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Lameen Souag, Adam Benkato

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لَمَّة

مَجَلَّةٌ لِلدِّرَاسَاتِ اللَّيْبِيَّةِ

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*Edited by*

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## 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 Touarick, but I had not time to make a better translation.<sup>1</sup>

The dialogues and vocabulary were taken from an Arabic phrasebook published in 1844,<sup>2</sup> 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-

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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' (*ilaffān*), or 'sects' (*isan*), as well as displaying some rare loanwords, such as 'want' (*əžyǎl/ǎhyǎl*), '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,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> It was concisely described by Benton, who states that the English handwriting in the dialogue collection is Barth's.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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

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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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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

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7 Biagetti, Ait Kaci & di Lernia, “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” (= *māšaq*) 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 Zāw), *Dirāsāt fī lahjat Ghāt: dirāsa nahwiyya fī t-tanawwuṣ al-lughawiyy li-Amāzigh Ghāt*.

brief period of work with three speakers.<sup>11</sup>

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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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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. Howev-

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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,”<sup>15</sup> like the Governor, who was “a stranger to the place and a native of Tawat” (i.e. Touat, in present-day southern Algeria).<sup>16</sup> Richardson adds that he was “of Arab extraction,” and had been “settled here twenty years.”<sup>17</sup> 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).<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> The majority were not members of these clans but rather *imghad* vassals.

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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”.<sup>20</sup> 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 [متخافش], ‘don’t fear’” (p. 9), and a Tuareg as asking him “Hash-Hâlik [إيش 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(ŋ)qub, ənkər], Arise, James.”<sup>21</sup> 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!’”<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> 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.”<sup>24</sup> 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].<sup>25</sup>

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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.’”<sup>26</sup>

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.”<sup>27</sup>

### 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.”<sup>28</sup> The Governor’s daughters too learned to read, while for the literate, the abundant sand provided useful scratch paper.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> 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

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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.”<sup>31</sup> However, rather closer to the date of Richardson’s stay, Freeman was able to learn Tifnagh, including the correct use of ligatures.<sup>32</sup> 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 *fathā* over Tifnagh letters to indicate gemination and *ā* 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.<sup>33</sup>

### 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

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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.<sup>34</sup>

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.<sup>35</sup> 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,

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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*.<sup>36</sup> For *z*, he almost always uses *j* <*z*>, unlike Krause's source, who prefers *ṣ* <*ḍ*>. 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*> ٥ⵛⵙ:٥ '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 *ăkš*, but see Nehlil's <*etch*>, Freeman <*itšê*> ٥ⵛⵔ), 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

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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. *zazzǧǧ* <zazǧǧ> no. 274, contrasting with non-geminate *hǧddiǧǧn* <haddiǧǧan> 'pure' no. 222). 'Mosques' (*tǧmǧzdiǧǧawen* <tamazdiǧǧawīn> 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-kǧt nǧkra* <īhakat 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: *siwǧy-tǧd-d* <sīwaytad> 'have them brought (hither)' (no. 91) for expected \**siwǧy-tǧn-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 ikǧtabǧn* <līɣ akataban> 'I have letters').

Uvulars seem to induce emphasis loss in nearby consonants by long-distance dissimilation, at least in Arabic loanwords: thus *ǧssax* <alssax> 'main thing' from *aš-šahḥ*, *ǧttabǧy* <ǧttabǧy> 'printing-press' (no. 246), from *al-ṭābiṣ*, and *ǧǧxisyǧt* <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.<sup>37</sup> 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

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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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

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-

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

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

in Tuareg.<sup>40</sup> 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 <temāžeq> by Krause’s and <tamadjek’> by Nehlil’s. For Djanet, Prasse records both reflexes in different senses: *tāmahāq* (for the language) and *āmažāḡ* ‘homme de comportement noble, Touareg étranger (surtout du Niger ou du Mali)’. According to Adam, contemporary Ghat usage actually prefers the Arabic label “Targia” (تارقة, 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.”<sup>41</sup>

Within this manuscript, the name of the language is not attested, but synchronic *h* ~ *ž* variation is found in the repeated term *ažyalāḡ* ~ *āhyalāḡ* ‘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>		—	taḡāžamt
‘answer’ (Ar. <i>žāwab</i> )	—	<yehaḡab>		—	—
‘donkey’	<ṭhīḡ>	—		<ijjidh>	ežēḡ

40 Prasse, *loc. cit.*

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

## 2.3.2 \*z &gt; h (ms., Freeman) vs. z (Nehlil, Krause)

22

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, Nehlil, and Prasse; e.g.:

'sell'	<zanh>	<izieyha> oʒΣ:io	<zínz>	<zenz>	—
'day'	<ahal>	—	<ázəl> ǰsí	<azel>	azäl
'pure'	<haddǰ>	<hedig> iʔ	—	<zeddidj>	zädǰ
'blood'	—	<ehni>	—	<azeni>	—
'quickly'	<heek> (Richardson's text)	<hie> (for *<hic>)	—	<zik>	—
'tall'	(vocab.) ihǰrīn	ihégerin (alongside verbal noun: tezegerút †ʒTO†)	—	<zedjrin>	zǰǰrät

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

'yesterday'	<anṭāhil>	—	—	<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. <tazāḡ> in this ms.) or 'purify' (<zazǰ>, contrasting with non-geminate <haddǰ> '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> ΣЖI:И	<zenhel>
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With the Arabic loan 'prepare' (< *həyyi?*), this manuscript too voices the causative prefix, although the *h* is again original: <zahəyyīd> and <zahīd> (i.e. *zāhəyyi-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>	<isṣāḍ> <sup>42</sup>	—	<échouedh>	—
'change'	<maskal>	<amiscal>	—	<mechkel>	—
				<chechou-	
				ou> but	—
'give drink'	<sasu>	—	—	<sesou>	—
				('arroser')	
'when'	<as>	—	—	<as ~ ach>	—
'tribes'	<tiwsātīn>	—	<tšī-	<tchiouch-	—
			ušatšēn>	atchin>	

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

'daughters'	<išī>	—	—	<ichchi>	əšš-e
'fire'	<tamsī>	<tīmesi>	—	<tchimsi>	temse

The observed distribution can clearly not be explained as a result of the sound change \*si > šī, 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,<sup>43</sup> and in Arabic in many old urban varieties.<sup>44</sup> One might speculate that this became somehow emblematic of Ghat's urban identity.

42 Note that the originally Greek o-u ligature Ϻ 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 \*ti > či is otherwise characteristic of Niger Tamajeq (with a further shift to ši in Eastern Tawellemmet).<sup>45</sup> While affrication of t seems to recur across traditional urban varieties in Arabic and Berber (such as Figuig)<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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>	igġæt 'it is ~'
'thank you'	<tanam- mīrt tagīt>	—	—	<tanem- mirt ennek tedjdjit>	—
'action' (v.n. of 'do')	sg. <igī> pl. <ġītan>	<Ige>	—	<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 (tahăggart) I-III*, 12.

‘please’	3m.sg. <igrāz>	—	—	<edjrez>	—
	3f.sg. <tağrāz>				
‘distance’	<īkiği> <iğağ>	<lgig>	—	<toudjedji>	—

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

‘place’	<idak> / <adag>	—	—	<idedj>	—
‘guard’	<ākaz>	<Yogaz>	—	<adjez>	agāz
‘dinner’	<amagīn>	<Amagīni>	—	<amadjin>	—
‘evening’	<tadakkat>	—	—	<tadedjat>	tadāggat (Chat: tadāğğat)

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

‘thousand’	<āğim>	<Agīm> oTC	—	<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’ (<idak> / <adag>).

### 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- tǧawīn>	—	—	<tchimezd- jidjaouin>	—
'wet'	(vocab.) <ibdāǧ>	<lbdag>	—	<ebdjedj> / <ebzedj>	abduǧ (n.)

### 2.3.9 Pharyngeals vs. uvulars

As discussed in 2.2.2, this manuscript almost always turns Arabic ʕ and ʕ 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 *ʕ* in forms like <ǰáha> ‘Juḥa’, <et’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 (*əflasǧ-kǧy* <ʔaflāsǧkay> ‘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 nǧkra* <īhakat nakra> ‘we will rent it to you’). Contrast Krause (p. 40), with the expected assimilation: *ǧreq-qǧy* <areqai> ‘I want you’.

### 2.3.11 Voiceless affricates

For ‘eat’, most Tuareg varieties have *ǧkš*, with irregular dissimilation of *t* > *k*, while most northern Berber varieties show *ǧčč*. (The original form may be reconstructed as \*ǧtyǧ, according to Kossmann.<sup>48</sup>) 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> ⵓⵜⴳⵓ —	<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*, *nākkū*, 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* <arīy>, the conservative form, is attested 9 times (nos. 33, 67, 85, 86, 133, 141, 225, 242, 243), but *rey* <rīy>, 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 <Rey> 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.<sup>49</sup>

## 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.<sup>50</sup> 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: *ǎkn* ‘make, do well’ (no. 253, no. 15) and *mǎnǎǎr* ‘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 *ǎlmǎd* ‘learn’ (no. 44), *ǎktǎb* ‘write’ (no. 33), *ǎqqǎl* ‘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.

29

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: *ǎkn* ‘make, do well’ (no. 253) displays suffix omission, but *ǎkf* ‘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: *ǎǎǎ* ‘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 <ʔihatakǎ>, 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 ʔi>(!) no. 59), more or less matching Tahaggart *he* but contrasting with forms like *za/mad/mar* in most southern Tuareg varieties.

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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 *răxisyät* ‘it is cheap’, based on Arabic *raxīṣ*) and <-iet> in Nehlil and Freeman.<sup>51</sup> According to Kossmann, “The suffix /-yät/ is not attested in dialects spoken outside Niger.”<sup>52</sup> 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-

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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.

31

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.<sup>53</sup>

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’.<sup>54</sup>

#### 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’, *lammudăt* <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’.<sup>55</sup>

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 *alkam*) 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 *abroḡ 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 *afləs* ‘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 *ṭṭ* in Tuareg).

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(Libye): temporalité, aspectualité et modalités.”

### 3. Phrases

Label:	Dialogues in Arabic and the Aurâghee a Dialect of the Tuaregs - Ghat 24 July 1850. A	33
Arabic title:	هَذِهِ كَلَامُ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ مُتَرْجَمٌ بِالتَّارِقِيَّةِ الْأَوْرَاغِيَّةِ '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  
مَآؤُلْ تُفَاتَنَّكَ <mā tūla tufatannak>  
Ma tola tufat-ənnāk? 'What is your morning like?'
2. Good evening  
مَسَاءَ الْخَيْرِ  
مَآؤُلْ تِنِيسِيَنَّكَ <mā tūla tinisīnnak>  
Ma tola tenäse-nnāk? 'What is your evening like?'
3. How do you do?  
كَيْفَ حَالِكَ  
مَآءُ يُولُ أَلْخَالَنَّكَ <mād yūla ʔalxālannak>  
Ma-d yola ʔlxal-ənnāk? 'With what is your situation like?'
4. Where are you going?  
وَيْنَ رَايِحِ  
مَآنِ اسْتَكِيدُ <mani 'stakīd>  
Mani-s təkkeḍ? 'Where are you going towards?'
5. Do you travel alone?  
أَنْتَ بِنَسَافِرِ وَحْدِكَ

تَرِيدُ أَسِيكَلُ فَمَا سَنَّاكَ <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 ālḡer ‘With a thousand of goodness’
7. Thank you  
كتر خيرك (Increase your goodness)  
تَنْمِيرْت تَجِيْت <tanammīrt tgīt>  
Tanəmmert tāggit (or: tāḡḡet). ‘Blessing has increased (or: plentiful blessing).’
8. Thank God  
الحمد لله  
أَجُوْر مَسِينْغ <?aḡūḡa masīnəḡ>  
Āḡoḡa<sup>56</sup> Mäss-ināḡ ‘Thank our Lord’
9. I hope you are quite well  
ان شاء الله تكون مبسوط  
إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَأْدِيوْء <?in šā?a ’llāha tadīwid>  
Inšāllā 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)  
نَاكُ سَاچِم نَلْخِيرُ أَجُوْر يَالله <naku sāḡim nalxīr aḡūḡa yāllah>  
Nākku s āḡim n ālḡer āḡoḡa Yāllā ‘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)  
نَاچُوْءِي يَالله فُلُو السَّلَامَة تَنْك <naḡūḡiyy yāllah fulū ’ssalāmat nnak>  
Nāḡoḡāy (i) Yāllā foll<sup>57</sup> 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 منا كثير  
 <?in šāʔa ʔllāh warhīn iltakad ʔikit>  
 Inšaʔla wār-hin əttəkk(e)d eket 'Inshallah you are not going  
 away for long.' 35
13. As it pleases God<sup>58</sup>  
 تبع تسهيل الباري (Of God's making easy)  
 أَلْكَمَ يَاوَدَّي سَنُهَل يَاالله  
 Əlkəm y-awa da isanhal Yāʔla 'Follow what God makes easy here'
14. I am very much obliged to you  
 أنا كثير ممنونك  
 أَفْلَاسَاڤْكَي هُوَلُّنْ <?aflāsaʔkay hūllan>  
 Əflasāʔ-kāy hullan. 'I trust you very much.'
15. Will you do me a favor?  
 تريد تعمل معي معروف  
 تَرِيدُ إِهْتَكُنْدُ أَيَلَاوَعْنُ <tarīd ʔihataknaḍ ʔayulāuʔan><sup>59</sup>  
 Tāred e ha-tāknāḍ a yolaʔān? 'Do you want to do something  
 good?'
16. With great pleasure  
 بالزاس والعين (With head and eye)  
 فُولُ أَفْيفِينْ آءُ تِيَطِينْ <fūl ʔaʔafīn ad tīṭīn>  
 Foll əʔāf-in əd teṭṭ-in 'On my head and my eye.'
17. You are welcome  
 اهلا وسهلا  
 أَءُ وَيَعْكَ هُوَلُّنْ <?addiwīʔak hūllan>  
 Əddiwēʔ-ak hullan. 'I am very glad for you.'
18. I hope you are better  
 ان شا الله تكون احسن  
 <?in šāʔa ʔllāh ʔidtaʔad>  
 Inšaʔla ed-talāʔāḍ '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 *yolaʔān* is also odd.

هُوَلْنُ <hūllan>  
Hullan. 'A lot.'

20. I have a letter of introduction to you  
أنا معي كتاب توصي لك  
إِوَايَعَكُّ أَكْتَبَنَّكَ <iwāyayakadd akatabannak>  
Ewayāy-ak-ədd akātab-ənnāk. 'I have brought you your writing.'
21. Welcome  
مرحبا  
مَرْخَبَا <marxabā>  
Mārxāba 'Welcome'
22. When did you come?  
ايمتا جيت  
إِنْرُ إِيْمِرُ أَسْتُسِيْدُ <?innar ?imīr ?asatūsīd>  
Ənnar emer as tosed? 'Which time did you come?'
23. Today.  
اليوم  
أَهْلَوَاءُ <?ahalwāday>  
Ahāl wadāy 'Today'
24. Yesterday  
امس  
أَنْطَاهِلُ <?antāhil>  
Ənt-ahāl 'Yesterday'
25. I hope you will tell me anything I can do for you.  
(I beg of you to tell me a word you need)  
بْتَرَجَاكْ تَقُولْ لِيْ كَلَامْ يَلْزَمْكَ  
إِيْهَكَ أَقْلَغْ تَنْدُ تَفِيْرُ تَنْتُ <?ihak ?aqqalay tanad tafirtannak>  
E-hak āqqāļāy tānnād tafert-ənnāk. 'I will return to you and you will say your word.'
- <p. 3 = Kayat 1844, p. 23-26>
26. I beg you  
بْتَرَجَاكْ  
إِيْهَكَ أَقْلَغْ مِيْغْ <?ihak aqqalay mīy>  
E-hak āqqāļāy mey? 'Will I return to you?'
27. O Sir  
يا خِوَاجَة  
وَيْلَنْ إِيْهَرِيْ <waylan ihārī>  
Wa ylan ehäre 'One who owns cattle/wealth'

28. (English left blank in ms.)<sup>60</sup>  
يا سيده  
وَيُؤْفَن <wayūfan>  
Wa yufan 'Superior one' 37
29. Good bye  
خاطركم <your good pleasure>  
سَلْخِير يَا <salxīr yā>  
S ālxer ya 'With goodness'
30. With peace  
مع السلامه  
دَغ السَّلَامَة <daya '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)  
إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ إِدْنَمَانَاي سَالْخِير <in šāʾa 'llāh idnamanay sālḡīr>  
Inšalḡa ed-nāmmānāy s ālxer. 'Inshallah we will see each other with goodness.'
32. Write to me when you arrive at Damascus  
اكتب لي عند وصولك إلى الشام  
أَكْتَابِيد دَغ السَّام <aktabīd day 'ššām>  
Əktāb-i-d dāḡ Āššām. 'Write to me in the Levant.'
33. I certainly will write to you  
أنا معلوم بكتب لك  
أَرْبَغْ إِيهَكَ أَكْتَابْ <arīḡ ʾīhaka 'ktabaḡ>  
Āreḡ e-hak əktābāḡ. 'I want to write to you.'
34. God bless you  
الله يكون معك (God be with you)  
تَدِيدُودْ أَدْمَسِينَاي <tadīwad ʾadmasīnaya>  
Tāddewād əd Māss-ināḡ. 'You are with Our Lord.'

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

- 38
35. Do not take the trouble<sup>61</sup>  
 لا تكافى العاطر (Do not recompense the good pleasure)  
 وَرَهْسْتِكِيدَ أَوَّرِ إِيرِي <warhastikīd awar īrī>  
 Wār-has tagged 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 الجواج  
 تَهْوَلَدِين وَيَلَن إِيَهْرِي <tahūladīn waylan īharī>  
 Tāhulād-i-n wa ylan ehäre. 'You greeted for me the one who owns wealth/cattle.'
38. Certainly  
 معلوم  
 يَمُون <yamūn>  
 Yämmun. 'It is obvious.'
39. Excuse me  
 لاتواخذني <don't chastise me>  
 وَرَهْتَرْمِسِيدَ سِيكِيَهِن <warhitarmisayd<sup>62</sup> sigīhin>  
 Wār-hi tārmesād s igi-hin. 'Don't hold me for my act.'
40. Do not mention it  
 حاشاك من المواخذة (Far be you from chastisement)  
 وَرَجِيغَ كَيِّ وَابْرَمَسَن سِيكِيَج <warġīḡ kay wāyrmasan sikiġi>  
 Wārġeḡ kāy wa yārmāsān s igeġi. 'It's not you that holds (is held?<sup>63</sup>) from a distance.'
41. God grant that we may see you well and in good health  
 اللّٰه يرينا وجهك بخير وعافه (God show us your face in goodness and health)  
 إِهَنْغَ يَسْمِنِدَاك مَسِينِنَغ سَالْعَافِيَه <?ihanaḡ yasmanidak masīnaḡ sālyāfi-

61 In Kayat, the Arabic is misprinted as لا تكافى العاطر, 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-hanāḡ yəsmənəy d-ək Mäss-ināḡ s ālyafiyāt. 'May our Lord cause us to meet up with you in good health.'

(Dialogue 2: Discourse with an Interpreter)

39

42. Do you speak English?  
 بتعرف انكليزي (Do you know English?)  
 <tarīd musnat antakilīzīt>  
 Tāred musnāt ən Tākəlīzīt<sup>64</sup>? 'Do you want to know English?'  
 <p. 4 = Kayat 1844, p. 26-28>
43. French or Italian  
 فرنساوي واطلياني (French and Italian)  
 <afrānsī 'ṭṭalyānī>  
 Afrānsī əd<sup>65</sup> Ṭālyani 'French and Italian'
44. I speak English  
 انا بعرف انكليز (I know England)  
 ريغ ايدالمداغ انكليز <rīḡ ṭidalmaḡay ankilīz>  
 Reḡ ed-əlməḡay Ənkəlīz. 'I want to learn England.'
45. I want to travel into the country  
 انا بدي اسافر في البلاد  
 أهغالغ آسيكل <aḡyālay<sup>66</sup> asīkal>  
 Āḡyālay asīkal. 'I would like to travel.'
46. Do you know the different parts of the country  
 انا بتعرف نواحي البلاد  
 أهغالغ مسنت انساغلي نكال <aḡyālay musnat an saḡlay n akāl>  
 Āḡyālay musnāt ən saḡlay n ākal. 'I would like to know the surroundings of the country.'

64 The first and second vowels of 'England' and 'English' are assumed to be *a*, 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 غ 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.

- 40
47. Have you ever travelled<sup>67</sup> with any traveller before.  
 انت سافرت مع غير سراح<sup>68</sup>  
 <tasūkalad walā amaḍin watlīd>  
 Tāssokālād wāla amāḍin<sup>69</sup> wa taled? 'Did you travel without the  
 herd/grazing you have?'
48. Have you certificates of character.  
 عندك اوراق شهادات  
 <allānat ḡurak tirwīn 'ntuḡuhāwīn>  
 Əllanāt ḡor-ək terawen<sup>70</sup> 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 ālluḡa? 'Do you want to learn the language?'
51. How old are you?  
 قدر ابش عمرك  
 <mādyūkdālyamarannak>  
 Ma-d yogda ālyāmār-ənnāk? 'What is your age equal to?'
52. What language do you speak best.  
 اي لغة بتعرف احسن  
 <mā yamūs ?awāl watasanad hull\_n>  
 Ma yāmos awal wa təssānād hullan? 'What is the language that  
 you know a lot?'
53. Do you speak Turkish?  
 بتعرف تركي

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67 In Kayat: Did you ever travel...

68 Kayat has سواح 'tourists', miscopied in the ms. as سراح 'grazing'.

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

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

- تَرِيدُ لُمُودَاتِ أَنْ تَتُرَكِّبِتْ <tarīd lumudat an taturkīt>  
Tāred ləmmudāt<sup>71</sup> ən tāturkit? ‘Do you want to learn Turkish?’
54. Do you know Hebrew?  
بتعرف عبراني  
تَرِيدُ لُمُودَاتِ أَنْ تَعْبِرَانِيْتْ <tarīd lumudat an taṣībranīt>  
Tāred ləmmudāt ən tāṣībranit? ‘Do you want to learn Hebrew?’
55. Do you know any Persian?  
بتعرف فارسي  
تَرِيدُ لُمُودَاتِ أَنْ تَلْفَارِسِيْتْ <tarīd lumudat 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?)  
تَرِيدُ لُمُودَاتِ نَانْنَاهْوِيْدْ شَّارْفَا <tarīd lumudat nannaḥwid’ššarfa>  
Tāred ləmmudāt n ānnāḥw əd āššārf a? ‘Do you want to learn the grammar and morphology?’
57. Where did you learn?  
فين تعلمت (Where did you/she learn?)  
مَانِيْدْ اَتَّلَمَدْ <mānid ‘ttalamad>  
Mani-d-āt tālmād? ‘Where did she learn it?’
58. Is your father living?  
ابوك طيب (Your father is good)  
تِيْكَ يَزِيْدْ <tīk yaẓīd>  
Ti-k yaẓēd. ‘Your father is agreeable.’
59. I will engage you.  
72 انا باخدم من<sup>72</sup> (I shall work / I will serve us / I will make us work)<sup>73</sup>  
نَكْ مِيْهْ اِخْدَمَغْ <nak mīh<u><sup>74</sup> ʔixdamay>  
Nāk mi he-xdāmāy? ‘Me, whom shall I serve?’

41

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

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 *damma*, we seem obliged to interpret it as an incomplete *sukūn*.

60. What do you expect a month?  
قدر ايش بذك بالشهر  
<minakīt tarīd nāk tālīt>  
Men-āket tāred nak tallit? 'How much do you want for each month?'
61. Come to me tomorrow morning.  
تعالى لعند بكرة على بكر  
<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  
<annas isamannak>  
Ənnəs esəm-ənnāk?
63. Peter tell me if you can cook?  
يا بطرس قل لي ان كان بتعرف تطبخ  
<hiy baṭras tasānad asayī>  
Hey Bāṭras tāsānād asəḡḡi? 'Hey Boutros, do you know cooking?'
64. Have you ever travelled with English travellers?  
سافرت ابدا مع حوچاة انكليز  
<tasūkal\_d tartāyad 'dmayawayn nankalīz>  
Tāssokālād tārtayād əd māyyāwānān<sup>75</sup> n Ənkəlīz? 'Have you travelled mixing with rich people from England?'
65. Have you any certificates?  
عندك اوراق  
<talīd ikataban mīy>  
Tələd ikātabān mey? 'Do you have any writings?'
66. Do you know their names?  
بتعرف اساميهم  
<tasānad ismawanasan>  
Tāsānād esmawān-nāsān?

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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 بدي اسافر على القدس والشام وبعلبك وكل بر الشام  
 <naka rīy tikawta 43  
 na'lššām da'lquds adkallan na'lššām amdān>  
 Nāk ärey tikawt n Äššam d Älquds əd kallän n Äššam 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 älkära-nnāk? 'What is your wage equal to?'
71. I take you by the month.  
 انا باخذك مشاهرة  
 <ihidtākad 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 asārxał>  
 E-käy äkfäy älkära tallit asārxał. 'I will give you wages a month in advance.'
73. Do you know of any inns here?  
 بتعرف البارجات هون  
 <tāssanad alfūndaq dīday mīy>  
 Təssanād älfundāq dedäy meḡ? 'Do you know a hotel here?'
74. Which is the best?  
 اين هي الاحسن  
 <mānitātūfat>  
 Mani ta tufāt? 'Where is the best one?'

75. I want to hire a house.  
 انا بدي استاجر بيت  
 أَجْعَالُغْ إِكْرَغْ إِهْن <ʔajɣālay idakraɣ ʔīhan>  
 Əʒɣalǎɣ<sup>76</sup> ed-ākraɣ ehän. 'I would like to rent a house.'
76. How much does he ask  
 قدر ايش بيطلب  
 ما د يوكدا أوا بجماتي <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 هُولَنْ <aɣlā hūllan>  
 Iɣla hullan. 'It is very expensive.'
78. I want it cheap.  
 انا بدي اياه رخيص  
 اِكْرَاظْ اِينْ رَخِيصْ <iɣrāɣi ʔinnīn raxīɣ>  
 Igrāɣ-i innin raxiɣ. 'It pleases me that it is cheap.'
79. I give you twenty dollars a month  
 انا بعطيك مشرين ريال بالشهر  
 اِيْهَكْ اَجْغْ سَتْتَمَرُوِيْنْ تَرْيَالْ اِتْلِتْ <īhak ajaɣ sanatamarwīn nariyyāl itallit>  
 E-hak əǧǧə sənāt təmārwen n əriyyal<sup>77</sup> i tāllit. 'I will put for you twenty riyals a month.'
80. Call me a good muleteer here  
 جيب لي مكاري مليح لهون  
 سِيْسِيْدْ اَمَكَارِيْ يُولَاغَنْ <sīsīd amakārī yūlāɣan>  
 Sis-i-d amākari yolaɣän. 'Bring me a good muleteer.'
81. Come to me in the evening  
 تعالي لعند بالمسا  
 اَسِيْدْ خُوْرِيْ اِيْهَادْ وَاَدَاغْ <asid xūri ihad wāday>

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 ehəḏ wadäɣ. '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  
 سِيكَلْ اَسَنْ كُدْ لِيغْ اَكْتَابَنْ دَغْ البُوسْطَا <sīkal asann kud līɣ akataban  
 day 'lbūstā>  
 Sikəl əssən kud lɛɣ ikātabān dəɣ əlbosṭa. 'Go find out if I have  
 letters at the post office.'
83. Show me the house of the Consul  
 فرجيني بيت القنسل  
 سَكْنِيْدْ اِيَهَنْ نَلْقُنْشُلْ <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?)  
 تَلَا ڠُورَكْ تَبُورِتْ نَالْشَّامْ <talā ɣūrak tabūrit nālššām>  
 Təlla ɣor-ək taborit n Aššām? 'Do you have a piece of cloth of  
 the Levant?'
85. I want some new pattern.  
 انا بدني قسمة جديد  
 اَرِيغْ تَفُولْتْ تَيْنَايَاتْ <?arīɣ tafūlta taynāyat>  
 Āreɣ tafult təynayāt. 'I want a new portion.'
86. I want two pieces alike.  
 انا بدني طرفتين من فرد شكل  
 اَرِيغْ اَسِيْنْ هَرَاتَنْ ءُولَانِيْنْ <?arīɣ asīn haratan ʔūlānīn>  
 Āreɣ əssin hərātān olanen. 'I want two things the same.'
87. How much a piece?  
 بكام الثوب (How much is the robe?)  
 مِيْنَكِيْتْ تِكَمِيْسْتْ <mīnakīt tikamīst>  
 Men-əkət tekāməst? 'How much is the robe?'
88. It is dear.  
 غالي  
 تَغْلَا <taɣlā>  
 Tāɣla. 'It is expensive.'
89. It is cheap.  
 رخييس <sic>  
 رَاخِيْسِيَا <raxīsyat>  
 rāxīsyāt.

- 46 90. I give you 100 piastres.  
 انا بعطيك مائة غرش  
 إِكَيَكْفَاغ دَس تِيمِيض تَلَكْرَش <ikayakfay das tīmiḍi nalkaraš>  
 E-kāy ākfāy d-əs temēde n ālgārəš. 'I will give you for it 100 qirsh.'
91. Send them to me to the inn of Joseph.  
 ابعث لي اياهم بارجة يوسف  
 سِيوَيْتَه دَغ آرَجَة اَن يُوسُف <sīwaytad day arġat 'n yūsuf>  
 Siwəy-təd<sup>78</sup> -d dəy ārġāt<sup>79</sup> ən Yusəf. 'Have them brought to the inn of Yusuf.'
92. How much is your account?  
 كام حسابك  
 مَاد يُوَكْدَ مِيصَانْكَ <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  
 تَلِيَه اَلْبَغْلَة تُولَاغَة <talīd albaylat tūlāyat>  
 Tələd ālbāyāt 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 ʔāyyis>  
 Āssofāy ayəs. 'I prefer a horse.'
95. We have our own saddles  
 نحن عندنا سروجتنا  
 نَلِين اِلَكْفَانَّغ <nalīn ilakfannanay>  
 Nəl-en iləkfān nānāy. 'We have them, our saddles.'
96. I want a strong mule for our tent and kitchen  
 انا بدي بغل قادر من شان الخيمي والزوادة  
 اَجْجَالَاغ اَلْبَغْلَة تَصُوْهِيَة فُول تَخِيَامَت د الرّاء  
 fūl taxyāmt d azzād<

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

79 Presumably a nonce loanword from Arabic.



Əžxaləx əlbəxlät täşsohet 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 بالنهاار  
 مَاد يُوَكَّةَ الْكَرَّ تَلْبَغَلَةَ <mād yūkda 'lkara nalbaɣlat>  
 Ma-d yogda əlkāra n əlbəxlät? 'What is the hire of the mule equal to?'
98. How many days will it take us to Baalbec?  
 كام يوم الى بعليك  
 مَنَّاكِيْت هَضَانَ بَغْلَبَاكَ <manakit haḍān baɣlabaka>  
 Man-əkət həḍān Bəɣləbək a? 'How many nights is Baalbek?'
99. Do you know the roads well?  
 انت بتعرف الطرقات جيده  
 تَسَانَادْ اَبَارَاَقَا هُوَلْن <tasānad abaraqqa hūllan>  
 Təssanād abarəqqa hullan? 'Do you know the road a lot?'
100. Stop the mules.  
 هدې البغال (Calm the mules)  
 اَوَّ تَلْبَغَلَةَ <?awwa talbaɣlata>  
 Awa talbəxlät a. 'This is the she-mule.'
101. This horse is lame.  
 هادا الحصان يعرج  
 اَوَّ اَيَّيس <?awa ?āyyis>  
 Awa ayəs. 'This is a horse.'
102. The mule lost his shoe.  
 البغل وقعت نعلته  
 تَسَسَلْت نَالْبَاغْلَات تَارْتَاك <tasssalt nalbaɣlat tartak>  
 Tasəsəlt n əlbəxlät tārtāk. 'The mule's shoe fell.'
103. Change me this horse.  
 غيرلي هادا الحصان  
 مَسْكَالِيْد اَيَّيس <maskalid ?āyyis>  
 Mäskäl-i-d ayəs. 'Change me the horse.'
104. When shall we arrive?  
 ايمنتي نصل  
 اَمْمِيْهِنَاوَاد <?ammihinawaḍ>  
 Əmme e-hin nawāḍ? 'When will we arrive?'
105. Is the caravansary far?  
 الخان بعيد  
 اَلْخَانَ يُوَجِّج <alxān yūğğig>

Ālxan yoğǎğ? 'Is the caravanserai far?'

106. How far?

قدر ايش بعيد

مَاد يُوَكْدَ إِجْجَانِيس <mād yūkda ?iğāğanīs>

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

107. Which is the road?

اين هو الدرب

الدَّارِب مَانِكِيد <'lddarb mānikīd>

Āddārb manekid? 'Where is the road?'

108. Wait for me.

اصبر لي

ظِدْرِي <ẓidrī>

Ẓäydār-i 'Wait for me.'

109. Drive on.

سوق

السُّوك <assūk>

Āssuk 'Market'

110. Slowly

على مهلك

فُول مَانَّك <fūl mānnak>

Foll man-nnāk 'On your self'

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

111. I want water to drink

بدي اشرب

رِيغ تَيْسَسِي <rīğ tīsasī>

Rēy tesāse. 'I want to drink.'

112. Give the horses water

اسقى الخيل

سَسْ إِيَّسَان <sasu iyyasān>

Sāsw əyyəsan. 'Make the horses drink.'

113. Where shall we alight?

وين منحول

مَانِي نَوَاض <manī niwāḍ>

Mani newâḍ? 'Where have we arrived?'

114. Which is the convent?

اين هو الدير

مِنَكِيد الدِير <minakīd addīr>

- Menakid ädder? ‘Which is the monastery?’
115. We like to pitch our tent near the water.  
 نريد نصب الخيمه قربه مويه  
 نَرِ إِدْكَرَسْ تَخِيَامْت <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  
 وَرْتَرِيْ أَسِيكَلْ دَاغْ تُكْسِي تَهْل <warnarī asīkal daḡ tuksi 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 نَمَغْرَ نَكَلْ <tasānad isam namḡar nakal>  
 Tāssanād esəm n āmḡar n ākal? ‘Do you know the name of the  
 chief of the country?’
118. What horsemen are there before us?  
 ما هم الجباله قدامنا  
 مَايَمُوسْ أَوِينْ دَاتْنَاغْ <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 نَدَاكْ وَدَاغْ <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 تُلَاغَاتْ <īwārnamnas talīd taḡlamt tulāḡat>  
 E ywarān n<sup>80</sup> əmnas tāled taḡlamt tolaḡāt? ‘You who are on  
 camels, do you have a good she-camel?’
121. Have you good camels?  
 عند جمال طيبه (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.

ليخ ءاميس يلاخن <līḡ ʔāmis yulāḡan>  
 Leḡ amis yolayān. 'I have a good he-camel.'

122. I want to cross the desert.

انا بدى اقطع الشول  
 ربح ائتس نأشول <rīḡ aḡatas nāšūl>  
 Reḡ aḡātas n Ašul. 'I want to cross Ashul.'<sup>81</sup>

123. Is there any danger in the road?

في خوف في الدرب (Is there fear in the road?)  
 تها تكتس الدرب  
 Tāha tuksāḡa āddārāb? 'Is there fear in the road?'

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

كم بدنا تدمر  
 ماهين يقينن ائدمر <māhīn yaqīman itadmar>  
 Ma-hin yāqqimān e Tādmār? 'What remains away for Tadmor?'

125. Can we go by Mount Sina to Hebron?

يمكن نروح من طور سناء الى الخليل  
 يموكن ائمنصر ع الطور عار الخليل  
 ʔār 'lخاليل <yamūkkan ʔidmanḡar daḡ aṡṡūr  
 Yāmmokkān ed-mānḡār dāḡ Āṡṡor ar Ālخاليل? 'Can I return<sup>82</sup> from  
 Mount Sinai to Hebron?'

126. We want to go to Bagdad.

نحن بدنا نروح الى بغداد  
 نر ائمنصر ان بعداء <nara iminḡār an bayḡdād>  
 Nāra emenḡar an Bāḡdad. 'We want to return to Bagdad.'

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

نحن بدنا نروح الى الاردون والى بحيرة لوط  
 نر ائمنصر نا اردون اء بحيرة لوط  
 Nāra emenḡar n Ardun əd Bḡerāt Loṡ. '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 *rawwaḡ* rather than to *rūḡ*.

128. But we prefer coming back by St. Sabba's and Bethlehem.<sup>83</sup>  
 لكن نحن نرغب نرجع عن طريق مرسا \ با وبيتي لحم  
 <nara id naqqal sābaraqa marsā / ʔāyil 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 قاهر منشأ الجيم والديش  
 <rīḡ amis yaṣūhin fūl taxyāmt>  
 Reḡ amis yāṣṣohen 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  
 <mād yūkda lkarānnak fūl nāk asikayl<sup>84</sup>>  
 Ma-d yogda lkāra-nnək foll nak asikəl? 'How much is your hire for the whole journey?'
131. How much the camel per day?  
 كم اجرة الجمل بالنهاار  
 <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 بالنهاار  
 <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  
 <arīḡ tilays nalbadawī>  
 Āreḡ telāsse<sup>85</sup> 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  
أَبْرُوغُ إِلَيَّ <abrūy illī>  
Abroy ill-e. 'The blanket is here.'

135. Take us the nearest road.

خذنا بدرب القريبه  
أَجْدَ نَعُ أَلْدَرْبُ يُوْهَاطُنُ <ajda nay addarab yūhāzan>  
Aǧd(?)<sup>86</sup> -anāy āddārāb 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 رَابِيسْ مَنِسْتَهِيْدُ <ya rāyis manistahīd>  
Ya rayəs, mani-s tāhed? 'Captain, where are you from?'

137. What is your ship?<sup>87</sup>

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

138. Have you a good cabin?

عندك كارمه مليح  
تَلِيْدُ كَارْمَهْ تُلَايَاتُ <talīd kārma tulāyat>  
Tələd karma<sup>88</sup> tolaḏāt? 'Do you have a good cabin?'

139. What size is your boat?

قدرايش شختورك  
(left blank in ms.)

140. We will employ it by the month

نحن نستكريبها في المشاهر  
إِيْحَاكْتُ نَكْرَ أَشْ تَلِيْتُ <īhakat nakra as tallīt>  
E-hak-kāt nākra əs tallit. 'We will rent it to you by the month.'

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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.><sup>89</sup>  
 نحن بدنا نروح الشطى الشطى الي يافا  
 أرْبَعْ أَدْنَوَايَ أَجَمَ أَجَمَ أُرْ يَافَا <arīḡ adnawāya aḡama aḡama ṭār yāfā>  
 Ārey ed nawaya(?)<sup>90</sup> aḡāma aḡāma ar Yafa. 'I want us to go(?)  
 outside until Jaffa.'
- <p. 9 = Kayat 1844, p. 42-45>
142. Are there any steamers here?  
 فِي مَرَاكِبِ نَارِ هِنَا  
 آلَانَتِ تُوْرَفِينِ أَنْ تَمْسِي <allānat tūrafīn an tamsī>  
 Əllānāt torāfen ən tāmse? 'Are there boats of fire?'
143. When do you start?  
 اِيْمَتِي بِتَسَافِرِ  
 أَمِّ تَرِيدِ أَسِيكَلِ <?ammi tarīd ṭasīkal>  
 Əmme tāred asīkəl? 'When do you want to travel?'
144. How is the wind?  
 كَيْفِ الرِّيحِ  
 هُونْدِ هُونْدِ ءَأْمُرِ <hūnd ṭāḡu>  
 Hund aḡu 'Like wind'
145. Here is your present.  
 هَا بِخَشِيْشِكِ  
 هِيكَيِ اِلْكَتَّكِ <hīkay ilakannak>  
 He-kāy elāk-ənnāk. 'Here is your wage.'
146. Adieu!  
 مَعَ السَّلَامَةِ  
 يَدِيوِ دَا السَّلَامَةِ <yadīw da 'lssalāmat>  
 Yāddew d āssālamāt 'He has gone with well-being.'
- (Dialogue 8: Discourse with a Cook)*
147. We want to breakfast early.<sup>91</sup>  
 نحن بدنا نتعش باكبر  
 نَجْعَالِ اَمَاجِيْنِ تَدَاكَّتِ <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?

Nəžxal amägin n tadäggat. 'We would like afternoon dinner.'

148. Can you cook European dishes?<sup>92</sup>

تقدر تطبخ اكل افرنجى  
<tasānad asanyā>  
Təssānəd asəŋŋi? 'Do you know cooking?'

149. We want native dishes.

نحن نريد طبخ البلاد  
<najxāl amaknu nakal>  
Nəžxāl amākno n ākal. 'We would like the cuisine of the country.'

150. I like good coffee.

انا بريد قهو طيبه  
<nak rīy alqahwa tazīdat>  
Nāk rey ālqāhwa tāzēdāt. 'I like good coffee.'

151. We want fresh milk every morning and every evening

نحن بدنا حليب طازه على بكره وعشيه  
<rīy āx kafāyan tūfat tadakkat>  
Rey ax kāfayān tufat tadäggat. 'I want fresh milk morning and evening.'

152. Can you get good beef here?

بوجد لحم بقر طيب هنا  
<?id nağru īsan tas azaīdnīn>  
Ed nəğru isan n tas āzednen? 'Will we get good cow meat?'

153. Is the mutton good here?

لحم الغنم طيب هنا  
<īsan nūli azaīdnīn ?ilā dīn>  
Isan n ulli āzednen illa den? 'Is there good goat meat there?'

154. Get some fresh eggs

جيب شوي بيضان طرايه  
<awīd azaīdnīn ?an tasadalīn aynāynī><sup>93</sup>  
Awi-d a dārusān ən tāsādalen 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 haplologised.



155. Light the candles  
 اخر الشمع  
 أَنْعْ إِينِرْ <anʕi inīr>  
 Ānɣ ener. 'Put out the candle.'
156. Make fire.  
 اعمل نار  
 آكَنْ تِيمْسِي <akan tīmsi>  
 ʔkən temse. 'Make fire.'
157. Call me early  
 فيقني بكير  
 سَنْكَرْ تَفَاتْ <sankari tufāt>  
 Sənkər-i tufat. 'Wake me up in the morning.'
158. We want some cream.  
 بِنَا شَوْبِي قَشَطَه  
 نَجْعَالْ أَدْرُوسَنْ تَلْقَشْطَه <naɣɣāl adarūsan nalqišṭah>  
 Naɣɣal a dārusən n əlqišṭa. 'We would like a little cream.'
- <p. 12 = Kayat 1844, p. 45-48>
159. Pay the man  
 دَفْعْ لِلرِّجَالِ (Pay the men)  
 أَكْفْ إِيْمِيدَانْ <ʔakf ʔimīddan>  
 Ākf e meddān. 'Give to the men.'
160. Give me the account  
 اعطيني الحساب  
 أَكْفِيدْ مِيصَانْ <ʔakfīd mīḍān>  
 Ākf-i-d meḍān. 'Give me the account.'
161. Get everything ready  
 حضر كل شيء  
 زَهْيِيدْ آتِيلِينْ <zahayyīd ʔātilayn>  
 Zəhəyyi-d a t-illan<sup>94</sup>. 'Prepare whatever there is.'
162. Bring some hot water  
 جيب امويه سخون  
 آوِيدْ آَمَنْ أَكُوسْنِينْ <awīd ʔāman ʔakūsniṅ>

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  
تليد ادي <talīd ḡudī>  
Tələd 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 نسا فر بكرة بكير  
يوسف ناز اسكيل امود امود <yūsaf nāra ḡasikayl ḡamūd ḡamūd>  
Yusəf, nāra asikəl amud amud. 'Yusuf, we want to travel at  
prayer time.'

165. Get the luggage ready.

حضر الدبش  
زهيد تيلسي <zihīd tīlassī>  
Zəhəyyi-d telässe. 'Prepare the clothes.'

166. Have you every thing for the journey

انت محضر كل لوازم السفر  
تزهيد تالغ نسيكل <tazihayyid tālḡa nasīkal>  
Təzəhəyyed talḡa n əsikəl? 'Have you prepared the matters of  
the journey?'

167. Take plenty of rice with you

خذ معك رز كثير  
تاويد تافخت تاجت <tāwyad tāfāḡat taḡīt>  
Tawyād tafāḡāt tāḡḡet. 'Bring lots of rice.'

168. Do not forget the sugar.

لا تنس السكر  
واتتو الشكر <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  
الزامناخ ايدنابي حرات نالقيها <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  
تاويد تيسمت اد شيتا <tawayad tīsamt ḡad šītā>  
Tawyād tesāmt əd šeṭa. 'You should bring salt and pepper.'

171. Put the provision saddlebag under you.  
 حطو خرم الزواد تحتك  
 <ʔaǧ ʔasətwər nālzād dāwak>  
 Āǧ asətwər n āzzad daw-ək. 'Put the provision storage bag under you.'
172. Take some wine also.  
 خذ معك شوبيت نبيد  
 <tawayd harat nalxāmaḍ>  
 Tawayd härät n ālxamäḍ. 'You should bring some wine.'
173. Take care of the luggage  
 دير بالك على الاوعى  
 <ʔakaḻ ʔisūsar>  
 Aǧäḻ isusar. 'Take care of the luggage.'
174. Buy some good tobacco.<sup>95</sup>  
 اشترى شوبيت دحان طيب  
 <zahīd harat an tāba tulāyat>  
 Zəhəyyi-d härät ən taba tolayät. 'Prepare some good tobacco.'
175. Are you ready?<sup>96</sup>  
 انت حاضر  
 <taqīmad mīḡ>  
 Tāqqeməd meḡ? 'Are you staying?'
176. Fill this with cold water.  
 مل هاء موبه بارد  
 <ʔaṭkard wā ʔāman samīḍnīn>  
 Āḍkār-d wa aman sämməḍnen. 'Fill this with cold water.'
- <p. 11 = Kayat 1844, p. 48-51>
177. Give us something to eat  
 عطينا شيء ناكل  
 <ʔakfānaḡd ʔanaš'>  
 Ākf-anāḡ-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

بدنا شويبت عنب  
تسيديزن هرت نا الربيب <nasīdaran harat nā 'zzabīb>  
Nāsīdārān hārāt n āzzābib. 'We wish for some grapes/raisins.'

180. Can you get some ripe figs?

تقدر تجيب شويبت تين مستوحى  
تدوبيد هاناخ تاوياد هارت  
ناداران <tadūbid ?i hanax tāwyad harat  
nāđaran>  
Tāddobed e-hanax tawyād hārāt n azarān? 'Can you bring us some figs?'

181. Take some bread.<sup>97</sup>

خذ خبز  
اويده توكنيفت <?awīd tuknīft>  
Awi-d tuknift. 'Bring bread.'

182. Take a boiled fowl with you.

خذ معك دجاجه مسلوقه  
اويده تيكहित تانجات <?awīd tikaḥīt tanyāt>  
Awi-d tekāhit tāṅṅat. 'Bring a cooked chicken.'

183. Take with you all kitchen apparatus.

خذ معك االة المطبخ (Take with you the kitchen apparatus)  
اويده تيخيرن نسانخي <?awīd tiḫīran nasanyī>  
Awi-d tiḫeren n āsəṅḡi. 'Bring the cooking pots.'

184. Shut the door of the tent.

سكر باب التيمه (Shut/sugar the door of the tent.)  
السكز ايها ايمين تقيامت <alsukar īhā ?imīn taxyāmt>  
Āssukār iha imi n tāxyamt. 'The sugar is at the door of the tent.'

185. You can go to bed now.

روح نام الان  
سيكل انشر دمرداغ <sīkal ?ns dimarday>  
Sikəl āns dimar-dāḡ. '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  
مندام إلا موزك أنش <mandām ?illa yawurak ?anaš>  
Māndam illa yor-ək a nāčč? ‘So-and-so, is there something with  
you for us to eat?’ 59
187. Every thing you want.  
كل ما تريد  
أترید إلا <?atarīd ?illā>  
A tāred illa. ‘There is whatever you want.’
188. Have you good bread?  
عندك خبز طيب  
تليد توكنفت تولايت <talīd tuknīft tulāyat>  
Tāled tuknift tolayāt? ‘Do you have good bread?’
189. Give us good wine.  
عطينا شويت نبيد عال  
أكفناخ ألكمض وأوفن <?akfanax alxamaḍ wāyūfan>  
Ākf-anāx ālxamaḍ wa yufan. ‘Give us the wine which is better.’
190. We like some fried eggs.  
نريد شوية بيضان مقليه  
أجعالغ تيسالين أكتافين <?ağyalax tisadalīn aknāfnīn>  
Əǧyalāğ tisādalen əknafnen. ‘I would like fried eggs.’
191. Have you any fruits?  
عندك فواكه  
تليد ألكواك <talīd alfuwaki>  
Tāled ālfəwaki? ‘Do you have fruits?’
192. Bring us some fresh milk.  
جيب لنا شويت حليب طري  
أويد أاخ كفاين <?awīd ?āx kafāyan>  
Awi-d ax kāfayān. ‘Bring fresh milk.’
193. Is there any village near here?<sup>98</sup>  
ضيعه قريب لهذا  
إيه إلك يوهظن <?īha ?idak yūhazan>  
Iha edāg yohažān? ‘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 إِهَنْغْ تَاوْبِدْ 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 شويبت لحم مشوي  
أَكْنَفَانَايْ حَارَاتِ إِسْنَانُ نُلِي <aknafanay harat insān nulī>  
Əknəf-anāy hārāt ən san n ulli. ‘Roast us some mutton.’

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

196. We like some mutton broth.

بَدْنَا شَوِيْبَة مَرْقَة لَحْمَة غَنَم  
نَسِيرَارَانِ حَارَاتِ نَسِيمِ نُلِي <nasiraran harat nasīm nulī>  
Nāsīdārān hārāt n āsem n ulli ‘We desire some melted sheep  
fat.’

197. Make us some rice soup.

اعمل لنا شورب رز  
أَكْنَانَايْ لِيوَا أَنْ تَاْفَايَاتِ <aknānay ?liwā ?an tāfayāt>  
Ākn-anāy āliwa ən tafayāt. ‘Make us rice soup.’

198. How much is the account?

كَمِ الْحَسَابِ  
مَا دِ يُوْكَدَا مِيْدَانُ <mād yūkdā mīḍān>  
Ma-d yogda meḍan? ‘How much is the account equal to?’

199. Good bye!<sup>99</sup>

خَا طِرْ كُمْ  
سَا لَخِيْرِيَا <sālxīryā>  
S ālxer ya. ‘With goodness.’

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

200. Welcome!<sup>100</sup>

اَهْلًا وَسَهْلًا  
تِيْدَاوِيْتِ 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?  
 ايش متجركم هنا  
 ماھين تَزْزَاهِيم <māhīn tazanzhīm>  
 Ma-hin tāzzañhim? 'What do you sell?'
202. Silk chiefly  
 الإغلب حرير  
 أَجُتْ أَخْرِيرُ <ʔajut alxarīr>  
 Āġut ālxārir. 'The greater part is silk.'
203. Have you any commerce with England?  
 لكم متجر مع بلاد الانكليز  
 تَلَامْ ʔِيمَسُوكَلْ دَاغْ أَنْكِيلِزْ <talām ʔimasūkal daḡ ankiliz>  
 Talam iməssukal dāḡ ənkəliz? 'Do you have any traders in England?'
204. Do you get any goods from England?<sup>101</sup>  
 تَجِيبُوا بضاعه من بلاد الانكليز  
 تَرَامْ ʔَاكَايْ نَسَالْخَاتْ دَاغْ أَكَلْ نَكْلِزْ <tarām ʔakāy nassalyat daḡ akal nakliz>  
 Tāram aggay n əssālyāt dāḡ ākal n əkliz? '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  
 مَانِيدْ ʔِيتَاوَيَمْ أَلْقَاهْوَا دَا ʔِسُوكَارْ <mānid ʔitawyam alqahwa da ʔssukar>  
 Mani-d i ttawyām əlqāhwa d əssukār? 'Where do you bring coffee and sugar from?'
206. Have you any commerce with France?  
 لكم متجر مع فرنسه  
 تَلَامْ ʔِيمَسُوكَلْ دَاغْ فَرَنْسِيْشْ <talām ʔimasūkal daḡ faranšīš>  
 Talam iməssukal dāḡ Fārənšēš? '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  
 مِينَاكِيْتْ تُرْفِينْ أَدْ تَاسَانِينْ دَاغْ أَوَاتَايْ <mīnakit turfīn ad tāsanīn daḡ awatāy>  
 Men-āket torfen a-d tasənen dāḡ āwātay? 'How many boats come in a year?'

101 Kayat: Manchester

- 62
208. Have you any ships from Germany?<sup>102</sup>  
 بجيكم مراكب من بلاد النمسه  
 <tasānad turfin daḡ namsāmiḡ>  
 Tāssanād 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 tāsawayām s ākal n Āfrānji? ‘What do you send to the land  
 of the Frank?’
210. I want to settle here.  
 انا بدي استقم هنا  
 <rīḡ tākallāwt dīday>  
 Reḡ takəllawt dedāḡ. ‘I want to spend the day here.’
211. I want a good clerk.  
 انا بدي كاتب طيب  
 <rīḡ ?anaktāb yulāyan>  
 Reḡ ānaktāb yolaḡān. ‘I want a good writer.’
212. I want to hire a warehouse.  
 انا بدي استكري مخزن  
 <rīḡ ?idakrūḡ taḡurfīt>  
 Reḡ ed əkrūḡ taḡorfīt. ‘I want to rent a storeroom.’
213. I will bring you any goods you like from England upon commis-  
 sion  
 انا بجيب لك اي رزق تريده من بلاد الانقليز تحت المعلوم  
 <?ihakad awyaḡ alrrazyān tarīd daḡ  
 anqiliz>  
 E-hak-əd awyaḡ ərrəzəḡān tāred dāḡ Əngəliz. ‘I will bring you  
 sustenance that you like from England.’
- <p. 13 = Kayat 1844, p. 55-60>
214. Goodbye<sup>103</sup>  
 خاطرکم

102 Omitted: or Italy.

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



شَالْخَيْرِيَا <sālxīryā>  
S āl̄xer 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 up<sup>104</sup> to Cairo)  
نَرَا أَهَنْبِي أَنْ مَصْرُ <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?)  
مِينَيْكْتْ خَدِيمَنْ تَرَفْتْ تَلِيدْ <minaykit xadīman turaft talīd>  
Men-āket xādīmān<sup>105</sup> 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)  
وَزَرِءْ أَرْيَغْرَافَاشْ <warnari ṛartiyraḡās>  
Wār nāre ar tiḡra(?)<sup>106</sup> 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 إِكَيْيْ نُكُورُنَاكْ أَسِكَلْ تَنْغْ دَاغْ الْيِيلْ <narā ṛikay nukūrunākk ṛasikal  
nanay daḡ annīl>  
Nāra e-kāy nəkurru nak asikəl-nānāḡ dāḡ Ānnil. ‘We want to hire you for our whole journey on the Nile.’
219. Where will you anchor to-night?<sup>107</sup>  
وين يدك مرسى الليله  
مَانِيدَا تَسَاخْسَرَادْ إِهَضْ وَادَّعْ <mānida tasaxsarad ṛihaḡ wādāḡ>  
Mani-da tāsaxsarād ehāḡ wadāḡ? ‘Where are you staying to-night?’

(Dialogue 13: Missionary Discourse)

220. Of what religion are you?  
من اين ديانته 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 يَمُوش الِدينُ واشتلكمُه <mā yamūs addīn wāstālkamād>  
Ma yāmos addīn wa-s tālkāmād? 'What is the religion that you follow?'
221. Are you a Christian?  
انت نصراني  
كَيى أَنْصْرَانِي مِيغ <kayy ʔanaṣrānī mīy>  
Kāy anāṣrani meḡ? 'Are you a Christian?'
222. Do you believe in the only true God?  
تومن بالاله الواحد الحقيقي  
تُومَانَدَ اَشْ مَسِينَعُ اَشْ اِيْتُنْ هَدِيْبِنَا <tūmānad as masīnaḡ as ʔiyan hadīḡan>  
Tumanād as Māss-ināḡ as əyyān hāddiḡān? 'Do you believe that God is one, pure?'
223. Do you love Christ?  
تحب المسيح  
تَرِيدَ الْمَسِيحِ <tarīd almasīḡa>  
Tāred ālmasiḡ a? 'Do you love the Messiah?'
224. Did you ever read the Gospel?<sup>108</sup>  
قريت الانجيل  
تَغْرِيدُ الْاِنْجِيلِ <taḡrīd alanjīl>  
Tāyred Ālanjil? 'Have you read the Gospel?'
225. I make you a present of the Word of God.<sup>109</sup>  
انا بهديك بكتاب الله  
اَرِيْعُ اِكْبِيْطْلَعُ سَالِكِتَابِ اِنْ مَسِينَعُ <ʔarīḡ ʔikayḡzulaḡ sālkitaba an-masīnaḡ>  
Āreḡ e-kāy ḡzulaḡ s ālkitab n Māss-ināḡ. 'I want to present you with the book of God.'
226. We worship God only.  
نحن نسجد لله فقط  
نَكَانِيْذُ وَاژ تِيْمُوهُوْءُ اَنْ اِيْمَسِينَعُ <nakaniḡ wār natimuhūd ʔan ʔīmasīnaḡ>  
Nākkāneḡ wār nətimuhud ar i Māss-ināḡ. '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.<sup>110</sup>  
 كل شيء طيب من الله  
 أَتَجَا مَسِينَعُ إِتْلَافُنُ <ʔayjā masīnay ʔiyalāuḡan>  
 A iḡa Mäss-inay i yolayän. 'Whatever God has done is good.' 65
228. Trust in God  
 جعل رجاك بالله  
 ظَكُظُنُ إِشْمَسِينَعُ <zakzan ʔīmasīnay>  
 Žägžän i Mäss-inäḡ. 'Trust in God.'
229. Let us pray  
 فلنصلى  
 نَمُهْدِيْتُ <namuhudīt>  
 Nəmuḡəd-et. 'Let us pray.'
230. Do you know the Lord's prayer?  
 تعرف صلوة الربانية  
 تَسَانَدُ أَمُودُ وَهَدِيْتُنُ <tasānad amūd wahadījan>  
 Təssanād amud wa ḡaddiḡän? 'Do you know the pure prayer?'
231. Have you learnt the Ten Commandments  
 تعلمت العشر وصايا  
 تَسَانَدُ الْوَصِيْتِيْنُ مَرَاوْتُ <tasānad alwaṣīyitīn marāwat>  
 Təssanād əlwəṣīyyäten mərawät? 'Do you know the Ten Com-  
 mandments?'
232. In the Bible every thing is written concerning our salvation  
 في الكتاب المقدوس كل شيء مكتوب لخلاصنا  
 إِيْهَ الْكِتَابِ نَلْقُدُسُ <ʔiḡa 'lkitāba nalquds>  
 Iḡa əlkitaba n əlquds. 'It is in the holy book.'
- <p. 16 = Kayat 1844, p. 60-63>
233. God bless you!<sup>111</sup>  
 الله يبارك عليك  
 إِجْرِيْ يَالله دَاكْ الْبَرَكَهْ <iḡarya yallah dak albarakah>  
 Iḡarya(?)<sup>112</sup> Yə||a d-ək əlbərəka. '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  
 <talām iddak ina taḡarī mīḡ>  
 Tālam edāg n tāḡāre mey? 'Do you have a place of study?'
235. Where is the school?  
 فين المدرسة  
 <minakīd iwayd taḡarrām>  
 Menakid e way-d tāḡarrām? 'Where is it that you study?'
236. Who is the schoolmaster?  
 من هو معلم المدرسة  
 <māni alfaqi nnawan>  
 Mani ālfāqqi nnāwān? 'Where is your teacher?'
237. What do you teach?  
 ماذا تعلم  
 <mā taḡarrām>  
 Ma tāḡarrām? 'What do you study?'
238. What books do you use?<sup>113</sup>  
 اي كتب تستعملون  
 <mā yamūs alkitāb wa atalīlam>  
 Ma yāmos ālkitāb wa tāllilām? 'What is the book that you follow?'
239. Where is the school established?  
 ايمتى ترتب هاهه المدرسة (When do you organise this school?)  
 <anns amir wa 'stayāram>  
 Ənnəs āmer a-s tāḡarrām? 'Which time is it that you study?'
240. Do you teach the Bible?  
 اتعلم التوراة  
 <tasānad attūrāt>  
 Tāssanād Āttorat? 'Do you know the Torah?'
241. How is the school supported?  
 من ينفق على المدرسة (Who spends on the school?)  
 <mītiḡussuran fūn taḡarī nawan>  
 Mi tiḡussurān foll tāḡāre 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  
 <?arīḡ ?asayri mmaddānak>  
 Ārey asāḡri n maddan-ək. 'I want to teach your sons.'
243. I will open a school gratis.  
 انا بفتح مدرسه مجاناً  
 <?arīḡ ?ār anta<r>ḡarīnawan>  
 Ārey arr ən tāḡāre-nāwān. 'I want to open your studying.'
244. Have you any female school?  
 عندكم مدرسه للبنات  
 <talām ?iwad ḡarranāt tabaraḡīn>  
 Təlam ewa-d ḡarrənāt tābāraḡen? 'Do you have a place where the girls study?'
245. My wife will teach your girls.  
 حرمتى تعلم بناتكم  
 <tamiḡīn ?īhawan tasaḡar ?īššīkwan>  
 Tamāḡ-in e-hawān təsəḡār ešš-ek(kā)wān. 'My wife will teach your daughters for you.'
246. Have you a printing-press here?  
 عندكم مطبعه هنا  
 <talām ?attābay nālkātāb mīḡ>  
 Təlam ättābāḡ n älkātāb meḡ? 'Do you have a book press?'
247. What books do you print?<sup>114</sup>  
 ما ذا الكتب الذين تطبعون  
 <mā yamūs ?awā tatābayam>  
 Ma yāmos awa tātabbāḡām? 'What do you print?'
248. Can you read?  
 بتعرف تقرا  
 <tarīd tīḡarī mīḡ>  
 Tāred teḡāre meḡ? 'Do you want to study?'
- <p. 15 = Kayat 1844, p. 63-67>
249. Is this your sister?  
 هذِهِ اخنتك  
 <maytay walatmāk>

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

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

250. Can she read?

هي بتعرف تقرأ

تَرَى لُمُدَاتُ أَنْ تَعْرِي <tarā lammudat ?an tayrī>

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

251. Why do you not teach her?

لپش ما بتعلمها

مَا فُولُ وَرْهَسْتِسْلَمَدُ <mā fūl war hastisalmadad>

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

252. Do you know arithmetic?

انت بتعرف علم الحساب

تَرِيدُ مُسْنَتُ إِنْ مِيصَانُ <tarīd musnat ?in mīḍān>

Tāred musnāt ən meḍān? 'Do you want to know arithmetic?'

253. I can teach you.

انا بحسن بعلمك

أَجْعَالُغُ إِهْكَكُنْ أَسْلَمَدُ <aǧyālay ?ihakkn asalmad>

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

254. Come to me every day at noon.

تعالى لعنه كل يوم الظهر

تَأْسِيدُ نَاكُ إِمْعَرِي <tāsīd nāk ?imayrī>

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

255. Do you like to learn English?

بتريه تتعلم انكليزي

تَرِيدُ مُسْنَتُ أَنْتَكَلِيزِتُ <tarīd musnat antakalīzit>

Tāred musnāt ən tākəlīzit. 'You want to know English.'

256. You must continue.

انت لازم تداوم

كَيْ فَاسْ أَتْبَتُ <kay ḡās atbat>

Kāy ḡās ətbət. 'You, just continue.'

257. Learning is obtained by perseverance.

العلم يتحصل بالاجتهاد

مُسْنَتُ وَرْجَرُؤُءُ أَرْ أَشْشِيسْتُ <musnat warjaruw ?ār astusīst>

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

258. Learn to read write well.

تعلم الكتابه جيدا

أَلْمَدُ أَكْتَبُ يُلَاغَنُ <almad ?akatab yulāyan>

Əlməd akātab yolaḡān. ‘Learn good writing.’

259. Give me the ink.

اعطيني الحبر  
أَكْفِيدُ أَمَدُ <?akfīd ?ammadu>  
Ākf-i-d aməddu. ‘Give me the ink.’

69

260. Give me the pen.

اعطيني القلم  
أَكْفِيدُ أَتَانِيْبُ <?akfīd ?ayānīb>  
Ākf-i-d äḡanīb. ‘Give me the pen.’

261. Give me a sheet of paper.<sup>115</sup>

اعطيني طوحبة ورق  
أَكْفِيدُ هَرَاتُ نَلْكَأْدُ <?akfīd harat nalkāḡ>  
Ākf-i-d härät n älkaḡ. ‘Give me some paper.’

(Dialogue 15. Discourse with an Eastern Bishop)

262. Good morning, my Lord Bishop<sup>116</sup>

صباح الخير يا سيدنا  
تُفَاتُ نَلْخِيرُ وَآيُوفَانُ <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 تَاتِيلِيْنُ هَوْلَانُ أَوْلُ تُتْصَرَانِيْتُ <aḡḡālāḡ musnat nātilayn  
hūllan awal ntnaṣrānit>  
Əḡḡalāḡ musnät n a-t illan<sup>117</sup> hullan awal n Tänäṣranit. ‘I would very much like to know whatever there is, regarding<sup>118</sup> Christianity.’

264. How many are the Christians in this place?

قدركم النصار هنا  
مَادُ أَوْكُدُ أَنْنَأْسَارَا دِيدَأُ <mād awkuda ’nnuṣāra dīday>  
Ma-d ogdan Ānnāṣara didäḡ? ‘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?’

265. Are there any other sects of Christians here?

موجود غير طوبيف النصار هنا  
<ʔillāt ʔīsan annaṣāra dīday>

Illa-t isan<sup>119</sup> n Ānnāṣara diday? ‘Are there sects of Christians here?’

266. How many churches have you?

كم كنيسة عندكم  
<mīnakit tamazdījawīn an kufār talām>

Men-āket tāmazdiğawen ən kufar talām? ‘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 جديدة  
<tadūbim ’lɣamārt ʔin tamazdiğāwīn ʔaynāynīn>

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

268. How old is your church?

كام عمر كنيستكم  
<mād yūkda alɣamar ʔin tamazdiğā nawan>

Ma-d yogda ālɣamār ən tāmazdiğā-nāwān3? ‘How old is your mosque?’

269. Who was the first Bishop of this place?<sup>120</sup>

من كان اول سقف<sup>121</sup> هذا المكان  
(Who was the first roof of this place?)

<mā yamūs wāywattan dağā yadag

119 Vowels uncertain; presumably a verbal noun from a cognate of Niger Tamajeq *iṣu/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 *ʔusquf* ‘bishop’.



wāday>

Ma yāmos wa iwātān dāḡa<sup>122</sup> y ādāḡ wadāḡ? ‘Who forged the ceiling for this place?’

270. How are your clergy educated?<sup>123</sup>

71

كيف كهنتكم يتعلمون (How do your priests/soothsayers study?)  
 <?īmissaxxarannawan mitan ṭissal-  
 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  
 مَا يَمُوسُ إِزَمَزَي نَوْنِ اءِ تَمَزِدِجَ تَالرُّومِ <mā yamūs ṭizamzay 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  
 مَا مَوْسَنَّتْ تِجَّاتَوَيْنْ نَطْلُكَطَّنَوْنِ <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  
 مَا يَمُوسُ اَمِڨْرَانِ نِ اِنِ جِيتَنِ الْاَعْمَالِ  
 ’لَاغْنِ <mā yamūs ṭamiḡrān ’n ḡītan  
 ’lāḡnīn>

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

274. Do you believe in purgatory?<sup>124</sup>

هل تعتقدون بمطهر (Do you believe in a purifier?)  
 تَفْلَاسَمِ اَوَّيْ يَزَزْجَنِ <taflāsam ṭaway yazazḡan>

Təflasām awa yəzazzāḡan? ‘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.  
 فليعطني الله الاتفاق  
 <?ihanaɣd yakf masīnaɣ tassaq>  
 E-hanăɣ-d yăkf Măss-inăɣ tassaqq. 'May God give us unity.'
276. We like to be united with you.  
 نحن نرغب الاتفاق معكم  
 نَرَا تَسَاقُ نَوْنُ <narā tassaq nawan>  
 Năra tassaqq-năwăn. '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 يَمُوسُ مَوْسَنَتُ نَالِكِتَابُ نَالْمَسِيحِ عُورُونُ <mā yamūs mūsnaṭ nālkitāb nālmasīx ɣūrwan>  
 Ma yāmos musnāt n ālkətab n ālmăsex ɣor-wăn? 'What is the knowledge of the book of the Messiah among you?'
278. How many sacraments do you hold?<sup>125</sup>  
 كم هي الاسرار عندكم (How many are the secrets among you?)  
 مَا دُ يُوغْدَا إِتِدَاوِيْتُ عُورُونُ <mād yūkda itīdawīt ɣūrwan>  
 Ma-d yogda i tādawit ɣor-wăn? 'What is it equal to for happiness<sup>126</sup> among you?'
279. Do you preach in the churches?  
 هل تعظوا بالكنائس  
 تِلْمَاڨَانُ مَانَاوَانُ دَاغُ تَمَزْدِيڨَاوِينُ <tilmāɣan mānawan daɣ ti-mazdiɣāwīn>  
 Təlmāɣām man-năwăn dăɣ təməzdiɣawen? 'Have you preached(?)<sup>127</sup> yourselves in the mosques?'
280. I hope you will preach the love of Christ.  
 ان شا الله بتوعظ محبه المسيح  
 اِنْ شَا اللّٰهُ اِيْدِلْمَاڨَانُ اَسْتَرُ نَالْمَسِيحِ <?in šāllahi ?īdlmāɣan 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.

Inšallah ed-əlməḏān əs tāra n əlməsex. 'Inshallah they will preach(?) the love of the Messiah.'

281. I want to see your church.

انا اريد انظر كنيسةكم  
 رِبْعُ اَسَواوَدِ دَايْ تَامَاذِدِغَانَاوَان <rīḡ asawāḏ day tamazdīḡanawan>  
 Reḡ asāwaḏ dāy tāmazdiḡa-nāwān. 'I want to look in your mosque.'

73

282. Good bye!<sup>128</sup>

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

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

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

انا ملتتمس حماية من سعادتك  
 نَرَا تَكَاظْت دَايْ تَابَاخُورْتَانَاك <narā takāẓt day tabaḡūrtannak>  
 Nāra taggaẓt dāy tābāḡort-ənnāk. 'I want protection from your fortune.'

284. We are English.

نحن انكليز  
 نَكَايْزُ اَنْكَلِيْزُ <nakanīḏ ?ankalīz>  
 Nākkāneḏ Ənkəlīz. 'We are English.'

285. We come from Constantinople.

نحن جاين من اسلامبول  
 نَكَايْزُ اَصْطَلْبُؤُلْ اِيْدِنَاقَال <nakanīḏ aṣṭanbūl ?idnaqal>  
 Nākkāneḏ Aṣṭāmbul e-d nāqqāl. 'We arrived from Istanbul.'

286. We have a firman from the Sultan.

نحن بيدنا فرمان من السلطان  
 نَكَايْزُ تَلَا ڤُورْ نَاغْ تَسَا فِلَا سْتْ تَمْنُوكُلْ <nakanīḏ talā ḡūrnaḡ tasaflast namanūkal>  
 Nākkāneḏ tēla ḡor-nāḡ tasəfləst n əmənokāl. 'We have a letter of safe passage of the king.'

287. We want to travel through Syria.

نحن قصدنا نسا فر الشام  
 نَكَايْزُ نَرَا اَسِيكُلْ دَايْ اَشْ-شَام <nakanīḏ narā ?asīkal day aš-šām>

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

Nākkāneḍ nāra asikəl dāy 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  
 دُغ تَبْعُورْتَنَّاك إِذْ نَسَاكَلْ نَقْلَاشْ دَغْ أَكْمُوشْ أَدَّكْ <duḡ tabaḡūrtannak ?id  
 nasākal naflās day akamūs ddak>  
 Dāy tābāyort-ənnāk ed nəsakal nəflas dāy ak āmos ādāgg. '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  
 <nakanīḍ illā yūrnaḡ akatāb iddfaln wā maqaran ītkad>  
 Nākkāneḍ illa ḡor-nāḡ ākātab i-d yāflān(?)<sup>129</sup> wa māqqārān i  
 kīkad(?)<sup>130</sup>. '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  
 <nakanīḍ narāday ta-  
 baḡūratannak tāflast day ?akal>  
 Nākkāneḍ nāra dāy tabāyort-ənnāk tafləst dāy ākal. 'We want  
 from your fortune trust in the land.'
291. Shall we require an escort?  
 نحن يلزمنا غفر يوافقنا  
 <?ilzāmanaḡ ?īrad nadīw>  
 Ilzam-anāḡ ere-d nāddew? 'Do we need someone who we would  
 accompany?'
292. This is a fine country.  
 هذه بلاد جميلة

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 يَلَاغُنُ <?akal yulāḡan>  
 Ākal yolaḡān. 'A good country.'
293. It wants good roads. 75  
 يلزمها طرقاات سهله  
 إِلَّا إِبْرَاقَاتِنُ تَهْبِيلُنُنُ <?illā ibaraqātan nahīlnīn>  
 Illa<sup>131</sup> ibārāqqaten nāhilnen. 'It needs easy roads.'
294. All prosperity to the nation comes from good laws.  
 كل توفيق الشعب ياتي من الشريعة العادل  
 <tanhil ?in baraqātan talīl muḡlat>  
 Tānhāle n bārāqqaten tāllil muḡlāt. 'Ease of roads follows  
 straightness.'
295. Good government is the foundation  
 الحكم العادل هو الأساس  
 <?amanūkāl ?iḡdālan anta 'ssax>  
 Amānokāl 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>  
 Inšallah 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 ?iswāḡ day  
 aššarīḡa>  
 Ak āmos əyyān yuf iswāḡ dāḡ āššāreḡa. 'Everyone is better  
 when(?) he has looked<sup>132</sup> at the law.'
298. Schools will do your country much good.<sup>133</sup>  
 مدارس تنفع بلادكم جدا  
 <?idakkan musnat ?infān akal  
 nawan hūlan>  
 Idāḡḡān 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 iʒlamī>  
 Aləs wadäy iʒlam-i. 'This man has wronged me.'
300. This man has robbed me.  
 هذا الرجل سرقني  
 <ʔalas wāday yūkārī>  
 Aləs wadäy yokär-i. 'This man has robbed me.'
301. What is the population of this country?  
 كام عدد اناس هاء البلاد  
 <mād ʔukwdan<sup>134</sup> 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 tabäyürtannak>  
 Əs morağät ən tabäyort-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 nay<sup>135</sup> udəm-ənnäm. 'I am glad to see your face.'
305. The Syrian ladies are shut up in general.  
 سئات 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 taġġit d-əsnāt tāmāyālyält<sup>136</sup>. 'The noble-women of Syria, seclusion(?) is frequent among them.'

306. Do you read?

انت بتقرى  
تريد تيعرمنيغ <tarīd tīyārimīy>  
Tāred teyāre mey? 'Do you want to read?'

77

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.)  
نسال ان سان تباردين واز اسنيت تيعر نمرشق  
war assinayt<sup>137</sup> tīyari namašriq>  
Nəsall ən san tibāraḍen wār əssennāt teyāre n āmāšrəq. 'We hear that<sup>138</sup> 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.

ستات الشرق شاطرين في شغل الإبرة  
شيت القابلة اسانت اظمي هولن <šīt 'lqāblat ḡāsānnat ḡāzamay  
hūllan>  
Šet ālqablāt əssannāt aḡāmay hullan. 'Eastern women know sewing a lot.'

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

ستات الإنكليز يعملن كل ما يقدرن ليسعفن ستات الشرق  
شيت إنكليز سالمذنت شيت الشرق  
'ššaraq>  
Šet Ənkəliz salmadnāt šet āššārāq. 'English women teach Eastern women.'

310. The Eastern ladies are very handsome.

ستات الشرق جميلات جيداً  
شيت القابلة تيهوسين هولن <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 ähossäyner<sup>139</sup> hullan. ‘Eastern women are very beautiful.’

311. We admire your costume.

نحن نستحلى لبسكن  
تَجْرَاطَنَغْ تَلَسِّي تَكْمَتْ <tağrāzanay talassī nnakmat>  
Təğraz-anəy tälässe-nnäkmat. ‘Your clothing pleases us.’

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

خليبي انظر خواتمك  
سَوْلَانْ اِيْدَتِيْعْ تِسْقِيْنَمْ <süllān idnayy tisqīnnam>  
Sollan ed-näyāy tisəxen-nnām? ‘May I gently see your rings?’

313. Very pretty.<sup>140</sup>

كتير ظريف  
أَلْعَنَتْ هَوْلَنْ <ulāynat hüllan>  
Olaynät hullan. ‘They are very good.’

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

الإمهاات في بلاد الإنكليبر يعلمون بناتهن القراءة  
تِيْضِيْصِيْنُ تَكْلِيْرُ سَاغْرِيْنَتْ إِشْتَسْنَتْ <tīḏīḏayn naklīz sāğrīnnat ḡiši-  
tasnat>

Tīḏeḏen n Əkliz sağrenät 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).  
تَانْفُسْتْ إِتْسَعْرُ إِيشِيْكَ <tānfust ḡidtasayrad ḡištīk>  
Tanfust ed-täsəğräd i šš-ek. ‘The tale<sup>141</sup> is that you should teach your daughters to read.’

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

هذأ من شغل ايادي سنت الإنكليز  
أَمَكْنُونُ نْفَاسَنْ شِيْتْ إِنْكِلِيْرُ <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  
 مَامُوسْنَتُ تَوْسَاتِيْنُ تِيْتَزَايْنُ أَكَلُ وَءَاغُ <māmūsnat tiwsātīn tītazaynīn  
 ʔakal wāday>  
 Ma mosnāt təwsaten ti tazẓāynen ākal wadāy? '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 تَوْسَاتِيْنُ <ʔamūsan daḡ taw'satīn>  
 Āmosān dāḡ təwsaten. 'They are in tribes.'
319. What tribe is this?  
 من هو اهل هذا الربع (Who are the people of this quarter?)  
 مَامُوسْنُ كَيْلُ اَدَاكُ وَءَاغُ <māmūsān kīl adak wāday>  
 Ma mosān kel ādāḡ wadāy? '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  
 اِسَايْلَايْ نَكَالُ وَءَاغُ هَانْتُ غَرْمَانُ اَرْوِينُ \ اِيَكْنُ نَسْنُ مَاشُ  
 wāday hānt ḡarmān ʔarūnīn ʔidakān nasān ḡās>  
 Isāyḡlay n ākal wadāy han-t ḡārman ārəwnen \ 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 عمود قديمه  
 وَرْنَسِيْنُ هَانْتَنُ تَجْتَوِيْنُ اَرْوِينُ <warnasīn hānatan tiḡatawwīn arūnīn>  
 Wār nassen hanāt-tān təḡāttawen ārəwnen. '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  
 جَارُونْتُ دَسْنُ تَبُوَصَاوِينُ اَرْوِينُ <ḡārawnāt dasan tibūḡawīn arūnīn>  
 Ḡarrāwnāt d-əsān tiboḡawen ārəwnen? 'Do they find in them  
 ancient monuments'<sup>142</sup>?
323. Are there any ancient inscriptions?  
 هل يوجد كتابة قديمه على حخور ام حجار  
 (Is there old writing on rocks or  
 stones?)

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

جَارُون دَسْن كَتَابُ أَرُونِين دَعْ تَهُون مَبِغْ إِبْلَالَن  
arūnīn daḡ tahūn mīḡ ?iblālan>

Ġarrāwnāt d-əsān kətab ārəwnen dāḡ təhun meḡ iblālān? 'Do they find in them ancient writings on rocks or stones?'

324. Are there any ancient figures?

هل يوجد تصاوير قديمه

جَارُونْت دَسْن مَسَكُنَانُ أَرُونِين <ġārawnat dasan masaknān arūnīn>

Ġarrāwnāt d-əsān māsāknan ārəwnen? '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

تَلَام تَطُول تَرُوْت نُورَغ مَبِغْ أَطْرَف مَبِغْ دَاوُغ  
<talām taḡūli taruwwat nūrāḡ mīḡ aḡraf mīḡ dārūḡ>

Təlam təzoli tārəwāt n orāḡ meḡ aḡraf meḡ daroḡ? 'Do you have any old metal of gold or silver or copper?'

326. Have you any ancient manuscripts?

عندكم كتب قديمه

تَلَام الْكَتَابِنُ أَرُونِين <talām 'lkatāban arūnīn>

Təlam ālkətabān ārəwnen? '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

تَلَام الْكَتَابِنُ تَارَابْت نَاوَلْ أَنُو يَرِين  
<talām 'lkatāban tārabt nāwal anwa yurīnīn>

Təlam ālkətabān n tarābt n awal 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

تَلَام إِيرِهِيغْرِين إِلَافْنُ وَاَدَغ <talām ?irihinyāḡrīn ?ilāffan wādāḡ>

Təlam ere-hin yāḡren ilaffān wadāḡ? '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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83

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84

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