**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, ṣaṛža waḥed n-nas f waḥed l… l… l-bikup, bašiya, gal l-hŭm “min tqeṛṛbu l-žadaṛmiya gulu: ‘baɛ baɛ’”. W-rakeb mɛa-hŭm waḥed le-ɛma; l-muhimm, wŭṣlu l-žadaṛmiya; wŭṣlu l-žadaṛmiya, gal l-hŭm: “gulu ‘*baɛ*’, ṛa-na wṣelna ž-žadaṛmiya”, bqaw ‘*baɛ baɛ*’... ža ž-žadaṛmi gal l-eh “waš ɛend-ek?”, gal l-eh “ɛend-i ġlem”, wella ṛ-ṛuḷ ḍar l-baš hah, lqa l-ġaši ‘*baɛ baɛ*’. šafu-h sektu, hadak le-ɛma ma šaf-ah š, bqa ‘*baɛ baɛ*’, gal l-eh: “hewwed l-baṭwaṛ 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*](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!

- țhay țhay a l-bl la țakli la tšerbi

- iyyeh

- guli-ha nțiya!

gal-lek Handa eehh waḥd eṛ-ṛažel ɛăndu țlț *n-nhaɁ*[[1]](#footnote-1), țlț n-nsaɁ, bḥal ntiya, ana, hadi,[[2]](#footnote-2) fhămți. iwa u ɛăndu duk țlț n-nsa, žuž ma ywŭldu š, wăḥda wŭldet, žabt wŭld. ġaru men-ha.[[3]](#footnote-3) ġaru mn-ha bzzaf. Iwa naḍ u gal-lĭk kʸalu-lha,[[4]](#footnote-4) galu-lha duk n-nsa, galu-lha: ḥna druk ṛ-ṛažel ġadi iṭṛṛḍ-na. a sidi, iṭṛṛḍ-na. galet-lihum waḥd l-eɛžuž “ḍebbṛu ki ddiru l-had l-weld tex(x?)ăwnu-h”.

xellaw-ha ḥtta mša l-s-suq eḅḅʷa-h[[5]](#footnote-5) u xăwnu-h li-ha. geṭṭɛu-lih had ṣ-ṣbiɛ, u wekklu-h-liha ɛ[la] šniyfat-ha u galu-lha: “ṛa-ki kliti-h”. ayyĭh.

mnin ža ṛ-ṛažel gal-liha: “weyn weld-i?”; gat-lih ehh galu-lih n-nsa, neṭqu-lih, galu-lih: “ha klat-ăh”. nuḍ ṣewwăṭ-ha. ḍrb-ha ḍrb-ha... b-l-ɛmud. u gal-li…

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:

țhay țhay a l-bel ețhay

la țakʷli la țšerbi

u ma tɛeṭni (tɛăṭni) ġir d-demm

w ana Handa mmʷa l-ehnud (l-ăhnud)

lebbasț ež-žlud

wekkalț wlid-ha

aaayyăh.

gɛăd gal ya sidi: hada ma... serḥt[[6]](#footnote-6) l-bel, ddi... **mnin** dži l-dik l-eɛšiša, rayḥa...[[7]](#footnote-7) l-weld dyal-ha kber wella ṛažel, gʷɛed yerkeb ɛăl l-xil eh. mṛebbya-h dik l-eɛžuž. ža w gɛăd yelɛăb l-kuṛa mɛa d-drari, yelɛăb menna menna ééh ṭaḥ. ééh galu-lih: “ukan ma žat l-fayda[[8]](#footnote-8) gaɛ maṃṃa-k ṛa-ha țse ehh țsreḥ l-bel u țe… țe… u labsa l-mlex”.

smăḥ^ḥa (smăɛ-ha), gal.. eh gal-liha: “ana ki ṣari le-ṃṃʷa lli ha t.. țserḥ el-bel u t... u labsa l-emlăx”. mša l-dik lli mṛebbya-h, gal-liha:

“ṃṃwa, diri-li l-ḥrira ṛi-ni mžžuɛ. ahh diri-li l-ḥrira”. gallek “a derk”, gal-liha: “ana diri-li l-xdima l-kbira u wežždi-li l-ḥenna, fi-ṭ-ṭebṣi. mnin twežždi l-ḥenna ɛăyyṭi l-xalt-i flana. ɛăyyṭi-li l-xalt-i flana”. “a wlid-i liyah hadi xalt-ek flana?” “iwa ha-ni ngul-lek ɛăyyṭi-li-liha”. ɛăyyṭet-lih.

gat-lih “a wlid-i ma-lek tta ttgăreb-ha?”[[9]](#footnote-9) *ta* gal-liha: “ɛămmt-i ṛa-ha ṣṣŭṛṛa ṭayra-li.” gat-lih (gaɛ) klam msaggad gal, šedd-ha be-l-lidin, gal-liha, “guli-li ki ṣari le-ṃṃʷ-ek?”[[10]](#footnote-10). gat-lih: “a wlid-i, nta ṛa-h... ɛăndu... ḅḅʷa-k ɛăndu rezq-u u kull ši”. gat-lih: “ġaru mennek n-nsa, žabt, nta dak l-weld,[[11]](#footnote-11) u… w en-nsa xăwnu-h u ɛṭaw-ih l-hadik l-mra eṛbbat-ek. gal-lha: “hakka tguli”. min[[12]](#footnote-12) gat-lih dak š-ši u gal ṭla-lha yeddi-ha b-l-ḥănna u gal-liha: “ṛuḥi”. iwa huwa rkeb ɛla ɛewd-ăh u gɛed maši maši maši. gal-lek l-bel tesreḥ hadik Handa. dgul-lha:

țhay țhay a l-bel țhay

la takʷli la tšerbi

u ma tɛeṭni (tɛăṭni) ġir ed-demm

w ana Handa mmʷa l-ehnud (l-ăhnud)

lebbasț ež-žlud

wkkalț wlid-ha

aaaa wdi.

a galt u ismeḥ^ḥa izid ɛăliha w gal-liha: “a xalt-i, a kifaš lli ṛa-ki sarḥa l-bl u ki ṣari bik.” huwa weld-ha. ža-ha ɛla ṭrig ŭxra, ža-ha ɛla ṭrig ŭxra. gat-lh: “a wlidi: ana f dĭnyti /dənyti/ žebt weld u xewnu-h-li u geṭṭɛu-lih ṣbăɛ-u u ɛăndu găṛn ŭd-dheb u iwa zaɛma (ha)di dheb.[[13]](#footnote-13) gal-liha, u gal-liha “ukan yži-k l-yum, tăɛɛărfi-h?”, gat-lh: “a wlid-i năɛɛărf-ăh”. iwa ɛăṛṛa-liha ṛaṣ-ăh, u ɛărfat-ăh. gat-lih: “nta wld-i”. werra-ha ydd-ăh. hakka gat-lih: “weld-i.”iwa gal-liha: “šufi nti ṛuḥi ddi l-bel tsserḥi-ha u ṛewwḥi l-ɛšišt-ek w ana ġadi nemši l-s-suq u nžib-lk l-kswa u nddi ṃṃwa”. u hadak ma dar. mša le-s-suq u hiyya ḥăwwšet ibel-ha. ɛăgglet[[14]](#footnote-14)-ha u huwa ža l-fars daxel...

ža mɛemmed l dik l-eɛšiša. gal li-hum “nesxŭn mɛa dak le-žeyyež.[[15]](#footnote-15) ža bbwa-h hadak huwa gal-lek dak ṛ-ṛažel ma ɛarfeh š, bbwa-h. gal-lăh: “a wlidi lli žit l… štt a… Handa Ŭmm Lehnud ki ṣari-lik u xelliti l-xăyma u lfṛaš u l-buṭat u… tay”. gal-lih: “lla lla a sidi, ana dik l-eɛšiša yasra[[16]](#footnote-16) ɛliya ha ntaɛt[[17]](#footnote-17) Hănda”. gal-lh: “walu, ma-nemši-š ihna ngʷeɛdu u žabu tay”. gal-ek: “qumu”. gal-lek ɛad išerb u iwa u gal-leh: “tfarraġle... l-Hănda, l-kas”. a gal-lăh: “temši lhih l-ɛeššet-ha l-xăyma u tšerb mɛa n-nsa”.

gal-lăh “lla, ila ma t(~~e~~)šreb š mɛa-na rfed ɛli-na ṣăyneyt-ek”. ădda ṣăynit-ăh (ɛṭa...ehh), făṭṭṛu, šerbu tay, ža... žab... žab le-ɛša (l-ăɛša) tani; mnin žab le-ɛša, gal-lek dar-lăh le-ɛša, xfiy; dar-lăh dak le-ɛša xfiy. derk... (ra ntellef-ha); dar-lăh dak le-ɛša xfiy, u tɛăšša, gal-lăh “zid Handa mɛa-na takŭl”, gal-lăh “lla, ma takŭl š, temši l-xăyma”, gal-lăh “ila ma takŭl š mɛa-na, rfed ɛli-na zlaft-ek”, iwa tɛăššat mɛa-hum. iwa gal-lek tɛaššaw, geṣṣru dak lli geṣṣru. u gal-lăh “a sidi, ɛtini waḥd l-ġallay ntaɛ hada, taɛ l-ma baš netweḍḍa nṣălli”. u ṛah žayeb ɛawd-ăh, u žayeb l-keswa l-mmw-ăh baš yeddi-ha; iwa dak gaɛ ma ɛănd-u xbăṛ, gal-liha “a Handa, (a) ruḥi, žibi-lăh ġăllay ntaɛ ma u ṣbăḥ ḥmi-h baš yetweḍḍa”; iwa gal-lek žabt-lăh dak l-ġăllay, huwa mša gal-lek yergŭd f xăyyemt-ăh[[18]](#footnote-18); u gal-liha “šufi ruḥi l-xalfa, xewni-li[[19]](#footnote-19) garba dyal l-ma u rwaḥi”; xăwnet dik l-garba ntaɛ l-ma u žabt-ha u bayati[[20]](#footnote-20), yaḥmi l-ma, u yeġsel li-ha[[21]](#footnote-21) u yeglăɛ li-ha le-mlex, fhămti, ay yeglăɛ li-ha u lebbes-ha; min ža le-fžer talăɛ rekkeb mmw-ăh u dda-ha u mša lăhna lăhna...

ža mul ehh er-rzŭq u mul š-ši, gal-lihum “ara-ha Handa gaɛ ma naḍet š i tsreḥ l-bel, ki ṣari bi-ha?”, gal-lăh “a wddi ra-ha ha ragda wella ma nɛărf”, gal l-mwalin (l)-ăġlem “ḍăwwăr ɛli-ha”, ma lga-ha š, lga ġi(r) mudăɛ-ha, gal l-mwalin l-ăġlem “Handa ma ra-ha š hna”; galu-lăh “ma šeft š l-fars lli mša ɛăl le-fžer?”, gal-lhum “a wddi raḥna ma făqra š bi-h, be-lḥăg mel (<men) l-băɛd raḥ-na šefna-ha mrkkaba ḥiyya u ṛaḥa mbăyyḍa”; iwa mša, yerkeb ɛl ɛăwd-ăh, yegbeḍ ž-žerra lăhna lăhna lăhna ḥetta l-dik l-xăyma lli mša-lha, l xăyyemt lli mṛebbiya-h,[[22]](#footnote-22) iwa min ṣenneṭ ɛli-ha ṣenneṭ ɛăl ehh xăyma ŭxṛa; gal-lek bayet temma mgeṣṣeṛ mɛa-hum yeddŭrzu[[23]](#footnote-23) yehhăḍru,[[24]](#footnote-24) gal menna gal menna... gal-lihum “a wddi, ana, had l-fars ra-ni gbeṭṭ-lăh ž-žerra u ṛah xawel-li,[[25]](#footnote-25) Handa”; galu-lăh “waš ɛli-k? hadik weld-ha”; iiiiwa gal-lek mša ya sidi... (dak l-fa[rs]...) bbwa-h mša, mša, žab gal-lek ž-žmaɛa žab ehh žab kebš-u,[[26]](#footnote-26) u dbeḥ ɛl weld-ăh, baš iredd-ăh l-xăyyemt-ăh, iwa rdd weld-ăh, dda u gaɛ l dik mrbbiya-h, u rdd mmwa-h u dda mmwa-h, iwa mša, dda weld-ăh, iwa gɛăd ya sidi gɛăd u gal-lek: “nerḥlu”,[[27]](#footnote-27) uma n-nsa lli daru-liha dik ḍ-ḍerba galu-lha “waš ɛli-k, hadi n... hada ṛa-h weld-ha u ṛa-h žab-ha, li... lilt-na ḥna weḥḥăd-ha”; hadu n-nsa lli ḍăbbru-lha[[28]](#footnote-28) dak š-ši, iwa gal-lek reḥlu; reḥlu, dar-liha lɛăṭṭuš, dar-liha le-fṛašat, lḥaṣul xănnăt-ha,[[29]](#footnote-29) iwa gal-lek en-nsa lli... lli ḍebbṛu ɛli-h dar-lihum waḥed ezzuž bakraaaat[[30]](#footnote-30) waɛrin, iwa ḥzem kul weḥda men kwraɛ[[31]](#footnote-31) weḥda men kwrăɛ... iwa dik l-... bekrat mašyeeen mašiyin mašiyin, yežriw ettgeṭṭɛu,[[32]](#footnote-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.”

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... ehh...) 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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:

“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 (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 tea!”, 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...).

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]](#footnote-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 andtook 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.

## **Snow-White**

Recorded in 2011 in Ain Beni Mathar.

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

### **Transcription**

hadi wahed le-mra zman, žabet sebɛa... sabɛa (n)taɛ le-wlad, u žabet bent, u-dik l-bent zina bezzayaf, u bqat le-mra tsawwel š-šams, tgul-ha a lalla ɛayn š-šams ṣbaḥ lxir. tgul-ha ṣbaḥ l-xir a lalla ɛayn š-šams, tgul-ha škun lli zina? tgul ha ana zina u nti zina we-l-bent lli f lwgmaṭa xayr menni w-mennek. ɛawd tani la ġedda lit katlemmed dik le-bniyya, katlemmed dik le-bniyya kaddirha f... f mžiht ṭ-ṭḥin – ddesha. we tgul a lalla ṣbaḥ l-xir a lalla ɛayn š-šams, škun lli zina? tgul ha ana zina u nti zina wella raki dayraha f ṭ-ṭḥin ga xayr menni u mennek.

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

waḥeḍ n-nhar kanu mašin iraḥlu, dda bbaha le-ġlem, u dda r-raɛi le-ġnem u-dda kulši u-žemɛu, ki-smitha, žemɛu le-fraš u žemɛu 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-ṣawbet-ha u-hadi daru ma yaklu, galet er-ražel-ha flana ana benti ga ma zeggatš? hiyya min mšat bḥal hakka tšuf-ha gatlha yah rah l-ɛabd ɛṭa lemmed le-mehraz refda u-xella benti, bbwaha yežri fug l-ɛawd bbwaha yežri w-hiyya težri, bbwaha yežri w-hiyya težri, l-waqt elli wṣel l-mudeɛ fin xellaw l-bent, l-ġula žat hezzet l-bent u-mšat, ṣafi r-ražel min wella le, ɛemlet li-ha mmha, min ražel-ha wella l-ɛand mha, gal-ha a weddi rah ddat-ha l-ġula, daret ras-ha tebki w-hadi, waḥed en-nhar gat-ha a lalla ɛayn š-šams ṣbaḥ l-xir, gatl-ha ṣbaḥ l-xir, gatl-ha a lalla ɛayn 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 ɛamm-ha kan sġir yelɛab, l-bent kebret u-hadi u-bqat ɛand l-ġula, ṭṭayyebl-ha u-hadi tbelleɛ li-ha u temši. bqa waḥed n-nhar weld ɛamm-ha yelɛab bḥal hakka mša ġi mžiht le-xyam yelɛab yelɛab bḥal hakka l-kura u-hiyya gatl-ha dik le-mra šibaniyya kbira, gatl-ha lukan ntaya ražel temši tžib bent ɛammek l-hna ɛand l-ġula? bqa lahi yšuf išuf mša ɛand ummha gal-ha kifaš zeɛma ha waš gatli xalti flana, gatleh wah raha bent ɛammek ddat-ha l-ġula xellat-ha mmha ma mgammṭa u-gammṭet el-mehraz kanet ġayra men bent-ha mɛa zina ddat el-mehraz u-xellat ki-ygullah, gal-ha huwwa ġadi nemši nžib bent ɛammi,

(…)

### Translation

…

1. A slip of the tongue? A glottal stop after *nhaɁ/ nsaɁ* (but not later in the story). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. ‘Like you (F.SG), I, and this one/she’ (demonstrative pronoun), i.e. ‘like the three of us’. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Strong creaky voice. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *kʸalu-lha* < *galu-lha*: /g/ is assimilated to the preceding /k/. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “Wrong” word order according to my informant, but this is what the speaker says. “Correct”: *xellaw-ha ḥtta mša eḅḅwa-h l-s-suq*. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
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*). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Unfinished sentence. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Also possible: *ukan ma žatš fik l-fayda*. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 6th stem? [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. ‘Your mother’ for ‘my mother’. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The syntax of this sentence is somewhat awkward. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Maybe labialized *mwin* or following *u*: *u min (w min).* [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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?) [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. *ɛăggl*: special cord used to tie camel’s legs so that the camel does not walk away. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. What is *le-žeyyež*? PL of ‘old lady’? Why *dak* (SG) and not *duk* (PL)? [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. PTC form of the verb ‘to be sufficient, enough’ (not to be confused with *yeṣra* ‘to happen’). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. F form (*ntaɛt*), M *ntaɛ* (PL -?). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. *y* in *xăyyemt-* is doubled because it is followed by a vowel of *ăh* (syllabification: to keep the syllable structure). This phenomenon is frequent in verbs (e.g. *tăɛrrfăh*?), but also in nouns (*baggrăh*), and is common in Western Algeria and Eastern Morocco. (Might be interesting to check with minimal pairs... *garba/garrba*...). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Same verb as we had before (‘to steal’) or not? [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Why with -*i*? [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
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?). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *xăyyemt* (status constructus) followed by *lli* (REL): unusual (usual is: *ntaɛ, dyal* and not *lli*) > check/ elicit with rel. clauses. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. ‘to have a conversation’? (cf. *geṣṣṛu*?) [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. *yehhăḍru* (*hh*) or *ihaḍru* (*h*)? (Depends on the stem of the verb: 1st?...) [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. < *xawen-li* (assimilation). Participle. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Why *-u* here (‘his’?), and why not *-ăh* (as elsewhere in the story?). [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. No doubling of consonants. Meaning: ‘move tents’ (only in nomadic context?). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. here (unusual): *lha*, not *liha*. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Expected: *xănnet*, but text has: *xănnăt*. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. *bakrat* (with *k*): unusual (exptected: *bagra*); a nomadic dialect? (cows are not found in nomadic context > *bagra* is a rural word). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Labiovelarization in *kwraɛ* (not standard in Western Moroccan Arabic). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. PASS form. Check double *ṭṭ* (check SG form). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Kind of play on words? Name of the woman: *Handa*; Indians = *lăhnud*. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
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-lăh* (‘they said to him’). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *Leġlem/lăġlem* normally means ‘small livestock’ (i.e. sheep and goats, but not cows). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)