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Appendix I Texts

Text 1 ta n tyatt / Story about the goat

There used to be a goat in a forest. She had three children, and she brought them food to eat. Then when she goes to the door she says to them: 'O my children, o my children open my doors, food is on my back, water is in my mouth, the sprouts are on my horns, water is in my mouth, and she returns. They recognise her speech of 3S again [3FS-return:P] again when REL.

The they open the door for her. She gives them everything and goes back. When she returns. They recognise her

Text 1 ta n tyatt / Story about the goat
by her formula. She goes back again and says to them: ‘O my children,

\[a \text{ wlaṣ} = \text{i, } fə\text{ṭ} = \text{u} = \text{ni, } bīḥān = \text{i, } w \text{ tteleq } fi \text{ ṭṭahṛ} = \text{i,}\]

o my children, open my doors, food is on my back,

\[w \text{ lma } fi \text{ duqm} = \text{i, } w \text{ lqiḥ } f \text{ qrun} = \text{i, } w \text{ lehliḥ } fi \text{ ṭra} = \text{y.}\]

and water in mouth and sprout on horns and milk in udder.

‘O my children, open my doors, food is on my back, water is in my mouth, the sprouts are on my horns, the milk is in my udders.’

\[tattḥ = \text{an} = \text{as } taggurt. \text{sacæ } i = \text{dda} = d \text{ yan } nnhār \text{ i-susem}\]

Then they open the door. Then one day a jackal came and listen

\[fx = \text{es } aḡdī, \text{ i-refe} = \text{as } lḥedrā = \text{ya} = \text{hen } a \text{ he-qqer } \text{kaml} = \text{a.}\]

He copied the whole formula she was saying.

\[\text{sacæ } i = \text{dda} = d \text{ i-nna} = \text{asen } lḥedrā = \text{yahen } a \text{ he-qqer}\]

Then he went and told the whole formula her. He copied the whole formula she was saying.

\[\text{yemma } \text{nn-sen } \text{kaml} = \text{a. } \text{ayiẓd} = \text{a} \text{hen } i - \text{qqr} = \text{as: ‘t-ḥaḍ}\]

their mother was saying. The billy goat said: ‘This

\[māṣi \text{ yemma.’ timyanan} = \text{ihen } qqer-n = \text{as: ‘t-ḥa } \text{ yemma.’}\]

is not our mother.’ The litte goats said to him: ‘This is out mother.’

\[\text{ayiẓd} = \text{a} \text{hen } i - \text{kker } i - \text{xebee } i \text{ timyanan} = \text{ihen } \text{amk } a\]

The jackal went and hid and the little goats when

\[fə\text{ṭ} - \text{en } taggurt i = \text{dda } ye-ṣṣ = \text{a} \text{hen. } i - \text{ṣṣ} = \text{a} \text{hen } iy\]

they opened the door, he went and ate them. He ate them.
and the billy goat recognised the jackal. Then she went...

tayatt = ahen  t-zer  taggurt = ahen  mehlul= a  zeg  lbued.
goat = S:ANP 3FS-see:P door:EL = S:ANP open:PP-FS from far

...the goat saw that the door was open from a distance.

aŋk a t = t-zer  mehlul-a  zeg  lbued  te-nna  ya
when REL 3FS:DO = 3FS-see:P open:PP-FS from far 3FS-say:P well

When she saw that the door was open she thought

i-šs = as = ten  kaml-in.  sɛa  te-dda  te-qqim
3MS-eat:P = 3S:IO = 3PL:DO all-PL then 3FS-go:P 3FS-sit:P

that he had eaten them all. Then, the goat kept on crying. The billy goat went to her.

te-nna = as  tayatt = ahen: ‘ana lla-n ayeṭma-k?’  i-nna = as:
3FS-say:P = 3S:IO goat-S:ANP where be:P-3PL siblings 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO

The goat said to him: ‘Where are your siblings?’ He said:

‘i-šs = ahen  aḡdi.’  te-nna = as:  ‘d a  eeql-et

‘The jackal ate them.’ She said: ‘Will you recognise

aḡdi = yahren?’  i-nna = as:  ‘d a  y = eeql-ax’.
sɛa
jackal = S:ANP 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO CRT AD 3MS:DO = recognise:A-1S then

that jackal?’ He said: ‘I will recognise him.’ Then

tedda  dar  yan  haḍik n  iḡdan. i-nna = as:  ‘waytun?’
3FS-go:P to one:M thingy of jackals 3MS-say:P = 3S:IO which.one
she went to a thing of jackals.

i-nn = as:  ‘ha  haw!’  sɛa  te-dda  day  ṭraʔis  nn-sen,
3MS-say:P = 3S:IO PRES 3S then 3FS-go:P to boss of-3PL

He said: ‘which one?’ He said: ‘That one.’ Then she went
to their leader, their supervisor. She went and said: ‘This one ate my
children.’ He said to her: ‘Go over there to that open place, the one who beats the other
eats the other.’ They went to that open place,

the goat has horns and the jackal does not.

They went. He made, the jackal made horns out of
clay. He twisted some long horns and tamped
them down here (on his head). The goat hit him ‘bam’. She crumbled him and

his clay (horns). Then he said again: ‘Wait aunt goat I will make horns.’

He made other ones and put them again on his head.
He said again: ‘Come my uncle, come.’ She hit him again ‘bam’.

She killed him. Night fell. They saw a light far away. She thought it was her brother, the goat.

They went towards the light and they found themselves at a party of jackals. A party of jackals. When she peeked like this, she found that the jackals were having a party. They said to her: ‘Come in, aunty goat,

They were saying ‘Boom boom, we will start with the goat and leave the billy goat for the
AD 1PL-leave:A = 3S:DO to light like goat FUT AD morning. Meaning that they wanted
t = n-ešš amilla i uyižd š a y = ne-žž dar
3FS:DO = 1PL-eat:A now and billy.goat FUT AD 3MS:DO-leave:A to
to eat the goat immediately and the billy goat in the

ṣṣḥeḥ. te-nna = asen: ‘ha nekkī š a ffy-ax s
morning 3FS-say:P = 3PL:DO PRES I FUT AD go.out:A-1S with
morning. She said: ‘I will go out.’

qdmay i nu.’ saca te-dda t-ḥerreh = as i kma-s. i kma-s
head my then 3FS-go:P 3FS-call:P = 3S:IO to brother-3S and brother-3S
She went and called her brother. Her brother

yr-es ssluqiyyat, yr-es ssluqiyyat. saca amk a i-dda i-tleq
at-3S greyhounds at-3S greyhounds then when REL 3MS-go:P 3MS-release:P
had greyhounds. So he went and released

i ssluqiyyat = ihen. i-nna = as: ‘ḵšem bb = d
to greyhounds = PL:ANP 3MS-say:P = 3S:DO enter:IMP take:IMP = DC
those greyhounds. He said to her: ‘Go in and bring

aṣeyyal nn-em ṣye-sen. te-kšem, te-bb = d aṣeyyal nn-es.
boy:EL of-2FS from-3PL 3FS-enter:P 3FS-take:P = DCboy of-3S
me your boy. She went in and brought her boy.

saca ye-nn = asen, ssluqiyyat = ihen te-nn = asen: ‘waḥit, waḥit, waḥit.’
then 3MS-say:P = 3PL:IO greyhounds = PL:ANP 3FS-say:P = 3PL:IO one one one
Then he said those greyhounds, she said: ‘One, one, one.’

saca ṣebbr-en ḥḏan = ihen, qqim-en tett-an ga-sen. w-a lla
then grab:P-3PL jackals:PL:ANP stay:P-3PL eat:1-3PL in-3PL MS-PRH be:P
They grabbed the jackals and ate them. The greyhounds could not reach the
ma ěr-es ši n tẓenniṭ, ma lekkm-en = t ši
NEG at-3S NEG of tail:EA NEG reach:1-3PL = 3MS:DO NEG
the ones who did not have tails.

ssluqiyyaṭ = ihen. i w-a lla ěr-es tẓenniṭ, šebbṛ-en = t
greyhounds = PL:ANP and MS-PRH be:PL at-3S tail:EL grab:P-3PL = 3MS:DO
The ones who had tails, they grabbed

zeg tẓenniṭ = ahen zerdeen = d. saca i-qqr = as
from tail:EA = S:ANP overthrow = 3MS:DO:DC then 3MS:.say:1 = 3S:IO
them from their tails and threw them on the ground. Then the jackal said

ağdi i-qqr = as i umdakkul nn-es, i-qqr = as:
jackal:EL 3MS:say:1 = 3S:IO to friend:EA of-3S 3MS:say:1 = 3S:IO
to his friend, he said:

‘a byaṭ = leḵ a saḥbi, t-gert-et tẓenniṭ = ahen elabekri.’
‘You are lucky that you cut your tail before.’

iwa ṣafi, xell-iṭ = ha temma u ži-ţ fhal-i.
well ready leave-1S:PF = 3FS:DO there and come-1S:PF way-1S.
That’s it. I left it there and came back.
Only from the fifties onwards, sixties, seventies, the Moroccans became numerous. The Moroccans came from here and there, all over the place, they mingled. The Moroccans. Then get up. The Christians tightened in the borders. The Christians (Spaniards) started to be more strict in the borders. They apprehended people, they looked for outsiders. They used to catch all outsiders. The ones at the borders and the ones in the town. All outsiders. Because the ones who were there.
g  Ġeešra n  llil,  g  tnaš n  llil.  ne-ttil  xarq-in  g
in  ten  of  night  in  twelve  of  night.  1PL-be:1  outside:AP-PL  in
at  ten  o’clock,  twelve  o’clock.  Were  were  out  in

ssfīnmat.  n-ttil  g  leqhwai,  ġlāberra,  ne-ttil  g
cinema’s  1PL-be:1  in  bars  outside  1PL-be:1  in
cinema’s  and  in  bars,  outside,  we  used  to  hang  out  in  the

leqhwai,  ġay.  mkī  amella  g  bellil  nyla  d  ne-ttītu
café’s  INTJ.  if  now  in  night  when  DC=1PL-go:1
café’s.  When  we  went  home  at  night.

fhan-na.  nyla  d  ne-ttītu  fhan-na  dar...  ne-ttītu  fhan-na  dar  lbaru  g
way-1PL  when  DC=1PL-go:1  way-1PL  to  1PL-go:1  way-1PL  to  ship  in
When  we  went  home,  to  the  ship.

bellil,  g  letnaš,  g  zzuž,  g  lwēhda,  g  Ġeešra,  g  leḫdaš,
night  in  twelve  in  two  in  one  in  ten  in  eleven
at  twelve  o’clock,  at  two  o’clock,  at  one  o’clock,  at  ten  o’clock,  at  eleven  o’clock,

ka-n-tlaqa-w  lpulis.  ka-n-tlaqa-w  lpulis
IMPP-1PL:IMPF-meet-1PL-IMPF  police  IMPP-1PL:IMPF-meet-1PL-IMPF  police
we  ran  into  the  police.  We  ran  into  the  police.

i-qqr = ak:  ‘āra  lekwayet,  keği,  ki?  šw  a  he-sskar-et  g
3MS-say:1=2MS:IO  give  papers  you  what  what  REL  2S-do:1-2S  in
He  would  say  to  you:  ‘Your  papers,  you,  what  are  you  doing  at

ssaca = yad  dhaṣin?  ma  h-değ-at?  ne-qqr = asen:  ‘a  weddi
hour=S:PRX  here  what  2S-do:2S  1PL-say:1=3PL:DO  VOC  well
this  time  here?’  What  are  you  doing?  We  would  say:  ‘Well,

nuṣna  lbeḥriyya  g  lbaru  flani,  he-ttak-at = as  lmeelumaṭ
we  fishermen  in  ship  this.and.that  2S-give:1-2S  =  3S:IO  information
we  are  fishermen  from  that  and  that  ship,

ana  he-la-t  xeddam.’  i-qqr = ak:  ‘āra  lkağiṭ
where  2S-be:P-2S  work:AP-MS  3MS-say:1=2MS:IO  give  paper
you  would  give  him  information  about  where  you  worked.’  He  would  say:  ‘Your  papers.’
You would give you papers, he looked at them and say goodbye. He would say: hé.

He would say ‘Straight to the ship.’ You would not stay,

if he saw you were drunk, falling by yourself.

He would say: ‘Hé, straight to the ship.’

or he would take you there himself. If you were close to the port,

he would take you to the ship.
Text 3 Description of living in Iɛraben

yer-nax axyam, axyam n lgayza, elaberṛra axyam
at-1PL house:EL house:EL of pole outside house:EL

We have a house, a wooden house. Outside of the house we live in, where we sleep

n ssuṅna, n nnças, ayeffeṭ yer-nex deryani, tett-an
of living of sleep cattle:EL at-1PL there eat:I-3PL

the cattle is over there, eating

alam = ahen, ne-takk = asen āgles, n-ḥetš = asen ṭṭbic g uxedmi.

hay, we give them plants we pluck grass and put it in a basket.

ne-ttawy = ah = d ne-fk = asen = t tett-an = t.
nukna gals-in
1PL:take = 1S:DO = DC1PL:give:A = 3PL:IO = 3MS:DO eat:I-3PL = 3MS:DO we sit:AP-PL

We take it to them and give it to them to eat. We are sitting

i tyerṛert, ne-ssruṛy leafya, n-hemmal i-till lehya fx-ennex
with fire.place 1PL:light:I fire 1PL:heat.up:I 3MS:be:I rain on-1PL

by the fire place, light the fire to heat up. It rains and

i tismeṭ, i uɛebbiz nnpes daryan gum n uḥemmal dar ṭalee,
and cold and calf:EA of-3S there in.front of high.place:EA to higher

it’s cold. Its calf is over there next to the high place

i-hemmu ḥetta netta, tiyaṭṭen tett-an eawed g ḏdaw,
3MS:heat.up:I also he goats eat:I-3PL again in light,
also heating up. The goats are eating by the light,

fhem-ti, ḏdaw n leafya, i leafya ne-ssruṛy = at s
understand-2S:PF light of fire and fire 1PL:light:I = 3FS:DO with
you understand, the light of the fire. We light the fire with

isyaṛen, asyaṛ n teţga, asyaṛ i-qqur, maši xḍer,
sticks stick:EL of wood:EA stick:EL 3MS:dry:P NEG green:MS
sticks, sticks from the woods. Dry sticks, not wet ones,
Wet sticks release smoke, and smoke, you understand, only smoke remains.

When it rains and when it is cold,

Those sticks become wet from the rain, they will not catch

Fire. We bring the sticks to the high place and we have

We put sticks there, we put.

dry sticks there. Because for eight days the rain

keeps falling. Understand? Well, we light
The fire, we heat up, and we make fried wheat.

ne-ttawi = d lḥebb, n-degg = at g lmeqla = yahen,
1PL-take:1 = DC wheat 1PL-do:1 = 3MS:DO in frying.pan = S:ANP
We get wheat, put it in a frying pan,

ne-qqely = at, iwa, netta ka-y-tteqla, ka-y-tteqla,
1PL-fry:1 = 3MS:DO well he IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.fried IMPP-3MS:IMPF-be.fried
and we fry it. Well, it is fried. Then we

ne-ttuṯu a y = n-ẓed g rrḥa, rrḥa n ufus,
1PL-go:1 AD 3MS:DO = 1PL-grind:A in mill mill of hand:EA grind it in a mill, a handmill,

hamḵa, ne-ẓẓad = at, n-sekkr = as ši haža n lemlaḥ
like this 1PL-grind:1 = 3MS:DO 1PL-do:1 = 3S:IO some thing of salt
like this, we grind it, we put a little bit of salt

semmen taẓemmiṯ = ahen he-ttill ḥelw-a maši messus-a,
so that fried.wheat = S:ANP 3FS:be:I sweet-FS NEG insipid-FS
in it so that the fried wheat is sweet and not insipid.

away, i nuḵna ne-ẓẓad, eawed ne-ttawi = d ḏḏra, ne-ẓẓad = at g
well and we 1PL-grind:1 again 1PL-take:1 = DC corn 1PL-grind:1 = 3FS:DO in
Well, and we grind it. We also bring corn, we grind it

rrḥa = yahen n ufus. nya t = ne-ẓẓad. yemma te-sskar
mill = S:ANP of hand:EA when 3FS:DO = 1PL:grind:I mother 3FS-do:I
in that handmill. When we grind it my mother makes

tafṭirt, tafṭirt n ḏḏra, te-ḡḡ = anax aḥelḥul n ḏḏra,
bread bread of corn 3FS-do:A = 1PL:DO porridge:EL of corn
bread, corn bread. She makes corn porridge
and she makes bread from the corn. Well,

we continue eating.

we IMPP-1PL:IMPF-continue-1PL:IMPF 1PL-eat:I again.