

The Tuareg dialect of Ghat in 1850

1. Introduction

Between 18-26 July 1850, two European travellers working for the United Kingdom's Foreign Office, James Richardson (1809-1851) and Heinrich Barth (1821-1865), visited the town of Ghat in southwestern Libya. Among their goals was to provide their compatriots with linguistic data on the languages of the Sahara, then as yet little known to Europeans. During this short stay, Richardson arranged for the translation of a list of words and phrases into the Tuareg variety spoken by the Uraghen tribe of the area, variably termed Tamahaq or Tamajeq by its speakers at the time (see 2.3). In a letter sent from Ghat, he wrote:

I have been fortunate in procuring a good collection of dialogues (A) and a vocabulary of most of the common words (B), in the Tuarick dialect of the tribes in Ghat. I employed for this object Mohammed Shereef, nephew of the Governor of Ghat [El-Haj Ahmed ben El-Haj Es-Sadeek], who is a competent Arabic scholar. The English equivalents of the vocabulary may not correspond with the Arabic or Tourarick, but I had not time to make a better translation.¹

The dialogues and vocabulary were taken from an Arabic phrasebook published in 1844,² leading to frequent incongruity of its Middle East-oriented content in a Saharan environment, and to mismatches between its Levantine Arabic and the Libyan Arabic familiar to Rich-

1 Letter from James Richardson to Viscount Palmerston, Ghat 24 July 1850, received Nov. 13. (FO 101/30). Published with emendations in Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa Performed in the Years 1850-51*, vol. 1, 17.

2 Kayat, *The Eastern Traveller's Interpreter; Or, Arabic Without a Teacher*.

ardson's interlocutor. It did have, however, the advantage of including some vocabulary rarely documented for the region, such as 'firman' (*tasəfləst*), 'letters' (*ilaffən*), or 'sects' (*isan*), as well as displaying some rare loanwords, such as 'want' (*əžyǎ/ǎhyǎ*), 'printing-press' (*ǎttabǎy*), 'Turkish' (*taturkit*) or 'English' (*takəlizit*). The results provide considerable amounts of data relevant to sociolinguistic variation in Ghat, confirming the otherwise anomalous notations of Freeman and proving the importance of variation even within a single idiolect, including for reflexes of the key Tuareg shibboleth *z > h vs. > z, ž. These phrases also reveal some morphological archaisms not otherwise attested in Northern Tuareg or in Tuareg in general, most notably traces of a person marking system matching the Ghadamsi "future".

The manuscript sent by Richardson was duly archived, and sat in the Public Record Office for decades to come, in a folder labelled F.O. Tripoli No. 77. Francis W. Newman (1805-1897), a linguist interested in Berber who looked at other materials gathered by Richardson,³ shows no sign of having examined this one; it contains none of his penciled annotations, and when later listing sources for Tuareg, he makes no mention of it.⁴ It was concisely described by Benton, who states that the English handwriting in the dialogue collection is Barth's.⁵ Richardson's materials were subsequently moved to the National Archives at Kew, where the dialogue collection is now to be found under the code FO 101/30.⁶

This document, written down by a citizen of Ghat who appears to have been fluently bilingual in Tamahaq/Tamajeq and Arabic, is the earliest documented record of the Tuareg variety spoken around Ghat, apart from short undated Tifnagh inscriptions which remain difficult

3 For Richardson's documentation of the Berber variety of Sokna in central Libya and Newman's work on it, see Souag, "Sokna re-examined: Two unedited Sokna Berber vocabularies from 1850."

4 Newman, *Libyan Vocabulary. An Essay Towards Reproducing the Ancient Numidian Language Out of Four Modern Tongues*, 6

5 Benton, *The Languages and Peoples of Bornu*, 169.

6 The collection can be accessed at the following URL: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3481060>

to interpret.⁷ To this day the speech of Ghat remains one of the least well documented Tuareg varieties, with the only available descriptions over a century old. The earliest to appear was a brief grammar sketch and Tamahaq-English vocabulary compiled by the English colonial administrator Henry Stanhope Freeman in 1860 with an interlocutor named Sheikh Mohammed Aússuk, a judge of Ghat who Freeman worked with in Ghadames.⁸ Then, in 1879 the Africanist and explorer Gottlob Krause compiled a selection of texts dictated in both Tamajeq and Hausa by an Uraghen elite named Hajj ‘Uthman bin ‘Umar, the grandson of a former king of Ghat, who he worked with in Tripoli.⁹ Lastly, Mohamed Nehlil, a Kabyle linguist and officer in the French colonial administration, gathered some stories and other texts from ‘Ali bin Ahmad bin Mhammad Goundi, a merchant from Ghat resident in Tataouine, and published them, together with a grammatical description and French-Tuareg vocabulary in 1909.¹⁰ Richardson’s are thus also the only older materials to have been collected in Ghat itself. The apparently very similar dialect of Djanet just across the border in Algeria is if anything less documented, but the few materials available have the advantage of being more recent: a study of date palm terminology by Sigwarth, and a limited but magisterial study by Prasse based on a

7 Biagetti, Ait Kaci & di Lerna, “The ‘written landscape’ of the central Sahara: recording and digitising the Tifnagh inscriptions in the Tadrart Acacus mountains.”

8 Freeman, *A Grammatical Sketch Of The Temahuq or Towarek Language*.

9 Krause, *Proben der Sprache von Ghat in der Sahara: mit haussanischen und deutscher Übersetzung*. Krause (p. 5–7) preferred the term “Maschagisch” (= *māšāḡ*) for the language, arguing that forms such as Touareg and Tamažaq were not historical-linguistically correct; this did not catch on in subsequent work. Krause also made reference to two short transcribed, untranslated texts recorded from a member of the Kel Gheres tribe near Ghat that Barth had apparently sent to ZDMG, which published them anonymously in 1853 (*ZDMG* 7, p. 234); Krause (p. 22) states that he will translate and analyze them in his book, but they do not appear.

10 Nehlil, *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*. An Arabic translation of this work has more recently been published: Muḥammad N Hlil (tr. ṢAbd Allāh Ṣāw), *Dirāsāt fī lahjat Ghāt: dirāsa nahwiyya fī t-tanawwuṣ al-lughawiyy li-Amāzīgh Ghāt*.

brief period of work with three speakers.¹¹

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The 19th century materials make it clear that bilingualism in Hausa was widespread around Ghat, then as now; as noted, Krause's interlocutor wrote texts for Krause in both Tamajeq and Hausa.¹² Bilingualism in Arabic was also already present, and would increase over time; a recent PhD thesis by Libyan scholar Salah Adam reveals indications of language shift from Tamahaq to Arabic among younger generations.¹³ In this changing and contact-intensive context, early materials such as this manuscript provide a useful point of comparison. Moreover, while Tuareg varieties generally have been well documented and studied, that of Ghat, or southwestern Libya generally, is the major exception.¹⁴ It therefore appears useful to make these materials available to researchers in Libya and worldwide. We thank Maarten Kossmann and Marijn van Putten for very helpful suggestions and corrections; the errors that must inevitably remain are, of course, the authors' responsibility and not theirs.

2. Notes

Comparison to Kayat's phrasebook on which these Tamahaq materials were based makes it clear that the pages of this manuscript were bound in the wrong order, with each pair of pages after p. 4 reversed. The corrected order is thus as follows: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 5, 8, 7, 10, 9, 12, 11, 14, 13, 16, 15, 18, 17, 19, 20. With a few omissions, this covers the entire phrasebook (pp. 20-81), apart from the narrowly Palestine-focused appendix on pp. 167-172. The remainder of Kayat's phrasebook is largely dedicated to vocabulary, and formed the basis for a Ghat wordlist elicited in a separate attachment which will be published in a subsequent study.

In general, the text of the source was closely followed. However-

11 Sigwarth, *Le palmier à Djanet: Etude linguistique*; Prasse, "Renseignements sur le touareg de Djanet (Algérie)."

12 Krause, *Proben der Sprache von Ghat*, 21

13 Adam, *A sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among Libyan Tuareg: The case of Ghat and Barkat*, and "Multiple attitudes and shifting language ideologies".

14 Kossmann, *A Grammar of Ayer Tuareg (Niger)*, 5-7.

er, a few phrases were omitted, sometimes presumably for religious reasons (especially in the missionary dialogue), sometimes because of likely incomprehension, sometimes probably just out of haste. The Levantine Arabic of the source was evidently somewhat foreign to the people of Ghat, and some resulting misunderstandings can be discerned, as discussed below. In total, this phrase list consists of 328 phrases, a few of which occur multiple times due to their repetition in the different dialogues.

2.1 Sociolinguistic context

Despite the brevity of their stay, the journals of Barth and Richardson provide some observations about the sociolinguistic situation of Ghat around 1850. The townsmen of Ghat itself, according to Richardson, were principally “people of Moorish origin, but mixed”,¹⁵ like the Governor, who was “a stranger to the place and a native of Tawat” (i.e. Touat, in present-day southern Algeria).¹⁶ Richardson adds that he was “of Arab extraction”, and had been “settled here twenty years”.¹⁷ The translator, as seen above, was the Governor’s nephew, described by Barth as “his nephew, Ahmed Mohammed Sherif (the man who came to meet us), a clever but forward lad, of pleasant manners--whom, in the course of my travels, I met several times in Sudán” (i.e. the Sahel).¹⁸ The town and area were ruled by the Ajjer (“Azgar”) Tuareg, an elite minority divided into five “families” or “clans” (*tewse*) among whom the Uraghen or Auraghen were the most important, giving their name to this vocabulary.¹⁹ The majority were not members of these clans but rather *imghad* vassals.

15 Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa Performed in the Years 1850-51*, 160.

16 Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 193.

17 Richardson, *Travels in the great desert of Sahara, in the years of 1845 and 1846*, vol. 2, 20.

18 Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 194.

19 Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 198-199.

2.1.1 Multilingualism

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On his previous arrival in Ghat, on 15 December 1845, Richardson needed a “Touarghee and Arabic interpreter”²⁰ The primary language of communication for travellers from the north was evidently Arabic; Richardson (1848) quotes the Governor telling him “Ma nâraf [مانعرف], ‘I don’t know’” (p. 44), Sheikh Jabour telling him “ma-tahafsh [ماتخافش], ‘don’t fear’” (p. 9), and a Tuareg as asking him “Hash-Hâlik [ايش حالك], ‘How do you do?’” (p. 93), among other examples. However, Richardson does quote a “Prophet of the Touaricks” as addressing him in Tamahaq; he “said in a kind tone, ‘Gheem [ɣaym],’ (sit down)”, and later “Yâkob, inker [Ya(ʕ)qub, ənkər], Arise, James.”²¹ Among themselves, the Tuareg inhabitants apparently spoke their own language in his presence; he quotes “the Giant Sheikh” addressing his subordinate “Enker, heek [ənkər hik], ‘Get up quick!’”²²

Knowledge of Hausa was evidently also widespread, though not universal. More than a century later, Adam found that 26% of his Ghat respondents reported speaking Hausa.²³ Of the imghad, Barth writes “many of the people, indeed, seem to be bilingual, but by far the greater part of the men do not even understand the Háusa language.”²⁴ One particular Hausa word seems to have been almost universally adopted:

There are certain foreign words which get currency, and supplant all native ones. This ‘bago’ is neither Touarghee, nor Ghadamsee, nor Arabic, although used by persons speaking almost exclusively these languages. Bago is Housa, as before mentioned [on p. 37].²⁵

20 Richardson, *Travels in the great desert of Sahara, in the years of 1845 and 1846*, vol. 2, 3

21 *ibid*, 46-47.

22 *ibid*, 216.

23 Adam, *A sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among Libyan Tuareg*, 151. See also Kohl, *Tuareg in Libyen. Identitäten zwischen Grenzen*, 208. Kohl notes that women in particular use Hausa, especially older women, but that it is not limited to them by any means.

24 Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 202.

25 Richardson, *Travels in the great desert of Sahara, in the years of 1845 and*

This explains an anecdote given by Barth, who notes that “Hatita told us expressly that, if any of the Imghad should trouble us, we should say ‘bábo.’ Now ‘bábo’ is neither Arabic nor Temáshight, but the Hausa word for ‘there is none.’”²⁶

Knowledge of European languages appears to have been essentially absent, filtering in sporadically from the coast. Richardson notes as a rare exception that “a son of the Governor recited to me the following famous distich, begging me to tell him what it meant: ‘Tummora, tummora, tera, Buon giorno, buona sera.’ On inquiring how he learnt it, he told me a Moor of Tripoli had taught him.”²⁷

2.1.2 Literacy

Literacy in Arabic seems to have been widespread, thanks to Qur’anic schools. Richardson notes that “In the streets, I pass nearly every evening a Night-School, where there is a crowd of children all cooped up together in a small room, humming, spouting, and screaming simultaneously their lessons of the Koran... It is probable that in this way, every male child of Ghat, as in Ghadames, is taught to read and write.”²⁸ The Governor’s daughters too learned to read, while for the literate, the abundant sand provided useful scratch paper.²⁹

These travellers do not mention the use of Tifinagh in the town of Ghat, although Richardson had (in Ghadames?) recorded a Tifinagh alphabet and a few examples of its use.³⁰ A generation or two later, the informants of Krause and Nehlil were both unable to write in Tifinagh, and Krause positively affirms that “this alphabet is foreign to the inhabitants of Ghat, who, if they write something, never use their

1846, vol. 2, 98.

26 Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 202.

27 Richardson, *Travels in the great desert of Sahara, in the years of 1845 and 1846*, vol. 2, 38.

28 *ibid*, 63.

29 *ibid*, 129, 65.

30 Richardson, *Touarick Alphabet, with the corresponding Arabic and English Letters*.

mother tongue, but rather always use Arabic.³¹ However, rather closer to the date of Richardson's stay, Freeman was able to learn Tifnagh, including the correct use of ligatures.³² It seems probable that his teacher had been his consultant, the former Qadi of Ghat. Freeman's Tifnagh shows striking instances of Arabic influence, including the use of *tegherit* (the vowel dot) word-initially and the sporadic use of *shadda* and *fatha* over Tifnagh letters to indicate gemination and *â* respectively; the latter in particular seem likely to reflect his consultant's fluent bilingualism. This suggests that Tifnagh was still part of the town's orthographic repertoire in 1850, though perhaps already marginalized.

2.2 Text and Transcription

After the titles (Arabic then English), this manuscript is organised in three columns: English on the left, Tamahaq in the centre, and Arabic on the right. The Tamahaq text, written in a Maghribi hand presumably that of Muhammad Sharif, is carefully and consistently vocalized, marking gemination as well as vowel quality. The Arabic text, though written in the same hand, is not vocalized. Since the writing of Tuareg in Arabic script has been little studied, a brief overview is in order.³³

2.2.1 Vowels

In the Tamahaq phrases in general, stressed full vowels are transcribed as long, while other vowels are transcribed as short whether full or not. In principle this makes it possible to deduce the position of stress from the transcription in most, but not all, cases.

Mid vowels (*e*, *o*) are not orthographically distinguished from high vowels (*i*, *u*), as in Nehlil's 1909 work. However, in other Tamahaq

31 "Dieses Alphabet ist den Bewohnern Ghats fremd, die sich überhaupt nie ihrer Muttersprache bedienen, wenn sie etwas schreiben, sondern stets der arabischen," Krause, *Proben der Sprache von Ghat*, 30, 23. See also Nehlil, *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*, 2.

32 Freeman, *A Grammatical Sketch Of The Temahuq or Towarek Language*, 7-8.

33 For some notes on a modern writing practice see Kossmann & Elghamis, "Preliminary notes on Tuareg in Arabic script from Niger."

varieties the distinction is known to be phonemic, and the transcriptions of Krause confirm their presence in Ghat.³⁴

Central vowels (*ǎ*, *ə*) are in general distinguished neither from each other nor from unstressed full vowels (*a* for both, *i* for *ə*); a *fatḥa* can thus in most positions correspond to any of *ǎ*, *ə*, *a*. The manuscript thus provides no direct evidence for a contrast between two central vowels. However, Prasse's data for Djanet confirm the presence of such a contrast, and indirect evidence for it may be present here, in that *ə* can be transcribed as <i> whereas *ǎ* usually cannot. Central vowels after the stressed syllable are occasionally reduced orthographically to zero (*sukūn*); it cannot be determined from written evidence alone whether this reflects real vowel loss or just lower perceptual prominence.

Despite the impossibility of deducing them from the Arabic transcription used, mid and central vowels have been very provisionally reconstructed here following Prasse for grammar, and drawing upon the dictionaries of Prasse, Alojaly and Mohamed, Heath, and Foucauld for lexicon.³⁵ This should be taken as merely a practical measure to make this easier for Tuareg specialists to read, a sort of standardized spelling, and no weight should be placed on the choice of vowels in such cases.

2.2.2 Consonants

Regarding the consonants, geminates are often, but not always, marked with *shadda*. The non-Classical combination of *shadda* with *sukūn* is also used for word-final geminates followed by a vowel in a different word, as in no. 20, or for geminates followed by a post-stress central vowel orthographically reduced to zero, as in no. 239. It sometimes even appears for phrase-final consonants not expected to show any gemination, as in no. 131, perhaps for prosodic reasons.

In accordance with attested Tuareg Ajami practice further south,

34 Prasse, "New Light on the Origin of the Tuareg Vowels E and O."

35 Prasse, *Tuareg Elementary Course (Tahǧgart)*; Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed, *Lexique Touareg-Français*; Heath, *Dictionnaire Touareg du Mali: tamachek-anglais-français*; Foucauld, *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français: dialecte de l'Ahaggar*.

the writer distinguishes plosive ض *ḍ* from fricative ظ *ẓ*.³⁶ For *z*, he almost always uses *j* <*z*>, unlike Krause's source, who prefers *ʒ* <*d*>. The only non-Classical letter employed is a *kāf* with three dots underneath ڨ, for *g*; other sounds absent from Arabic are not distinguished from their closest Arabic counterparts.

The relatively rare sound *ŋŋ*, only attested here in the words *asəŋŋi* 'cooking' and *təŋŋat* 'cooked (f.sg.)', is written by means of <*ny*>. Although Nehlil similarly just transcribes this as <*nr*'>, there is reason to believe that its pronunciation was distinct in Ghat: Freeman transcribes 'cooking' as <*ásiŋgi*>, contrasting with forms like <*isinyal*> 'to plough'. The even rarer palatal nasal *ñ*, whose presence in *zəñh* 'sell' is suggested by Freeman's <*izieyha*> ٥ⵛⵉⵢⵓⵎ 'he sold', is just written as <*n*>.

Affricates are not distinguished from the corresponding fricatives. The rare phoneme *č*, in the verb *áčč* 'eat' (different from Tahagart and Djanet *áčš*, but see Nehlil's <*etch*>, Freeman <*itše*> ٥ⵛⵉⵢⵓⵎ), is simply written <*š*>. In most cases, comparative evidence shows that <*ğ*> indicates *ğ* (perhaps a palatal—for Djanet, Prasse records [j])—rather than a true affricate, but it must be assumed that <*ğ*> can also indicate *ž*. Since the dominant Libyan Arabic reflex of this phoneme is /*ʒ*/, it probably usually indicates the latter in Arabic loans.

The Arabic sounds *ʕ* and *ħ*, which do not normally occur in Tamahaq, are adapted into the language as *ɣ* and *x*, respectively, and written with the corresponding Arabic letters, for example: *ălxărir* for *al-ħarīr* 'silk' and *ăžyăl* 'wish' from *ğasala* 'make, put' (dialectally in some regions 'think', as in Siwi), *ălyafiyăt* from *al-šāfiyah* 'good health', and even *Băylăbăk* for Baalbek (*Bašlabakk*), a proper noun unlikely to have ever been used before in Ghat. In this respect, the dialect of this manuscript contrasts with that recorded by Nehlil, whose consultant (resident in Tunisia) frequently used pharyngeals in Arabic loanwords such as <*eçlah*'> 'well-being', <*aberrah*'> 'town crier', <*elâafiet*'> 'health', while preserving the strategy of adaptation in (presumably) older loans such as <*elr'ar*'> 'shame', <*takhaouit*'> 'camel saddle'. Even in this manuscript pharyngeals are occasionally retained, at least orthographically, in what were probably nonce loanwords, such as *tašibranit* 'Hebrew'.

Certain consonants are sometimes difficult to tell apart in the

36 Kossmann & Elghamis, "Preliminary Notes on Tuareg in Arabic script from Niger".

author's handwriting, notably: <q> and <ɣ>; <ɖ> and <x>; <m> and <ʃ>. Apparent instances of <q> for expected ɣ are thus more likely to be reading errors than genuine dialect differences, although *qq* is of course the geminate counterpart of ɣ in Tuareg generally.

2.2.3 Phonotactics

The cluster *zd productively becomes zz, as in 'purify' (impf. *zazzǎǧ* <zazǧ> no. 274, contrasting with non-geminate *hǎddiǧǎn* <haddiǧan> 'pure' no. 222). 'Mosques' (*tǎmǎzdiǧawen* <tamǎzdiǧawīn> no. 266) is an exception.

A number of clusters whose second element is *t* typically become voiceless geminates at the same place of articulation as the first element, as generally in Tuareg. This is productively seen for *k+t* in *e-hak-kǎt nǎkra* <iḥakat nakra> 'we will rent it to you' (no. 140).

More unusually for Tuareg, *n+d* seems to assimilate to *dd* in one instance, unless this is just the accidental omission of a letter: *si-wǎy-tǎd-d* <sīwaytad> 'have them brought (hither)' (no. 91) for expected *siwǎy-tǎn-d. This does not appear to be systematic, as illustrated by forms like *hund* <hūnd> 'like' (no. 144).

Uvular fricatives seem to induce lowering of an adjacent *i* to <a> (perhaps [ɛ]?), as observed in nos. 77 (*iyla* <aɣlā> 'it is expensive') and 82 (*ley ikǎtabǎn* <līy akataban> 'I have letters').

Uvulars seem to induce emphasis loss in nearby consonants by long-distance dissimilation, at least in Arabic loanwords: thus *ǎssax* <alssax> 'main thing' from *aš-šahḥ*, *ǎttabǎy* <ǎttabǎy> 'printing-press' (no. 246), from *al-ṭābiṣ*, and *ǎxīsyǎt* <raxīsyat> 'it is cheap' (no. 89), based on Arabic *raxīš*. This phenomenon is well-attested in Arabic dialects, and in Arabic loans into Siwi Berber further east.³⁷ Its extension to originally pharyngeal consonants, however, suggests that it must have been active within Ghat as well.

2.3 Sociolinguistic variation in Ghat Tamahaq

Comparison with other available sources reveals a number of differences in pronunciation, attesting to variation within Ghat Tamahaq. In

37 Souag, *Berber and Arabic in Siwa (Egypt): A Study in Linguistic Contact*, 37.

general, Richardson's materials align with Freeman's, matching Ahaggar Tuareg in some sociolinguistic variables (as already noted by Nehlil for Freeman), while Krause's are closer to Nehlil's (and Prasse's). These differences cannot be explained definitively with the limited data available. However, Richardson's and Freeman's consultants share a status not known to be shared by the others: both were trained religious scholars. The former is moreover reported to have had ancestors from the Tuat region, as discussed above, where Ahaggar Tuareg would certainly have been the locally best-known Tuareg variety. One might therefore speculate that this Ahaggar-like dialect was characteristic of an elite social network in Ghat centered on the originally Tuati family of the amənokol of the time, perhaps associated with religious scholarship, or perhaps—as the title of the phrasebook would suggest—emphasising ties to a particular nomadic group such as the Iwraghen; according to Prasse, the nomadic dialects of the Ajjer group with Tahaggart Tamahaq against those of Ghat and Djanet.³⁸ Conversely, the other sources reflect a dialect sharing important sociolinguistic variables with Niger Tamajeq, sometimes probably as local archaisms but likely at least reinforced by contact with long-distance traders from the south. But more data is needed.

This 19th-century variation, with some traits seeming more Tamajeq-like and others more Tamahaq-like, reflects a complex linguistic situation which is continued in today's Ghat: Tamajeq has long been spoken in Ghat due to the city's importance for long-distance trade involving Tamajeq speakers, with a more recent influx of speakers in past decades due to the previous regime's openness to Nigerien Tuareg settling in Libya. Meanwhile, even Arabic speakers who were involved with trade in Niger sometimes adopted Tamajeq.³⁹

The most important variables are discussed in the following eleven sections.

2.3.1 *z > h vs. ž

The reflexes of proto-Berber *z are a well-known point of variation with-

38 Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tahāggart) I-III, Phonétique - Ecriture - Pronom*, 11.

39 Thanks to Ines Kohl (p.c.) for this additional information.

in Tuareg.⁴⁰ The name of the language (< *ta-maziḡ-t) makes a handy shibboleth: Tamahaq in the north (*z > h), Tamasheq in the southwest (*z > š), Tamajeq in the southeast (*z > ž / z). In Ghat, however, the reflexes show considerable dialect-internal variation: the language itself is called <Temahuq> by Freeman’s consultant, but <temǎžeq> by Krause’s and <tamadjek’> by Nehlil’s. For Djanet, Prasse records both reflexes in different senses: *tǎmahǎq* (for the language) and *ǎmažǎḡ* ‘homme de comportement noble, Touareg étranger (surtout du Niger ou du Mali)’. According to Adam, contemporary Ghat usage actually prefers the Arabic label “Targia” (تارقية, i.e. “Tuareg language”), writing that “‘Tamaheq,’ the term used in the literature for the Tuareg language, is not used or even known by many of the local people.”⁴¹

Within this manuscript, the name of the language is not attested, but synchronic *h* ~ *ž* variation is found in the repeated term *ǎžyalǎḡ* ~ *ǎhyalǎḡ* ‘I would like’. The former corresponds directly to the Arabic pronunciation, *ǧʕl* or (more likely in this region) *žʕl*, while the latter reflects the characteristic Tamahaq shift of *ž* > *h*. The fact that both are used by the same scribe indicates that we are dealing with a sociolinguistic variable within a single dialect, rather than with dialectal variation among speakers.

The accompanying vocabulary (not transcribed in this article) provides further evidence for the correspondence of *h* here and in Freeman to *ž* in later sources, and even in Arabic loans:

	ms.	Freeman	Krause	Nehlil	Prasse
‘shop, house’	<taḡahāmt>	<táḡa-hamt>	—	—	taḡǎžamt
‘answer’ (Ar. <i>žāwab</i>)	—	<yehaḡab>	—	—	—
‘donkey’	<ṭhīḡ>	—	—	<ijjidh>	ežed

40 Prasse, *loc. cit.*

41 Adam, *A sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among Libyan Tuareg*, 42.

2.3.2 *z > h (ms., Freeman) vs. z (Nehllil, Krause)

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In many cases, *z is retained as z in Niger Tamajeq while still becoming *h* in Tahaggart Tamahaq. Ghat usually shows parallel variation in such cases, with *h* appearing in this manuscript and in Freeman where *z* appears in Krause, Nehllil, and Prasse; e.g.:

'sell'	<zanh>	<izieyha> oʒΣ:io	<zínz>	<zenz>	—
'day'	<ahal>	—	<ázəl> ǰsí	<azel>	azəl
'pure'	<hadīǰ>	<hedig> i:AT	—	<zeddidj>	zǎddiǰ
'blood'	—	<ehni>	—	<azeni>	—
'quickly'	<heek> (Richard- son's text)	<hie> (for *<hic>)	—	<zik>	—
'tall'	(vocab.) ihǎǰrīn	ihégerin (alongside verbal noun: tezegerút †ʒTO†)	—	<zedjrin>	zǎǰrāt

The same difference is reflected with assimilation (and irregular—probably archaic—absence of the noun prefix) in:

'yesterday'	<anǎhil>	—	—	<naz'zel>	—
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In a few exceptional cases, however, even the earlier sources show *z*, sometimes in variation with *h*:

'figs'	<āzaran> / (vocab.) <āharan>	—	—	<azaren>	—
'difference(s)'	<izamzay>	<azímizi> 'distinguish'	—	—	—
'necessary' (<Ar.)	<ilzām>	—	—	<our i telzim>	—

The change *z > *h* did not affect geminate *zz* or *zd* (which usually assimilates to *zz*), as in 'inhabit' (impf. <tazāy> in this ms.) or 'purify' (<zazǰ>, contrasting with non-geminate <haddīǰ> 'pure') or 'short' (Freeman: <Gezúl> vs. non-geminate <tígheli> 'shortness:')

This can only be interpreted as reflecting synchronic sociolinguistic variation. Ironically, the clear implication is that, in this re-

spect, later sources for Ghat represent more conservative varieties than the earliest ones.

2.3.3 *h involved/not involved in sibilant harmony

23

In Tuareg, as in many Berber varieties, sibilant harmony productively affects the causative prefix *s-*, which becomes *š/z/ž* if the root contains one of these sounds. There is no phonetic motivation for this process to involve *h*, and in most varieties it does not. However, phonologically regular application of the change *š > h* creates a morphologically irregular situation where some but not all *h*'s are involved in sibilant harmony. Treating *h* as a sibilant for harmony purposes allows this to be regularised, and the resulting change seems to be underway in 19th century Ghat.

In the causative 'make easy', Nehlil and Freeman's sources both voice the prefix, as though the *h* in the root derived from **z* (it does not, cf. Niger Tamajeq *inhal* 'be easy'), whereas this ms. leaves it unvoiced as historically expected:

'make easy'	<sanhal>	<yezinhel> ΣЖ!∩		<zenhel>
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With the Arabic loan 'prepare' (< *hayyi?*), this manuscript too voices the causative prefix, although the *h* is again original: <zahayyīd> and <zahīd> (i.e. *zāhayyi-d*).

2.3.4 *h > h (ms., Freeman) vs. Ø (Nehlil)

Proto-Tuareg **h* is often dropped by Nehlil's source, while surviving in this ms. and in Freeman, as in:

'house'	<īhan>	<éhen>	—	<ianan>	ehän, pl. ihānan 'ru- ral house' / yānan 'town house'
'chicken'	<tikahīt>	<écehi> 'a cock'	—	<tchikait>	ekāhi

In other cases, however, Nehlil too retains it:

'night'	<?ihaḍ>	<ahaḍ>	<éhad> اَهْط	<ihedh>	—
'strong (f.)'	<taṣṣūhīt>	<teṣúhat>	—	<teççohet>	—

Perhaps this reflects a change in progress taking off around the beginning of the 20th century. Prasse's remarkable gloss for 'houses' suggests that *h*-loss is synchronically associated with sedentary contexts today. Sedentary vs. nomadic origins might in turn correlate historically with class; Nehlil's consultant is the only one among the Ghat sources not to be a clearcut member of the town's elite.

2.3.5 *s > s (ms., Freeman) vs. š (Nehlil)

Nehlil's and Krause's sources tend to palatalise original *s, unlike Freeman's or this ms., but there is some variation within Nehlil.

'see'	<iswāḍ>	<iswāḍ> ⁴²	—	<échouedh>	—
'change'	<maskal>	<amiscal>	—	<mechkel>	—
				<chechou-	
				ou>	but
'give drink'	<sasu>	—	—	<sesou>	—
				(‘arroser’)	
'when'	<as>	—	—	<as ~ ach>	—
'tribes'	<tiwsātīn>	—	<tši-	<tchiouch-	—
			ušatšēn>	atchin>	

In most words, however, s and š seem to be consistent across sources:

'daughters'	<iši>	—	—	<ichchi>	əšš-e
'fire'	<tamsī>	<timesi>	—	<tchimsi>	temse

The observed distribution can clearly not be explained as a result of the sound change *si > ši, considered by Prasse (1972:11) as characteristic of southern Tuareg varieties. More or less variable palatalisation of sibilants is attested in Berber at least in Ouargla,⁴³ and in Arabic in many old urban varieties.⁴⁴ One might speculate that this became somehow emblematic of Ghat's urban identity.

42 Note that the originally Greek o-u ligature Ϝ is used by Freeman for /w/.

43 See Delheure, “Grammaire de la teggargrent (berbère parlé à Ouargla)”, 48.

44 See Benkato, “Towards an account of historical new-dialect formation in northern Africa: The case of sibilant merging in Arabic dialects.”

2.3.6 *t > t vs. č (Krause, Nehlil)

Nehlil's source often palatalises *t to <tch>, as does Krause's (to <č>). Prasse notes that this palatalisation (to *tʃ* for him) was considered by his consultants as characteristic of Ghat, taking place before front vowels, and absent from Djanet. This change, however, is unlikely to be reflected in an Arabic transcription—and indeed is not reflected in Krause's, whose source in Arabic script writes <t>—so its absence from the ms. should not be taken as probative.

The change *t > č is otherwise characteristic of Niger Tamajeq (with a further shift to š in Eastern Tawellemmet).⁴⁵ While affrication of *t* seems to recur across traditional urban varieties in Arabic and Berber (such as Figuig)⁴⁶ in the Sahara and North Africa, the reported distribution in Ghat matches better with Tamajeq, perhaps reflecting increasing influence from the south.

2.3.7 *g > g (ms.) vs. ġ (Nehlil)

Both this ms. and Nehlil reflect a split of *g into two synchronically distinct phonemes /g/ (<g> or <k>) and /ġ/ (a split not reflected in Freeman's transcription at all, where <g> T appears in all contexts). The overwhelmingly predominant reflex in both is /ġ/, as generally in northern and western Tuareg but not in Niger.⁴⁷ However, in three of the five cases where <g> is written in this manuscript, it varies text-internally with <ġ>:

'numerous' (ptcp.)	<taġīt>	—	—	m. <(a)idjin>	igġət 'it is ~'
'thank you'	<tanam- mīrt tagīt>	—	—	<tanem- mirt ennek tedjdjit>	—
'action' (v.n. of 'do')	sg. <igī> pl. <ġītan>	<lge>	—	<idji>	—

45 Prasse, *loc. cit.*

46 Saa, *Quelques aspects de la morphologie et de la phonologie d'un parler amazighe de Figuig*, 66–69.

47 Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tahāggart) I-III*, 12.

'please'	3m.sg. <igrāẓ> 3f.sg. <tağrāẓ>	—	—	<edjrez'>	—
'distance'	<īkiğji> <iğağj>	<lgig>	—	<toudjedji>	—

In other cases, the manuscript retains /g/ (often written <k>) where Nehlil shows /ğ/:

'place'	<idak> / <adag>	—	—	<idedj>	—
'guard'	<ākaẓ>	<Yogaž>	—	<adjez>	ağāz
'dinner'	<amagīn>	<Amagīni>	—	<amadjin>	—
'evening'	<tadakkat>	—	—	<tadedjat>	tadāggat (Chat: tadāğgāt)

In many cases, however, the two sources show the same distribution of reflexes:

'thousand'	<āğim>	<Agīm> oTĪ	—	<adjim>	—
'ask'	<yğmāy>	<lgmey>	—	<edjmi>	əğmi
'do, put'	<ağ>	<lga>	—	<edj>	—
'ceiling'	<dağā>	—	—	<tadadja>	—
'equal'	<yūkda>	<Yogda>	—	<iougda>	—

Idiolect-internal variation is evident not only in examples like 'please' and 'act' above, but also across derivations of the same verbal root, as may be seen by comparing 'do, put' to 'action'.

It is unclear what motivated the occasional retentions of *g*—evidently not phonetic context alone. Perhaps the change of **g* > *ğ* was not yet complete, or perhaps the use of *g* was another marker of scholarly status. One might even suspect that <*g*> was actually also pronounced as /ğ/; but that implausible hypothesis would simply leave us with a different case of sociolinguistic variation, in 'place' (<idag> / <adak>).

2.3.8 **d* > *d* (ms.) or *ğ* (Nehlil) / ...ğ

This new phoneme /ğ/ seems to induce progressive long-distance assimilation of /*d*/ for Nehlil's source but not for our ms's writer:

'mosques'	<tamazd- īgawīn>	—	—	<tchimezd- jidjaouin>	—
'wet'	(vocab.) <ibdāḡ>	<lbdag>	—	<ebdjedj> / <ebzedj>	abduḡ (n.)

2.3.9 Pharyngeals vs. uvulars

As discussed in 2.2.2, this manuscript almost always turns Arabic *ʕ* and *ħ* into *y* and *x*, as usual across Tuareg except in “maraboutic” tribes, whereas Nehlil’s source typically retains them. In many cases, the same word shows different forms in the different sources, implying variation at some point. As usual, Freeman’s source aligns with this ms, whereas Krause’s appears closer to Nehlil’s, showing retention at least of *ħ* in forms like <žáħa> ‘Juħa’, <ēt’irham> ‘may He have mercy on him’.

'health'	<alyāfiyat>	—	—	<elâafiet>	—
'custom'	—	<llyáda>	—	<elâada>	—
'silk'	<alxarīr>	—	—	<elh’arir’>	—
'sorcerers'	<īmissaxx- aran>	—	—	<imes- souh’ar>	—
'situation'	<alxāl>	—	—	<elh’al>	—

2.3.10 Uvular assimilation

In the dialect represented by this manuscript, unlike most Tuareg varieties, *ɣ*+*k* does not assimilate to *qq*, as shown by no. 14 (<əflasǎy-kǎy <ʔaflāsaxkay> ‘I trust you’). This can hardly be a merely orthographic phenomenon, as the assimilation of *k*+*t* > *kk* is clearly transcribed, e.g. in no. 140 (<e-hak-kāt nākra <īhakat nakra> ‘we will rent it to you’.) Contrast Krause (p. 40), with the expected assimilation: <āreq-qǎy <areqaī> ‘I want you’.

2.3.11 Voiceless affricates

For ‘eat’, most Tuareg varieties have *ǎkš*, with irregular dissimilation of *t* > *k*, while most northern Berber varieties show *ǎčč*. (The original form may be reconstructed as *ǎtyəʔ, according to Kossmann.⁴⁸) Ghat

48 Kossmann, “Three irregular Berber verbs: ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘be cooked, ripen’”

shows variation: the usual reflex in this ms. and in other sources for Ghat proper is *áčč*, but in the accompanying vocabulary (by the same consultant) we find <akš>, which is also what Prasse records for Djan-et.

'eat'	<aš> / (vocab.) <akš>	<itše> otḠo —	<etch>	ākš
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2.3.12 Vowel-zero alternations

This ms. has <naku> as well as <nak> for 'I', corresponding to Prasse's *nākk*, *nākku*, whereas Nehlil explicitly says that his source used <nek> and <nekkounan> but not <nekkou>. (Freeman only records <Nec>, and Krause <nak>, without commenting on other variant forms of the first person singular pronoun.)

A striking point of variation both within this manuscript and across the sources is the form of "I want": *ārey* <arīḡ>, the conservative form, is attested 9 times (nos. 33, 67, 85, 86, 133, 141, 225, 242, 243), but *rey* <rīḡ>, with the initial vowel dropped as in some northern Berber languages, occurs 10 times (nos. 44, 111, 122, 129, 150, 151, 210, 211, 212, 281). Freeman (p. 32), aligning as usual with Richardson, confirms the unexpected latter variant, giving <Reḡ> without the initial vowel. Later sources simply give the expected form with the initial vowel: Krause (p. 40) has <areqai> 'I want you', Nehlil <arir> 'I want' (p. 111), and Prasse *āreq-qān* 'I like them'. According to Prasse, Tahaggart too shows variation on this point.⁴⁹

2.4 Morphological traits of Ghat within Tuareg

2.4.1 Traces of the archaic future paradigm

Remarkably, Ghat appears to retain an archaic Berber trait preserved in Ghadames and Sokna but not yet described for any Tuareg variety: the absence of 1sg/2sg subject marking suffixes in certain classes of verbs in the aorist.⁵⁰ This is attested here in only three examples, involving

49 Prasse, *Tuareg Elementary Course*, 38.

50 See respectively Kossmann, "Le futur à Ghadamès et l'origine de la con-

two verbs: *ākn* ‘make, do well’ (no. 253, no. 15) and *mānḍār* ‘return’ (no. 125).

In Ghadames, suffix omission applies throughout unless the verb’s aorist stem is monosyllabic, ends in *u*, or has the shape *iCi* or *əCCa/iD*. The distribution is probably somewhat different in Ghat: suffix omission is consistently not found with verbs from Prasse’s Conjugation I.A.1/2, such as *alməd* ‘learn’ (no. 44), *əktəb* ‘write’ (no. 33), *āqqəl* ‘arrive’ (no. 26), all of which should show suffix omission in Ghadames or Sokna. This difference in distribution makes a contact explanation in terms of influence from Ghadames appear unlikely.

The task of describing its distribution, however, is complicated not just by the paucity of examples but by evidence of variation. Verbs of Prasse’s Conjugation I.A.7 do not show consistent behaviour in this manuscript: *ākn* ‘make, do well’ (no. 253) displays suffix omission, but *ākf* ‘give’ (no. 72; cf. also Nehlil, p. 43) does not. (Neither does the one example of this class for which Freeman happens to provide a conjugation table: *āčč* ‘eat’.) The manner in which no. 15 was written provides a striking testimony to the “optionality” of suffix omission even for the same verb in the same phrase: the scribe evidently started by writing <ḡihatak>, with a word-final <n> and no <d>, then changed his mind and tacked a rather puny <d> on to the tail of the <n>. Probably the analogical restoration of the suffix was already well under way, making suffix omission a marked optional choice, comparable to the use of the subjunctive in many varieties of English today. The limited size of the corpus makes it impossible to say much more, but clearly testing this should be a priority for any fieldwork on the variety of Ghat.

2.4.2 Irrealis/imperfective particles

In all Ghat sources the irrealis particle is *ed-* (here <id>), as in Tahaggart, rather than *ad-* as in most other Tuareg and Berber varieties. In extraction contexts, it is replaced with *ha-/he-* (in this ms. <ha> no. 15 / <hu ḡi>(!) no. 59), more or less matching Tahaggart *he* but contrasting with forms like *za/mad/mar* in most southern Tuareg varieties.

jugaison verbale en berbère,” and Souag, “Le parler berbère de Sokna à la lumière de nouvelles données.”

2.4.3 Quality verb markers

Ghat stands out within Tuareg as a whole for retaining the 3f.sg. quality verb suffix /-yät/, spelled <-yat> in this ms. (no. 89 *rāxisyät* ‘it is cheap’, based on Arabic *raxīṣ*) and <-iet> in Nehlil and Freeman.⁵¹ According to Kossmann, “The suffix /-yät/ is not attested in dialects spoken outside Niger.”⁵² Its preservation in Ghat is another of the features of this dialect that recalls Niger Tamajeq, and distinguishes the dialect of this manuscript from Tahaggart.

2.4.4 Possessive pronouns

The 3sg. genitive marker in Ghat is *-annes* (<anīs> in no. 106, cf. Krause: <innēs>), whose *s* matches most Berber languages as well as Malian Tamasheq, but contrasts with Tahaggart and Niger Tamajeq *-annet*.

2.4.5 Interrogatives

The usual Tahaggart interrogatives *ma* ‘what?’ (no. 237), *mi* ‘who?’ (no. 270), *mani* ‘where?’ (no. 74), *emme* ‘when?’ (no. 104) are all well-attested in this manuscript (although *ma* usually occurs here in conventionalised combinations: *ma + umas* ‘be’ for ‘what?’, e.g. no. 220; *ma-d + ugdu* for ‘how much?’, e.g. no. 91)

Some forms, however, are less expected. Tahaggart uses *manek-* plus obligatory 3rd person object pronouns for ‘which is it?’, and unproductive *man-* for ‘which?’. The former is unattested in this manuscript; its closest match is a repeated form <minakīd>/<mānikīd> (probably to be reconstructed as *menakid/manekid*), rendering Arabic أين or فين ‘where?’, and explicitly translated as ‘where?’ in the vocabulary. As pointed out by Maarten Kossmann (p.c.), this might plausibly be derived from *manek-* ‘which one’ with a directional suffix *-id* ‘hither’. However, it occurs in contexts where a directional suffix appears synchronically impossible, so if this etymology is correct it must be a fos-

51 Nehlil, *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*, 57; Freeman, *A Grammatical Sketch Of The Temahuq or Towarek Language*, 27.

52 Kossmann, *A Grammar of Ayer Tuareg* (Niger), 69. But note his comments on the difficulty of interpreting Nehlil’s data for this feature, Kossmann, “La flexion du prétérit d’état en berbère: questions de morphologie comparée,” 165 n. 19.

silised form. As such it appears to be unattested elsewhere in Tuareg.

Man-ăket for ‘how many?’ (followed by a noun in the construct state) is widespread in Tuareg, but in this ms. it is variously written <minakīt>/<mīnakīt>/<manakīt>, implying a pronunciation *men-ăket* distinct from that found elsewhere.

Two other interrogatives are found: *ənnəs* (no. 62, no. 239) and *ənnar* (no. 22) ‘which?’ The former seems to be rarely used across Tuareg, while the latter is reported by Prasse to be used by southern Tuareg (notably including Tamajeq) rather than by Tahaggart.⁵³

Polar interrogatives in this manuscript (yes-no questions) rather frequently use *mey* (otherwise ‘or’) as a sentence-final (occasionally sentence-initial) particle. This contrasts with Nehlil’s description, where sentence-final polar question tags are supposed to require a specified alternative: *mey kăla* ‘or not.’⁵⁴

2.4.6 Verbal nouns

This manuscript seems to show a certain predilection for verbal nouns with no noun class prefix: *musnăt* <musnat>/<mūsnat> ‘to know’, *medan* <mīdān> ‘counting, account’, *morăġăt* <mūraġat> ‘permission’, *ləmmudăt* <lumudat>/<lammudat> ‘to learn’. The latter two have not been observed in dictionaries examined. However, most verbal nouns here follow more widespread patterns.

2.5 Arabic dialectal differences and misunderstandings

In general, the translator seems to have understood the phrases reasonably well despite dialectal differences. However, some key grammatical elements of Levantine Arabic were evidently wholly unfamiliar in what would become southwestern Libya. The indicative imperfective *b-* of Levantine Arabic was consistently misinterpreted as the future/volitional *b-* of Libyan Arabic and thus translated with Tamahaq *ăr* ‘want’, as for instance in no. 5 and in nos. 248 and 250 where Levantine *b-taʕrif* ‘do you know’ is rendered in Tamahaq as *tăred* ‘do you want to.’⁵⁵

53 Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tahăggart)* I-III, 220.

54 Nehlil, *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*, 54.

55 On Libyan *b-* see Benmoftah & Pereira, “Les futurs en arabe de Tripoli

Similarly, the Levantine genitive particle *tabaṣ* was interpreted by the translator as a verb ‘follow’ (Tamahaq *alkəm*) in no. 13. Conversely, in no. 144, Levantine *kēf* ‘how’ was understood as a preposition ‘like’, in accordance with Libyan usage.

Vocabulary differences, too, sometimes posed problems. An obscure word for ‘boat’, *šaxtūr*, was apparently sufficient to make the translator give up on no. 139 altogether. Eastern Arabic *khawāja* ‘gentleman, foreigner’ simply meant ‘rich man’ in Libya, and is rendered here as ‘one who has cattle/riches’ (nos. 27, 37). Or in no. 134, *ḥawwil hunā* (intended ‘alight here’) was understood as mentioning Libyan *ḥawli*, a traditional wool cloak, and rendered with Tamahaq *abroy ill-e* ‘the blanket is here’. Levantine *sakkir* ‘close’, though used in at least some parts of Libya, was read as *sukkar* ‘sugar’ in no. 184. In other cases, unknown Levantine place names were understood literally or reanalyzed, such as *ṭarīq mar sā(bā)* ‘the road of St. Sa(bba)’ rendered as *ābārāqqa (n) mārsa* ‘the harbor road’ and *bayt laḥm* ‘Bethlehem’ being rendered by *ayil wan san* ‘the direction of meat’ in no. 128.

Even valid Classical items could sometimes be unfamiliar to the translator. Weak roots seem to have been particularly likely to cause confusion, perhaps due to the morphological complications they pose to L2 speakers. For example, in no. 14, *mamnūn* ‘favoured’ seems to have been misunderstood as a derivative of *ʔmn* ‘be trustworthy’, thus yielding *ʔfləs* ‘trust’, rather than from *mnn* ‘to favour’. In no. 26, *tarāǧǧā* ‘beg (a favour)’ seems to have been understood as a mispronunciation based on ‘return’ (*rǧṣ*), and yielding Tamahaq *āqqəl* ‘return’. (As mentioned, neither the translator’s native Tamahaq nor the travellers’ native English and German included a phoneme *ʕ*, so the relevant forms may have been pronounced identically for them.) In no. 100, the imperative *haddi(?)* ‘calm, stop’ was misunderstood as the Libyan fem. demonstrative *hādī* ‘this’. In no. 155, *aḍi(?)* ‘to light’—which in Libya would normally have been expressed as *wallaṣ*—seems to have been read as a misspelling of its antonym *atfi(?)* ‘put out’ (recall that geminating *ḍ* yields *tṭ* in Tuareg).

3. Phrases

Label:	Dialogues in Arabic and the Aurâghee a Dialect of the Tuaregs - Ghat 24 July 1850. A
Arabic title:	هَذِهِ كَلَامُ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ مُتَرْجَمٌ بِاللُّغَاتِ الْأَوْزَاغِيَّةِ 'This is Arabic speech translated into Awraghi Tuareg'
English title:	Short Dialogues in Arabic and in the Aurâghee-dialect of the Tuâregs

Each entry will be given here in the following format: the first three lines reproduce the source in the order English, Arabic, Tamahaq (plus transcription in < > brackets added by the editors); the next two lines give a reconstructed transcription based on later documentation of Tamahaq, followed only where necessary by a more literal translation. The sometimes idiosyncratic spelling or punctuation of English and Arabic text of the ms. has been reproduced exactly. If the entry in the ms. is written over multiple lines, a slash / indicates the line break.

<p. 1 = Kayat 1844, p. 20-21>

(Dialogue 1: Polite Conversation)

1. Good morning
صباح الخير
مَائُولُ تُفَاتَنَّكَ <mā tūla tufatannak>
Ma tola tufat-ənnāk? 'What is your morning like?'
2. Good evening
مسأ الخير
مَائُولُ تِنِيسِئَنَّكَ <mā tūla tinisīnnak>
Ma tola tenäse-nnāk? 'What is your evening like?'
3. How do you do?
كيف حالك
مَادُ يُولُ أَلْخَالَنَّكَ <mād yūla ʔalxālannak>
Ma-d yola ālxal-ənnāk? 'With what is your situation like?'
4. Where are you going?
وبن رايع
مَنِ اسْتَكِيدُ <mani 'stakīd>
Mani-s təkkeḍ? 'Where are you going towards?'
5. Do you travel alone?
انت بتسافر وحدك

- تَرِيدُ أَسِكَلُ مَاَسَنَّاكُ <tarīd asikal ḡāsannak>
 Tāred asikəl ḡas-ənnāk? ‘Do you want to travel alone?’
6. very well
 بالف خير (With a thousand goodnesses)
 سَاچِم نَلْخِيرُ <sāḡim nalxīr>
 S āḡim n ālxe ‘With a thousand of goodness’
7. Thank you
 كتر خيرك (Increase your goodness)
 تَنَمِيرْتُ تَجِيْتُ <tanammīrt tḡīt>
 Tanəmmert tāḡḡit (or: tāḡḡet). ‘Blessing has increased (or: plentiful blessing).’
8. Thank God
 الحمد لله
 أَجُوْرَ مَسِيْبَتَغْ <?aḡūḡa masīnaḡ>
 Āḡoḡa⁵⁶ Māss-ināḡ ‘Thank our Lord’
9. I hope you are quite well
 ان شاء الله تكون مبسوط
 اِنْ شَاءَ اللّٰه تَادِيُوْءُ <?in šā?a ‘llāha tadīwid>
 Inšal!a tāddiwed. ‘Inshallah you are glad.’
- <p. 2 = Kayat 1844, p. 21-23>
10. I am very well thank God
 بالف خير لله الحمد (In a thousand goodnesses, thank God)
 نَكُ سَاچِم نَلْخِيرُ أَجُوْرَ يَالله <naku sāḡim nalxīr aḡūḡa yāllah>
 Nākku s āḡim n ālxe āḡoḡa Yā!la ‘I am with a thousand of goodness, thank God’
11. I am very glad to see you arrived safe
 لله الحمد على وصولك بالسلامه (Thank God for your arrival in safety)
 نَجْحِيْ يَالله فُلُو السَّلَامَةِ نَكُ <naḡūḡiyy yāllah fulū ‘ssalāmat nnak>
 Nāḡoḡāy (i) Yā!la foll⁵⁷ āssālamāt-ənnāk ‘We thank God for your safety’

56 This is probably a noun, as in Arabic, corresponding to Mali Tamasheq *ājoḡa*; but on that analysis the absence of a dative preposition appears odd. Perhaps it should rather be analysed as an irregular Niger-like 1sg verbal form, as suggested by Maarten Kossmann.

57 The scribe seems likely to have transposed <l> and <w> here.

12. I hope you will not be long absent from us
 إن شاء الله ما بتغيب عنا كثير
 إِنْ شَاءَ اللّٰهُ وَزُهَيْنُ التَّكْرُ اِيَكْتُ <?in šāʔa ʔllāh warhīn iltakad ʔikit>
 Inšaʔla wār-hin əttəkk(e)d eket 'Inshallah you are not going
 away for long.'
13. As it pleases God⁵⁸
 تبع تسهيل الباري (Of God's making easy)
 اَلْكَمَّ يَاوَدِّي سَنُهَلْ يَاللّٰه
 Əlkəm y-awa da isanhal Yāʔla 'Follow what God makes easy here'
14. I am very much obliged to you
 أنا كثير ممنونك
 اَفْلَاسْغَكَي هُوَلْنُ <?aflāsaɣkay hūllan>
 Əflasəɣ-käy hullan. 'I trust you very much.'
15. Will you do me a favor?
 تريد تعمل معي معروف
 تَرِيْدُ اِيَهْتَكْنَدُ اَيُّلَاوَعْنُ <tarīd ʔihataknad ʔayulāuɣan>⁵⁹
 Tāred e ha-təknəd a yolaɣän? 'Do you want to do something
 good?'
16. With great pleasure
 بالراس والعين (With head and eye)
 فُولُ اَعْفِيْنُ اء تِيْطِيْنُ <fūl ʔaɣafīn ad tīṭīn>
 Foll əɣäf-in əd teṭṭ-in 'On my head and my eye.'
17. You are welcome
 اهلا وسهلا
 اَدِّوِيْغَكْ هُوَلْنُ <?addiwiɣak hūllan>
 Əddiwey-ak hullan. 'I am very glad for you.'
18. I hope you are better
 ان شا الله تكون احسن
 اِنْ شَاءَ اللّٰهُ اِيْدُ تَلْعَدُ <?in šāʔa ʔllah ʔidtalɣad>
 Inšaʔla ed-taləɣəd 'Inshallah you will get better.'
19. Yes
 نعم

58 Skipped in ms.: Please God; Through God's favour.

59 The reading of this phrase presents some difficulties; the *-d* has been added after the *n*, and the middle of the last word seems to have been overwritten. The transcription of *yolaɣän* is also odd.

- هُولَنَّ <hūllan>
Hullan. 'A lot.'
20. I have a letter of introduction to you
أنا معي كتاب توصي لك
إِوَايَعَكْ أَكْتَبَنَّكَ <iwāyaḡakadd akatabannak>
Ewayāḡ-ak-ədd akātab-ənnāk. 'I have brought you your writing.'
21. Welcome
مرحبا
مَرْخَبَا <marxabā>
Mārxāba 'Welcome'
22. When did you come?
ايمتا جيت
إِنَّرْ إِيْمِرْ أَسْتُسِيْدْ <?innar ?imīr ?asatūsīd>
Ənnar emer as tosed? 'Which time did you come?'
23. Today.
اليوم
أَهْلَوَاءْ عَّ <?ahalwāday>
Ahāl wadāḡ 'Today'
24. Yesterday
امس
أَنْطَاهِلْ <?anṭāhil>
Ənṭ-ahāl 'Yesterday'
25. I hope you will tell me anything I can do for you.
بترجاك تقول لي كلام يلزمك (I beg of you to tell me a word you need)
إِيَهَكَ أَقْلَغْ تَنْدْ تَقِيْرْ تَنْكْ <?ihak ?aqqalay tanad tafirtannak>
E-hak äqqäläḡ tännäd tafert-ənnāk. 'I will return to you and you will say your word.'
- <p. 3 = Kayat 1844, p. 23-26>
26. I beg you
بترجاك
إِيَهَكَ أَقْلَغْ مِيْغْ <?ihak aqalay mīḡ>
E-hak äqqäläḡ meḡ? 'Will I return to you?'
27. O Sir
يا خواجة
وَيَلَنَّ إِيَهْرِيْ <waylan iharī>
Wa ylan ehäre 'One who owns cattle/wealth'

28. (English left blank in ms.)⁶⁰
يا سيد
وَيُوفِن <wayūfan>
Wa yufan 'Superior one'
29. Good bye
خاطرکم <your good pleasure>
سَلْخِير يَا <salxīr yā>
S ālxeṛ ya 'With goodness'
30. With peace
مع السلامه
دَغ السَّلَامَة <daḡ 'ssalāmat>
Dāḡ āssālamāt 'In safety'
31. We hope to see you again
ان شا الله نشوفك بخير (Inshallah we will see you in good health)
إِن شَاءَ اللَّهُ إِدْتَمَّيِّي سَالْخِير <?in šāʔa 'llāh idnamanay sālḡīr>
Inšalla ed-nāmmāñy s ālxeṛ. 'Inshallah we will see each other with goodness.'
32. Write to me when you arrive at Damascus
اكتب لي عند وصولك إلى الشام
أَكْتَبِيد دَغ السَّام <aktabīd daḡ 'ššām>
Əktəb-i-d dāḡ Āššām. 'Write to me in the Levant.'
33. I certainly will write to you
أنا معلوم بكتب لك
أَرِيغْ إِيهَكَ اِكْتَبَغ <?arīḡ ?īhaka 'ktabaḡ>
Āreḡ e-hak əktəbāḡ. 'I want to write to you.'
34. God bless you
الله يكون معك (God be with you)
تَدِيدُودْ أَدْمَسِينَاغ <tadīwad ?admasīnaḡ>
Tāddewād əd Māss-ināḡ. 'You are with Our Lord.'

60 In Kayat this phrase follows the above with the note "to a Mohamedan Lord or Christian Bishop".

- 38 35. Do not take the trouble⁶¹
 لا تكافى الخاطر (Do not recompense the good pleasure)
 وَرَهْسْتِكِيدِ أَوْر لِيرِي <warhastikīd awar īrī>
 Wār-ha tægged a wār ire. 'Don't do to him what he doesn't
 want.'
36. It is great pleasure
 حلت البركه (Blessing has opened)
 تَلِّي الْبَرَكَه <tallī 'lbarakah>
 Təll-e ālbārākāt. 'There is blessing.'
37. Give my compliments to Mr
 سلم لي على الخواج
 تَهُولَدِين وَيَلْن إِبْهَرِي <tahūladīn waylan īhārī>
 Tāhulād-i-n wa ylan ehäre. 'You greeted for me the one who
 owns wealth/cattle.'
38. Certainly
 معلوم
 يَمُون <yamūn>
 Yāmmun. 'It is obvious.'
39. Excuse me
 لا توأخذني <don't chastise me>
 وَرَهْتَرْمِسِيدِ سِيْجِيْهِن <warhitarmisayd⁶² sigīhin>
 Wār-hi tärmesād s igi-hin. 'Don't hold me for my act.'
40. Do not mention it
 حاشاك من المواخذة (Far be you from chastisement)
 وَرَجِيْعْ كَيِّ وَأَيْرْمَسْن سِيْجِيْج <warġī'x kay wāyrmasan sīkiġi>
 Wārġex kāy wa yärmäsän s igeġi. 'It's not you that holds (is
 held?⁶³) from a distance.'
41. God grant that we may see you well and in good health
 اللهُ يرينا وجهك بخير وعافه (God show us your face in goodness and
 health)
 إِهْنَعْ بِسْمِنْدِكَ مَسِيْنَعْ سَالْغَاوِيْتَه <?ihanaḡ yasmanidak masīnaḡ sālyāfi-

61 In Kayat, the Arabic is misprinted as لا تكافى الخاطر, no doubt leading to further misunderstanding in the Tamahaq translation.

62 Probably with accidental transposition of <y> and <s>.

63 The phrase would seem to make more sense if the verb is assumed to be labile.

yat>

E-hanǧ yəsmənəy d-ək Mäss-inǧ s ǧlyafiyät. 'May our Lord cause us to meet up with you in good health.'

(Dialogue 2: Discourse with an Interpreter)

42. Do you speak English?
 بتعرف انكليزي (Do you know English?)
 <tarīd musnat antakilizit>
 Tāred musnät ən Tākälizit⁶⁴? 'Do you want to know English?'
- <p. 4 = Kayat 1844, p. 26-28>
43. French or Italian
 فرنساوي واطلياني (French and Italian)
 <?afṛānsī 'ṭṭalyānī>
 Afransi əd⁶⁵ Ṭālyani 'French and Italian'
44. I speak English
 انا بعرف انكليز (I know England)
 ريغ اءلمءغ انكليز <rīḡ ʔidalmaday ankiliz>
 Reḡ ed-əlmədǧ Ənkäliz. 'I want to learn England.'
45. I want to travel into the country
 انا بدي اسافر في البلاد
 اءءالء آسيكل <aḥyālay⁶⁶ asīkal>
 Āḥyālǧ asikəl. 'I would like to travel.'
46. Do you know the different parts of the country
 انا بتعرف نواحي البلاد
 اءءالء آسءلبي نكال <aḥyālay musnat an saqlay n akāl>
 Āḥyālǧ musnät ən səqlay n äkal. 'I would like to know the surroundings of the country.'

64 The first and second vowels of 'England' and 'English' are assumed to be ə, since they vary between <i> and <a> in this manuscript.

65 The assimilation of *d* to the following *ṭ* is not transcribed here.

66 The third character here could be ٱ or ض; the reading assumes that this is a variant of the same originally Arabic verb given as *əḡyāl* further on, as discussed in section 2.3.

47. Have you ever travelled⁶⁷ with any traveller before.
 انت سافرت مع غير سراج⁶⁸
 <tasūkalad walā amaḍin watlīd>
 Tāssokālād wāla amaḍin⁶⁹ wa taled? 'Did you travel without the
 herd/grazing you have?'
48. Have you certificates of character.
 عندك اوراق شهادت
 <allānat ḡurak tirwīn 'ntuḡuhāwīn>
 Əllanāt ḡor-ək terawen⁷⁰ ən təḡuhawen? 'Do you have letters of
 attestation?'
49. What countryman are you?
 انت من اي بلد (Which country are you from?)
 <mā yamūs ?akālannak>
 Ma yāmos ākal-ənnāk? 'What is your country?'
50. Can you teach the language?
 انت بتحسن تعلم اللغة
 <tarīd musnat nalūḡa>
 Tāred musnāt n āllūḡa? 'Do you want to learn the language?'
51. How old are you?
 قدر ايش عمرك
 <mādyūkdālyamarannak>
 Ma-d yogda ālḡāmār-ənnāk? 'What is your age equal to?'
52. What language do you speak best.
 اي لغة بتعرف احسن
 <mā yamūs ?awāl watasanad hūll_n>
 Ma yāmos awal wa təssānād hullan? 'What is the language that
 you know a lot?'
53. Do you speak Turkish?
 بتعرف تركي

67 In Kayat: Did you ever travel...

68 Kayat has سواج 'tourists', miscopied in the ms. as سراج 'grazing'.

69 Not found in dictionaries examined, but evidently matches in meaning and form with the attested corresponding feminine form *tamaḍint*.

70 This appears to be a cross-dialectally unusual plural form.

- تَرِيد لُمُدَات أَن تَتُّرِكِيَت <tarīd lumudāt an taturkīt>
Tāred ləmmudāt⁷¹ ən tāturkit? ‘Do you want to learn Turkish?’
54. Do you know Hebrew?
بتعرف عبراني
تَرِيد لُمُدَات أَن تَعْبِرَانِيَت <tarīd lumudāt an taṣībranīt>
Tāred ləmmudāt ən tāṣībranit? ‘Do you want to learn Hebrew?’
55. Do you know any Persian?
بتعرف فارسي
تَرِيد لُمُدَات أَن تَلْفَارِسِيَت <tarīd lumudāt an talfārsīt>
Tāred ləmmudāt ən tālfarsit? ‘Do you want to learn Persian?’
56. Do you know the grammar?
بتعرف نحو و صرف (Do you know grammar and morphology?)
تَرِيد لُمُدَات نَا النَّحْوِ وَالصَّرْف <tarīd lummudāt nannaḥwid’ṣṣarfa>
Tāred ləmmudāt n ānnāḥw əd āṣṣārf a? ‘Do you want to learn the grammar and morphology?’
57. Where did you learn?
فين تعلمت (Where did you/she learn?)
مَانِيَد اَتَّلَمَد <mānid ‘ttalamad>
Mani-d-āt təlmād? ‘Where did she learn it?’
58. Is your father living?
ابوك طيب (Your father is good)
تِيكَ يَظِيَد <tīk yaẓīd>
Ti-k yaṣed. ‘Your father is agreeable.’
59. I will engage you.
⁷² انا باخدم من (I shall work / I will serve us / I will make us work)⁷³
نَاك مِيَهْ إِخْدَمَغ <nak mīh<u>⁷⁴ ?ixdamay>
Nāk mi he-xdāmāy? ‘Me, whom shall I serve?’

<p. 6 = Kayat 1844, p. 28-31>

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- 71 This verbal noun is not attested in other dialects examined, so the vowel quality is somewhat conjectural.
- 72 Miscopying of ن for Kayat’s ك, producing a form that is difficult to parse.
- 73 The messy Arabic was interpreted as if it had a shadda and a missing space: *baxdim-man*.
- 74 While this looks like quite a clear *ḍamma*, we seem obliged to interpret it as an incomplete *sukūn*.

60. What do you expect a month?
قدر ايش بذك بالشهر
ميتكت تريبه ناك تاليت <minakīt tarīd nāk tālīt>
Men-āket tāred nak tallit? 'How much do you want for each month?'
61. Come to me tomorrow morning.
تعالى لعنه بكرة على بكر
تنهيد ناك توفت <tanhiyadīd nāk tūfat>
Tāñhəyād-i-d nak tufat. 'You should come early to me every morning.'
- (Dialogue 3: Discourse with a Servant)*
62. What is your name
ايش اسمك
آنس إسمك <annas isamannak>
Ənnəs esəm-ənnāk?
63. Peter tell me if you can cook?
يا بطرس قل لي ان كان بتعرف تطبخ
هيه بطرس تساند آسنغي <hiy baṭras tasānad asanḡi>
Hey Bāṭras təssanād asəḡji? 'Hey Boutros, do you know cooking?'
64. Have you ever travelled with English travellers?
سافرت ابدًا مع حوارة انكليز
تسوكل د تارتايد ادميوين نكليز <tasūkal_d tartāyad 'dmayawayn nankalīz>
Tässokālād tārtayād əd mǎyyāwānān⁷⁵ n Ənkəlīz? 'Have you travelled mixing with rich people from England?'
65. Have you any certificates?
عندك اوراق
تليد إكتبن ميغ <talīd ikataban mīḡ>
Tələd ikātabān meḡ? 'Do you have any writings?'
66. Do you know their names?
بتعرف اسميهم
تساند إسموتسن <tasānad ismawanasan>
Təssanād esmawān-nāsān?

75 We assume the last <y> of this word was written as a mistake for <n>.

67. I want to go to Jerusalem, Damascus, Baalbec and to all parts of Syria.
 انا بدّي اسافر على القدس والشام وبعلبك وكل بر الشام
 <naka rīy tikawta
 na'lššām da'lquds adkallan na'lššām amdān>
 Nāk ārey tikawt n Āššam d Ālquds əd kallān n Āššam əmdan. 'I want to go to the Levant and Jerusalem and all the lands of the Levant.'
68. Do you know the roads?
 بتعرف الطرقات
 <tasānad ibardān>
 Təssanād ibərdan?
69. Do you know the best muleteers?
 بتعرف المكاربه الملاح
 <tasānad imakāriyyan>
 Təssanād imākariyyān? 'Do you know muleteers?'
70. What are your wages?
 قدر ايش اجرک
 <mād yūkda alkarannak>
 Ma-d yogda ālkāra-nnāk? 'What is your wage equal to?'
71. I take you by the month.
 انا باخذك مشاهرة
 <ihīdākād nāk tālīt>
 E-hi-d ttakkād nak tallit. 'You will be going to me every month.'
72. I will pay you a month in advance.
 انا بدفع لك اجرة شهر سلف
 <ikayy akfaḡ alkarā tālīt asārḡal>
 E-kāy ākfāḡ ālkāra tallit asārḡal. 'I will give you wages a month in advance.'
73. Do you know of any inns here?
 بتعرف البارجات هون
 <təssanad alfūndaq dīday mīy>
 Təssanād ālfundāq dedāḡ mey? 'Do you know a hotel here?'
74. Which is the best?
 ابن هي الاحسن
 <mānitātūfat>
 Mani ta tufāt? 'Where is the best one?'

75. I want to hire a house.
 انا بدِّي استاجر بيت
 أَجْعَالُغْ إِدْكَرَغْ إِيْهَنْ <ʔajɣālay idakray ʔiħan>
 Əʒɣaləɣ⁷⁶ ed-əkṛəɣ ehən. 'I would like to rent a house.'
76. How much does he ask
 قدر ايش بيطلب
 ما دْ يُوْكَدْ أَوْا بِيْمَايِ <mādyūkda ʔawā yǧmāy>
 Ma-d yogda awa yəǧmay? 'What is what he asks for equal to?'
- <p. 5 = Kayat 1844, p. 31-34>
77. It is very dear.
 غالي كثير
 أَغْلَا هُوْلَنْ <aɣlā hūllan>
 lɣla hullan. 'It is very expensive.'
78. I want it cheap.
 انا بدِّي اياه رخيص
 اِغْرَاظِ اِئِينِ رَخِيصِ <igrāzi ʔinnīn raxiṣ>
 lgrāz-i innīn rāxiṣ. 'It pleases me that it is cheap.'
79. I give you twenty dollars a month
 انا بعطيك عشرين ريال بالشهر
 اِيْهَكْ اَجْغْ سَنْتَمَرْوِينِ تَرْيَالِ اِتْلَيْتِ <iħak ajaɣ sanatamarwīn nariyyāl
 itallit>
 E-hak əǧəɣ sənat təmərwen n əriyyal⁷⁷ i tāllit. 'I will put for you
 twenty riyals a month.'
80. Call me a good muleteer here
 جيب لي مكارى مليح لهون
 سِيْسِيْدِ اَمْكَارِي يُوْلَاغَنْ <sīsīd amakārī yūlāɣan>
 Sis-i-d amākari yolayän. 'Bring me a good muleteer.'
81. Come to me in the evening
 تعالى لعند بالمسا
 اَسِيْدِ حُوْرِ اِهَضْ وَاَدَاغْ <asid ɣūri iħaḍ wādaɣ>

76 This verb, unattested in Tuareg dictionaries examined, seems to express volition. It is presumably a borrowing of Arabic جعل, which in Siwi would mean "think, believe." For an apparent variant with *h*, see above.

77 Probably not the same vowels as Niger *arrayal* (pointed out by Maarten Kossmann); cf. Freeman's *areyalen*, which also shows no gemination of the *r*.

As-əd ɣor-i ehəḍ wadäy. 'Come to my place tonight.'

82. Go and see if I have any letters at the post office
 روح شوف ان كان لي مكاتب في البوسطا
 <sīkal asann kud līy akataban
 day 'lbūstā>
 Sīkal əssən kud leɣ ikātabān dəy əlbostā. 'Go find out if I have
 letters at the post office.'

83. Show me the house of the Consul
 فرجيني بيت القنسل
 <saknīd īhan nalqunṣul>
 Səkn-i-d ehān n əlqunṣul. 'Show me the house of the consul.'

(Dialogue 4: Discourses with a Merchant)

84. Have you any Damascus silk?
 عندك قماش شامي (Do you have Levantine cloth?)
 <talā ɣūrak tabūrit nālššām>
 Təlla ɣor-ək taborit n Əššām? 'Do you have a piece of cloth of
 the Levant?'
85. I want some new pattern.
 انا بدي قسمه جديد
 <?arīy tafūlta taynāyat>
 Əreɣ tafult təynayāt. 'I want a new portion.'
86. I want two pieces alike.
 انا بدي طرفتين من فرد شكل
 <?arīy asīn haratan ɣūlānīn>
 Əreɣ əssin hərātān olanen. 'I want two things the same.'
87. How much a piece?
 بكام الثوب (How much is the robe?)
 <mīnakīt tikamīst>
 Men-əkət tekāməst? 'How much is the robe?'
88. It is dear.
 غالي
 <taɣlā>
 Tāɣla. 'It is expensive.'
89. It is cheap.
 رخيص <sic>
 <raxīsyat>
 rāxisyāt.

90. I give you 100 piastres.
 انا بعطيك مائة غرش
 اِكَيَكْفَاغ دَس تِيْمِيض تَلَكْرَش <ikayakfay das tīmiḍi nalkaraš>
 E-kāy ākfāy d-əs temeḍe n ālgārəš. 'I will give you for it 100 qirsh.'
91. Send them to me to the inn of Joseph.
 ابعت لي اياهم بارجة يوسف
 سِيْوَيْتَه دَغ اَرْجَة اِن يُوسُف <sīwaytad day arġat 'n yūsuf>
 Siwəy-təd⁷⁸ -d dāy ārgāt⁷⁹ ən Yūsəf. 'Have them brought to the inn of Yusuf.'
92. How much is your account?
 كام حسابك
 مَاد يُوَكْد مِيْحَانَك <mād yūkda mīḍānnak>
 Ma-d yogda meḍan-ənnāk? 'How much is your account equal to?'
- (Dialogue 5: Discourse with a Muleteer or Camel Driver)*
93. Have you good mules?
 عندك بغال املاح
 تَلِيْد اَلْبَغْلَة تُوْلَاْمَة <talīd albaylat tūlāyat>
 Tələd ālbāylāt tolayāt? 'Do you have a good she-mule?'
- <p. 8 = Kayat 1844, p. 34-37>
94. We prefer horses
 نحن نرغب خيل احسن
 اَسُوْفَغ اَيَّيس <asūfay ?āyyis>
 Āssofāy ayəs. 'I prefer a horse.'
95. We have our own saddles
 نحن عندنا سروجتنا
 نَلِيْن اِلَكْفَانَاغ <nalīn ilakfannanay>
 Nəl-en iləkfan nānāy. 'We have them, our saddles.'
96. I want a strong mule for our tent and kitchen
 انا بدي بغل قادر من شان الخيمي والزواذة
 اَجْغَالَاغ اَلْبَغْلَة تَصُوْهِيَة فُوْل تَغِيَامْت د الزَّاء <?aġjyālay albaylat taššūhīt
 fūl taxyāmt d azzād>

78 This seems to show assimilation of *n-d* > *dd*.

79 Presumably a nonce loanword from Arabic.

Əžyalāy əlbāylāt təşşoheh foll täxyamt d əzzad. 'I would like a mule strong enough for the tent and provisions.'

97. How much do you charge per day for each mule?
 كام كرى البغل بالنها
 مَادْ يُوَكْدَا <mād yūkda 'lkara nalbaɣlat>
 Ma-d yogda əlkāra n əlbāylāt? 'What is the hire of the mule equal to?'
98. How many days will it take us to Baalbec?
 كام يوم الى بعليك
 مَنَكِيْت هَمَّان بَغْلَبَكْ <manakīt haḍān baɣlabaka>
 Man-əkət hāḍan Bāɣləbək a? 'How many nights is Baalbek?'
99. Do you know the roads well?
 انت بتعرف الطرقات جيد
 تَسَانَادْ اَبَارَاقْقا هُلَّلَانْ <tasānad abaraqqa hūllan>
 Təssanād abarāqqa hullan? 'Do you know the road a lot?'
100. Stop the mules.
 هدِّي البغال (Calm the mules)
 اَوَّ تَلْبَغْلَة <ʔawwa talbaɣlata>
 Awa talbāylāt a. 'This is the she-mule.'
101. This horse is lame.
 هادا الحصان يعرج
 اَوَّ اَيَّيس <ʔawa ʔāyyis>
 Awa ayəs. 'This is a horse.'
102. The mule lost his shoe.
 البغل وقعت نعلته
 تَسَسَلْتْ نَالْبَايْلَاتْ تَارْتَاكْ <tassalt nalbaɣlat tartak>
 Tasəsəlt n əlbāylāt tārtāk. 'The mule's shoe fell.'
103. Change me this horse.
 غيرلي هادا الحصان
 مَسْكَالِيدْ اَيَّيس <maskalid ʔāyyis>
 Mäskäl-i-d ayəs. 'Change me the horse.'
104. When shall we arrive?
 ايمتي نصل
 اَمْمِيْنَاوَادْ <ʔammihinawad>
 Əmme e-hin nawād? 'When will we arrive?'
105. Is the caravansary far?
 الخان بعيد
 اَلْخَانَ يُوْجِّجْ <alxān yūğğig>

Ālxan yoğāğ? 'Is the caravanserai far?'

106. How far?

قدر ايش بعيد

مَاد يُوَكَّةَ اِجْجَنِيَس <mād yūkda ?iğağānīs>

Ma-d yogda iğəğ-əñnes? 'What is its distance equal to?'

107. Which is the road?

اين هو الدرب

الدَّرْب مَانِكِيَد <'lddarb mānikīd>

Āddārb manekid? 'Where is the road?'

108. Wait for me.

اصبر لي

ظِدْرِي <ẓidrī>

Ẓāydār-i 'Wait for me.'

109. Drive on.

سوق

الشُّوك <assūk>

Āssuk 'Market'

110. Slowly

على مهلك

فُول مَانَّك <fūl māñnak>

Foll man-nnāk 'On your self'

<p. 7 = Kayat 1844, p. 37-39>

111. I want water to drink

بدي اشرب

رِيغ تِيَسِيَسِي <rīğ tīsasī>

Reğ tesāse. 'I want to drink.'

112. Give the horses water

اسقى الخيل

سَسُ اِيَّسَان <sasu iyyasān>

Sās w ayyāsan. 'Make the horses drink.'

113. Where shall we alight?

وين منحول

مَانِي نَوَاد <manī niwād>

Mani newâḏ? 'Where have we arrived?'

114. Which is the convent?

اين هو الدير

مِنَكِيَد اِدِّير <minakīd addīr>

- Menakid ädder? ‘Which is the monastery?’
115. We like to pitch our tent near the water.
 نريد نصب الخيمه قربه مويه
 تَزْ إِدْ تَكْرَسْ تَخْتَامْت <nara idnakras taxyamt>
 Nāra ed-nākṛəs taxyamt. ‘We want to pitch the tent.’
116. We do not travel in the heat of the day.
 نحن ما نريد نساfer في جرا النهار
 وَرَنْرِيْ أَسِيكَلْ دَاغْ تُكْسِيْ نَهْل <warnarī asīkal daḡ tuksī nahal>
 Wār nāre asikəl dāḡ tukse n āhāl. ‘We do not want to travel in
 the heat of the day.’
117. Do you know the chief of this village?
 بتعرف اسم شيخ البلاد
 تَسَانَادْ إِسْمِ نَامْيَارْ نَاكَل <tasānad isam namyar nakal>
 Təssanād esəm n āmyar n ākal? ‘Do you know the name of the
 chief of the country?’
118. What horsemen are there before us?
 ما هم الخياله قدامنا
 مَايَمُوسْ أَوِينْ دَاتَنْغ <māyamūs awīn dātnaḡ>
 Ma yāmos awen dat-nāḡ? ‘What are those who are before us?’
119. Ask him the name of this place
 اساله اسم هل مكان
 إِسْمِ نَادَاكْ وَادَاغْ <isam nadak wādaḡ>
 Esəm n-ādāḡ wadāḡ ‘The name of this place’

(Dialogue 6: Discourse with a Camel Driver)

120. O Camel Driver! Have you a good dromedary?
 يا جمال عندك هجين مليح
 إِيْوَارْ نَمْنَسْ تَلِيدْ تَغْلَامْتْ تُلَاخَاتْ <īwārnamnas talīd taḡlāmt tulāḡat>
 E ywarān n⁸⁰ əmnas təled taḡlāmt tolaḡāt? ‘You who are on
 camels, do you have a good she-camel?’
121. Have you good camels?
 عند جمال طبيه (At good camels)

80 A genitive preposition seems unexpected here, but both the gemination and the choice of vowel seem to indicate its presence. The combination of a singular 2sg addressee with an unambiguous plural ‘camels’ also seems odd. The proposed reading should thus be taken with a grain of salt.

<liḡ ʔāmis yulāyan> ليغ ءاميس يُلَاغَن
 Ley amis yolayān. 'I have a good he-camel.'

122. I want to cross the desert.

انا بدى اقطع الشول
 <rīḡ aḡatas nāšūl> ريغ اَمْتَس نَاشُول
 Reḡ aḡatas n Ašul. 'I want to cross Ashul.'⁸¹

123. Is there any danger in the road?

في خوف في الدرب (Is there fear in the road?)
 تَهَا تُكْسَرُ الدَّرَبُ
 Tāha tuksāḏa āddārāb? 'Is there fear in the road?'

124. How long will it take us to get to Tadmor?

كم بدنا تدمر
 <māhīn yaqīman itadmar> ماهين يقيمن اِتْدَمَر
 Ma-hin yaqqimān e Tādmār? 'What remains away for Tadmor?'

125. Can we go by Mount Sina to Hebron?

يمكن نروح من طور سناء الى الخليل
 <yamūkkan ʔidmanḏar day aṭṭūr
 ʔār 'lخاليل>
 Yāmmokkān ed-mānḏār dāy Āṭṭor ar Ālخاليل? 'Can I return⁸² from
 Mount Sinai to Hebron?'

126. We want to go to Bagdad.

نحن بدنا نروح الى بغداد
 <nara iminḏār an baḡdād> نَر اِمِنْدَار اَن بَغْدَاد
 Nāra emenḏar ən Bāḡdad. 'We want to return to Baghdad.'

127. We want to go to the Jordan and to the Dead Sea

نحن بدنا نروح الى الاردون والى بحيرة لوط
 <nara iminḏār nā 'rdūn ʔd bhīrat lūṭ> نَر اِمِنْدَار نَا اَرْدُون اء بَحِيرَة لُوط
 Nāra emenḏar n Ardun əd Bḡherāt Loṭ. 'We want to return to
 Jordan and the Lake of Lot.'

<p. 10 = Kayat 1844, p. 40-42>

81 Kayat uses الشول for 'desert'—this word is a borrowing of Turkish *çöl* 'desert', but evidently it was understood by the scribe as a proper noun.

82 Heath glosses this verb as 'return to camp before nightfall'; corresponding to Arabic *rawwaḥ* rather than to *rūḥ*.

128. But we prefer coming back by St. Sabba's and Bethlehem.⁸³
 لكن نحن نرغب نرجع عن طريق مرسا \ با وبيتى لحم
 نارا إد ناققال ساباراقا مارسا <nara id naqqal sābaraqa marsā
 / ?āyil wān sān>
 Nāra ed-nāqqāl s ābārāqqa (n) mārsa / ayil wan san. 'We want
 to come back by the harbour road / direction of meat.'
129. I want a strong camel for the tent and luggage
 انا بدى جمل قادر منشأ النيم والهديش
 ريغ اميش يظوهين فول تخيامت <rīḡ amis yaṣūhin fūl taxyāmt>
 Rey amis yaṣṣohen foll tāxyamt. 'I want a strong camel for the
 tent.'
130. How much do you charge for the whole journey?
 قدركم اجرة تريح منشان كل السفرة
 ماؤ يوكة الكراتك فول تاك آسيكل
 asikayl⁸⁴>
 Ma-d yogda lkāra-nnāk foll nak asikəl? 'How much is your hire
 for the whole journey?'
131. How much the camel per day?
 كم اجرة الجمل بالنها
 ماؤ يوكة الكرا ناميش يهل <mād yūkda lkarā nāmīs yahall>
 Ma-d yogda lkāra n amis y-āhāl? 'How much is the rent of the
 camel per day?'
132. We give you twenty dollars a day.
 نحن نعطيك عشرين ريال بالنها
 إهكنج سنتمزوين نريال يهل <ihaknaj sanattamarwīn narīyāl yahal>
 E-hak nāḡ sānat tāmārwen n āriyyal y-āhāl. 'We will put for you
 twenty riyals per day.'
133. I want a Bedwin dress.
 انا بدى لبس بدوى
 اريغ تلبس تلبدوي <arīḡ tilays nalbadawī>
 Ārey telāsse⁸⁵ n ālbādāwi 'I want a Bedouin's clothing.'

83 Written over two separate lines in the ms., with Saba broken up—likely impacting on the understanding.

84 Accidental transposition of <y> and <k>?

85 Assuming—hazardously—that two letters were accidentally transposed by the scribe.

134. Alight here.

حول هنا
أَبْرُوْعُ إِلِّيَّ <abrūy illī>
Abroy ill-e. 'The blanket is here.'

135. Take us the nearest road.

خذنا بدرب القريبه
أَجْدَا نَعَّ أَلْكَرَبُ يُوْهَازَنُ <ajda nay addarab yūhāzan>
Aǧd(?)⁸⁶ -anāy äddārāb yohaḏān. 'Take(?) us the nearby road.'

(Dialogue 7: Discourse with a Captain of a Ship or Boat)

136. Captain, where do you come from?

يا ربيس من اين جايي
يا رَيْسُ مَنِسْتَهَيْدُ <ya rāyis manistahīd>
Ya rayās, mani-s tāhed? 'Captain, where are you from?'

137. What is your ship?⁸⁷

ايش مركبك
مَا تَامُوسُ تُرْفَتَنَّاكُ <mā tamūs turaftannak>
Ma tamos torāft-ənnāk? 'What is your ship?'

138. Have you a good cabin?

عندك كارمه مليح
تَلِيدُ كَارْمَه تُلَايَاتُ <talīd kārma tulāyat>
Tələd karma⁸⁸ tolayāt? 'Do you have a good cabin?'

139. What size is your boat?

قدرايش شغتورك
(left blank in ms.)

140. We will employ it by the month

نحن نستكريبها في المشاهر
إِيْهَكَتْ نَكْرَ آسْ تَلِّيْتُ <iḥakat nakra as tallīt>
E-hak-kāt nākra əs tallit. 'We will rent it to you by the month.'

86 This verb was not found in sources examined, so its meaning and exact form are unclear.

87 Skipped in ms.: Is she a brig or a schooner?

88 Neither translated nor nativised, this noun was probably simply not understood by the scribe.

141. We want to go along <the coast to Jaffa.>⁸⁹
 نحن بدنا نروح الشطى الشطى الى يافا
 أرْبَعُ أَدُوَايَ أَجَمَ أَجَمَ أُرْ يَافَا <arīḡ adnawāya aḡama aḡama ʔār yāfā>
 Āreḡ ed nawaya(?)⁹⁰ aḡāma aḡāma ar Yafa. 'I want us to go(?)
 outside until Jaffa.'

53

<p. 9 = Kayat 1844, p. 42-45>

142. Are there any steamers here?
 فِي مَرَاكِبِ نَارِ هُنَا
 أَلَانَتْ تُورَفِينِ أَنْ تَمْسِي <allānat tūrafīn an tamsī>
 Əllānāt torāfen ən tāmse? 'Are there boats of fire?'
143. When do you start?
 ايمتى بتسافر
 أَمَّ تَرِيدَ أَسِيكَل <?ammi tarīd ʔasīkal>
 Əmme tāred asikal? 'When do you want to travel?'
144. How is the wind?
 كَيْفَ الرِّيحِ
 هُونْدَ هُونْدَ أَأْمُر <hūnd ʔāḡdu>
 Hund aḡu 'Like wind'
145. Here is your present.
 هَا بِحَشِيشِكَ
 هِيكَيِ إَلَكَنَّكَ <hīkay ilakannak>
 He-kāy elāk-ənnāk. 'Here is your wage.'
146. Adieu!
 مَعَ السَّلَامَةِ
 يَدِيو دَ السَّلَامَةِ <yadīw da 'lssalāmat>
 Yāddew d ässälāmät 'He has gone with well-being.'

(Dialogue 8: Discourse with a Cook)

147. We want to breakfast early.⁹¹
 نحن بدنا نتعش باكير (We want to have dinner early)
 نَجْعَالِ أَمَكِينِ تَدَاكَّت <najḡāl amagīn tadakkat>

89 The English part in square brackets was physically cut off of the page, but can be restored by reference to the phrasebook.

90 Unidentified 1pl. verb.

91 Skipped in ms.: Cook, what have you for dinner?

Nəʒyal aməgin n tadəggat. 'We would like afternoon dinner.'

148. Can you cook European dishes?⁹²

تقدر تطبخ اكل افرنجي
تَسَانَدُ أَسَانِي <tasānad asanyī>
Təssānəd asəŋji? 'Do you know cooking?'

149. We want native dishes.

نحن نريد طيبين البلاد
نَجَالُ آمَكْنُ نَكَال <najyāl amaknu nakal>
Nəʒyāl amākno n ākal. 'We would like the cuisine of the country.'

150. I like good coffee.

انا بريد قهو طيبه
نَكُ رِيغُ الْقَهْوُ تَطِيَدَات <nak rīy alqahwa tazīdat>
Nāk rey ālqāhwa tāzedāt. 'I like good coffee.'

151. We want fresh milk every morning and every evening

نحن بدنا حليب طازه على بكره وعشيه
رِيغُ آخُ كَفَايَانُ تُفَاتُ تَدَاكَكَات <rīy āx kafāyan tūfat tadakkat>
Rey ax kāfayān tufat tadəggat. 'I want fresh milk morning and evening.'

152. Can you get good beef here?

يوجد لحم بقر طيب هنا
إِي نَحُوُ إِيَسْنُ تَشُرُ أَطِيَدِنِين <?id nəʒru īsan tas ʔazīdnīn>
Ed nəʒru isan n tas āzednen? 'Will we get good cow meat?'

153. Is the mutton good here?

لحم الغنم طيب هنا
إِيَسْنُ نُؤُلُ أَطِيَدِنِين إِيَلَا دِين <īsan nūli azīdnin ʔilā dīn>
Isan n ulli āzednen illa den? 'Is there good goat meat there?'

154. Get some fresh eggs

جيب شوي بيضان طرايه
أَوِيْدُ ʔَادْرُوسَانُ ʔَانُ تَسَادَالِينُ أَينَاين <awīd ʔadrūsan ʔan tasadalīn aynāyni⁹³>
Awi-d a dārusān ən təsādalen āynaynen. 'Bring a little fresh eggs.'

92 Skipped in ms.: Do you know how to make pudding?

93 Here and in no. 310, it seems that the second of a final sequence of two <n>s has been haploglised.

155. Light the candles
 اض الشمع
 اَنْعْ اِنِيرُ <anʕi inīr>
 Ānɣ ener. 'Put out the candle.'
156. Make fire.
 اعمل نار
 اَكُنْ تيمس
 Əkən temse. 'Make fire.'
157. Call me early
 فيقني بكير
 سَنَكْرُ تَفَاتُ <sankari tufāt>
 Sənkər-i tufat. 'Wake me up in the morning.'
158. We want some cream.
 بدنا شويي قشطه
 نَجْعَالُ اَدْرُوسَن تَلْقِشْطَه <nağɣāl adarūsan nalqištah>
 Nəğɣal a dārūsən n əlqišta. 'We would like a little cream.'
- <p. 12 = Kayat 1844, p. 45-48>
159. Pay the man
 دفع للرجال (Pay the men)
 اَكْفُ ايميدان <ʔakf ʔimīddan>
 Ākf e meddān. 'Give to the men.'
160. Give me the account
 اعطيني الحساب
 اَكْفِيد مِيدَان <ʔakfīd mīdān>
 Ākf-i-d meḍan. 'Give me the account.'
161. Get everything ready
 حضر كل شيء
 زَهَيَّيْد اَتِيلِين <zahayyīd ʔātilayn>
 Zəhəyyi-d a t-illan⁹⁴. 'Prepare whatever there is.'
162. Bring some hot water
 جيب امويه سخون
 اَوِيد اَمَان اَكُوشِين <awīd ʔāman ʔakūsīn>

94 Following a plausible suggestion by Maarten Kossmann's, we assume transposition of <y> and <l> here, provoked by the frequency in Arabic of final <yn>.

Awi-d aman äkkusnen. 'Bring hot water.'

163. Have you any butter?

عند سمنى
تليدُ أُدي <talīd ḡudī>
Tāled udi? 'Do you have butter?'

(Dialogue 9: Discourse with a Servant Previous to Starting a Journey)

164. Joseph, we must start to-morrow morning

يا يوسف بدنا نساڤر بكرة بكيڤر
يوسفُ نازَ أُسيكَلُ أمودُ أمودُ <yūsaf nāra ḡasikayl ḡamūd ḡamūd>
Yusaf, nāra asikal amud amud. 'Yusuf, we want to travel at
prayer time.'

165. Get the luggage ready.

حضر الديش
زهيْدُ تيلسي <zihīd tīlassī>
Zəhəyyi-d telässe. 'Prepare the clothes.'

166. Have you every thing for the journey

انت محضر كل لوازم السفر
تزهَيْدُ تالغُ نسيكَلُ <tazihayyid tālḡa nasīkal>
Təzəhəyyed tālḡa n šīkal? 'Have you prepared the matters of
the journey?'

167. Take plenty of rice with you

خذ معك رز كثير
تاوَيْدُ تافغَتُ تغيثُ <tāwyad tāfayāt taḡīt>
Tawyād tafayāt tāḡḡet. 'Bring lots of rice.'

168. Do not forget the sugar.

لا تنس السكر
وارتاتو السكر <wartatuwwa 'ssukar>
Wār tatəw əssukār. 'Don't forget the sugar.'

169. We must have plenty of good Mocha coffee.

لازم يكون معنا قهو حجازي كثير
إلزامنغُ إدتوي هرتُ نالقيهو <ilzāmanay ḡidnawī harat nilqihwa>
Ilzam-anāḡ ed-nawī hārāt n əlqāhwa. 'We need to bring some
coffee.'

170. Take with you salt and pepper.

خذ معك ملح وفلفل
توايْدُ تيسمتُ أدُ شيطا <tawayad tīsamt ḡad šīṭā>
Tawyād tesāmt əd šēṭa. 'You should bring salt and pepper.'

171. Put the provision saddlebag under you.

حطو خرج الزواء تحتك
 أَجْ أَسْتَوَزْ تَالرَّاءُ ءَاوَكْ <ʔaǧ ʔasatwar nālzād dāwak>
 Āǧ asətwər n āzzad daw-ək. 'Put the provision storage bag
 under you.'

57

172. Take some wine also.

خه معك شويت نبيه
 <tawayd harat nalxāmaḍ>
 Tawyād hārāt n ālxamāḍ. 'You should bring some wine.'

173. Take care of the luggage

دير بالك على الاوعى
 <ʔakaz ʔisūsar>
 Agāz isusar. 'Take care of the luggage.'

174. Buy some good tobacco.⁹⁵

اشترى شويت دحان طيب
 <zahīd harat an tāba tulāyat>
 Zəhəyyi-d hārāt ən taba tolayāt. 'Prepare some good tobacco.'

175. Are you ready⁹⁶

انت حاضر
 <taqīmad mīḡ>
 Tāqqeməd mey? 'Are you staying?'

176. Fill this with cold water.

مل هاء مويه بارد
 <ʔaṭkard wā ʔāman samīḍnīn>
 Āṭkār-d wa aman sāmmednen. 'Fill this with cold water.'

<p. 11 = Kayat 1844, p. 48-51>

177. Give us something to eat

عطينا شيء ناكل
 <ʔakfānayd ʔanaš>
 Ākf-anāy-d a nāčč. 'Give us something to eat.'

178. Give the muleteers something to eat

عطى المكاربه شيء للاكل
 <ʔikfa ʔimakāriyyan harat ʔišan>

95 Skipped in ms.: Clean my pipe

96 Skipped in ms.: Put this cup in your pocket

Ikfa imākariyān hārāt aččan. 'He gave the muleteers something, they ate.'

179. We want some grapes
 بَدْنَا شَوْبِتْ عَنب
 نَسِيدَارَانْ هَارَاتْ نَا الرَّيْبِبْ <nasīdaran harat nā 'zzabīb>
 Nāsīdārān hārāt n āzzābīb. 'We wish for some grapes/raisins.'
180. Can you get some ripe figs?
 تَقْدِرْ تَجِيبْ شَوْبِتْ تِينْ مَسْتَوِحِي
 تَدُوْبِدْ إِهْنَعْ تَاوِيْدْ هَارَاتْ نَا دَارَانْ <tadūbid ?iḥanay tāwyad harat
 nāḏaran>
 Tāddobed e-hanāy tawyād hārāt n azarān? 'Can you bring us some figs?'
181. Take some bread.⁹⁷
 خَبْزْ
 أَوِيْدْ تُكْنِيْفْتْ <?awīd tuknīft>
 Awi-d tuknift. 'Bring bread.'
182. Take a boiled fowl with you.
 خَبْزْ مَعَكَ دَجَاڤَهْ مَسْلُوْقَه
 أَوِيْدْ تِكَاهِيْتْ تَنْغَاتْ <?awīd tikahīt tanḡāt>
 Awi-d tekāhit tāḡḡat. 'Bring a cooked chicken.'
183. Take with you all kitchen apparatus.
 خَبْزْ مَعَكَ ءَالَةَ الْمَطْبَخِ (Take with you the kitchen apparatus)
 أَوِيْدْ تِيْغِيْرَانْ نَسَانِيْغِيْ <?awīd tiḡīran nasanyī>
 Awi-d tiḡeren n āsəḡḡi. 'Bring the cooking pots.'
184. Shut the door of the tent.
 سَكْرْ بَابِ الْخِيْمَهْ (Shut/sugar the door of the tent.)
 أَلْسُكْرُ إِهْمِيْنْ تَخْيَامْتْ <alsukar ihā ?imīn taxyāmt>
 Āssukār iha imi n tāxyamt. 'The sugar is at the door of the tent.'
185. You can go to bed now.
 رُوْحْ نَامِ الْاِنْ
 سِيْكَالْ أَنْشْ دِمَارْدَايْ <sīkal ?ns dimarday>
 Sīkal āns dimar-dāy. 'Go sleep now.'

(Dialogue 10: Discourse with a Man who keeps a Khan or Caravansary)

97 Kayat: Take some bread and biscuits.

186. O Caravansary Keeper! what have you for food?
يا خانجې شو عند بلاكل
مَنْدَامْ إِلَّا مَوْرَكْ أَنْش <mandām ?illa yawurak ?anaš>
Māndam illa ḡor-ək a nāčč? 'So-and-so, is there something with
you for us to eat?' 59
187. Every thing you want.
كل ما تريده
إِلَّا أَتْرِيدُ <?atarīd ?illā>
A tāred illa. 'There is whatever you want.'
188. Have you good bread?
عندك خبز طيب
تَلِيدُ تُكْنَيْفْتُ تُلَايَاتُ <talīd tuknīft tulāyat>
Tāled tuknift tolayāt? 'Do you have good bread?'
189. Give us good wine.
عطينا شوبت نبيد عال
أَكْفَنْعُ أَلْخَمَصُ وَأُيُوقُنُ <?akfanay alxamaḍ wāyūfan>
Ākf-anāy ālxamaḍ wa yufan. 'Give us the wine which is better.'
190. We like some fried eggs.
نريد شوية بيضان مقليه
أَجْغَالَيْخُ تِسَادَالِنْ أَكْنَافْنِينَ <?aḡḡālay tisadalīn aknāfnīn>
Əḡalāy tisādalen əknafnen. 'I would like fried eggs.'
191. Have you any fruits?
عندك فواكه
تَلِيدُ أَلْفُوَاكِ <talīd alfuwaki>
Tāled ālfəwaki? 'Do you have fruits?'
192. Bring us some fresh milk.
جيب لنا شوبت حليب طري
أَوِيدُ أَاخُ كَفَايَنْ <?awīd ?āx kafāyan>
Awi-d ax kāfayān. 'Bring fresh milk.'
193. Is there any village near here?⁹⁸
ضيعه قريب لهذا
إِيهْ إِيْدَاكُ يُوَهَظُنُ <?īha ?idak yūhazān>
Iha edāḡ yohazān? 'Is it in a place near here?'
194. Can we get any mutton?
بتقدر تجيب لنا لحم غنم

98 Skipped in ms.: How far?

تَدُوْبِدْ إِهْنَعْ تَاوِيْدْ إِسْنُ نُلِي <tadūbid ?iḥanay tāwyad ?isan nnulī>
Tāddobed e-hanāy tawyād isan n ulli? 'Can you bring us mut-
ton?'

195. Cook us some roast mutton.

اعمل لنا شويت لحم مشوي
اَكْنَفَانَايْ حَارَتْ اِنْسَانُ نُلِي <aknafanay harat insān nulī>
Əknəf-anāy hārät ən san n ulli. 'Roast us some mutton.'

<p. 14 = Kayat 1844, p. 51-55>

196. We like some mutton broth.

بَدْنَا شَوِيَّةَ مَرْقَةِ لَحْمَةِ غَنَمِ
نَسِيرَارَانَ حَارَاتِ نَسِيمِ نُلِي <nasiraran harat nasīm nulī>
Nāsīdārān hārät n āsem n ulli 'We desire some melted sheep
fat.'

197. Make us some rice soup.

اعمل لنا شورب رز
اَكْنَانَايْ لِيوَا اَنْ تَاْفَايَتْ <aknānay ?liwā ?an tāfayāt>
Ăkn-anāy āliwa ən tafayät. 'Make us rice soup.'

198. How much is the account?

كَمْ الْحَسَابِ
مَا دُ يُوْكَدَا مِيْدَانُ <mād yūkdā mīḍān>
Ma-d yogda meḍan? 'How much is the account equal to?'

199. Good bye!⁹⁹

خَا طَرِكُمْ
سَا لْخِيْرِيَا <sālxiryā>
S ālxeer ya. 'With goodness.'

(Dialogue 11: Discourse with a general merchant concerning commerce)

200. Welcome!¹⁰⁰

اَهْلًا وَسَهْلًا
تِيْدَاوِيْتْ هُوْلَانُ <tidawīt hūllan>
Tedāwit hullan! 'Much gladness!'

99 Same as no. 29.

100 Skipped in ms.: Mr. Joseph, I want to ask you something regarding com-
merce.

201. What is your commerce here?
 ابش متجركم هنا
 مَاهِينُ تَزْهَيْمُ <māhīn tazanhīm>
 Ma-hin tăzzañhim? 'What do you sell?'
202. Silk chiefly
 الإغلب حرير
 أَجُتْ أَخْرِيرُ <?ajut alxarīr>
 Āġut ālxārīr. 'The greater part is silk.'
203. Have you any commerce with England?
 لكم متجر مع بلاد الإنكليز
 تَلَامُ إِمْسُوكَلْ دَغَ أَنْكَلِيزُ <talām ?imasūkāl dāy ankilīz>
 Təlam iməssukal dāy Ənkəlīz? 'Do you have any traders in England?'
204. Do you get any goods from England?¹⁰¹
 تجيبوا بضاعه من بلاد الإنكليز
 تَرَامُ أَكَايْ نَسَالْخَاتْ دَاغَ أَكَالْ نَكَلِيزُ <tarām ?akāy nassalxāt dāy akal naktīz>
 Tāram aggay n əssālyāt dāy ākal n Əklīz? 'Do you want the bringing of goods from the land of the English?'
205. Where do you get your sugar and coffee?
 من اين بتجيبوا القهو والسكر
 مَانِيدُ إِيْتَوَيْمُ الْقَهْوِ دَ الشُّكْرِ <mānid ?ītawyam alqahwa da 'ssukar>
 Mani-d i ttawyəm ālqāhwa d əssukār? 'Where do you bring coffee and sugar from?'
206. Have you any commerce with France?
 لكم متجر مع فرنسه
 تَلَامُ إِمْسُوكَلْ دَغَ فَرَنْسِيصُ <talām ?imasūkāl dāy faranšīṣ>
 Təlam iməssukal dāy Fārənšēṣ? 'Do you have any traders in France?'
207. How many ships come to Beyroot in the course of the year?
 كم مركب يجي الى بيروت بالسنة
 مِينَاكِتْ تُرْفِينُ اءُ تَاسَنِينُ دَغَ أَوَاتَايْ <mīnakit turfīn ad tāsanīn dāy awatāy>
 Men-āket torfen a-d tasənen dāy āwātay? 'How many boats come in a year?'

101 Kayat: Manchester

208. Have you any ships from Germany?¹⁰²
 بيجيكم مراكب من بلاد النمسه
 <tasānad turfin day namsāmiḡ>
 Təssanād torfen dāḡ Nāmsa meḡ? ‘Do you know boats from
 Austria?’
209. What do you send to Europe?
 ايش تبعتوا الى بلاد الافرنج
 <mā tasāwayam sākal nafrunji>
 Ma təsawayām s ākal n Āfrənji? ‘What do you send to the land
 of the Frank?’
210. I want to settle here.
 انا بدّي استقم هنا
 <rīḡ tākallāwt dīday>
 Reḡ takəllawt dedäḡ. ‘I want to spend the day here.’
211. I want a good clerk.
 انا بدّي كاتب طيب
 <rīḡ ?anaktāb yulāḡan>
 Reḡ ānaktab yolayān. ‘I want a good writer.’
212. I want to hire a warehouse.
 انا بدّي استكري مخزن
 <rīḡ ?idakrūy taḡurfīt>
 Reḡ ed əkrūy taḡorfīt. ‘I want to rent a storeroom.’
213. I will bring you any goods you like from England upon commis-
 sion
 انا بيجيب لك اي رزق تريده من بلاد الانقليز تحت المعلوم
 <?ihakad awyaḡ alrrazḡan tarīd day
 anqiliz>
 E-hak-əd awyāḡ ərrəzəḡān tāred dāḡ Əngəliz. ‘I will bring you
 sustenance that you like from England.’
- <p. 13 = Kayat 1844, p. 55-60>
214. Goodbye¹⁰³
 خاطرکم

102 Omitted: or Italy.

103 Same as nos. 29 and 199. Skipped in ms.: Captain Ibrahim, is your boat new?

سَالِيْرِيَا <sālīryā>
S ālxer ya 'With goodness.'

(Dialogue 12: Discourse with a Captain of a Boat Ascending the Nile)

63

215. We want to go up to Cairo.
نحن نريد نطلع الى مصر (We want to go up¹⁰⁴ to Cairo)
نَرَا اَهَانِيْ اَنْ مَصْرَ <narā ahanay an maṣar>
Nāra ahānay ən Maṣār. 'We want to see Egypt.'
216. How many men have you?
كم بحري معك (How many sailors do you have?)
مِنِيْكِتْ خَدِيْمَنْ تُرْفَتْ تَلِيْدُ <minaykit xadīman turaft talīd>
Men-āket xādīmān¹⁰⁵ n torāft tāled? 'How many boat workers do you have?'
217. We do not want any other passengers.
نحن لا نريد غير ركاب (We want only riders)
وَرَنَرِيْ اَرْتِيْرَايَاَسْ <warnari ?artiṣrayās>
Wār nāre ar tiṣra(?)¹⁰⁶ ḡas. 'We want only riders(?).'
218. We will hire you all the time of our passage on the Nile.
نحن نستكبرك كل مدة سفرنا على النيل
نَرَا اِكَيُّ نُوْرَتَاكْ اَسِكْلُ تَنْعُ دَاغُ الْيَيْلُ <narā ?ikay nukūrunākk ?asikal
nanay daḡ annīl>
Nāra e-kāy nəkurru nak asikəl-nānāy dāḡ Ānnil. 'We want to hire you for our whole journey on the Nile.'
219. Where will you anchor to-night?¹⁰⁷
وين يدك مرسى الليله
مَانِيْدَا تَسَاخْسَارَادْ اِهَادْ وَدَاغْ <mānida tasaxsarad ?ihaḍ wāday>
Mani-da tāsaxsarād ehāḍ wadāy? 'Where are you staying to-night?'

(Dialogue 13: Missionary Discourse)

220. Of what religion are you?
من اين ديانه انت

104 Perhaps misread as *naṭṭaliṣ* '(we) inspect'.

105 The absence of *āl-* here is surprising.

106 Word not found in dictionaries consulted, so exact sense unclear.

107 Skipped in ms.: Pray have the boat very clean.

- ما يَمْوَسُ الْيَّيْنُ وَاشْتَكَمَهُ <mā yamūs addīn wāstalkamad>
 Ma yāmos äddin wa-s tälkämäd? 'What is the religion that you follow?'
221. Are you a Christian?
 انت نصراني
 كَيْي أَنَصْرَانِي مِيْع <kayy ʔanaṣrānī mīy>
 Kāy anāṣrani meḡ? 'Are you a Christian?'
222. Do you believe in the only true God?
 تومن بالاله الواحد الحقيقي
 تُومَانَدَ أَشْ مَسِيْنَعْ أَشْ إِيْنْ هَدِيْبَا <tūmānad as masīnaḡ as ʔiyan hadīḡan>
 Tumanād as Mäss-inäḡ as əyyän häddiḡän? 'Do you believe that God is one, pure?'
223. Do you love Christ?
 تحب المسيح
 تَرِيْدَ الْمَسِيْعِ <tarīd almasīḡa>
 Tāred ālmasiḡ a? 'Do you love the Messiah?'
224. Did you ever read the Gospel?¹⁰⁸
 قرئت الانجيل
 تَغْرِيْدُ الْإِنْجِيْلِ <taḡrīd alanjīl>
 Tāḡred Ālānjil? 'Have you read the Gospel?'
225. I make you a present of the Word of God.¹⁰⁹
 انا بهديك بكتاب الله
 اَرْبِعْ اِكْبُطْلَعْ سَالِكِتَابْ اِنْ مَسِيْنَعْ <ʔarīḡ ʔikayzuzḡay sālkitaba anmasīnaḡ>
 Āreḡ e-kāy zuzəlāḡ s ālkitab n Mäss-inäḡ. 'I want to present you with the book of God.'
226. We worship God only.
 نحن نسجد لله فقط
 نَكَانِيْدُ وَارْ نَتِيْمُوْدُ ءَأَنْ اِيْمَسِيْنَعْ <nakaniḡ wār natimuhūd ʔan ʔīmasīnaḡ>
 Nākkāneḡ wār nətimuhud ar i Mäss-inäḡ. 'We pray to none but God.'

108 Skipped in ms: I believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; Do you serve the Lord Jesus?

109 Skipped in ms: The most holy Trinity; Jesus Christ is the only Saviour

227. All good comes from God.¹¹⁰
 كل شيء طيب من الله
 أَيَّجَا مَسِينَايْ <ʔayjā masīnay ʔiyalāuɣan>
 A iǧa Mäss-inay i yolayǎn. 'Whatever God has done is good.'
228. Trust in God
 جعل رجاك بالله
 ظَكُظُنْ إِسْمِينَايْ <zakʒan ʔīmasīnay>
 Žägʒǎn i Mäss-inǎɣ. 'Trust in God.'
229. Let us pray
 فلنصلي
 نَمُوهْدِيْتْ <namuhudīt>
 Nəmuħəd-et. 'Let us pray.'
230. Do you know the Lord's prayer?
 تعرف صلوة الربانية
 تَسَانَدْ أَمُودْ وَهْدِيْتْ <tasānad amūd wahadījan>
 Təssanād amud wa häddiǧǎn? 'Do you know the pure prayer?'
231. Have you learnt the Ten Commandments
 تعلمت العشر وصايا
 تَسَانَدْ الْوَصِيَّتِيْنْ مَرَاوْتْ <tasānad alwaṣīyitīn marāwat>
 Təssanād älwäṣīyyäten mǎrawät? 'Do you know the Ten Com-
 mandments?'
232. In the Bible every thing is written concerning our salvation
 فِي الْكِتَابِ الْمَقْدُوسِ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مَكْتُوبٌ لِجَلَاصِنَا
 ʔIḥa 'lkitāba nalquds <ʔIḥa 'lkitāba nalquds>
 Iħa älkitaba n älquds. 'It is in the holy book.'
- <p. 16 = Kayat 1844, p. 60-63>
233. God bless you!¹¹¹
 الله يبارك عليك
 إِجْرِيْ يَاللهِ دَاكْ أَلْبَرَكَهْ <iǧrya yallah dak albarakah>
 Iǧärya(?)¹¹² Yǎ!la d-ək älbäräka. 'May God put(?) blessing in you.'

110 Skipped in ms: Search your heart; Jesus is the only way to heaven; Believe in Christ, and you shall be saved; Faith is the gift of grace

111 Skipped in ms.: Pray for me

112 Unidentified verb.

234. Have you any schools here?
 عندكم مدارس هنا
 تَلَامُ إِذْكَ إِنْ تَعْرِي مِيْعُ <talām iddak ina taḡarī mīy>
 Təlam edəg n täḡäre mey? ‘Do you have a place of study?’
235. Where is the school?
 فِين المدرسه
 مِيْنَكِيْدُ اِيْوَيْدُ تَعْرَمُ <minakīd iwayd taḡarram>
 Menakid e way-d təḡarrām? ‘Where is it that you study?’
236. Who is the schoolmaster?
 من هو معلم المدرسه
 مَانِ اَلْفَقِي تَوْنُ <māni alfaqi nnawan>
 Mani ālfāqqi nnāwān? ‘Where is your teacher?’
237. What do you teach?
 ماذا تعلم
 مَا تَعْرَمُ <mā taḡarram>
 Ma təḡarrām? ‘What do you study?’
238. What books do you use?¹¹³
 اي كتب تستعملون
 مَا يَمُوسُ اَلْكِتَابُ وَ اَتَلِيلَمُ <mā yamūs alkitāb wa atalīlam>
 Ma yāmos ālkitāb wa tāllilām? ‘What is the book that you follow?’
239. Where is the school established?
 اي متى ترتب هاهه المدرسه (When do you organise this school?)
 اَنَسْ اَمِيْرُ وَ اَشْتَعْرَمُ <anns amir wa 'staḡāram>
 Ənnəs āmer a-s təḡarrām? ‘Which time is it that you study?’
240. Do you teach the Bible?
 اتعلم التورة
 تَسَانَدُ اَلتُّورَاةُ <tasānad attūrāt>
 Təssānād Ättorat? ‘Do you know the Torah?’
241. How is the school supported?
 من ينفق على المدرسه (Who spends on the school?)
 مِيْتِيْعُسُورُنُ فُونُ تَعْرِي تَوْنُ <mītiyussuran fūn taḡarī nawan>
 Mi tiyussurān foll täḡäre nāwān? ‘Who is spending on your study?’

113 Skipped in ms.: What religious instruction do you give?

242. I will teach your children.

انا بعلم اولادك
 <?arīy ?asayri mmaddānak>
 Ārey asāyri n maddan-ək. 'I want to teach your sons.'

67

243. I will open a school gratis.

انا بفتح مدرس مجاناً
 <?arīy ?ār anta<r>ɣarīnawan>
 Ārey arr ən tāḡāre-nāwān. 'I want to open your studying.'

244. Have you any female school?

عندكم مدرسه للبنات
 <talām ?iwad ɣarranāt tabaraḍīn>
 Təlam ewa-d ɣarrənāt təbāraḍen? 'Do you have a place where
 the girls study?'

245. My wife will teach your girls.

حرمتي تعلم بناتكم
 <tamiḍīn ?īhawan tasaɣar ?īššikwan>
 Tamāṭ-in e-hawān təsəɣār ešš-ek(kā)wān. 'My wife will teach
 your daughters for you.'

246. Have you a printing-press here?

عندكم مطبعه هنا
 <talām ?attābay nālkatāb mīy>
 Təlam ättabäy n älkətab mey? 'Do you have a book press?'

247. What books do you print?¹¹⁴

ماذا الكتب الذين تطبعون
 <mā yamūs ?awā tatābayam>
 Ma yāmos awa tətābbäyäm? 'What do you print?'

248. Can you read?

بتعرف تقرا
 <tarīd tīɣarī mīy>
 Tāred teyāre mey? 'Do you want to study?'

<p. 15 = Kayat 1844, p. 63-67>

249. Is this your sister?

هذه اختك
 <maytay walatmāk>

114 Skipped in ms.: Show me this book; What is your name, my boy?

Mex ta wälätma-k? 'Is this your sister?'

250. Can she read?

هيا بتعرف تقرأ

تَرَى لَمُّدَاتُ أَنْ تَعْرِي <tarā lammudat ?an tayrī>

Tāra ləmmudät ən täyäre? 'Do you want to learn to read?'

251. Why do you not teach her?

لپش ما بتعلمها

مَا فُول وَرَهْسَيْتْسَلْمَادُ <mā fūl war hastisalmadad>

Ma foll wār-has təsalmadād? 'Why do you not teach her?'

252. Do you know arithmetic?

انت بتعرف علم الحساب

تَرِيدُ مُسْنَتُ إِنْ مِيصَانُ <tarīd musnat ?in mīḍān>

Tāred musnät ən meḍan? 'Do you want to know arithmetic?'

253. I can teach you.

انا بحسن بعلمك

أَجْعَالُ إِيْحَكُنْ أَسَلْمَادُ <?ağyalay ?ihakakn asalmad>

Əğyalay e-hak äkn asəlməd. 'I would like to do well for you in teaching.'

254. Come to me every day at noon.

تعالى لعدى كل يوم الظهر

تَأْسِيدُ نَاكُ إِمْعَرِي <tāsīd nāk ?imaḡrī>

Tas-i-d nak emāğri. 'Come to me every noon.'

255. Do you like to learn English?

بتريد تتعلم انكليزي

تَرِيدُ مُسْنَتُ أَنْتَكَلِيزِتُ <tarīd musnat antakalīzit>

Tāred musnät ən tākəlizit. 'You want to know English.'

256. You must continue.

انت لازم تداوم

كَيِّي نَاسُ أَتْبَتُ <kay ḡās atbat>

Kāy ḡas ətbət. 'You, just continue.'

257. Learning is obtained by perseverance.

العلم يتحصل بالاجتهاد

مُسْنَتُ وَرَجَرُؤْ عَازُ أَشْتُسِيْسْتُ <musnat warjaruw ?ār astusīst>

Musnät wār ḡarru ar əs tusist. 'Knowledge is gathered only by effort.'

258. Learn to read write well.

تعلم الكتابه جيداً

أَلْمَادُ أَكْتَبُ يُلَاغَانُ <almad ?akatab yulāyan>

Əlməd akātab yolaḡān. 'Learn good writing.'

259. Give me the ink.

اعطيني العبر
أَكْفِيدُ أَمَّدُ <?akfīd ?ammadu>
Äkf-i-d aməddu. 'Give me the ink.'

69

260. Give me the pen.

اعطيني القلم
أَكْفِيدُ أَغَانِيبُ <?akfīd ?aḡānīb>
Äkf-i-d aḡanib. 'Give me the pen.'

261. Give me a sheet of paper.¹¹⁵

اعطيني طوحبة ورق
أَكْفِيدُ هَرَتْ نَلْكَأُ <?akfīd harat nalkāḡ>
Äkf-i-d hārät n älkaḡ. 'Give me some paper.'

(Dialogue 15. Discourse with an Eastern Bishop)

262. Good morning, my Lord Bishop¹¹⁶

صباح الخير يا سيدنا
تُفَاتُ نَلْخِيرُ وَايُفَانُ <tufat nalxīr wāyūfan>
Tufat n älxer, wa yufan. 'Good morning, superior.'

263. I am anxious to learn all particulars respecting the Christians here.

انا مقصود اعرف كلشي بخصوص النصارى هنا
أَجْعَالُغُ مُسْنَتُ تَاتِيلِينُ هُولُنُ أَوْلُ تُنْتَصْرَانِتُ
hūllan awal ntnaṣrānit <aḡḡālaḡ musnat nātilayn
hūllan awal ntnaṣrānit>
Əḡḡalāḡ musnät n a-t illan¹¹⁷ hullan awal n Tānāṣranit. 'I would very much like to know whatever there is, regarding¹¹⁸ Christianity.'

264. How many are the Christians in this place?

قدركم النصار هنا
مَاءُ أَوْكُدُ النَّصَارَ دِيدُغُ <mād awkuda 'nnaṣāra dīdaḡ>
Ma-d ogdan Ännāṣara dīdāḡ? 'How many are the Christians

115 Skipped in ms.: Show me the Bishop's house (Metropolitan)

116 Skipped in ms.: Is your Lordship the orthodox Bishop?

117 As above, this is assumed to show transposition of <y> and <l>.

118 Context suggests that *awal* 'word' is being used here effectively as a preposition 'concerning, regarding'.

here?’

70

265. Are there any other sects of Christians here?

موجود غير طوييف النصار هنا

إِلَّا تْ إِيْسَن اَلنَّصَارَ دِيْدَغُ <illāt ?īsan annaṣāra dīday>

Illa-t isan¹¹⁹ n Ānnāṣara diday? ‘Are there sects of Christians here?’

266. How many churches have you?

كم كنيسه عندكم

مِيْنَكِيْتْ تَمَزْدِجَاوِيْنْ أَنْ كُفَارْ تَلَامْ <mīnakit tamazdījawīn an kufār talām>

talām>

Men-āket tāmazdiğawen ən kufar talam? ‘How many infidels’ mosques do you have?’

<p. 18 = Kayat 1844, p. 67-72>

267. Are you allowed to build new churches?

هل تقدرؤا تعمروا كنائس جدء

تَدُوْبِيْمُ اَلْعَمَارَةُ اِنْ تَمَزْدِجَاوِيْنْ اَيْنَايْنِيْنْ <tadūbim ’lḡamārt ?in tamazdīğawīn ?aynaynīn>

tamazdiğawīn ?aynaynīn>

Tāddobem ālḡamarāt ən tāmazdiğawen āynaynen? ‘Can you establish new mosques?’

268. How old is your church?

كام عمر كنيستكم

مَاءُ يُوْكْدَا اَلْعَمْرُ اِنْ تَمَزْدِجَاوِيْنْ نَوَانْ <mād yūkda aḡamar ?in tamazdiğā nawan>

nawan>

Ma-d yogda ālḡamār ən tāmazdiğā-nāwān? ‘How old is your mosque?’

269. Who was the first Bishop of this place?¹²⁰

من كان اول سقف¹²¹ هذا المكان (Who was the first roof of this

place?)

مَا يَمُوْسُ وَايُوْتْتَنْ عَجَايِدْ لِيْ وَاْدَغُ <mā yamūs wāywattan dağā yadag

119 Vowels uncertain; presumably a verbal noun from a cognate of Niger Tamajeq *išu/išet* ‘be, identify with, conform to’.

120 Skipped in ms: How far does your diocese extend?; How many churches are in your diocese?; Under whose patriarchate is this?; The patriarch of Antioch.

121 Ms substitutes *saqf* ‘roof’ for unfamiliar *usquf* ‘bishop’.

wāday>

Ma yāmos wa iwātān dāḡa¹²² y ādāḡ wadāḡ? 'Who forged the ceiling for this place?'

270. How are your clergy educated?¹²³

كيف كهنتكم يتعلمون (How do your priests/soothsayers study?)
<ḡimissaxxarannawan mitan ḡissal-
madan>

Imāssexxārān-nāwān mi-tān issalmadān? 'Your magicians, who teaches them?'

271. What are the points of difference between you and the Romish church?

ما هي الفروقات ما بينكم وبين كنيسة رومية
ما يَمُوس إِزَمَزَي نَوْنِ اءِ تَمَزْدِجَ تَالرُومِ <mā yamūs ḡizamzay nawan 'd
tamazdiḡa nalrrūm>

Ma yāmos izamməzay-nāwān əd tāməzdiḡa n Ārrum? 'What are your differences with the mosque of Rome?'

272. What are your doctrines of faith?

ما هي قواعد ايمانكم
ما مَوْسَنَّتْ تِجَّاتَوَيْنْ نَطْكَطَنَوْنِ <mā mūsnaṭ tiḡattawīn
naḡakzanawan>

Ma mosnāt tiḡəttewen n āḡāḡzān-nāwān? 'What are the pillars of your faith?'

273. In what light do you regard good works?

ما هو الفكر عندكم عن الاعمال الصالحة
ما يَمُوس أَمِطْرَانِ نِ الْغِطَانِ <mā yamūs ḡamiḡrān 'n ḡītan
'lāḡnīn>

Ma yāmos āmeḡran ən ḡitān olaḡnen? 'What is the thought of good deeds?'

274. Do you believe in purgatory?¹²⁴

هل تعتقدون بمطهر (Do you believe in a purifier?)
تَفْلَاسَمِ أَوْيِ يَزَزْجَانِ <taflāsam ḡaway yazazḡan>

Təflasām awa yəzazḡān? 'Do you believe in what purifies?'

122 Cf. Nehlil: *tadadja* 'plafond'. The missing *ta-* is puzzling.

123 Skipped in ms: Do you use the Nicene creed?

124 Skipped in ms: It is deplorable to see Christians divided into so many sects.

275. God grant union.
 فليعطي الله الاتفاق
 <?ihanaγd yakf masīnaγ tassāq>
 E-hanāḡ-d yakf Mäss-ināḡ tassaqq. 'May God give us unity.'
276. We like to be united with you.
 نحن نرغب الاتفاق معكم
 <narā tassāq nawan>
 Nāra tassaqq-nāwān. 'We want your unity.'
277. What catechism do you use?
 ما هو كتاب تعليم المسيحي عندكم
 (What is the book of teaching of
 the Christian among you?)
 مَا يَمُوسْ مُوسْنَتْ نَالْكِتَابْ نَالْمَسِيحْ
 <mā yamūs mūsnaṭ nālkitāb
 nālmasīx ḡūrwan>
 Ma yāmos musnāt n ālkətab n ālmāsex ḡor-wān? 'What is the
 knowledge of the book of the Messiah among you?'
278. How many sacraments do you hold?¹²⁵
 كم هي الاسرار عندكم
 (How many are the secrets among you?)
 مَا دُ يُوغْدَا إِتِدَاوِيْتْ ḡُورُوْنْ
 <mād yūkda itīdawīt ḡūrwan>
 Ma-d yogda i tādawit ḡor-wān? 'What is it equal to for happi-
 ness¹²⁶ among you?'
279. Do you preach in the churches?
 هل تعظوا بالكنائس
 تِلْمَاَصْنْ مَانَوَانْ دَاḡْ تِمَزْدِيغَاوِيْنْ
 <tilmāḡan mānawan daḡ ti-
 mazdiḡāwīn>
 Təlmaḡām man-nāwān dāḡ təmazdiḡawen? 'Have you
 preached(?)¹²⁷ yourselves in the mosques?'
280. I hope you will preach the love of Christ.
 ان شا الله بتوعظ صحبه المسيح
 اِنْ شَا اللّٰهِ اِيْمَاَصْنْ اَسْتَرْ نَالْمَسِيحْ
 <?in šāllahi ?īdlmāḡan astara
 nālmasīx>

125 Skipped in ms: Are the Holy Scriptures read by your people?; Are you at liberty to exercise your religion?

126 Arabic *ʔasrār* 'secrets, sacraments' was evidently mistaken for a derivative of *srr* 'rejoice'.

127 No such meaning has been observed in dictionaries consulted, and the apparent reflexive poses difficulties for interpretation.

Inša||ah ed-əlmăḏān əs tăra n əlmăsex. 'Inshallah they will preach(?) the love of the Messiah.'

281. I want to see your church.

انا اريه انظر كنيستكم
 رِيغْ اَسَاوَادْ دَاغْ تَامَاذِدِغَانَاوَانْ <rīḡ asawāḏ ḏaḡ tamazdīḡanawan>
 Reḡ asāwāḏ ḏāḡ tāmazdīḡa-nāwān. 'I want to look in your mosque.'

282. Good bye!¹²⁸

خاطرکم
 سَا لِخِرْ يَا <sā'lxīr yā>
 S ālxer ya. 'With goodness.'

(Dialogue 16: Discourse with a Governor-General or a Pasha)

283. I come to solicit your Highness's protection.

انا ملتمس حماية من سعادتک
 نَرَا تَكَاظْتْ دَاغْ تَابَاوْرْتَانْنَاکْ <narā takāḏt ḏaḡ tabaḡūrtannak>
 Nāra taggaḏt ḏāḡ tābāḡort-ənnāk. 'I want protection from your fortune.'

284. We are English.

نحن انكليز
 نَكَانِیْدْ ʔَانْكَالِیْزْ <nakanīḏ ʔankalīz>
 Nākkāneḏ ʔnkəliz. 'We are English.'

285. We come from Constantinople.

نحن جاين من اسلامبول
 نَكَانِیْدْ اَشْطَانْبُولْ ʔِيدْنَاقَالْ <nakanīḏ aṣṭānbūl ʔidnaqal>
 Nākkāneḏ Aṣṭāmbul e-d nāqqāl. 'We arrived from Istanbul.'

286. We have a firman from the Sultan.

نحن بيدنا فرمان من السلطان
 نَكَانِیْدْ تَالَا ڤُرْنَاڤْ تَاسَاڤْلَاسْتْ نَامَانُوكَالْ <nakanīḏ talā ḡūrṇaḡ tasaflast namanūkal>
 Nākkāneḏ tāla ḡor-nāḡ tasəfləst n āmənokāl. 'We have a letter of safe passage of the king.'

287. We want to travel through Syria.

نحن قصدنا ناسفر بر الشام
 نَكَانِیْدْ نَرَا ʔَاْسِیْكَالْ دَاغْ اَشْ-شَامْ <nakanīḏ narā ʔasīkal ḏaḡ aš-šām>

128 Same as nos. 29, 199, and 214.

Näkkäneḍ nāra asikəl dəy Āššam.

<p. 17 = Kayat 1844, p. 72-76>

- 74 288. By Your Highness's good will we can travel every where in safety.
 من سعادتك نحن يمكننا نساfer في كل مكان بامان
 دُعُ تَبْعُورَتْنَكْ إِدْ نَسَاكَلْ نَقْلَاشْ دَ غْ أَكْمُوشْ أَدَّكْ <duḡ tabayūrtannak ʔid
 nasākal naflās dəy akamūs ddak>
 Dəy tābəyort-ənnək ed nəsakal nəflas dəy ak āmos ādägg. 'In
 your fortune, we shall travel safely in every place.'
289. We have a letter from of His Highness the grand vizier to Your
 Highness
 معنا خط من الصدر الاعظم لسعادتك
 إِكْ يَكْ صْ نَكْنِيضْ إِلا مُورْتَنْغْ أَكْتَابْ إِدْ قَلْنْ وَآ مَقْرَنْ إِكْيِكْ
 ḡurnay akatāb iddfaln wā maqaran īkīkad>
 Näkkäneḍ illa ḡor-nəy ākātab i-d yāflān(?)¹²⁹ wa māqqārān i
 kīkad(?)¹³⁰. 'We have a writing which left(?) the great one for
 (happiness?)'
290. We beg your Highness to give us a general order to all the gov-
 ernors of different places.
 نحن نلتمس من سعادتك متسلمين البلاد
 نَكْنِيضْ نَرَاءْ غْ تَبْعُورَتْنَكْ تَأْفَلْسْتْ دَ غْ أَكَلْ <nakanīḍ narāday ta-
 bayūratannak tāflast dəy ʔakal>
 Näkkäneḍ nāra dəy tabəyort-ənnək tafləst dəy ākal. 'We want
 from your fortune trust in the land.'
291. Shall we require an escort?
 نحن يلزمننا غفر يوافقنا
 إِزْأَمَنْغْ إِبْرَدْ نَدِيؤْ <?ilzāmanay ʔīrad nadīw>
 Ilzam-anəy ere-d nāddey? 'Do we need someone who we would
 accompany?'
292. This is a fine country.
 هكه بلاد جميله

129 The proposed reading is hard to reconcile with the transcription, but does fit one meaning of the Arabic (*šdr* 'export').

130 This looks like an internal plural in the construct state, but no suitable word has been observed; based on the Arabic one would expect the meaning 'happiness'.

- أَكَلٌ يَلَاغُنْ <?akal yulāyan>
 Ākal yolaḡān. 'A good country.'
293. It wants good roads.
 يلزمها طرقات سهله
 <?illā ibaraqātan nahīlnīn>
 Illa¹³¹ ibārāqqaten nāhilnen. 'It needs easy roads.'
294. All prosperity to the nation comes from good laws.
 كل توفيق الشعب يأتي من الشريعة العادل
 <tanhil ?in baraqātan talil muzlat>
 Tənhəle n bārāqqaten tāllil muzlāt. 'Ease of roads follows
 straightness.'
295. Good government is the foundation
 الحكم العادل هو الأساس
 <?amanūkal ?iḡdālan anta 'ssax>
 Amənokāl iḡdalān ənta əssāx. 'A just king is the main thing.'
296. Please God, through you the country will prosper.
 انشا الله بنظركم البلاد تنجح
 <?in šā llahu sāhanaynawan ?id narbax>
 Inša'llah s āhānay-nāwān ed nārbāx. 'Inshallah by your vision we
 will prosper.'
297. Every one ought to be equal in the right of the law.
 كل واحد واجب يكون مساوي بنظر الشرع
 <?akamūs ?iyyan yūf ?iswād day
 aššarīḡa>
 Ak āmos əyyān yuf iswād dāḡ āššāreḡa. 'Everyone is better
 when(?) he has looked¹³² at the law.'
298. Schools will do your country much good.¹³³
 مدارس تنفع بلادكم جدا
 <?idakkan musnat ?infān akal
 nawan hūlan>
 Idāggān n musnāt ənfān ākal-nāwān hullan. 'Places of knowl-
 edge have helped your country a lot.'

131 Cf. the usage of this existential verb to mean 'should' in Mali Tuareg:
wār-has talla tekle 'He should not go.'

132 The syntax of this phrase is not entirely clear to the editors.

133 Skipped: Printing-presses will promote many blessings.

299. This man has insulted me.
 هذا الرجل تعدى علي
 <ʔalas wāday iḏlamī>
 Aləs wadäy iḏlam-i. 'This man has wronged me.'
300. This man has robbed me.
 هذا الرجل سرقني
 <ʔalas wāday yūkarī>
 Aləs wadäy yokär-i. 'This man has robbed me.'
301. What is the population of this country?
 كام عدد اناس هاء البلاد
 <mād ʔukwdan¹³⁴ adunat nakāl wāday>
 Ma-d ogdan äddunät n äkal wadäy? 'What are the people of this country equal to?'
302. We beg leave.
 باذن سعادتك (By permission of your fortune)
 <asmūrajat an tabayūrtannak>
 Əs moräğät ən tabäğort-ənnäk. 'By the permission of your fortune.'
- (Dialogue 17: With an Eastern Lady)*
303. Good morning, madam!
 صباح الخير يا ست
 <tufat nālxīr ʔitātūfat>
 Tufat n älxer i ta tufat. 'Good morning to the superior woman.'
304. I am glad to see an Eastern lady
 انا مبسوط الذي نظرت ست شرقيه
 <ʔadīwiḡ ʔasnay udamannan>
 Əddiwey əs nay¹³⁵ udəm-ənnäm. 'I am glad to see your face.'
305. The Syrian ladies are shut up in general.
 ستات بر الشام على الاغلب مسكر عليهن
 <tililattīn nāššām tajīt dasnat tamaqalqalat>

134 Probably accidental transposition of <w> and <k>

135 Evidently a verbal noun from 'see', but one would have expected *ahānay*, as in nos. 215, 296, so the morphology is unclear.

Tilillaten n Āššam tāgğit d-əsnāt tāmāyālyält¹³⁶. 'The noble-women of Syria, seclusion(?) is frequent among them.'

306. Do you read?

انت بتقرى

تريدُ تَبْعَرِمِيعُ <tarīd tīḡarimīy>

Tāred teḡäre mey? 'Do you want to read?'

307. We hear that the females are not taught to read in the East.

نحن نسمع ان البنات لا يتعلمن القراءة بالشرق (We hear that girls do not learn to read in the east.)

نَسَلْ أَنْ سَانُ تَبْرَضِينُ وَزْ أَسْنَيْتُ تَبْعَرِ نَمَشْرِقُ <nasal ?an sān tibaradīn war assinayt¹³⁷ tīḡari namašriq>

Nəsall ən san tibaraḡen wār əssennāt teḡäre n āmašraq. 'We hear that¹³⁸ girls do not know the reading of the East.'

<p. 19 = Kayat 1844, p. 76-81>

308. The Eastern ladies are very clever in needle-work.

سنتات الشرق شاطرين في شغل الإبرة

شَيْتُ الْقَابِلَةُ ءَأَسَانَتْ ءَأَظْمَيْ هَوْلُنْ <šīt 'lqāblat ?āsānāt ?āzamay hūllan>

Šet ālqablāt əssannāt aẓāmay hullan. 'Eastern women know sewing a lot.'

309. The English ladies will do all they can to help the Eastern ladies.

ستات الانكليز يعملن كل ما يقدرن ليسعفن ستات الشرق

شَيْتُ إِنْكَلِيْزُ سَالْمَدْنَتْ شَيْتُ الشَّرْقُ <šīt ?inkalīz sālmadnat šīt 'ššaraq>

Šet Ənkəliz salmadnāt šet āššāraq. 'English women teach Eastern women.'

310. The Eastern ladies are very handsome.

شنتات الشرق جميلات جيِّدا

شَيْتُ الْقَابِلَةُ تَبْهَوْسَيْنِ هَوْلُنْ <šīt alqāblat tiyyahūsayni hūllan>

136 This word was not found in dictionaries examined, so its meaning and exact transcription is unclear.

137 Probably accidental transposition of <y> and <n>.

138 Exact syntax unclear to the editors, but cf. the relative head *ssan* in Prasse.

Šet älqablät ti ähossäyinen¹³⁹ hullan. ‘Eastern women are very beautiful.’

311. We admire your costume.

نحن نستحلى لبسكن

تَعْرَاطَنَعُ تَلَسِّي تَكْمَتُ <tağrāzanay talassī nnakmat>

Təğraḏ-anāy tälässe-nnākmät. ‘Your clothing pleases us.’

312. Will you allow me to look at your rings?

خليبي انظر خواتمك

سَوْلَانْ اِيْدَيَّ تِسْقِيَنَّ <süllān idnayy tisqīnnam>

Sollan ed-nāyāy tisəḡen-nnām? ‘May I gently see your rings?’

313. Very pretty.¹⁴⁰

كثير ظريف

الْأَمْنَتُ هَوْلُنْ <ulāyḡnat hüllan>

Olaynät hullan. ‘They are very good.’

314. Mothers, in England, instruct their daughters to read.

الإمهات في بلاد الإنكليز يعلمون بناتهن القراءة

تِيضِيصِيَنَّ تَكْلِيْرُ سَاغْرِيَنَّ اِشْتَسْنَتُ <tīḏīḏayn naklīz sāḡrīnnat ḡiši-tasnat>

Tīḏeḏen n Əkliz saḡrenät i šet-əšnät. ‘The women of England teach their children to read.’

315. I hope you will teach your daughters to read.

العشم ان تعلم بناتك القراءة (The hope is that you teach your daughters reading).

تَانْفُسْتُ اِيْدَسَاغْرَادْ اِيْشِيْكَ <tānfust ḡidtasayrad ḡišīk>

Tanfust ed-tāsāḡrād i šš-ek. ‘The tale¹⁴¹ is that you should teach your daughters to read.’

316. This is a specimen of English ladies’ hand-work.

هذأ من شغل ايدى ستت الإنكليز

أَمَكْنُونُ اِنْفَاسَنُ شِيْثُ اِنْكِلِيْزُ <amaknūn ’nfāsan šīt inkilīz>

Amākno n fassān n šet Ənkəlīz. ‘Hand-work of English women.’

(Dialogue 18: Discourse on Researches of Antiquities)

139 Here and in no. 154, it seems that the second of a final sequence of two <n>’s has been haplologized.

140 Skipped in ms: Please, madam.; Have the goodness, madam.

141 The meaning does not seem to match the Arabic.

317. What are the principal tribes that inhabit this region?
 ما هم القبائل سكان هذه الأرض
 مَامُوسْنَتْ تِوَسَاتِينْ تِيْتَزَايْنِ أَكَلْ وَآءْغُ <māmūsnat tiwsātīn tītazaynīn
 ?akal wāday>
 Ma mosnāt tawsaten ti tazzaḡnen ākal wadāḡ? 'What are the
 tribes that inhabit this land?'
318. Of what tribe are they branches?
 من اي قبيله هم (They are of which tribe?)
 ءَامُوسْنُ دَاغُ تَوَاسَاتِينْ <?amūsān daḡ taw'satīn>
 Āmosān dāḡ tawsaten. 'They are in tribes.'
319. What tribe is this?
 من هو اهل هذا الربع (Who are the people of this quarter?)
 مَامُوسْنُ كِيلْ أَكَلْ وَآءْغُ <māmūsān kīl adak wāday>
 Ma mosān kel ādāḡ wadāḡ? 'What are the people of this place?'
320. Are there in this neighbourhood any remains of ancient cities,
 temples, or castles?
 هل موجود في هل القرب اثار بلدان قديمه \ ام هياكم ام حصون
 إِيسَايْلَايْ نَاكَالْ وَآءْغُ هَانْتْ مَرْمَانْ أَرُونِينْ \ إِكَنْ نَسْنُ نَاشْ
 wāday hānt ḡarmān ?arūnīn ?idakan nasān ḡās>
 Isāḡlay n ākal wadāḡ han-t ḡārman ārāwnen \ Idāḡān-nāsān ḡās?
 'The surroundings of this place, are there ancient cities in it? \
 Their places only.'
321. Are there any ancient columns?
 هل موجود عواميد قديمه
 وَرَنَسِينْ هَانْتَنْ تِيْتَوِينْ أَرُونِينْ <warnasīn hānatan tiḡatawwīn arūnīn>
 Wār nassen hanāt-tān tēḡāttawen ārāwnen. 'We do not know if
 there are ancient pillars in them.'
322. Is there any thing else of ancient monuments?
 هل يوجد غير فرج قديمه
 جَارُونْتْ دَسْنُ تِيْتَوَاوِينْ أَرُونِينْ <ḡārawnāt dasan tibūdāwīn arūnīn>
 Ḡārāwnāt d-āsān tiboḡawen ārāwnen? 'Do they find in them
 ancient monuments'¹⁴²?
323. Are there any ancient inscriptions?
 هل يوجد كتابة قديمه على صخور ام حجار (Is there old writing on rocks or
 stones?)

142 Word not found in sources examined, so the exact sense is uncertain.

جَارُون دَسْنُ كَتَابِ اَرُونِينُ دَعُ تَهُونُ مِبْعُ اِبْلَالَنُ
arūnīn dāy tahūn mīy ḡiblālān>
Ġarrāwnāt d-əsān kətab ārəwnnen dāy təhun mey iblalān? ‘Do they find in them ancient writings on rocks or stones?’

324. Are there any ancient figures?

هل يوجد تصاوير قديمه
جَارُون دَسْنُ مَسَاكِنَانُ اَرُونِينُ
Ġarrāwnāt d-əsān mäsāknan ārəwnnen? ‘Do they find in them ancient images?’

325. Have you any ancient medals of gold, or silver, or copper?

هل عندكم سلاحيت قديمه من ذهب ام فضه ام من نحاس
تَلَامُ تَزُولُ تَرَوَّتْ نُوْرَعُ مِبْعُ اَطْرَفُ مِبْعُ دَاوِعُ
nūray mīy azraf mīy dārūy>
Təlam təzoli tärəwāt n orāy mey azrəf mey darōy? ‘Do you have any old metal of gold or silver or copper?’

326. Have you any ancient manuscripts?

عندكم كتب قديمه
تَلَامُ الْكَتَابِنُ اَرُونِينُ
Təlam ālkətabān ārəwnnen? ‘Do you have ancient books?’

<p. 20 = Kayat 1844, p. 81>

327. Are there any old books of the Arabians?

هل يوجد كتب عربية من اقوال العرب القدماء
تَلَامُ الْكَتَابِنُ تَارَابْتُ نَاوَلُ اَنُو يَرِينُ
Təlam ālkətabān tārabt nāwal ən wa yorānen? ‘Do you have books of Arabic of the speech of the ancients?’

328. Are there among you any who read these characters?

هل يوجد بينكم من يقرلي هادي الاحرف
تَلَامُ اِبْرِهِيغْرِبْنُ اِلَافْنُ وَاَدَعُ
Təlam ere-hin yāğren ilaffān wadāy? ‘Do you have anyone who would read me these letters?’

“Done at Ghat, by Mohammed the Shereef, nephew of Haj Ahmed, the Governor of the town of Ghat; 24 July 1850. James Richardson.”

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