
	187	be̠:l-u ɣəl bəʔəs-ki̠ be̠:l-ɛ bel-ɛ-ya[13]
	188	tell.IMP.2FMSG-3MSG PURP husband-POSS.2FMSG tell.IMP.2FMSG-2FMSG.OBJ tell.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ
	189	tell your husband,' tell her" he told her.
	190	ħˤta̠ yɛni̠, dˤhɛb ʔɨ̆si̠t məlĭ̠k ʔʌlbəs-ɛnni be̠:l-u

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[10] I do not understand the appearance of [ɛ] here before the negative -ni.

[11] Stress is not certain.

[12] This is supposed to be *fala:lat'a*. 'The king sent a woman to the chopper's wife'.

[13] This is a confusing passage, but it actually makes sense: the king told the woman he sent to tell the chopper's wife to tell her husband.

191	she TOP gold woman king clothe.IMP.2MSG-1SG.OBJ tell.IMP.2FMSG-3MSG
192	So she (told her) " 'clothe me in the gold of the king's woman' tell him,
193	ɣu-lᵘ bə(ʔ)əs-ki bel-ɛt[14] bel-at-ta.
194	PURP-THE husband-POSS.2FMSG tell.PRF-3FMSG tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ
195	your husband" she said to her.
196	hᵊta yɛni l-bəs-a ʔalβəs-ɛnni dhɛb ʔəsit (məlĭk) bel-ɛt-tu.
197	she TOP PURP-husband-POSS.3FMSG clothe.IMP.2MSG-1SG.OBJ gold woman king tell.PRF-3FMSG-3FMSG.OBJ
198	so she told him "clothe me in the gold of the king's woman"
199	dəhɛb ʔĭsit mĭlək gəl-ʔɛlbəs-ɛkki yĭ-qˤaddər-na[15]
200	gold woman king PURP-clothe.IMPF.1SG-2FMSG.OBJ NEG-can.IMPF.1SG-NEG
201	"I cannot clothe you with the gold of a king's woman
202	ʕaɣum ale b-ye-ni be:l-ɛ-ya.
203	possibility[16] POSS-1SG-NEG tell.PRF-3MSG-3FMSG.OBJ
204	I don't have the possibility", he told her.
205	ʔɛlbʌs-kɛ-nni mĭnge, tama:m,[17] y-ɛlbʌs-kɛ-nni mĭn gʌbbə-ni
206	clothe.PRF-2MSG-1SG.OBJ if ok, NEG-clothe.PRF-2MSG-1SG.OBJ if-NEG
207	"If you clothe me - it's done. If you don't clothe me
208	gəl-ħəðʌɣ-akka-tu bel-ɛt-tu.
209	PURP-leave.JUSS-COP.3MSG tell.PRF-3FMSG-3MSG.OBJ
210	I shall leave you" she told him.
211	wa-kalət marɛt, ne yĭ-f-faham-o, ge:s-a.
212	and second time, STR NEG-pass-agree.PRF-3MPL go.PRF-3MSG
213	and for the second time, after they disagreed, he went (on his business).
214	ħakwa, kʌm ge:sa, dahʌb ʔəsit məlĭk yɛni bað-a.
215	After-that.FM when go.PRF-3MSG gold woman king TOP get.lost.PRF-3MSG.
216	Then, as he went, the gold of the king's woman got lost.
217	wʌ-məlĭk, dᵃhɛb ʔəsič-ě βad-ʌ bel-a
218	and-king gold woman-poss.1sg get.lost.PRF-3MSG. tell.PRF-3MSG
219	And the king said my woman's gold got lost
220	w-ʔadda:m kullo okkoβ-ʌ-yu,
221	and-men all-3MSG gather.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
222	and he gathered all the people
223	wʌ-gəl-la fala:lat'a ʔɛ̆sr-ɛ-yu,
224	and-PURP-the chopper arrest.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
225	and arrested the chopper
226	dᵃhɛb ʔəsič-če nta nʌðʔa-kʌ-wu bel-ɛ-yu
227	gold woman-POSS.1SG you.MSG take.PRF-2MSG tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
228	"you took my woman's gold" he told him

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[14] This verb seems superfluous, as it is restated immediately afterwards with an object suffix.
[15] The negative *ni* becomes n[a] because of the following guttural.
[16] The gloss is not clear.
[17] *tama:m* is an Arabic word.

229	(h)ᵘt ana y-nəsʔo-ko-ni be:l-ε-yu.
230	he I NEG-take.PRF-3MSG-NEG tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
231	"I did not take it," he said to him
232	lε-dᵊhab la-ħalf-a kᵒffo re(ʔ)e-ka-wu?
233	the-gold the-pass.PRF-3MSG how see.PRF-3MSG.OBJ
234	"How did you see the previous gold?"
235	ʔənta-tu lε-dhεβ-yε lʌ-saraq-ka bel-ε-yu.
236	you-COP.MSG the-gold-POSS.1SG the-steal.PRF-3MSG tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
237	"It is you who stole my gold" he told him
238	beθ θĭyin ʔat-a. ħakwa: t-ta βeθ θĭjin
239	jail enter.PRF-3MSG. after-that.FM in-the jail
240	he entered the jail. Then, in the jail,
241	sʌlεs nʌfʌr lətha:g-aw samʕ-a
242	three men talk.PRF.-3MPL hear.PRF-3MSG
243	he heard three men talking.
244	lə-dhʌb kᵒ n-i:d-ε-yu lᵊ-t-bʌhɔl-o.
245	the-gold how 1PL-do.juss-3MSG.OBJ 3MPL-PASS-tell.IMPF-3PL
246	"what should we do with the gold" the spoke between them
247	ħakw-a:, ʔoro mĭn-na salas nafar le:mun lə-p-pᵊhal ʕal-a.
248	after-that.FM, one from-the three men Leymun 3MSG-PASS-tell.IMPF be.PRF-3MSG
249	then, one of the three men was called leymun
250	lε-fala:latʼa la:kin yε-ʔɔmr-u-ni.
251	the-chopper but NEG-know.IMPF-3MSG.OBJ-NEG
252	but the chopper didn't know it.
253	wε-lᵋ-ʔəsit- ta fala:latʼa yεni: le:mun tĭ-t-bahal
254	and-the-woman the chopper TOP Leymun 3FMSG-PASS-tell.IMPF
255	and the chopper's woman was called Leymun.
256	ħakwa:, lε-məlĭk, šaʕab ənda ʔʌkkaβ-a, t-tε gattʼᵃ šᵃʕab taha:γε.
257	after-that.FM, the king people STR gather.PRF-3MSG, in-the front people speak.IMP.3MS
258	then, the king gathered the people (and said) "in front of the people, say (it):
259	ənta-tu lʌ-saraq-ka-wu dᵊhεb-ye βel-ε-yu.
260	you.msg-cop.msg the-steal.PRF-2MSG-3MSG.OBJ golde-poss.1sg tell.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ
261	it is you who stole my gold" he told him
262	ħakwa hᵊtu yεni, ənda qantʼ-a,
263	after-that.FM, he TOP STR stand.PRF-3MSG,
264	then, as he stood, he (said)
265	o::::, kull-u ᵊp sʌbbεt-ki-tu leymun bel-a.
266	oh! all-3MSG by because-2FMSG-COP.MSG Lemun tell.PRF-3MSG
267	"Oh! it is all because of you Leymun!" he said
268	la-mĭn-nε dᵊhεb sarᵊq-aw ʔoro yε:ni,
269	the-from-the gold steal.PRF-3PL one TOP
270	one from those who stole the gold
271	lε-lemun lĭ-t-pahεl, ᵘgl-u nde ʔʌmsεl-ε-yu
272	the-Lemun 3MSG-PASS-tell.IMPF, PURP-3MSG STR believe.PRF-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ

273	the one called lemun, because he believed that it was to him
274	ʔana beɲ-ye yi-kon-ni! kᵘlot nɛfɛr hɛll-aw məsəl-ye bel-ɛ-yum
275	I alone-1SG NEG-be-NEG two.PL men be.PRF.-3PL with-1SG tell.PRF-3MSG-3PL
276	"I am not alone! two (other) men are with me" he told them
277	wa-ʔub bəl-lɛ yɛni, lɛ-syerqat-(t)ʌ ðˀhɛb rʌ:kkᴧb-aw
278	and-by this-FEM TOP the-theives the gold find.PASS.PRF-3MSPL
279	and the gold theives were thus found.
280	wᴧ-məlīk gəl-la syerqat ʔasˀr-a. wʌ-hˀtu ʔʌb bəl-la faɣˀr-a
281	and-king PURP-the thieves arrest.PRF-3MSG. and-he by this-FEM leave.PRF-3MSG.
282	and the king arrested the theives, and thus he (the chopper) left.
283	u-maʕĕssalama.
284	and-with.peace(Arabic).
285	and this is the end.

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