

Handa Umm Lehnud: Transcription

[Recording](#)

A iwa ġnni!

B ɥhay ɥhay a l-bl la ɥakli la tšerbi

A iyyeh

B guli-ha nɥiya!

A gal-lek **Handa** eehh waħd eɾ-ɾažel ɣändu ɥlɥ *n-nha*?¹, ɥlɥ n-nsa?, bħal **ntiya**, **ana**, **hadi**,² fhămti. iwa u ɣändu duk ɥlɥ n-nsa, žuž ma ywũldu š, wăħda wũldet, **žabt** wũld. ġaru men-ha.³ ġaru mn-ha bzzaf. **Iwa naɖ(u?)** u gal-lĩk kʷalu-lha,⁴ galu-lha duk n-nsa, galu-lha: ħna **druk** ɾ-ɾažel ġadi iɥɾɾɖ-na. a sidi, iɥɾɾɖ-na, galet-lihum waħd **l-ăŋžuž (l-eŋžuž)** “debbɾu ki ddiru l-had l-weld **texx**ăwnu-h”.

xellaw-ha ħtta mša l-s-suq ebbwa-h u xăwnu-h li-ha. geɥɥu-lih had š-šbiɥ, u wekklu-h-liha **ɥ[la] šniyf**at-ha u galu-lha: “ɾa-ki kliti-h”. ayyĩh.

mnin ža ɾ-ɾažel gal-liha: “weyn weld-i?”; gat-lih ehh galu-lih n-nsa, neɥqu-lih, galu-lih: “ha klat-ăh, nuɖ šewwăɥ-ha”. đrb-ha đrb-ha... b-l-ɣmud. u gal-li...

“nuɖ (**naɖ?**) (**d**)žib waħed ehh waħd en-naga šaaarfa, ndbeħ^ħa u nlebbes-ha l-emlex, nlebbes-ha l-emlex”, u gal-liha “tserħi l-bel”. dgul-liha:

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

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

³ Strong creaky voice.

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

ṭhay ṭhay a l-bel eṭhay

la ṭak^wli la ṭšerbi

u ma tṣeṭni/ tṣāṭni ġir d-demmm

w ana Handa mm^wa l-ehnud/ l-āhnud

lebbasṭ eṣ-ṣlud

wekkalṭ wlid-ha

aaayyāh.

gṣād gal ya sidi: hada ma... *serḥt*⁵ l-bel, ddi... mnin dži l-dik l-eṣṣiša, rayḥa... l-weld dyal-ha kber wella raḡel, g^wed yerkeb ṣāl l-xil eh. mṛebbya-h dik l-eṣṣuṣ. ḡa w gṣād yelṣāb l-kura mṣa d-drari, yelṣāb menna menna ééh ṭaḥ. ééh galu-lih: “ukan ma *ḡat l-fayda*⁶ gaṣ maṣṣa-k ra-ha ṭse ehh ṭsreh l-bel u ṭe... ṭe... u labsa l-mlex”.

smāḥ^hḥa, gal.. eh gal-liha: “ana ki ṣari le-mṣ^wa lli ha t.. ṭserḥ el-bel u t... u labsa l-emlāx”. mṣa l-dik lli mṛebbya-h, gal-liha: “mṣ^wa, diri-li l-ḥrira ři-ni mṣṣuṣ. ahh diri-li l-ḥrira”. gallek “a *derk*”, gal-liha: “ana diri-li l-*xdima* l-kbira u weṣṣdi-li l-ḥenna, fi-ṭ-ṭebši. mnin tweṣṣdi l-ḥenna ṣāyyṭi l-xalt-i flana. ṣāyyṭi-li l-xalt-i flana”.

⁵ Sounds like *šerḥt*, but must be with /s/ (cf. elsewhere in the story). The speaker tends to pronounce /s/ as /š/ in some instances (see further: *mšagad*).

⁶ Also possible: *ukan ma ḡatš fik l-fayda*.

“a wlid-i liyah hadi xalt-ek flana?” “iwa ha-ni ngul-lek řäyyti-li-liha”. řäyytet-lih.
gat-lih “a wlid-i ma-lek tta ttgäreb-ha?”⁷ ta gal-liha: “řämm-t-i řa-ha řřüřra řayra-li.”
gat-lih (gař) klam msaggad gal, ředd-ha be-l-lidin, gal-liha, “guli-li ki řari le-mmw-
ek”⁸. gat-lih: “a wlid-i, nta řa-h... řändu... bḃ^wa-k řändu rezq-u u kull ři”. gat-lih:
“řaru mennek n-nsa, řabt, nta dak l-weld,⁹ u... w en-nsa xäwnu-h u řřaw-ih l-hadik
l-mra erbbat-ek. gal-lha: “hakka tguli”. min¹⁰ gat-lih dak ř-ři u gal řla-lha yeddi-ha b-
l-řänna u gal-liha: “řuři”. iwa huwa rkeb řla řewd-äh u gřed maři maři maři. gal-lek
l-bel tesreř hadik Handa. dgul-lha:

řhay řhay a l-bel řhay

la tak^wli la řřerbi

u ma řřetni/ řřätⁿi ġir ed-demm

w ana Handa mm^wa l-ehnud/ l-ähnud

lebbast eř-řlud

wkkalt wlid-ha

aaaa wdi.

a galt u ismeř^h řa izid řäliha w gal-liha: “a xalt-i, a kifař lli řa-ki sarřa l-bl u ki řari
bik.” huwa weld-ha. řa-ha řla řrig ũxra, řa-ha řla řrig ũxra.¹¹

⁷ (6th stem?)

⁸ Confusion of persons: ‘your mother’ instead of ‘my mother’.

⁹ The syntax of this sentence is somewhat awkward.

¹⁰ Maybe labialized m^win or following u: u min (w min).

¹¹ ‘He came to her by another way’. What is meant by this sentence? What is the first way?

gat-lh: “a wlidi: ana f dīn^yti /dānyti/ žebt weld u xewnu-h-li u gett^uu-lih šbāf-u u fāndu gārṇ ūd-dheb u iwa zaḥma (ha)di dheb.¹² gal-liha, u gal-liha “ukan yži-k l-yum, tāfšārfi-h?”, gat-lh: “a wld-i nāfšārf-āh”. iwa fāṛra-liha raš-āh, u fārfat-āh. gat-lih: “nta wld-i”. werra-ha ydd-āh. hakka gat-lāh: “weld-i.” iwa gal-liha: “šufi nti ruḥi ddi l-bel tsserḥi-ha u řewwḥi l-fšiš-ek w ana ġadi nemši l-s-suq u nžib-lk l-kswa u nddi mṃwa”. u hadak ma dar. mša le-s-suq u hiyya ḥāwwšet ibel-ha. fāgglet¹³-ha u huwa ža l-fars daxel...

ža mḥemmed l dik l-eššiša. gal li-hum “nesxūn mša dak le-žeyyež.¹⁴ ža bbwa-h hadak huwa gal-lek dak ř-ražel ma řarfeh š, bbwa-h. gal-lāh: “a wlidi lli žit l... štt a... Handa Ūmm Lehnud ki řari-lik u xelliti l-xāyima u lfraš u l-buṭat u XX tay”. gal-lih: “lla lla a sidi, ana dik l-eššiša yasra¹⁵ řliya ha ntaf¹⁶ Hānda”. gal-lh: “walu, ma-nemši-š ihna ng^weřdu u žabu tay”. gal-ek: “qumu”. gal-lek řad išerb u iwa u gal-lāh: “tfarrağ le... l-Hānda, l-kas”. a gal-lāh: “temši llih l-řešet-ha l-xāyima u tšerb mša n-nsa” [5:05].

¹² In Morocco children wear a golden horn as amulets to keep away evil spirits. (Can be also a sign/drawing on forehead?)

¹³ řāgg^l: special cord used to tie camel's legs so that the camel does not walk away.

¹⁴ What is le-žeyyež? PL of ‘old lady’? Why dak (SG) and not duk (PL)?

¹⁵ PTC form of the verb ‘to be sufficient, enough’ (not to be confused with yeřra ‘to happen’).

¹⁶ F form (ntaf), M ntaf (PL -?).

Part B.

gal-lāh “lla, ila ma t(e)šreb š mša-na rfed ſli-na šāyneyt-ek”. ādda šāynit-āh
(ſta...ehh), fātṭru, šerbu tay, ža... žab... žab le-ſša (l-āſša) tani; mnin žab le-ſša, gal-
lek dar-lāh le-ſša, xfiy; dar-lāh dak le-ſša xfiy. derk... (ra ntellef-ha); dar-lāh dak le-
ſša xfiy, u tſāšša, gal-lāh “zid(?) Handa mša-na takūl”, gal-lāh “lla, ma takūl š, temši
l-xāyma”, gal-lāh “ila ma takūl š mša-na, rfed ſli-na zlaft-ek”, iwa tſāšsat mša-hum.
iwa gal-lek tſāššaw, gešru dak lli gešru. u gal-lāh “a sidi, ſtini waḥd l-ğallay ntaf
hada, taſ l-ma baš netweḍḍa nšalli”. u rah žayeb ſa^wd-āh, u žayeb l-keswa l-mm^w-āh
baš yeddi-ha; iwa dak gaſ ma ſānd-u xbār, gal-liha “a Handa, (a) ruḥi, žibi-lāh
ğallay ntaf ma u šbāḥ ḥmi-h baš yetweḍḍa”; iwa gal-lek žabt-lāh dak l-ğallay, huwa
mša gal-lek yergūd f xāyyemt-āh¹⁷; u gal-liha “šufi ruḥi l-xalfa, xewni-li¹⁸ garba dyal
l-ma u rwaḥi”; xāwnet dik l-garba ntaf l-ma u žabt-ha u bayati¹⁹, yaḥmi l-ma, bga
(bga? < bqa?) yeğsel li-ha²⁰ u yeglāſ li-ha le-mlex, fhāmti, ay yeglāſ li-ha u lebbes-
ha; min ža le-fzer talāſ rekkeb mm^w-āh u dda-ha u mša lāhna lāhna...

¹⁷ y in xāyyemt- is doubled because it is followed by a vowel of āh (has to do with syllabification: to keep the syllable structure). This phenomenon is frequent in verbs (e.g. tāſrrfāh?), but also in nouns (baggrāh), and is common in Western Algeria and Eastern Morocco. (Might be interesting to check with minimal pairs... garba/garrba...).

¹⁸ Same verb as we had before (‘to steal’) or not?

¹⁹ Why with -i?

²⁰ li-ha (‘for her, of her’) here designates partial involvement of secondary object, i.e. the son was washing part of her body (feet?).

ža mul ehh er-**rzūq** u mul š-ši, gal-lihum “ara-ha Handa gaṣ ma naḍet š **i** tsreh l-bel,
 ki šari bi-ha?”, gal-lāh “a wddi ra-ha ha ragda wella ma nšārf”, gal l-mwalin (**l**)-
āglem “ḍāwwār ṣli-ha”, ma lga-ha š, lga ḡi(r) mudāṣ-ha, gal l-mwalin l-āg_{lem}
 “Handa ma ra-ha š hna”; galu-lāh “ma šeft š l-fars lli mša ṣāl le-fžer?”, gal-lhum “a
 wddi raḥna ma **fāqra** š bi-h, be-lḥāg **mel** (<men) l-bāṣd raḥ-na šefna-ha mrkkaba
 ḥiyya u raḥa mbāyyḍa”; iwa mša, yerkeb **ṣl** ṣāwd-āh, yegbeḍ ž-žerra lāhna lāhna
 lāhna ḥetta l-dik l-xāy_{ma} lli mša-lha, **l xāyyemt lli mṛebbiya-h**,²¹ iwa min **ṣennet**
(ṣemmet?) ṣli-ha **ṣennet** ṣāl ehh xāy_{ma} ūxra; gal-lek bayet temma mgeššer mša-hum
yeddūru²² **yehhāḍru**,²³ gal menna gal menna... gal-lihum “a wddi, ana, had l-fars ra-
 ni gbeṭṭ-lāh ž-žerra u raḥ **xawel-li**,²⁴ Handa”; galu-lāh “waš ṣli-k?”, hadik weld-ha;
 iiiwa gal-lek mša ya sidi... (dak l-fa[rs]...) bb^wa-h mša, mša, žab gal-lek ž-žmaṣa žab
 ehh žab kebš-**u**,²⁵ u dbeḥ ṣl weld-āh, baš iredd-āh l-xāyyemt-āh, iwa **rdd** weld-āh,
 dda u gaṣ l dik mṛbbiya-h, u **rdd** mm^wa-h u dda mm^wa-h, iwa mša, dda weld-āh, iwa
 gṣād ya sidi gṣād u gal-lek “**nerḥlu**”²⁶, uma n-nsa lli daru-liha dik ḍ-ḍerba galu-lha
 “waš ṣli-k, hadi n... hada raḥ weld-ha u raḥ žab-ha, li... **lilt-na ḥna weḥḥād-ha**”;

²¹ *xāyyemt* (status constructus) followed by *lli* (REL): unusual (usual is: *ntaṣ*, *dyaḷ* and not *lli*) > check/ elicit with rel. clauses.

²² ‘to have a conversation’? (cf. *geššru*?)

²³ **yehhāḍru** (*hh*) or *iḥaḍru* (*h*)? (Depends on the stem of the verb: 1st?...)

²⁴ < **xawen-li** (assimilation). PTC.

²⁵ Why -*u* here (‘his?’), and why not -*āh* (as elsewhere in the story?).

²⁶ No doubling of consonants. Meaning: ‘move tents’ (only in nomadic context?).

hadu n-nsa lli dābbbru-**lha**²⁷ dak š-ši, iwa gal-lek reḥlu; reḥlu, dar-liha **lṣāṭṭuṣ**, dar-liha
 le-fraṣat, **lḥaṣul xānnāt-ha**,²⁸ iwa gal-lek en-nsa lli... lli dēbbṛu fli-h dar-lihum waḥed
 ezzuḣ **ba**kraaaat²⁹ waṣrin, iwa ḥzem kul weḥda men k^wraṣ³⁰ weḥda men k^wraṣ... iwa
 dik l-... **be**krat mašyeeen mašiyin mašiyin, yeḣriw **ettgetṭu**,³¹ iwa hadi hiyya, aywa.

²⁷ here (unusual): *lha*, not *liha*.

²⁸ Expected: *xānnat*, but text has: *xānnāt*.

²⁹ *bakrat* (with *k*): unusual (expected: *bagra*); a nomadic dialect? (cows are not found in nomadic context > *bagra* is a rural word).

³⁰ Labiovelarization in *k^wraṣ* (not standard in Western Moroccan Arabic).

³¹ PASS form. Check double *ṭṭ* (check SG form).

Handa Umm Lehnud: Translation

[Recording](#)

A (So) sing!

B ṭhay ṭhay (pasture, pasture) oh camels, don't eat (and) don't drink...

A yes (right)

B You say it (i.e. the story)!

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

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

When the husband came (back), he said to her: "Where is my son?" (He said... ehh...) They said to him, they confessed to him, they said to him: "She has just eaten him." He went and whipped her. He beat her, he beat her with a wooden stick. And then he (went and) brought a very old (female) camel. He slaughtered it and he dressed her (his wife, mother of the child) in leather sandals, and he said to her: "(Now) you must herd camels". She sang to them:

Thay thay (pasture, pasture) oh camels,
Don't eat, don't eat,
(Otherwise) you will pee blood,
And I am Handa, mother of Handas (Indians)³²
Wearing (the one that wears) leather
and who ate her child.

Like this. And so (the story goes), she herds camels, and when she comes to that (small) tent, she had gone...;³³ this son of hers grew up, became a man, and started riding a horse. This old woman raised him. Once he was playing football with children. He was playing here and there and he fell; **they** said to him: "If there were any use in you at all, your mother wouldn't have been herding camels and wouldn't wear leather sandals." He heard **this/her** and said to **her**:³⁴ "How did it happen to my mother, that she herds camels and wears leather sandals?" He went to the one who brought him up, and he said to her: "Mother, make for me *harira* (soup), I am hungry, ah, make for me *harira*"; he said: "Now"; he said to her: "Make for me a big pot (with *harira*) and prepare for me *henna*, in a plate. When you have prepared *henna*, call for me aunty so-and-so, call for me aunty so-and-so."

³² Kind of word game? Name of the woman: Handa; Indians = lähnud (both words contain the same consonants).

³³ Unfinished sentence.

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

[She said:] “Oh my son, why (do you need) that aunty so-and-so?” He said to her: “I am saying to you, call her for me.” She called her for him. She (aunty?) said to him: “Oh my son, what’s wrong?” He said to her: “I am sick”. She spoke open and honest words to him. He caught her by her hands, he said to her: “Tell me, what happened to my (text: your) mother?” She said to him: “Oh my child, your father had money and everything.” She said to him: “The other wives were jealous about you, you are that boy (who was born), and... women stole you and they gave you to that woman and she raised you.” He said: “Oh, I see!” When she said those words to him, he painted her hands with henna and said to her: “Go!” Then he rode his horse and kept walking, walking, walking... And/ while this Handa is herding camels. She sings to them:

Thay thay (pasture, pasture) oh camels,
Don’t eat, don’t eat,
(Otherwise) you will pee blood,
And I am Handa, mother of Handas (Indians)
Wearing (the one that wears) leather
and who ate her child.

Like this.

She said (was singing) and he heard her; he came up to her, and he said to her: “Aunty, how did you become a camel shepherd, how did it happen to you?” He is her son. He came to her another way (i.e. she doesn’t know that he is her son).

She said to him: “Oh my son, (in my earlier life) I gave birth to a boy, and they stole him from me, and they cut his finger. (And) he has a golden horn³⁵ (?), such a horn.” He said to her: “If he comes to you one day, will you recognise him?” She said to him: “Oh my child, I will [recognise him].” So he opened (showed) his face to her, and she recognised him. She said to him: “You are my son.” He showed her his hand (i.e. the cut finger). She said: “My son.” And he said to her: “Look, go and take the camels, herd them, and return to your tent, and I will go to the market, bring clothes for you and I will make you my mother”. And so he did. He went to the market and she drove her camels home; she tied the legs of the camels (so that they did not escape), and there came a knight (a person on horseback) (her son), and he entered.

He came **directly (instantly/straight)** to that small tent. He said (to them): “I will make fire with these old women(?)” His father came, [but] that man did not know that he was his father. He said to him: “My child, (why) did you come to the tent of Handa ‘Mother of Indians’; how did it happen to you that you left your (good) tent and (warm) bed and blankets and tea (i.e. good food)?” He said to him: “No, no, oh Sir, that (small) tent is enough for me, this (tent) of Handa.” He said to him: “I will not go, we will stay here.” (And) they brought tea; he said: “Pour/Make me some tea!”, and he drank, and he said to him: “Fill a glass [of tea] for Handa”, and [he said to him]: “[Handa must?] go (over) there to her tent and drink with the women” (?).

³⁵ In Morocco (and in North Africa in general), children wear a horn as amulet for protection.

Part B.

He said: “No, if she doesn’t drink with us, then take your (tea-)tray away from us”. He took his tray. They had breakfast, drank tea, then there came second dinner/lunch. When the dinner came, he made for him a light(?) dinner; he made for him this light dinner. (*Now, I forgot something...*) He made for him this light dinner, and he had dinner. He said: “**Bring** Handa so that she eats with us”. He said: “No, she will not eat [with us], she must go (?) to the tent”. He (the boy) said: “If she doesn’t eat with us, take your bowl (away from us). And she (Handa) ate with them. And so they ate, and they had a conversation. And he (the husband?) said: “Give me a kettle of *this*, of water, so that I can wash in order to pray.” He brought his horse, he brought clothes for his mother so that he makes her (his mother/ look neat). And/While this one (the father) does not know [what is going on]. He said to her: “Handa, go and bring him a kettle with water, and in the morning make it warm for him so that he washes”. And so she brought for him this kettle, and he (the boy) went to sleep in his tent, and he said to her: “Look, go to that part of the tent (*khalfa*), **leave** for me **hide(?)** (*garba*) of water and come back.” She left this hide(?) of water and she brought it to him. He stayed overnight/ spent the night(?). He heated the water. He kept washing [feet] for/of his mother, he took for her the leather sandals, you understand, and he took [them] for her and he wore them. When (the time of the) morning prayer came/ with the sun-rise, he put his mother on the horse (he rode a horse and he took his mother) and he went (there and there...).

Then there came the owner ('owner of the treasure') and the chef/ master (i.e. the father), and he said to them: "(Here she is), Handa did not get up, she must herd camels, what happened to her?" He said: "She is sleeping, or I don't know". The owners of the **cattle/sheep**³⁶ said: "Search for her". He did not find her, he found only her place. The owners of the cattle/sheep said: "Handa is not here", they said to him: "Did you not see the knight (on horseback), who went at the time of the morning prayer?" He said to them: "We didn't get up, but we saw him from far/ from a distance, riding a horse, and something white besides him". And so he (the father) went, he mounted his horse, and he followed the footsteps/ tracks (there and there), until he reached that tent where he (the boy) went, the tent of the one/ old woman who brought him up. And he **listened** to him/ this tent and he listened to the other tent, and he spent the night there, he **discussed** and he talked with them about this and that, and he (the father) said to them: "I found the footsteps of this knight, and he **stole** Handa from me". He said to him: "Why is that/ what is the matter?" [And he told him that?] he was/is her son.

And sooo he went, the father went, (he) went, and he brought a group of people, he brought **his(?)** ram, and he slaughtered it in honour of his son, in order to return him to his tent, and he made his son return(?) (or: and the son returned?), and he (father?) brought all those, the one who brought him/ the child up, (and he brought) his mother and he made her his mother, and (he went and) he brought/made his son, and so he said "we will move our home (tent)", but the women that made this (bad) thing to her, that caused this unhappiness/ made evil, they said: "What now, this **is** her son, and he (**had gone** and) brought her... our night is alone (i.e. we have only one last night)."

³⁶ *leğlem/lăğlem* normally means 'small cattle' (i.e. sheep and goats, but not cows). (Check.)

Those [are the] women which did evil things to her. So they moved. They moved, he prepared for her (mother) a [palanquin](#), he made the beddings for her, in short he spoiled her (wanted to please her/ made her happy). And those women which plotted evil against him, they brought two strong cows for them, and they tied each of them to their legs; the cows went and went and went... they ran, and the women were torn apart. And that's the end of the story, that's it.

Recording WS700752:

<http://dl.dropbox.com/u/40270666/WS700752%20-story.mp3>

Speaker: “Grandmother” (Mother of MD), tribe: Beni Gil.

Recorded in a tent near Ain Beni Mathar/ Bergem in December 2011

Fonts: Charis SIL (<http://dl.dropbox.com/u/40270666/Charis%20SIL.rar>)

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