

Joke

Recording

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/y3chuh6f8lcufg9/WS700035-Ba3ba3.WMA?dl=0>
<https://on.soundcloud.com/A6ZVJ>

A joke in Eastern Moroccan Arabic (Darija) recorded in Ain Bni Mathar (Jerada province) in November 2011. A male speaker, ca. 45 years old, Bni Mathar tribe.

Waḥed s-seyyed, šarža waḥed n-nas f waḥed l... l... l-bikup, bašiya, gal l-hüm
“min tqerṛbu l-žadaṛmiya gulu: ‘baε baε’”. W-rakeb mεa-hüm waḥed le-εma; l-
muhimm, wūšlu l-žadaṛmiya; wūšlu l-žadaṛmiya, gal l-hüm: “gulu ‘baε’, ɾa-na
wšelna ž-žadaṛmiya”, bqaw ‘baε baε’... ža ž-žadaṛmi gal l-eh “waš εend-ek?”,
gal l-eh “εend-i ğlem”, wella ɾ-ɾuḷ **ɾar l-baš hah**, lqa l-ğaši ‘baε baε’. šafu-h sektu,
hadak le-εma ma šaf-ah š, bqa ‘baε baε’, gal l-eh: “hewwed l-baṭwaɾ neddebḥ-
ek”.

Translation

One man loaded some people in a pick-up truck with a tarp-covered back . He told them: “When you approach the gendarmerie, you must say ‘Baa, Baa!’”. There was a blind man riding with them. So, they arrived to the gendarmerie, (when) they arrived to the gendarmerie, he told them: “Say ‘Baa,’ we arrived to the gendarmerie”. They kept on, ‘Baa, Baa’. An officer came and said to him: “What do you have?” He answered him: “I have sheep.” He (the officer) went around to the back, he lifted the tarp, he found the people there saying ‘Baa, Baa’. They saw him and they shut up. That blind man did not see him, he kept on ‘Baa, Baa’. He (the officer) said to him: “Come down to the slaughter-house, I will slaughter you!”

Fairy-tale *Handa Umm Lehnud*

Recording

https://www.dropbox.com/s/4ortv44w4ry5fty/EMA_Eastern_Moroccan_Arabic_story.mp3?dl=0

<https://on.soundcloud.com/ZHrDA> = <https://soundcloud.com/jenia-art/handa>

A fairy-tale in Eastern Moroccan Arabic (Darija) about Handa Umm Lehnud and jealous co-wives recorded in Ain Bni Mathar (Jerada province) in November 2011. A female speaker, ca. 70 years old, Bni Gil tribe.

Transcription

- iwa ġnni!
- ʔhay ʔhay a l-bi la ʔakli la tʃerbi
- iyeh
- guli-ha nʔiya!

gal-lek Handa eehh waħd eɾ-ɾaʒel eǎndu ʔiʔ n-nhaʔ¹, ʔiʔ n-nsaʔ, bħal ntiya, ana, hadi,² fhǎmʔi. iwa u eǎndu duk ʔiʔ n-nsa, ʒuʒ ma ywǔldu š, wǎħda wǔldet, ʒabt wǔld. ġaru men-ha.³ ġaru mn-ha bzzaf. Iwa naɖ u gal-līk kʔalu-lha,⁴ galu-lha duk n-nsa, galu-lha: ħna druk ɾ-ɾaʒel ġadi iʔɾɾd-na. a sidi, iʔɾɾd-na. galet-lihum waħd l-eeʒuʒ “debbɾu ki ddiru l-had l-weld tex(x?)ǎwnu-h”.

Commented [JG1]: Geminated?

xellaw-ha ħtta mša l-s-suq ebɸwa-h⁵ u xǎwnu-h li-ha. geʔteu-lih had š-šbie, u wekklu-h-liha ε[la] šniyfah-ha u galu-lha: “ɾa-ki kliti-h”. ayyīh.

mnin ʒa ɾ-ɾaʒel gal-liha: “weyn weld-i?”; gat-lih ehh galu-lih n-nsa, neʔqu-lih, galu-lih: “ha klat-ǎh”. nuɖ ʃewwǎʔ-ha. ɖɾb-ha ɖɾb-ha... b-l-εmud. u gal-li...

Commented [JG2]: Not sure if this is continuation of the direct quotation: “nuɖ ʃewwǎʔ-ha” (imperative: “Go and whip her”) or past (he went and wept her)?

¹ A slip of the tongue? A glottal stop after *nhaʔ/ nsaʔ* (but not later in the story).

² ‘Like you (F.SG), I, and this one/she’ (demonstrative pronoun), i.e. ‘like the three of us’.

³ Strong creaky voice.

⁴ *kʔalu-lha* < *galu-lha*: /g/ is assimilated to the preceding /k/.

⁵ “Wrong” word order according to my informant, but this is what the speaker says. “Correct”: *xellaw-ha ħtta mša ebɸwa-h l-s-suq*.

nuḍ žib waḥed ehh waḥd en-naga šaaarfa, dbeḥ^ḥa u lebbes-ha l-emlex,
lebbes-ha l-emlex, u gal-liha “tserḥi l-bel”. dgul-liha:

ṭhay ṭhay a l-bel eṭhay
la ṭak^li la ṭšerbi
u ma tseṭni (təṭni) ġir d-demmm
w ana Handa mm^wa l-ehnud (l-āhnud)
lebbasṭ eḥ-žlud
wekkalt wliid-ha

aaayyāh.

geād gal ya sidi: hada ma... serḥt⁶ l-bel, ddi... **mnin** dži l-dik l-eṣṣiṣa, rayḥa...⁷ l-
weld dyal-ha kber wella ražel, g^wed yerkeb eāl l-xil eh. mṛebbya-h dik l-eṣṣuḥ.
ža w geād yelēāb l-kuṛa meā d-drari, yelēāb menna menna ééh ṭaḥ. ééh galu-lih:
“ukan ma žat l-fayda⁸ gaṣ maṛma-k ra-ha ṭse ehh ṭsreḥ l-bel u ṭe... ṭe... u labsa
l-mlex”.

smāḥ^ḥa (smāḥ-ha), gal.. eh gal-liha: “ana ki šari le-mṛm^wa lli ha t.. ṭserḥ el-bel u
t... u labsa l-emlāx”. mša l-dik lli mṛebbya-h, gal-liha:

“mṛm^wa, diri-li l-ḥrira ṛi-ni mžžuṣ. ahh diri-li l-ḥrira”. gallek “a **derk**”, gal-liha: “ana
diri-li l-**xdima** l-kbira u wežždi-li l-ḥenna, fi-ṭ-ṭebši. mnin twežždi l-ḥenna eāyyiṭi l-
xalt-i flana. eāyyiṭi-li l-xalt-i flana”. “a wliid-i **liyah** hadi xalt-ek flana?” “iwa **ha**-ni
ngul-lek eāyyiṭi-li-liha”. eāyyiṭet-lih.

gat-lih “a wliid-i ma-lek **ta ttgāreb-ha**?”⁹ ta gal-liha: “**eāmmi-ti ra-ha ššūrṛa**
ṭayra-li.” gat-lih (gaṣ) **klam msaggad** gal, šedd-ha be-l-lidin, gal-liha, “guli-li ki
šari le-mṛm^w-ek?”¹⁰. gat-lih: “a wliid-i, nta ra-h... eāndu... bḥ^wa-k eāndu rezq-u u
kull ši”. gat-lih: “**ġaru mennek n-nsa, žabt, nta dak l-weld**,¹¹ u... w en-nsa

⁶ Sounds like *šerḥt*, but must be with /s/ (cf. elsewhere in the story). The speaker tends to pronounce /s/ as /š/ in some instances (see further: *mšagad*).

⁷ Unfinished sentence.

⁸ Also possible: *ukan ma žatš fik l-fayda*.

⁹ 6th stem?

¹⁰ ‘Your mother’ for ‘my mother’.

¹¹ The syntax of this sentence is somewhat awkward.

xāwnu-h u ɣ̣aw-ih l-hadik l-mra ɛrbbat-ek. gal-lha: “**hakka** tguli”. min¹² gat-lih dak š-ši u gal ɬa-lha yeddi-ha b-l-ḥānna u gal-liha: “ruḥi”. iwa huwa rkeb ɛla ɛewd-āh u gēed maši maši maši. gal-lek l-bel tesreḥ hadik **Handa**. dgul-lha:

ṭhay ṭhay a l-bel ṭhay
la takʷli la tšerbi
u ma **təetni (təātni)** ġir **ed**-dem
w ana **Handa** mmʷa **l-ehnud (l-āhnud)**
lebbasṭ ež-žlud
wkkalṭ wlid-ha

aaaa wdi.

a galt u ismeḥʰa izid ɛāliha w gal-liha: “a xalt-i, a kifaš lli ɾa-ki sarḥa l-bl u ki šari bik.” huwa weld-ha. ža-ha ɛla ɬrig ūxra, ža-ha ɛla ɬrig ūxra. gat-lh: “a wlidi: ana **f dīnʰti /dənyti/** žebt weld u xewnu-h-li u geṭṭeu-lih šbāɛ-u u ɛāndu gārṇ **ūd**-dheb u **iwa zaɛma (ha)di** dheb.¹³ gal-liha, u gal-liha “ukan yži-k l-yum, tāɛɛārfi-h?”, gat-lh: “a wlid-i nāɛɛārf-āh”. iwa ɛārṛa-liha ɾaš-**āh**, u ɛārfat-āh. gat-lih: “nta wld-i”. werra-ha ydd-āh. **hakka gat-lih**: “weld-i.” iwa gal-liha: “šufi nti ruḥi ddi l-bel tsserḥi-ha u ɾewwḥi l-ɛšiš-ek w ana ġadi nemši l-s-suq u nžib-lk l-kswa u nddi ṛṛṛwa”. u hadak ma dar. mša le-s-suq u hiyya **ḥāwwšet ibel-ha. ɛāgglet**¹⁴-ha u huwa ža l-fars daxel...

ža **mɛɛmmed** l dik l-ɛɛšiša. gal li-hum “nesxūn mɛa **dak le-žeyyež**.”¹⁵ ža bbwa-h hadak huwa gal-lek dak ɾ-ɾažel ma ɛarfeh š, bbwa-h. gal-**lāh**: “a wlidi lli žit l... štt a... **Handa Ūmm Lehnud** ki šari-lik u xelliti l-xāyima u lfraš u l-buṭat u... **tay**”. gal-lih: “lla lla a sidi, ana **dik l-ɛɛšiša yasra**¹⁶ **ɛliya ha ntaɛ**¹⁷ **Hānda**”. gal-lh: “walu, ma-nemši-š **ihna ngweedu** u žabu tay”. gal-ek: “qumu”. gal-lek ɛad išerb u iwa u

Commented [JG3]: atay?

¹² Maybe labialized *mʷin* or following *u*: *u min (w min)*.

¹³ In Morocco (in North Africa, in general), children wear a golden horn as amulets for protection, to keep away evil spirits. (Can be also a sign/drawing on forehead?)

¹⁴ **ɛāgg**: special cord used to tie camel's legs so that the camel does not walk away.

¹⁵ What is *le-žeyyež*? PL of ‘old lady’? Why *dak* (SG) and not *duk* (PL)?

¹⁶ PTC form of the verb ‘to be sufficient, enough’ (not to be confused with *yešra* ‘to happen’).

¹⁷ F form (*ntaɛt*), M *ntaɛ* (PL -?).

gal-leh: “tfarraḡ le... l-Hānda, l-kas”. a gal-lāh: “temši lhih l-eššet-ha l-xāyima u tšerb mēa n-nsa”.

gal-lāh “lla, ila ma t(e)šreb š mēa-na rfeḍ eli-na šāyneyt-ek”. ādda šāynit-āh (eṭa...ehh), fātṭru, šerbu tay, ža... žab... žab le-eša (l-āeša) tani; mnin žab le-eša, gal-lek dar-lāh le-eša, xfiy; dar-lāh dak le-eša xfiy. derk... (ra ntellef-ha); dar-lāh dak le-eša xfiy, u tēāšša, gal-lāh “zid Handa mēa-na takūl”, gal-lāh “lla, ma takūl š, temši l-xāyima”, gal-lāh “ila ma takūl š mēa-na, rfeḍ eli-na zlaft-ek”, iwa tēāššat mēa-hum. iwa gal-lek tēāššaw, geššru dak lli geššru. u gal-lāh “a sidi, etini waḥd l-ḡallay ntae hada, tae l-ma baš netweḡḡa nšālli”. u raḥ žayeb eawd-āh, u žayeb l-keswa l-mm^w-āh baš yeddi-ha; iwa dak gaε ma eānd-u xbār, gal-liha “a Handa, (a) ruḥi, žibi-lāh ḡallay ntae ma u šbāḥ ḥmi-h baš yetweḡḡa”; iwa gal-lek žabt-lāh dak l-ḡallay, huwa mša gal-lek yergūd f xāyyemt-āh¹⁸; u gal-liha “šufi ruḥi l-xalfa, xewni-li¹⁹ garba dya l-ma u rwaḥi”; xāwnet dik l-garba ntae l-ma u žabt-ha u bayati²⁰, yaḥmi l-ma, u yeḡsel li-ha²¹ u yeglāe li-ha le-mlex, fhāmti, ay yeglāe li-ha u lebbes-ha; min ža le-fžer talāe rekkeb mm^w-āh u dda-ha u mša lāhna lāhna...

Commented [JG4]: is there bga (bga? < bqa?) here?

ža mul ehḥ er-rzūḡ u mul š-ši, gal-lihum “ara-ha Handa gaε ma naḡet š i tsreḥ l-bel, ki šari bi-ha?”, gal-lāh “a wddi ra-ha ha ragda wella ma nēār”, gal l-mwalin (l)-āḡlem “ḡāwwār eli-ha”, ma lga-ha š, lga ḡi(r) mudāe-ha, gal l-mwalin l-āḡlem “Handa ma ra-ha š hna”; galu-lāh “ma šeft š l-fars lli mša eāl le-fžer?”, gal-lhum “a wddi raḥna ma fāqra š bi-h, be-lḥāḡ mel (<men) l-bāeḍ raḥ-na šefna-ha mrkkaba ḥiyya u raḥa mbāyyḡa”; iwa mša, yerkeb el eāwd-āh, yegbeḡ ž-žerra lāhna lāhna lāhna ḥetta l-dik l-xāyima lli mša-lha, l xāyyemt lli mṛebbiya-h,²² iwa min šenneṭ eli-ha šenneṭ eāl ehḥ xāyima ūxra; gal-lek bayet temma mgeššer

¹⁸ y in xāyyemt- is doubled because it is followed by a vowel of āh (syllabification: to keep the syllable structure). This phenomenon is frequent in verbs (e.g. tēzrrfāh?), but also in nouns (baggrāh), and is common in Western Algeria and Eastern Morocco. (Might be interesting to check with minimal pairs... garba/garba...).

¹⁹ Same verb as we had before ('to steal') or not?

²⁰ Why with -i?

²¹ li-ha ('for her, of her') here designates partial involvement of secondary object, i.e. the son was washing part of her body (feet?).

²² xāyyemt (status constructus) followed by lli (REL): unusual (usual is: ntae, dya and not lli) > check/ elicit with rel. clauses.

məa-hum **yeddürzu**²³ **yehhädru**,²⁴ gal menna gal menna... gal-lihum “a wddi, ana, had l-fars ra-ni gbeṭṭ-läh ž-žerra u ɾah **xawel-li**,²⁵ Handa”; galu-läh “waš eli-k? hadik weld-ha”; iiiwa gal-lek mša ya sidi... (dak l-fa[rs]...) bb^wa-h mša, mša, žab gal-lek ž-žmaəa žab ehh žab kebš-**u**,²⁶ u dbeḥ el weld-äh, baš iredd-äh l-xäyyemt-äh, iwa **rdd** weld-äh, dda u gaɛ l dik mrbbiya-h, u **rdd** mm^wa-h u dda mm^wa-h, iwa mša, dda weld-äh, iwa gəäd ya sidi gəäd u gal-lek: “**nerḥlu**”,²⁷ uma n-nsa lli daru-liha dik q-ɟerba galu-lha “waš eli-k, hadi n... hada ɾa-h weld-ha u ɾa-h žab-ha, li... **lilt-na ḥna weḥḥäd-ha**”; hadu n-nsa lli ɟäbbu-lha²⁸ dak š-ši, iwa gal-lek reḥlu; reḥlu, dar-liha **leäṭṭuš**, dar-liha le-ɾašat, **lḥašul xännät-ha**,²⁹ iwa gal-lek en-nsa lli... lli ɟebbɾu eli-h dar-lihum waḥed ezzuž **bakraaaat**³⁰ waɛrin, iwa ḥzem kul weḥda men k^wraɛ³¹ weḥda men k^wraɛ... iwa dik l-... bekrat mašyeeen mašiyin mašiyin, yežriw **ettgetṭeu**,³² iwa hadi hiyya, aywa.

Translation

- (So) sing!
- Pasture, pasture oh camels, don't eat, don't drink...
- yes (right)
- You tell it!

A So (it is about) Handa. (Once upon a time) there was a man, he had three wives, like you, me, and this one, you see. So he had those three wives, two (of them) didn't bear children, but one gave birth, she brought forth a boy. (And) they were jealous of her; they were very jealous of her. Now, those women rose up and said to her: “Now our husband will kick us out, indeed, he'll kick us out”. An old woman said to them: “Think about what you should do to this boy, to steal him.”

²³ ‘to have a conversation’? (cf. *geššru*?)

²⁴ **yehhädru** (*hh*) or *ihaḍru* (*h*)? (Depends on the stem of the verb: 1st?...)

²⁵ < **xawen-li** (assimilation). Participle.

²⁶ Why -u here (‘his’?), and why not -äh (as elsewhere in the story?).

²⁷ No doubling of consonants. Meaning: ‘move tents’ (only in nomadic context?).

²⁸ here (unusual): *lha*, not *liha*.

²⁹ Expected: *xännet*, but text has: *xännät*.

³⁰ *bakrat* (with *k*): unusual (expected: *bagra*); a nomadic dialect? (cows are not found in nomadic context > *bagra* is a rural word).

³¹ Labiovelarization in *k^wraɛ* (not standard in Western Moroccan Arabic).

³² **PASS form**. Check double **#** (check SG form).

They waited until his father went to the market, and they stole him from her.
They cut from him this (little) finger, and they let her eat it, they put it on her lips.
They said to her: "You've just eaten him." That's right.

When the husband came, he said to her: "Where is my son?" (He said... eh...)
They said to him, they confessed to him, they said to him: "She has just eaten him." He went and whipped her. He beat her; he beat her with a wooden stick.

And then he went and brought a very old camel. He slaughtered it and he dressed her in leather sandals. He dressed her in leather sandals and he said to her: "(Now) you must herd camels". She sang to them:

Pasture, pasture oh camels,
Don't eat, don't drink,
(Otherwise) you will pee blood,
And I am Handa, mother of Handas (Indians)³³
The one wearing leather
who ate her child.

That's right.

And so (the story goes), she herds camels, and when she comes to that tent, **she keeps going**; this son of hers grew up, became a man, and started riding a horse. This old woman raised him.

Once he was playing football with the boys. He was playing here and there and he fell; **they** said to him: "If there were any use in you at all, your mother wouldn't be herding camels and wearing leather sandals." He heard **it** and said:³⁴ "How did it happen to my mother, that she herds camels and wears leather sandals?" He went to the one who brought him up, and he said to her:

³³ Kind of play on words? Name of the woman: *Handa*; Indians = *lāhnud*.

³⁴ From other fairy tales, we know that the boy addresses his question to an old lady (Kossmann). Here, the speaker has omitted a passage from the story. In that passage, the boy plays football, and the ball breaks the window of an old lady's house. Then the old lady speaks to him ('If there were any use in you at all,...') although here the speaker clearly says *galu-lāh* ('they said to him').

"Mother, make for me *harira* (soup), I am hungry, ah, make *harira* for me." He said: "Now!" He said to her: "Make a big pot (with *harira*) for me and prepare *henna* for me, in a plate. When you have prepared henna, call aunty so-and-so for me, call aunty so-and-so for me." [She said:] "O my son, why (do you need) that aunty so-and-so?" He said to her: "I am saying to you, call her for me." She called her for him.

She (the aunty) said to him: "O my son, what's wrong?" He said to her: "I am sick". She spoke open and honest words to him. He caught her by her hands, he said to her: "Tell me, what happened to my mother?" She said to him: "Oh my child, your father had money and everything." She said to him: "The other wives were jealous about you, you are that boy, and... the wives stole him. They gave you to that woman and she raised you." He said: "Oh, I see!" When she said those words to him, he painted her hands with henna and said to her: "Go on home." Then he rode his horse and kept walking, walking, walking...

Meanwhile this Handa is herding camels. She sings to them:

Pasture, pasture oh camels,
Don't eat, don't drink,
(Otherwise) you will pee blood,
And I am Handa, mother of Handas (Indians)
The one wearing leather
who ate her child.

Like this.

She said (was singing) and he heard her; he came up to her, and he said to her: "Aunty, how did you become a camel shepherd, how did it happen to you?" (And he is her son!)

He came to her another way (i.e. she does not know that he is her son). She said to him: "Oh my boy, I gave birth to a son, and they stole him from me, and they cut his finger. (And) he has a golden horn, a horn like this." He said to her: "If he comes to you one day, will you recognise him?" She said to him: "Oh my child, I will [recognise him]." So he opened (showed) his face to her, and she recognised him. She said to him: "You are my son." He showed her his hand

Commented [JG5]: Original text reads 'your mother' but in English translation it is clearer to have 'my mother'. Right?

Commented [JG6]: Ok?

(i.e. the cut finger). She said: "My son." And he said to her: "Look, go and take the camels, herd them, and return to your tent, and I will go to the market, bring clothes for you and I will take you as my mother". And so he did. He went to the market and she drove her camels home; she tied the legs of the camels (so that they did not escape). The rider (her son) came entering.

He came **directly** to that small tent. He said (to them): "I will make fire with these old women" His father came, [but] he did not know that he was his father. He said to him: "My boy, (why) did you come to the tent of Handa 'Mother of Indians'; how did it happen to you that you left your tent and bed and blankets and tea?" He said to him: "No, no, oh Sir, that (small) tent is enough for me, this (tent) of Handa." He said to him: "I will not go, we will stay here." (And) they brought tea; he said: "Pour/Make me some teal", and he drank, and he said to him: "Fill for Handa a cup ." He said to her, "Go (over) there to that tent and drink with the women."

He said: "No, if she doesn't drink with us, then take your tea-tray away from us". He took his tray. They had breakfast, drank tea, he brought ... he brought **even** dinner also. After he brought dinner, he made for him a light dinner; he made for him this light dinner. (Now, I'm about to mix it up...) He made for him this light dinner, and he had dinner. He said to her: "**Come** Handa, eat with us". He said to her: "No, don't eat [with us], go to the tent". He (the son) said: "If she doesn't eat with us, take your bowl away from us. So she ate with them. And so they ate, and they stayed up talking. And he (the father) said: "Give me a kettle of *this*, of water, so that I can make ablution in order to pray." He brought his horse, he brought clothes for his mother so that **he'd take her**. Meanwhile this one (the father) does not know [what is going on]. He said to her: "Handa, go and bring him a kettle with water, and in the morning make it warm for him so that he washes". And so she brought for him this kettle, and he (the son) went to sleep in his tent, and he said to her: "Look, go to that part of the tent (*khalfa*), **snitch** for me the **skin** (*garba*) of water and come back." She snitched this **skin**(?) of water and she brought it to to his room. He heated the water. He kept washing [feet] for/of his mother, he took for her the leather sandals, you understand, and he took [them] for her and he dressed her up. At the break of dawn, he put his mother on the horse and took her and left (there and there...).

Commented [JG7]: If 'tani' means 'even' here....

Commented [JG8]: Note sure.
Bach idi-ha?
Dress her properly? Take her (away? Or as his mother?)

Then the homeowner, the master of the place, came and said to them: "Look here, Handa did not get up, she must herd camels, what happened to her?" He said: "She is sleeping, or I don't know". He said to the owners of the **livestock**³⁵: "Search for her". He did not find her, he found only her place. He said to the owners of the **livestock** "We didn't get up, but we saw him from a distance, riding a horse, and someone white behind him".

And so he (the father) went, he mounted his horse, and he followed the footsteps/ tracks (there and there), until he reached that tent where he (the son) had gone, the tent of the old woman who had raised him. And he **listened** to this tent and he listened to the other tent, and he lodged there and stayed up discussing with them. They talked with them about this and that, and he (the father) said to them: "I found the footsteps of this rider, and he **stole** Handa from me". They said to him: "What's wrong with you? He's her son!"

And sooo he went, the father went, he went, and he brought a group of people, he brought **his** ram, and he slaughtered it in honour of his son, in order to return him to his tent, and he brought his son back (or 'he reinstated his son?'), and he brought all those, the one who had raised the child, and he brought back his mother and took his mother, and he went and took his son, and so he said: "We will move", but the women that had done that blow to her, that caused this unhappiness/ made evil, they said: "What now, this **is** her son, and he (**had gone** and) brought her... our night is alone (i.e. we have only one last night)." Those [are the] women which did those things to her.

So they (the family) moved. They moved, he prepared for her (mother) a **palanquin**, he made the furnishings for her, in short he spoiled her! (Did everything to make her happy).

And those women who had plotted evil against him, he brought two strong cows for them, and he tied each of them to their legs; the cows went and went and went... they ran, and the women were torn apart. And that's the end of the story, that's it.

³⁵ *Leğlem/lăğlem* normally means 'small livestock' (i.e. sheep and goats, but not cows).

Snow-White

Recorded in 2011 in Ain Beni Mathar.

Recording https://soundcloud.com/jenia-art/snow_white

Transcription

hadi wahed le-mra zman, žabet sebæa... sabæa (n)taæ le-wlad, u žabet bent, u-dik l-bent zina bezzayaf, u bqat le-mra tsawwel š-šams, tgul-ha a lalla εayn š-šams šbaḥ l-xir. tgul-ha šbaḥ l-xir a lalla εayn š-šams, tgul-ha škun lli zina? tgul ha ana zina u nti zina we-l-bent lli f lwgmaṭa xayr menni w-mennek. εawd tani la ġedda **lit** katlemmed dik le-bniyya, katlemmed dik le-bniyya kaddirha f... f mżiht t-ṭṭin – ddesha. we tgul a lalla šbaḥ l-xir a lalla εayn š-šams, škun lli zina? tgul ha ana zina u nti zina wella raki dayraha f t-ṭṭin ga xayr menni u mennek.

Commented [JG9]: ?

εawd tani la ġedda lih tani ddesha tani ddirha f leḥṭab, ddesha, we tgul a lalla εayn š-šams, škun lli zina? tgul ha ana zina u nti zina we-lli f mżiht le-ḥṭab xayr menni w mennek.

waḥeḍ n-nhar kanu mašin irahlu, dda bbaha le-ġlem, u dda r-raṣi le-ġnem u-dda kulši u-žemεu, ki-smitha, žemεu le-fraš u žemεu kulši w-mša[w]. lemmdet bent-ha ḥaṭṭetha u-lemmdet waḥed el-mehraz; xellat bent-ha u-ddat el-mehraz, men mšaw bnat l-xayma u-šawbet-ha u-hadi daru ma yaklu, galet er-ražel-ha flana ana benti ga ma zeggatš? hiyya min mšat bḥal hakka tšuf-ha gatliha yah rah l-εabd εṭa lemmed le-mehraz refda u-xella benti, bbwaha yežri fug l-εawd bbwaha yežri w-hiyya težri, bbwaha yežri w-hiyya težri, l-waqt elli wšel l-mudeε fin xellaw l-bent, l-ġula žat hezzet l-bent u-mšat, šafi r-ražel min wella **le**, εemlet li-ha mmha, min ražel-ha wella l-εand mha, gal-ha a weddi rah ddat-ha l-ġula, daret ras-ha tebki w-hadi, waḥed en-nhar gat-ha a lalla εayn š-šams šbaḥ l-xir, gatliha šbaḥ l-xir, gatliha a lalla εayn š-šems škun lli zina? ana zina u-nti zina lli ddatha mma l-ġula xir menni w mennek. bqat bḥal hakkak bqa hakkak waḥed weld εamm-ha kan sgir yelεab, l-bent kebret u-hadi u-bqat εand l-ġula, tṭayyebi-ha u-hadi tbellee li-ha u temši. bqa waḥed n-nhar weld εamm-ha yelεab bḥal hakka mša ġi mżiht le-xyam yelεab yelεab bḥal hakka l-kura u-hiyya gatliha dik

le-mra šibaniyya kbira, gatl-ha lukan ntaya ražel temši tžib bent εammek l-hna
εand l-ğula? bqa lahi yšuf išuf mša εand ummha gal-ha kifaš zeema ha waš
gatli xalti flana, gatleh wah raha bent εammek ddat-ha l-ğula xellat-ha mmha ma
mgammṭa u-gammṭet el-mehraz kanet ġayra men bent-ha mεa zina ddat el-
mehraz u-xellat ki-ygullah, gal-ha huwwa ġadi nemši nžib bent εammi,

(...)

Translation

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