

‘Afar-Saaho dialectology: a methodology

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SOMMARIO

Il proposito di questo articolo è quello di confermare ed estendere le conclusioni basate su un corpus già pubblicato da questo autore². Partendo con un testo in ‘afar meridionale³ e la sua traduzione in Saaho settentrionale e meridionale⁴, seguito da quattro leggende popolari in saaho settentrionale e meridionale, questo scritto identifica un insieme di isoglosse che caratterizzano una catena dialettale⁵ i cui componenti, per quanto concerne la sintassi, sono isomorfi. L’inedito corpus mostra differenze (e similitudini) con l’afar e tra le due varietà di saaho menzionate. Sono proposte sedici isoglosse.

Keywords: *folktales*, *‘Afar-Saaho dialectology*, *Northern and Southern Saaho*
ISO-639-3: aar, ssy

ABBREVIATIONS. Ø: zero morpheme; f: Feminine; imp: Imperfect; impv: Imperative; int: Interrogative; m: Masculine; n: Noun; nS: Northern Saaho; pl: Plural; pos: Possessive; pp: Postposition; pr: Personal pronoun; pt: Particle; s: Singular; sS: Southern Saaho; v: Verb; var: Variant; 1 pl: First personal plural pronoun; 2 pl: Second personal plural pronoun (etc.).

Defining isoglosses

The proposed methodology is based on the French concept of “dialect”, a term primarily used for geographic varieties historically related to the same language. This concept differs from the Anglo-American one for which “dialect” describes any variety of language (geographical but also sociolinguistic, etc.). The French concept of dialect also includes spoken varieties of a dialect which in its turn is the regional form taken by a language. For instance, in our terminology, there is no “Ginda‘ dialect”, but a “parler de Ginda’” [the way of speaking nS in Ginda’] whose peculiarities are analysed in the frame work of the Northern Saaho dialect as a whole.

When defining dialects the problem is how to select relevant features among a theoretically unlimited number of variations that also include idiolectal usages. The proposed hierarchy puts the lexical stratum at the lowest level since it is virtually open to any innovation, while the morphological and phonetic isoglosses are much more conservative. As a whole the list of isoglosses offers a selection in which what is relevant for defining nS excludes what is relevant for sS.

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² Morin, 1994 and 1995.

³ *Op. cit.* 1995: 278 sq. Hereafter sA stands for Southern ‘Afar, nA for Northern ‘Afar.

⁴ We will not repeat here the arguments which allowed to recognize two Saaho dialects only (see our Bibliography). We chose here to concentrate on the methodological aspects which justify our approach in ‘Afar-Saaho dialectology.

⁵ Mahaffy (1952).

Notice that nS is in polarity with sS and vice versa but this opposition does not hinder mutual comprehension. If field-work should reveal a sS feature in the nS data it would indicate that the informant has been in contact with a dialectal variety which in the context of Saho communities may be the result of seasonal migrations, resettlement and sedentarization or any other reasons. Among these is the long war for Independence which modified the sociology and traditional way of life in Eritrea and in the surrounding areas where Saho speakers lived before. As an example, one may mention fishermen of the Eritrean coast who settled in Djibouti in the 70s. Around the same period we met a truck driver assistant who was a native sS speaker and who was able to adapt his speech according to the various usages on its way from Asmara to Massawa. In contact with nS speakers he pronounced the nS ejective consonants. When reaching the Samhar plain he could use the few words of *təgre* he knew which combined with Arabic explained his mixed speech in the multilingual area where he travelled.

For this reason the labels “nS” and “sS” do not ignore the clan denominations but it seems better to reserve these traditional references to local usages which operate as “signs of reconnaissance” which do not function as linguistic (i.e. regular) discriminants properly. As in ‘Afar, the capacity that speakers have to differentiate themselves “from one canton to another (‘Afar *da‘arak da‘ar*)” increases in the Saaho mountainous areas.

It implies the lexicon. For example, ‘*aso* “fever, malaria” is a pan-‘Afar-Saaho item, but the Taruu‘a Moosata-‘Áre for unknown reason use *hindá* which elsewhere in ‘Afar as in Saaho means “generosity”⁶. Metathesis may also participate in the dialect differentiation: see nS *gáhre* “surprise”, sS *gárhe*. The same variants are also found in ‘Afar.

Prosody is also a way for speakers to indicate discreetly their clan origin to their interlocutor: *af* “mouth” has many plural form: *áfof*, *áfuf*. sS (Hádu) speakers insist on the initial stress *áfof*, when sS Irob pronounce *afóf*. Generally speaking our Taruu‘a informants insisted on the fact that the stress on *áfof* and generally speaking on nouns was pronounced weaker than in sS.

In the verb morphology, *kitin* var. *kiton* “you are” is found in all Saho dialects except in Taruu‘a where *kitin* is only used. But the same Taruu‘a speakers use *maltin* or *malton* “you don’t have” in the conjugation of *male*. The central Saho-speaking communities, labelled as “Mina” use nS and/or sS features especially in the lexical domain, contradicting the polar opposition. As for Taruu‘a *kitin/kiton*, this label “Mina” refer to secondary clan discriminants which help the speakers to recognize that they are of Dásamo, Dabri-Meela or Ga‘aso origin among other Saaho speakers. But the use of nS or sS items in these Central varieties hinders to consider “Mina” as a dialect *per se*. An example of this intermingled situation is offered by pl. “tongues”: sS *ánrob*, *árrob*, *árrab*; nS (Taruu‘a) and Mina *ánrab*, *ánrub* but also *árrob*, *ánrob* which are pan-Saaho. ‘Asawrta prefers *arraabá* (as in ‘Afar).

It seems better to refer to the Taruu‘a variety and not to ‘Asawrta when investigating the nS corpus, since the latter claim that they do not speak Saho (*Saahot waani*) but “a separate ‘Asaurta language” (‘*Asaurtat ziiḍo*). Due to the fact that the Irob variety is geographically close to Northern ‘Afar, it appears less relevant than

⁶ Moosata-‘Áre use *laggas* (f. *laggaasít*) “generous” (*hindale*).

Ḥádu to define sS features, although some Hadu live in mixed settlements with ‘Afar. The Saaho dialectal hierarchy consists in three levels:

- a. Pan-‘Afar-Saaho forms: [A = S].
- b. Pan-dialectal Saho (pS) forms: [nS = sS].
- c. Interdialectal regular oppositions: [nS # sS].

Due to this intermingled linguistic situation, it seems more relevant to define a selected (i.e. systematic) number of isoglosses instead of trying to take into account any variation.

Corpus and informants

After first contacts with Saho speakers during short travels in Eritrea in the years 1970-1972, I had the opportunity to make a more systematic research during a four-years stay in Egypt and the Sudan (1991-1994). The present data were collected in Cairo with two informants, Mr Ibraahiim Ismaa‘iil, (Ḥádu, ‘Asa‘aliila), born in San‘afé, and Mr Saaleḥ ‘Osman (Taru‘a, Sará-‘Áre) of the Samhar plain. In addition to them, Mr Adamu ‘Umar, of the same clan and geographic origin, joined the work during a short period. Being newcomers in Egypt where they had entered two years before, apart from becoming fluent speakers of Arabic, those three did not pass enough time abroad to forget their traditional background, so that I consider the data gathered in Cairo as accurate as if they had been collected in Eritrea. We worked intensively during the years 1991 and 1992 concentrating on folk-tales in both Saho varieties. Choosing traditional oral literature – since it is less sensible to innovation – seemed relevant to provide stable and even possibly archaic clues for defining isoglosses between Saaho dialects. Since that period one imagines that new isoglosses could be added but we think that they would have enriched our data without invalidating them.

The methodology of the texts collection has been the following one. A version in nS or in sS was given by one of the two informants, then the other informant provided a translation in his native dialect. The first of the five folk-tales is in ‘Afar. It was recited by our informant and friend, Ḥamad-La‘de *b. šeh* Ḥasan in 1978.

Since the reference (i.e. first) versions are either in nS or in sS, one can see when reading the whole corpus that there is no contradiction between any of these “original” texts and their translations. In a few cases, one may note the influence of the first on the latter. It can be due to the fact that informants worked all together. Such is, e.g., sS *ged* (nS *gedda*) “when” instead of *gul* (I, 56); or the “anteriority marker” in sS (*aadigih* “having known” from perfect *aadigeh* “I knew”) which characterizes only nS (I, 54). Also (see I, 47) sS *adda-t* (instead of *adda-d*) is under the influence of ‘Afar. Since I did not change anything in the collected texts, these few contradictory clues may represent less than 5% of the data.

Lists of isoglosses

Parts of the tables below are found in Morin (1994, 1995). To these lists are added the isoglosses found in the corpus. As such, they constitute a selection and for this reason are not exhaustive.

Ia. Table of consonants ('Afar-Saaho)						
<i>f</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>g</i>	‘	
	<i>ɖ</i>					
	<i>t̥</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>ḳ</i>		
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
	<i>l</i>					
	<i>r</i>					

Notice that nS includes 22 consonants, with four ejectives /t̥, ɣ, č̣, ḳ/ borrowed from northern Ethio-Semitic. The spirantized realizations of some stops⁷ are found among bilingual Tigrinya-Saaho speakers. This phonetic variants are not found in the two informants' pronunciation, since they had no real practice of Tigrinya.

Instead, sS uses 16 consonants (without the ejectives and the prepalatals *š*, *ž*). In this dialect, *š* is a free variant of *s*, *r* of *ɖ* in intervocalic position: *guɖa* ~ *gura* “I want”, a variant also found in Southern ‘Afar of Awsa and Ba‘adu regions. The 15 consonants system of ‘Afar is the most economic, with the absence of *ž*, except in few ancient nouns. In nS, sS and ‘Afar, *w* and *y* are the realization of the vowels /u/ and /i/ in consonantic position, so that they do not appear in the table of consonants above. Saaho and ‘Afar have the same vocalic system with five short or long vowels (Saho *bado* “proximity”/ ‘Afar *baado* “land”):

Ib. Table of vowels					
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>		<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>		<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>ā</i>	

A culminative stress opposes homonyms, masculine and feminine (nS *ħuggátto* “neighbour”/ fem. *ħuggattô*). Five phonetic isoglosses and the decreasing number of shared features illustrate the degree of divergence inside the dialectal chain.

⁷ The official orthography includes digraphs such as [rh] which may create ambiguity: *garhe* (*gar-he*), a metathesis of *gahre* “surprise” can be read erroneously as /gəde/. Northern Saaho [qh] *laqhco* “ear ring” must be considered as a variant of pan-Saaho-‘Afar *laq’o* “silver, ancient silver currency”. The second element *h* represents the spirantized pronunciation of the ejective /ḳ/ by bilingual speakers (Saaho-Tigrinya). This pronunciation has not been recorded in our informant’s practice.

⁸ Except in loanwords, mainly from Arabic.

	Saaho			‘Afar	
	Northern	Central	Southern	Northern	Southern
A. Ejectives	+	-	-	-	-
B. /š/ corresponding to /s/	+	+	-	-	-
C. /z/ corresponding to /d/	+	+	+	-	-
D. No vowel deletion before stress	+	+	+	+	-
E. Final unstressed /e/o/	+	+	+	-	-
Number of shared features	5	4	3	1	0

Opposing the isogloss B (A *s* / nS *š*) is constant when it appears as a relevant variant in nS (personal pronoun 2 pl *šin*, var. *šin*) and a free variant in sS. Its realization depends on the degree of bilingualism in Arabic.

The sixteen isoglosses are found in the corpus here after. Their distribution in the different tables has been made in order to define a coherent bundle of isoglosses, and not according only to their linguistic status. Such is the case of the postposition (isogloss 2, A *-k* / S(nS) *-ko* which has been separated from the other postpositions. The reason is that sS uses *-k* or *-ko*, so that the opposition *-k* to *-ko* is not relevant to oppose nS and sS but ‘Afar to Northern Saaho. Also, the vowel quantity in ‘Afar nouns as CVCVC *lubak* “lion” which may have a long final vowel CVCVVC-V *lubāka* is not systematic in sS contrary to nS. For this reason it has not been included in the list. The opposition between (‘Afar subjunctive /u/, Saaho /o/) has been excluded from the list since it is not found in the corpus but is relevant in the ‘Afar - Saaho opposition⁹.

In table II six morphological isoglosses (1-6) illustrate the opposition between ‘Afar and Saaho as a whole.

II. Morphological isoglosses separating ‘Afar and Saaho	
Postpositions:	1. A <i>-t</i> / S <i>-d</i> 2. A <i>-k</i> / S (nS) <i>-ko</i> 3. A <i>kah</i> / S <i>akah</i>
Deictics:	4. Demonstratives: A <i>a-</i> / S <i>ta-</i>
Subject-Verb Agreement:	5. sg / pl.
Noun predicate final vowel	6. A <i>+</i> / S <i>Ø</i>

In table III four morphological isoglosses (7-10) illustrate the opposition between nS and sS.

III. Morphological isoglosses separating nS and sS	
Singulative:	7. nS <i>atto</i> / sS <i>ayto</i>
Postpositions:	8. nS <i>Vlle</i> / sS <i>VI</i> 9. nS <i>Vdde</i> / sS <i>d</i> 10. nS <i>akko</i> / sS <i>ak</i>

⁹ See Morin (1994: 1995: 102).

Six features separate nS and sS. Features 13 to 16 operate at the level of the phrase as a whole and not of the Noun only.

IV. Phrase markers separating nS and sS

Noun phrase modifier	11. “Genitive”
Noun phrase coordination	12. Vowel lengthening in sS / nS Ø
Negation marker	13. nS <i>mi</i> / sS <i>ma</i>
Relative clause particle ¹⁰	14. nS <i>ya</i> / sS <i>yya, hiyya</i>
Anteriority in dependent clause	15. nS <i>ih</i> (< <i>eh</i>) / sS Ø
Dependent clause marker	16. Subordinating conjunctions

“Genitive” is chosen for simplicity reason, knowing that there is no “genitive case” in ‘Afar-Saaho “since there is no case properly”¹¹. “Genitive” refers to a sequence possessor-possessed marked by morphemes suffixed to the possessor. Interestingly many isoglosses have their counterpart in ‘Afar showing the historical link between the geographically most distant dialects of the domain¹².

These 16 oppositions are illustrated with examples taken from the five folk-tales here after. Their occurrences are indicated in bold in the texts. Cross-references in the tables are indicated like this: for instance the correspondence A *t* / S *d* is indicated as nS, I, 37, which means that it is found in the text n° I, parag. 37 in Northern Saaho. When a paragraph does not contain any clue (see V. 19) the opposition between nS and sS consists in lexical differences which, as already said, are not stable and as such are excluded from relevant isoglosses.

1. A *t* / S *d*: I, 37; I, 42; I, 43; I, 58.

2. A *k* / S *ko*: I, 7; I, 8; I, 15; I, 38; I, 44; I, 51; I, 52; I, 57; I, 59; II, 2.

3. A *kah* / S *akah*: I, 10.

4. A *a* / S *ta*: I, 17; I, 22. *To* may correspond to *ta*: I, 38.

Pronouns: sS *ae* / nS *aim*: I, 25; I, 29; I, 39; I, 40. II, 4; II, 7. IV, 8. V, 13, V, 20.

sS *amae* / nS *amaim*¹³: I, 11; I, 21; I, 41; I, 56. III, 8; III, 17; III, 18; III, 21. V, 2; V, 3; V, 25. sS *ama* / nS *ama(a)*: IV, 6.

5. Subject-Verb Agreement: I, 3; IV, 11; V, 3; V, 21.

In ‘Afar, the agreement is normally the fem. sg.: *labhá rabté* “men (*labhá*) died (*rabté*)”, when the subject is a grammatically feminine collective. The verbal agreement is the masc. sg. for grammatically masculine collective subjects: *agabí yaní* “they are (*yaní*) women (*agabí*, from *agábu*). In some case, it is the plural, especially when the subject is not mentioned: *rabén* “they died”. In sS the agreement follows ‘Afar: sS *lbooká baddé* “the lions died”; *agabí rabé*, whereas it is optional in nS: *lúbok baddé* or *baden*; *saw rabté* or *rabén*. nS uses sometimes the

¹⁰ This particle (-y) is postposed to the head noun in ‘Afar whereas in Saaho it marks the predicate of the relative clause, Morin (*op. cit.* 1994: 265; 1995: 125).

¹¹ Cf. Hayward in Parker (1985: 225-227).

¹² See Morin (1994; 1995).

¹³ The paradigm includes: sS *tae, amae, tamae, woe* / nS *taim, amaim (amaayim), tamaim, woim*.

- plural as a polite form. This is a loan to Ethio-Semitic: IV; V, 3: *yabba lubak laḥuten* “father Lion got sick (pl.)” is similar to Amharic *ambässa ammämu*.
6. Noun predicate CVC followed by a final vowel CVC-V: A + / S Ø: I.
 7. nS *atto* / sS *ayto*: I, 5; I, 8; I, 42; I, 44.
 8. nS *Vlle* / sS *VI*: I, 8; I, 44; I, 45; I, 49; I, 57; I, 58. II, 3; II, 6; II, 11; III, 5, III, 9; III, 21; III, 23. IV, 20. V, 4; V, 18.
 9. nS *Vdde* / sS *d*: I, 28; I, 29; I, 46; I, 48; I, 49; I, 52; I, 54; I, 55; I, 56; I, 58. II, 5; II, 8; II, 9. III, 10; III, 22. IV, 5; IV, 10; IV, 15; IV, 18. V, 14. Var sS *l*: *gabla-l/gabla-dde*; sS *t*: *gabla-t*: I, 28, I, 29.
 10. nS *akko* / sS *ak*: I, 8; II, 2. III, 1, IV, 3.
 11. “Genitive” in noun phrase: nS *t*: *baaḍo-t reezanto* “the chief of the country”. In a chain of annexion, *hi*: ‘*Asa Kaamil-ih abba-hí abba-hí iná* “the mother of ‘Asa Kaamil’s grand-father”; sS *(i)h*: ‘*Asa Kaamil-ih ḍayló* “‘Asa Kaamil’s children”; *ik, h*: ‘*Asa Kaamil-ík abbá-h abbá-h iná*”: I, 1; I, 14; I, 15; I, 35; I, 43; I, 47; I, 57. II. The same modifiers *h, hi, k*¹⁴ are found in ‘Afar.
 12. Vowel lengthening before conjunction *kee* is optional in nS, obligatory in sS as in A: I, I, 7; II; III, III, 1: III, 23; IV, IV, 1.
 13. nS *mi* / sS *ma*: I, 2; I, 9; I, 10; I, 11; I, 36; I, 40; I, 46; I, 47; I, 50. III, 3. V, 12.
 14. nS *ya* / sS *yya, hiyya*: I, 8; I, 23; I, 24; I, 54. II, 8. IV, 6; IV, 10.
 15. nS *ih* (< perfect 3 p.sg. *eh*) / sS *ø*: I, 19; I, 24; I, 38; I, 41; I, 44; I, 45; I, 46; I, 47; I, 50; I, 54; I, 55; I, 56. II, 5; II, 11. III, 18; III, 20; III, 21; III, 22; III, 24.; IV, 8; IV, 9; IV, 10; IV, 12; IV, 13; IV, 14; IV, 17; IV, 19. V, 14; V, 25.
 16. The conjunctions here after are those found in the texts. In other contexts, their meanings may vary. They are postposed to the verb of the dependant clauses or used as clitic postpositions in their free or bound forms¹⁵
Object clause *(i)m*: I, 10: *kah aḥe-m mayyu* “I do not give you”, from the noun *(i)m* “thing” used as a conjunction, frequently in combination with another conjunction (see *mfanah, mik sarra, mkiah, mko basol*).
— “apart from”: (nS) *kiyah*, I, 10.
— “where”: (sS) *el...l*; (nS) *-lle... (i)lle*: I, 5; I, 8; I, 16; I, 47.
— “when”: (sS) *gul, ged*; (nS) *gedda*¹⁶: I, 6; I, 11; I, 23; I, 28; I, 48; I, 50; I, 51. II, 2; II, 10. III, 6. nS *wakte*: III, 7.
— “before”¹⁷: sS *kkah*: III, 9; *mko basol*: III, 5 *afti gabolle*: III, 4; III, 5; III, 13; III, 17. *ggidah*: III, 4 / nS *dan*: III, 4.
— “after, later” (sS) *sarrah, mik sarra, lakal*; (nS) *leddelle*¹⁸: I, 8, I, 41. V, 11. nS *mkiyah*: I, 10.
— “for”: sS *ggidah*; nS *dan*: III, 4.
— “until”: (sS) *mfanah*; (nS) *dan*: I, 45.
— “since, as”: sS *k(ii)* / nS *mko*: I, 11; I, 25; I, 27. II, 5.
— “as for”: sS *k(ii)* / nS *mko*: V, 10.
— “if”: *k(ii)*: I, 30. V, 16 / (nS) *mko*: I, 17; I, 31; I, 34; I, 38. sS and nS *do*: V, 24.

¹⁴ Including assimilation when the possessor has a stressed final vowel: (sS and A) *wakari-s saga* as in ‘Afar.

¹⁵ Cf. Vergari 2003: 28-31; Morin, 1995: 110-124.

¹⁶ In some contexts, it means “if” (see its variant *do*).

¹⁷ Finality “with the intention to” is also associated with the temporal meaning: “before eating it” means also “with the intention to eat it”.

¹⁸ Var. *ledelle*.

Transcriptions

In order to help the reader who may be not familiar with the ‘Afar and Saaho orthographies, we use the same conventions: long vowels are doubled; as for the consonants, the same symbols are used, in particular for the voiced pharyngeal /‘/: *wa‘di* “when”; the voiceless pharyngeal /ħ/: *ħado* “meat” and retroflex /ɖ/: *iɖig* “know”. Verbs are quotate in the Imperative (2 p.s.). The phonemic stress is indicated especially when it helps to avoid ambiguity (see IV *abuusumá*).

CORPUS

The corpus consists of five unpublished oral texts. The ‘Afar version of the first one is the only already published one¹⁹ For each of them, the original version is indicated after the title between brackets. This folk-tales have no title properly. The five ones have been chosen for convenience according to their first sentence.

- I. *Wakrii kee lubaaka* (‘Afar).
- II. *Wakkarii kee kaakoyta* (sS).
- III. *Dummuu kee ‘anɗaawa* (sS).
- IV. *Abuu kee abuusumá* (sS).
- V. *Alluula akotta abte* (nS).

I. TITLE.

- A. *Wakrii kee lubaaka.*
- sS. *Wakkarii kee lubak.*
- nS. *Wakarii kee lubak.*
- La Renarde et le Lion*
- The she-Jackal²⁰ and the Lion*

I, 1.

- A. [*the story-teller*] – *Wakriħ ayra taadigeeni?*²¹
- sS. – *Wakkariħ siiħo taadigeeni?*
- nS. – *Wakarit siiħo taadigiini?*
- *Connaissez-vous la malice de la Renarde?*²²
- *Do you know the she-Jackal’s trick?*

I, 2.

- A. [*the audience*] – *Ma naadigaay gabbatenno.*
- sS. – *Ma naadigeey a‘ikkine lino.*
- nS. – *Mi naadigeek(i) na‘akkano kinno.*
- *Nous ne savons pas mais nous essaierons.*
- *We do not know but we will try.*

¹⁹ Morin (1995: 278-289) includes five Saaho folk-tales: (nS) *Awur dalaá, Yabba Hasan kee Yanna wakari, Guggaa kee Wakari, Okoli rakbe* (Morin, 1995: 264-277); (sS) *Nagra* (Morin 1999: 172-175).

²⁰ In the various dialects, the epicene (lexical) form for “jackal” is a feminine: ‘Afar *wakrí* (pl. *wakārá*); nS *wakarí* (pl. *wáker*); sS *wakkarí* (pl. *wákker*). In narrative style (see text I), it is sometimes used as a masculine so that it appeared easier to use in translations “renard”/ “renarde” instead of “chacal” which has no feminine in French, although there is no “renard” in Africa.

²¹ With interrogative long final vowel.

²² The French translation is found after the 1995 ‘Afar version.

I, 3.

A. Dumah lubak kee wakri siita luk **gedde**-yen.

sS. Zamaan lubak kee wakkari tittaa lih **tede**-yen.

nS. Kalḥa lubak kee wakari shittiya lih²³ **geden**.

Jadis, le Lion et la Renarde s’en furent ensemble, dit-on

A long time ago, the Lion and the she-Jackal went together, people said

I, 4.

A. Admoh siita beenih.

sS. Gaatoh tittaa lih yeden.

nS. Gaatoh šittiya lih **geden**.

Ils allèrent ensemble à la chasse.

They went together for hunting.

I, 5.

A. Admoh **elle** **geden** rikel,²⁴ lubaakay ala gee, wakriiy danan gee’yyen.

sS. Gaatoh **el** yedenil, lubak gaalay**to** gee, wakkari danan geyte.

nS. Gaatoh **alle** **gedenille** lubak gaal**atto** gee, wakari zanan geyte.

Là où ils allèrent chasser, le Lion trouva une chamelle, la Renarde trouva un âne.

Where they went for hunting, the Lion got a she-camel, the she-Jackal got a donkey.

I, 6.

A. Wakri danan gee wa‘diina hay, dananak gamad kibbi hee.

sS. Wakkari danan geyte **gul**, dananak deega emegiise.

nS. Wakari zanan geyte **gedda**, zananak kamus edde emeg akkišše.

Lorsque la Renarde eut trouvé l’âne, elle remplit le fondement de l’âne.

After she got a donkey, the she-Jackal filled the donkey’s arse.

I, 7.

A. Burtak kibbi, badok kibbi heeh iyyen.

sS. Buuree-kee tabaašir**ko** emegiise.

nS. Buure-kee tabaašir**ko** akkišše.

De terre, elle le remplit, de craie, elle le remplit, dit-on.

She filled it with earth, she filled it with clay.

I, 8.

A. Taadige badok dananak gamad kibbi hee wa‘dina, lubaakal yemeete: — Kaala²⁵ daamoytaay yi dananak ḥado xaytite kortam tablee? kaak iyye.

sS. Ama tabaashir**ko** dananak deega emeggiise **gul**, lubaakal yemeete: — Ku gaalay**to** rukuta, yi dananak ‘eed**oko** ḥado kulusiyya taw‘em tablee? **ak** ye.

nS. Ama tabaashir**ko** kamus emeg akiššemik **leddelle**, lubaakal temeete: — Ku gaal**atto** rukuta, yi zanank**o** kamus**ko** ḥazo kulusya taw‘em tablee? **akko** ye.

Lorsque ladite craie eut rempli le fondement de l’âne, [la Renarde] vint chez le Lion: – Ta chamelle est décharnée; mon âne, de son fondement, ne vois-tu pas la graisse sortir? lui dit-elle.

²³ Var. *luk* is conjugated: Sg. 1 *luk iné*; 2 *lituk tiné* (or *lii tiné*); 3 *luk tiné*; pl. 1 *linok niné*; 2 *litin tinín*; 3 *luk yinín*.

²⁴ The comma indicates the limit of a rhythmic unit as defined in Morin (1995).

²⁵ [*ku ala].

When the so-called clay had filled the donkey's arse, the [she-Jackal] went to the Lion: – Your she-camel is fleshless, don't you see the fat coming out of the arse of my donkey? said she.

I, 9.

- A.** Wallah able anikii, yoh ma taḥaa? iyye.
sS. Wallah ablik anekiy, yoh **ma** taahe(y)e²⁶? ye.
nS. Wallahi abliyuk anekiy, yoh **mi** taahaye? ye.
 – *Par Dieu que je la vois! Ne me la donneras-tu pas? dit-il.*
 – *By Jove, for sure I see it! Won't you give it to me? said he.*

I, 10.

- A.** Koh maḥaa, tet akmeemik sarra, koh **kah** aḥem mayyu.
sS. Koh maḥa(y)e, tee²⁷ beeto liyo, koyyah **akah** aḥaem ma liyo.
nS. Koh maḥaye **akah** koh aḥaem mayyu, tee beetam **kiyah**.
 – *Je ne te la donne pas, puisque, plus tard, je compte la manger, voilà pourquoi je ne te la donne pas.*
 – *I don't give it to you since²⁸ later I plan to eat it, that is the reason why I don't give it to you.*

I, 11.

- A.** – Illaawillah! yaḥḥuy! kaak iyye lubak, kodde ma ḥabak, woysa atu faḍinnaanim koh abeyyo hay, iyyeehiy,
 – Koh abiddileh iyveh, taadige wakri ala beete.
sS. – Illa wa illah! yohḥuy, ak ye lubak, kod **ma** ḥabak(i), **amae** sarrah, atu faḍinnaanim koh abeliyok, ye,
 – Koh aybiddile ye, ama wakkari gaalayto beysite.
nS. – Illa wa illah! yohḥuw, ak yedḥe lubak, kolle **mi** ḥabakii, **amaimik** sarra, atu faḍinnaanim koh abo kiyokii.
 – Koh aybaddalo kinnikii, ama wakari gaalatto biššitte.
 – *Par Dieu! Donne-la moi lui dit le Lion, puisque je ne te lâcherai pas, ensuite je ferai pour toi tout ce que tu voudras, lui dit-il.*
 – *By Jove! Give it to me, said the Lion, since I won't leave you, after I will do everything you want, said he.*
 – *Je te l'échange, dit-elle, et ladite Renarde emporta la Chamelle, dit-on.*
 – *I accept, said she, and the she-Jackal took away the she-camel, people say.*

I, 12.

- A.** Taadige wakri ala beete wa' diina, lubak gile luk suge.
sS. Ama wakkari gaalayto beysitte **gul**, sikkiin liik yine.
nS. Ama wakari gaalatto biššitte **gedda**, lubak sikkiin luk yine.
Lorsque la Renarde eut emporté la Chamelle, le Lion se trouva en possession d'un couteau, dit-on.
When the she-Jackal had taken away the she-camel, the Lion got a knife.

²⁶ Verb “to give” is a pan-‘Afar-Saaho verb. The conjugation in sS is characterized occasionally by the presence of palatal w or y: sS *koh aḥayik ané* “I give you”; “he gave” *yohowé* [yoho^wé] whereas in nS the presence of these palatals is regular and the occurrence of w vs. y is a simple conjugational variant: *ohowé/ohoyé* “I gave”.

²⁷ Tee refers to the Lion's cow.

²⁸ In nS the conjunction *kiyah* has an oppositive meaning: “apart from the fact I intend to eat it”.

I, 13.

A. Woo gile af luk suge.

sS. **Ama** sikkiin, af liy tine.

nS. **Amaa** sikkiin lilligi tine.

Ce couteau était aiguisé, dit-on.

This knife was sharp, people said.

I, 14.

A. Wakrii, ‘amayto**h** iddiima geeh.

sS. Wakkari ‘amayto**h** iddim geyte.

nS. Wakari ‘amayto**t** ‘amba geyte.

Quant à la Renarde, elle trouva des gousses de Delonix reclinata, dit-on.

As for the she-Jackal, she got husks of Delonix reclinata, people said.

I, 15.

A. Woo ‘amayto**h** iddiimakaa, morootom ḥabbat luk suge.

sS. Ama ‘amayto**h** iddim**ik** morootom liy sugte.

nS. Ama ‘amayto**t** ‘amba**ako** morootom liy ‘ambalte.

Ces gousses de Delonix reclinata, elle en avait quarante unités, dit-on.

She got forty husks of Delonix reclinata, people said.

I, 16.

A. Woo morootom ḥabbat luk suge wa‘diinay, woo laḥ edde yasguudeemih fayḍihii, lubak gile yeyyee‘eh:

sS. Ama morootom liik **el** sugel, lubak sikkiin yeyyee‘e, gaal**ayto** ed yarḥado yeh.

nS. Ama morootom liik **alle** ‘ambaltelle lubak sikkiin yeyyee‘e, gaal**atto** akah yarḥado yih:

Lorsqu’il eut ces quarante gousses, le Lion, impatient d’égorger cette bête, brandit donc son couteau.

While the she-Jackal had these forty husks, the Lion, eager to slaughter his animal, brandished his knife.

I, 17.

A. – Atu inkitto litho, **a** gile kok addigilleele**kii**, morootom ḥabbat liyo anuuy, tiya yok tiddigillee**k**, tiyat heeliyo, tiya yok toddigillee**k**, tiyat heeliyo, kaak iyye wakri.

sS. – Atu inkitto lito, **ta** sikkiin kok aggidilele**k**, anu morootom ḥabbat liyo, tiya yok tiggidile**mko** tiya baaheliyo, tiya yok tiggidile**mko** tiya baaheliyo, ak te wakkari²⁹.

nS. – Atu inketta lito, **ta** sikkiin kok yaggidileele**kii**, anu morootom ḥabbatiya liyo, tiya yok tiggidile**mko**, tiya baaheliyo, tiya yok tiggidile**mko**, tiya aalle liyo, ak te wakari.

– Toi, tu n’en as qu’un, puisque ce couteau se cassera malgré toi; moi, j’en ai quarante, si celui-ci se casse, je prendrai celui-là, si celui-ci se casse, je prendrai celui-là, dit la Renarde.

– You, you have only one knife but it will break in spite of you; as for me, I got forty, if this one breaks, I will take that one, if that one breaks, I will take another one, said the she-Jackal.

²⁹ Var. tiyo yok taggidile ged.

I, 18.

- A.** – Woo morootom ḥabbat yahḥuy, atu inkitto haysit, kaak iyye lubak.
sS. – Ama morootom ḥabbat yohḥuw, atu tiya beysit, ak ye lubak.
nS. – Ama morootom ḥabbatiya yohḥuw, atu tiya beššit, ak ye lubak.
 – *Donne-moi les quarante, toi, garde celui qui est unique, dit le Lion.*
 – *Give me those forty, you will keep the single one, said the Lion.*

I, 19.

- A.** – Dumah danan faḍdeeh, danan kohḥeeh³⁰ immay, a way kaadu gile koh maaha, morootom gile koh maaha, kaak iyye wakri.
sS. – Awwalah danan gurteh, danan kohḥoe³¹, kaado sikkiin koh maahay, morootom sikkiin koh maahay, ak te wakkari.
nS. – Awwalah zanan faḍdih, zanan kohḥoe, kaado sikkiin koh maahay, morootom sikkiin koh maahay, ak te wakri.
 – *Précédemment, tu as voulu l'âne, à part le fait que je te l'ai donné, maintenant je ne vais pas te donner de couteaux, je ne vais pas te donner quarante couteaux!, dit la Renarde.*
 – *Before you asked for the donkey, despite the fact that I gave it to you, now I won't give you any knives, I will not give you forty knives, said the she-Jackal.*

I, 20.

- A.** – Wonnal yahee waytam, tu malikii, yahḥuy, wallah, yot ḥab, kaak iyye lubak.
sS. – Yoh taḥao faḍdaaḍo, faḍe waytaado lem malekii, yohḥuy, yoh ḥab, ak ye lubak.
nS. – Yoh taḥao faḍdaaḍo, faḍe waytaado lem malekii, yohḥuw, yoh ḥab, ak ye lubak.
 – *Puisqu'il n'y a rien que tu ne puisses me refuser, donne-les moi, par Dieu! Laisse-les moi! dit le Lion.*
 – *Since there is nothing you could refuse to me, give them to me, by Jove! Leave them to me, said the Lion.*

I, 21.

- A.** Morootom ḥabbat kaak yeḥeeh, idḍiimak, woysarra, gileey wakri beeteh.
sS. Morootom ḥabbat akah toḥoe idḍiimik, **amae** sarrah sikkiin wakkari beysitte.
nS. Morootom ḥabbatiya akah toḥoe ‘ambaako, **amaimhi** sarrah wakri iši biššitte³².
Elle lui donna effectivement les quarante unités, les gousses, ensuite, le couteau, la Renarde l'emporta.
Indeed she gave him the forty things, the husks, then, the knife, the she-Jackal took it with her.

I, 22.

- A.** Bennaanim beytay, a way **a** ḥado elle haynakke gurrusnah nan iyyeenih, ‘arwa gorrisen.
sS. Abinnaanim abay, kaado **ta** ḥado el haynakke goronisno yeenih, ‘arwa goronisen.
nS. Abinnaanam abakii, kaado **ta** ḥazo alle haynakke goronišno yeenih, ‘arwa goronišen.
Sur ces entrefaites, se disant qu'ils devaient maintenant chercher un lieu où mettre cette viande, ils cherchèrent des maisons, dit-on.

³⁰ [*koh eḥeeh].

³¹ [*koh oḥoe].

³² Var. *beššitte*. sS *beysitte*.

Meanwhile, thinking that they should find now a place where to keep that meat, they looked for houses, people said.

I, 23.

A. Woo ‘arwa gorrisen wa‘diinaay, lubaakaay nagay tan gablay inkaafa le gee, rob ḥaḍe waytaah waḥ ḥulse wayta gee’yyen.

sS. Ama ‘arwa goronisen **gul**, lubak me‘e gabla inkaf **leyya**³³ gee, rob ḥaḍe waytayya galla‘o sayse waytayya gee³⁴.

nS. Ama ‘arwa goronišen **gedda**, lubak me‘e galba inkaf **leya** geye, rob ḥaḍe waytaya galla‘o sayše waytaya geye.

Lorsqu’il eurent cherché ces maisons, le Lion trouva une bonne grotte à une seule entrée, où la pluie n’entre pas, où le froid ne pénètre pas, dit-on.

Having looked for these houses, the Lion found a good cave with a single entry where the rain didn’t get in, where the cold didn’t get in, people said.

I, 24.

A. Wakriiy affara booha le gable gee, robuuy aysede waytaah, waḥaay ayseede waytaah waḥ ḥulse wayta gee iyyen.

sS. Wakkari le affar ife gabla geyte, rob deese wayta, galla‘o deese waytayya geyte.

nS. Wakari le affar ife le galba, rob kee galla‘o deese waytaya geyte³⁵.

Quant à la Renarde, elle trouva une grotte à quatre entrées, qui n’arrête pas la pluie, qui n’arrête pas le froid, dit-on.

As for the she-Jackal, she found a cave with four entries which didn’t stop the rain, which didn’t stop the cold.

I, 25.

A. – Ya ‘am lubakow, anu gee**hik**, atu maḥa geytee? kaak iyye wakri.

sS. – ‘Ammi lubakow, anu gee**kii**, atu **ae** geyte? ak te wakkari.

nS. – ‘Ammi lubakow, anu gey**ekii**, atu **aim** geyte? ak te wakari.

– *O mon oncle Lion, puisque moi j’ai trouvé, toi, qu’as-tu trouvé? lui dit la Renarde.*

– *O uncle Lion, since I got what I wanted, you, what have you found? said the she-Jackal.*

I, 26.

A. – Anu kaadu me‘e gabla gee hay, iyye lubak.

sS. – Anu kaado me‘e gabla gee, ye lubak.

nS. – Anu kaado me‘e galba geye, ye lubak.

– *Moi aussi, j’ai trouvé une bonne grotte, dit le Lion.*

– *Me too, I got a good cave, said the Lion.*

I, 27.

A. – Abalu wa**ak**, ‘ambaley hay! iyye wakri.

sS. – Ablo liy**ok**, sug! teḍḥe wakkari.

nS. – Ablo liy**kii**, ‘ambal! te wakari.

– *Comme je vais venir la voir, attends donc, dit la Renarde.*

– *Since I come to see it, wait for me there, said the she-Jackal.*

³³ Here sS is influenced by ‘Afar *afa*: *inkafa* “a single door”. [*inki af le-ya: single-door-it has-which], instead of sS *ife(y)* or *iffëy* “door”; nS *ife*. See I, 49.

³⁴ Var. *ink afle rob ḥaḍe wayta galla‘o sayse wayta galba gee*.

³⁵ Or: *rob kee galla‘o saysinniḥeyya geyte*.

I, 28.

A. Lubak gee gablat bossu'yyeh, ossokoottu hee wa'di: "Yah! Faylissama inkaafa le gablaa?" kaak iyye wakri.

sS. Lubak gee gablat boodde, tossokoote **ged**: "Yoh faylissam inkafle gabla!" ak te wakkari.

nS. Lubak geye galbadde muute, basak adde te **gedda**: "Yille faylišsam inkafle galba!" ak te wakri.

Lorsqu'il eut jeté un œil sur la grotte qu'avait trouvée le Lion, et l'ayant trouvé à son goût: – Pouah! Ce que tu me vantes, c'est une grotte à un seule entrée!

After taking a glance to the Lion's cave, and having appreciated it: – Ugh! What you praised to me is a cave with a single entry!

I, 29.

A. – Maḥaay wakrew? A gablat kaadu makeyni haytam faḍḍaa? kaak yeḍḥe'yyen lubak.

sS. – **Ae** wakkari? Ta gablat kaado umaaneh **ae** ed bahto faḍḍaa, ak ye yen lubak.

nS. – Wakkari, **aimiii**? Ta galbadde kaado umaane **aim** adde bahto faḍḍaa, ak yeḍḥe yen lubak.

– Quoi donc, ô Renarde? Quel défaut as-tu encore trouvé à cette grotte? lui dit le Lion.

– What else do you want, O she-Jackal? Which fault have you found to this cave? said the Lion.

I, 30.

A. – Leh tan inkaafak afat daffa kok iyveenik, maa afak aw'etto hay? yeḍḥe'yyen wakri.

sS. – Le ink afad dif kok yeenimko **ae** abe litoo, awli afak³⁶ aw'e lito? teḍḥe yen wakkari.

nS. – Inkaafa leyadde dif kok yeenimko, **aim** abto lito awlahi ifeeko taw'o lito? teḍḥe yen wakri.

– Si quelqu'un se poste devant l'unique entrée, par où sortiras-tu? dit la Renarde.

– If someone stands in front of the single entry, how will you escape? said the she-Jackal

I, 31.

A. Ahak yeyse araḥaay geyte, yuybullu heey! kaak iyye lubak.

sS. **Taeko** yayse araḥ geytemko, yo uybulluy, ak ye lubak.

nS. **Taemko** yaššarah³⁷ geytemko, yuybulluy, ak ye lubak.

– Quel endroit meilleur que celui-ci as-tu trouvé? Montre-le moi, dit le Lion.

– What better place than this one have you found? Show it to me, said the Lion.

I, 32.

A/sS/nS. Marḥaba! iyye wakri/te wakkari/te wakri.

– Volontiers, dit la Renarde.

– With pleasure, said the she-Jackal.

³⁶ Var. awlaako.

³⁷ [*yašše arah].

I, 33.

A. Kay affaraafa³⁸ le gablah fan yufkuneenih iyyen.

sS. Tee affaraafle gablah fanah yeden.

nS. Te affara ifele galba fanah yeden.

Ils se dirigèrent vers sa grotte à quatre entrées, dit-on.

They made their way towards her cave with four entries, people said.

I, 34.

A. – A afak yot boositeenik akaafak aw‘eyyoooh, woo afak yot boositeenik, taafak, too afak, kaadu wottaafak³⁹ aw‘eyyom maa tablaa ? yedhe-yyen wakri.

sS. – Ta afko yod boodenimko, to afko aw‘eliyo, to afko yod boodenimko, ta afko, to afko, kaado tama afko aw ‘eliyom **ma** table? **ak** te wakkari.

nS. – Taa afko yedde muenimko, to afko aw‘eliyo, to afko yedde muenimko, ta afko, to afko, kaado tama afko aw‘eliyom **mi** table? **akko** te wakari.

– Si l’on me guette de cette entrée-ci, je sortirai par ce trou-là, si l’on me guette de cette entrée-ci ou de cette entrée-là, ne vois-tu pas aussi que je pourrai sortir par ce trou tout là-bas? dit la Renarde.

– If somebody waylays me from this entry, I will go out through that hole, if somebody waylays me from this or that entry, don’t you see that I will be able to escape through that hole over there ?said the she-Jackal.

I, 35.

A. [*the story-teller*] – Wakrih ayra taadigeeni?

sS. – Wakkarih siiho taadigeeni?

nS. – Wakarit siiho taadigiini?

– Connaissez-vous la malice de la Renarde?

– Do you know the she-Jackal’s trickiness?

I, 36.

A. [*the audience*] – Ma naadigaay gabbatenno.

sS. – **Ma** naadigey a‘ikkine lino.

nS. – **Mi** naadigeek(i) na‘akkano kinno.

– Nous ne savons pas mais nous essaierons.

– We do not know but we will try.

I, 37.

A. Wakri kaat abah yan ayra inti-ḍeera kaa bahsissaah, isih geyaamak elle wakri geyaamah, bakersimak raa‘a lubak kee wakriiy inkayrat kaa badsa.

sS. Wakkari kaad abta dudsiiini inti-ḍeḍḍan kaa bahsiisa, iseh ellemko wakkari lemih lahuutak raa‘a, wakkari le inki dudsiiinod kaa taylayle.

nS. Wakari ak abta dudsiiini inti-ḍeḍḍan kaa bahšiiša, išeh lemko wakari lemih bakarak raa‘a, wakari dudšiiinodde kaa taylaye⁴⁰.

La ruse qu’emploie la Renarde: elle excite l’envie du Lion et, avec ce qu’il possède, voulant ce que la Renarde a, le Lion est là à convoiter, et la Renarde l’égare par cette seule ruse.

³⁸ [*affara afa].

³⁹ [*wotti afa].

⁴⁰ [tayla^ve].

Here is the she-Jackal's trick: she excites the Lion's envy, and while he has got more, he wants what the she-Jackal got, the Lion covets what she has, and the she-Jackal cheats him with this trick alone.

I, 38.

A. A afak ḥuleenik too afak ka'teyyok wadirihiiy, ḥibaara faḍḍintam kinnim, kassa lubak: – Sa'litawuy, tonna tekkek gabah yoo sangelissah tanimmay, anu gee gabla atu beetay, kaarah ka 'am lubaakah ḥab koo hay, yeḍḥe yen lubak.

sS. Ta afko⁴¹ saenimko to afko ka'ite liyokkah yeedegemko sarrah kat yaanam faḍḍitmtam kinam yeedege lubak: – Ya 'as sa'alow, ama gina tekkemko teedegēh, yi hambareerisa tanekii, anu gee gabla atu beysit, ku arah ku 'ammi lubakah akah ḥab, yeḍḥe yen lubak.

ns. To afko saenimko to afko aw'o kudo kinni, yeedegem leddelle kaṭ yaanam faḍḍitmtam kinam yeedege lubak: – Ya 'asa sa'alow ama gina tekkemko teedegih, yi hambareerisak tanekiiy, anu geye galba atu biššit, iši galba ku abba-ša'alah ḥab, yeḍḥe lubak.

Si on entre par cette ouverture, comme après je pourrai filer par cette autre, la prudence est requise, pensa le lion: – Mon gentil neveu, puisqu'il en est ainsi, outre que tu as excité exprès mon envie, prends, toi, la grotte que, moi, j'ai trouvée, cède ta place à ton oncle, dit le Lion.

If someone enter this way, since after I will be able to escape by that one, prudence is required, thought the Lion: – My gentle nephew, since that is the case, apart that you excited my envy on purpose, take the cave that I found and give up your place to your uncle, said the Lion.

I, 39.

A. – May? ya 'am lubak, aasaanim inkih yot ḥab ittak, makinam kot ḥaboo hay yeḍḥe wakri.

sS. – Ae? 'ammi lubakow, aysinnaananim inkoh yoh ḥab taḍḥem ayḍḍo lem⁴² koh ḥabo? teḍḥe wakkari.

nS. – Aimii? abba lubakow ašinnaanim onkoh yoh ḥaba taanam ayḍḍa lem šinah ḥabo, teḍḥe wakri.

– Quoi donc, ô Oncle Lion? puisque tu m'as pris tout ce que j'avais de meilleur, comment pourrais-je te laisser quelque chose? dit la Renarde.

– What do you want, O uncle Lion? since you already took from me the best I had, how could I leave you anything else, said the she-Jackal?

I, 40.

A. – Maḥaa hay 'unḍa num kooy, ku 'ammi yoo hinnaa yeḍḥe-yyen lubak.

sS. – Ae hay, atu 'inḍa tiya, anu ku 'ammi ma kiyo? yeḍḥe yen lubak.

nS. – Aimih⁴³ atu 'inḍašša mi kito? Kobbahi⁴⁴ ša'al mi kiyoó? yeḍḥe yen lubak.

– Hé! Quoi! Toi, tu es petit, et ne suis-je pas ton oncle? lui dit le Lion, dit-on.

– Well! You are small, and am I not your uncle? said the Lion, people said.

⁴¹ For *ta afā-ko "that door", afā var. of sS ifēy "door" (nS next parag. ifēe, see Vergari, 2003: 98).

⁴² [*ae idḍa lem].

⁴³ The final stress is the interrogative form.

⁴⁴ *Ku abba-hí.

I, 41.

A. – Woysa wakri danittem heeleeh “aadigak woysa...bet hay” yedhe-yyen.

sS. – **Amae sarrah** wakkari beysittamah timmigideh “maadigek **taysarra**⁴⁵ beysit, ak te wakkari, kok faḍak sugem **ta** gina kinni”.

nS. – **Amaimik leddelle** wakari biššitaššah timmingidih “**taimik leddelle**, “biššita, ak te wakari, ‘ambalem **amaim** kinni”.

Après, la Renarde faisant celle qui veut conserver: “Je ne sais pas, et puis... prends-la donc”, dit-elle, dit-on.

After that, the she-Jackal pretending she wanted to keep her cave: “I do not know...take it then, said she, people said, since it is what you want from me”.

I, 42.

A. Ala luk gablat hullu-yyeeh, addak kakkuḥḥu isit heeh iyyen, wakri.

sS. Gaalayto lih gablad sayse addaako me‘eetih ised alifte yen, wakkari.

nS. Gaalatto lih galbadde orobtih addaako me‘e ginah išedde alifte.

Ayant fait entrer la chamelle dans la grotte, la renarde se calfeutra dedans, dit-on.

After putting the she-camel in the grotto, the she-Jackal made herself snug inside, people said.

I, 43.

A. Lubak is kee ‘amaytoḥ idḍimaa kee danan luk affaraafa le gablat raa‘eeh iyyen.

sS. Lubak isee kee ‘amaytoḥ idim kee danan lih affar afle gablad raa‘e.

nS. Lubak išee kee ‘amaytot ‘ambaa kee zanan lih affara ifele galbadde raa‘e.

Le Lion, lui, et ses gousses de Delonix et son âne, s’installa dans la grotte à quatre entrées, dit-on.

As for the Lion and his pods of Delonix and his donkey, he installed himself in the cave with four entries.

I, 44.

A. Wakri isaala biḍaadḍa heeh, woo wa‘diik yussuguudeeh, addal ḥado faḥ haysite-yyen.

sS. Wakkari isi gaalayto toḍoweh ama gulko turḥude, addal isi ḥado tenne.

nS. Wakari iši gaalatto tuḍḍih ama waḳteeko turḥude, addalle iši ḥazo tennee.

La Renarde entrava sa chamelle, puis l’égorgea, et mit la viande à bouillir, dit-on.

The she-Jackal hobbled the she-camel then she slaughtered her and boiled the meat, people said.

I, 45.

A. Lubaakah ‘amaytoḥ idḍimi danan kirkirre kaah ḥineeh, asguudeh aḍḥuk, katlal dananak beeyi hannaamih tii burukku-yyyah, kirkirak ḍiineh iyyen.

sS. Lubak ‘amaytoḥ idḍimid danan ḥukuukak ḍiine, arḥudik yane **yeh**, danan gurdubal beynaanti kartum ye, tiyaako tiyad raa‘ak, ama morootom gaba kalla ak isam **fanah** ḥukuukak ḍiine.

nS. Lubak ‘amaytot ‘amba zananalle ḥukuukak ḍiine, arḥudiyuk ane **yih**, zanan gurgumalle beynanti kartum ye, tiyi aggidilinnaan **gedda** tiya baahak, ama morootom gaba kalandan alle ḥukuukak ḍiine.

⁴⁵ *tae sarra.

Quant au Lion, les gousses de Delonix refusaient de lui couper l'âne alors qu'il comptait l'égorger. Toutes celles qu'il appliquait sur la gorge de l'âne se cassaient. Dans l'intention de couper il s'évertua avec quarante d'entre elles, jusqu'à la nuit, dit-on.

As for the Lion the pods of Delonix refused to cut the donkey as he wanted to slaughter it. Each of them he pressed on the donkey's throat but broke, while he wanted to kill it, he tried in vain until night with forty of them, people said.

I, 46.

A. Liggak ma ḥattiminnay tohut eddaanih⁴⁶, bar ḍokot 'ida rob, kaḍḍa rob keenit yemeete-yyen.

sS. Dab'oko **ma** ḥattiminna, **amaed aneh**, bar 'afuura yaggife mango rob tenat yemeete.

nS. Zab'oko **mi** ḥattiminna, **amaimidde**⁴⁷ anih, bar 'afuura yagdife mango rob tenadde yemeete.

Il dut se passer de dîner, et là-dessus une pluie à noyer les geckos, une grande pluie tomba sur eux, dit-on.

He had to do without dinner, and then a rain that could drown the wall geckos, a big rain fell on them, people said.

I, 47.

A. Wakri aliffi hee gablak addal wah ma yablaay rob ma yablaay, asaalah kikiḥ-iyah, lubaakah waahaḥ ḍiineeh, roobul ḍiineeh, affaraafat inkih kaal tumfuḍḍukeeh, dano kaa tibbiḍeeh, adaadareh, liggeeh suge-yyen.

sS. Wakkari alifteh tane gablah addat galla'o ma table, rob **ma** tabley, asalah rabta, lubakah galla'o akah maysadaynna, rob akah maysadaynnay⁴⁸, affar afko inkoh **el** yufrure aḍaḍak laḥuusutak daba'**eh** ḍiine.

nS. Wakari aliftih tane galbahi addadde, galla'o **mi** table, rob **mi** table, ásalah kimih aḍḥi ḍinte, lubakah galla'o akah mi deysinna, rob akah **mi** deysinna, affar ifeeko onkoh **alle** yufrure aok⁴⁹ araridak zaba'**ih** ḍiine.

La Renarde au fond de sa grotte ne voit pas la pluie, elle ne voit pas le froid, elle n'arrête pas de rire. Le Lion mourait de froid, mourait de pluie, elle s'engouffrait sur lui par les quatre orifices, le froid le saisissant, il souffrit terriblement, il dut se passer de dîner, dit-on.

From the back of her cave, the she-Jackal does not see the rain, she does not feel the cold, she can't stop laughing. The Lion was dying of cold, it rushed on him through the four entries, the cold caught him, and he suffered dreadfully, he had to do without dinner.

⁴⁶ [*edde anih].

⁴⁷ amaim edde.

⁴⁸ -y of punctuation.

⁴⁹ Var. of aḍḥuk.

I, 48.

- A.** Waḥ nabaam kaak ‘ansarse wa‘di, ‘aḍgabbii kee ibattek inkih aḍaaḍitah wa‘di, wakrig gabla fan geḍe-yyen.
- sS.** Galla‘o guubul **ed** ḥaffusse, ‘aḍwaa kee ibaabo kakah **ed** isse **gul**, wakkarih gabla fan yede.
- nS.** Galla‘o gubud **adde** duddubusse, ‘aḍiḍ kee laakuk kaḱkaḱ **adde** išše **gedda**, wakarit galba fan yede.
Quand il fut transi de froid, quand il se mit à claquer des dents et à trembler de tous ses membres, il s’en fut à la grotte de la Renarde, dit-on.
Chilled with cold, with his teeth chattering, shaking all over, he went to the she-Jackal’s cave.

I, 49.

- A.** Lubak afiḍḍikol sollu-yyeh: – Wakrew yi sa‘alitaw kee! afa yoh fak, waḥ yoh ‘idehiik, afa yoh fak, nabam kaah deeriteh, nabam kaak ‘iiy-yeeh immay wakri afa kaah ma faka, addal hawweerisaamaksah kaa lih ma yaaba-yyen.
- sS.** Lubak amarkeeko⁵⁰ baabal solla ye: – Wakkari yi ‘asa sa‘alow, baab yoh fak, galla‘o yo tiggifek, iffey yoh fak, mangom tee ḍaa‘ime, mangom **ed** deereh anik, wakkari awlaako afa akah fakta, addal ‘ii tam maḍigeey, akkeeko kaa lih ma waanissa.
- nS.** Lubak amarkeeko baaballe daw ye: – Wakari yi ša‘alawoo, afa yoh fak, galla‘o yoo tigdifekii, afa yoh fak, mangom tee ḍaa‘ime, mangom **adde** zeere anuk, wakari awlaako afa akah fakta, addalle waḍiki‘iššam maḍigi, akkeeko kaa lih ziḍḍimtam.
Le Lion, sur le seuil, dit: – O Renarde ! Ma gentille nièce! Holà ! Ouvre-moi ta porte! Puisque le froid me tue, ouvre-moi ta porte! Il la suppliait instamment de l’aider, mais malgré ses appels au secours, la Renarde ne lui ouvrait pas sa porte, mis à part ses jappements, elle refusait de lui parler, dit-on.
From the door-step, the Lion said: – O she-Jackal, My gentle niece! Hallo! Open your door to me! Since the cold is killing me, open your door to me! He implored her urgently to help him, but in spite of his calls for help, the she-Jackal did not open him her door, apart from the calls for help, she refused to speak to him, people said.

I, 50.

- A.** Saaku baaḍo maahisse wa‘di, ḍongolah ma yanak, lubak rabennaa geḍee-yyeeh, wakri afa ḥaalih fakka heeh, bafullu yeh kaah suge-yyen lubak.
- sS.** Ḍaḥiine baaḍo maḥte **gul**, andaḥa **ma** yanek, lubak rabee yedee? **teh**, wakkari bab ‘inḍaa ḥeelih faak isse, lubak kafeh **teh** suge.
- nS.** Ḍaḥiine baaḍo maḥte **gedda**, wašamo waak **mi** yanekii, lubak rabe yede? **tih**, wakari bab ‘inḍaati ginah fakte, lubak kafih akah ‘ambale.
Lorsque le matin se leva, comme il n’y avait aucun bruit, elle se demanda: le Lion est-il mort ou s’en est-il allé?, et la Renarde ouvrit doucement la porte. Le Lion, raide mort, se trouvait devant elle, dit-on.

⁵⁰ [*ama rike-ko].

When morning rose, since everything was silent, she thought: Is the Lion dead or has he gone?, and the she-Jackal opened quietly the door. The dead Lion was in front of her, people said.

I, 51.

A. Rabem gitti kaak hee wa‘di, galbo kaak kalla haasiteeh, kay ɣado edde gablat werri haysiteeh, galbo kaak ɗinkiyitti heeh yani wa‘di, dalhi ɣadok san beyak ɗikki kaal iyyeh: – Wakrew ɣadok yoo ɗa‘misay, yeɗhe-yyen.

sS. Rabem sellisse **ged**, anada ak tesse‘e, kaa ɣado gablal hirgit isite, anada inkitta, isite ged, dalhi ɣado urel solla teel ye: – Wakkari ɣadok yi ɗa‘amis, yeɗhe yen.

nS. Rabem teedege **gedda**, anada ak tesse‘e, kaa ɣazo galbadde hirgit iŝitte, ɗarbat tekeye⁵¹ gedda, nanguli ɣazo urelle daw teelle ye: – Wakarii ɣazoko, yi ɗa‘amiŝ, yeɗhe yen.

Lorsqu’elle se fut assurée qu’il était bien mort, elle le dépeça, elle mit sa peau à l’intérieur de sa grotte. Lorsque la peau eut été mise à sécher, l’Hyène, attirée par l’odeur de la viande, s’en vint: – O Renarde, fais-moi goûter de cette viande, dit-elle, dit-on.

After making sure that he was dead, she cut up his skin and put it inside her cave. After she put the skin to dry, the Hyena attracted by the flesh smell came: – O she-Jackal, let me taste this meat, said she⁵², people said.

I, 52.

A. Wakri afat kaah gareeh, ɣaalih kaa lih yaabak: – Us! tibbi ɗiɣ! ya ‘am lubak ɗiinit yanik, net mugsin iyyeh, ɣadok dagokke kaak aɗuwwu heeh, ayka amakkek daffey hay tal‘amma kok aabbelek, wonnah ufkunay akum, yeɗhe yen wakri.

sS. Wakkari afad akah garayte, ‘inɗa ɣeelih kaa kih waanisse: – Us! tibbi ɗeɣ! ya ‘ammi lubak ɗiinid yanek, nod mugusin, ɣadoko ‘unɗurke akah toɣowe: – tamarkeeko dife(y)ay maɣato kok yaabbeek, tuu lal ufkunay bet, teɗhe yen wakkari.

nS. Wakari afadde akah garayte, ‘inɗaa tih kaa lih ziɗɗimte: – Us! sik eɗeɣ! ya abba lubak ɗiinak yane, nedde mugsin, ɣazoko ‘inɗahikke akah toɣoih tamakkeeko difey, maɣatto kok yaabbekii, ama ulalle wajheeko gaɣtih bet, teɗhe yen.

La Renarde vint à sa rencontre sur le seuil, en lui parlant doucement: – Chut! Tais-toi! Mon oncle Lion est endormi, ne nous le réveille pas! dit-elle. Lui en ayant servi un peu: – Dis donc, assieds-toi par là car s’il entend ta mastication... tourne-toi comme ça et mange, dit la Renarde.

The she-Jackal came to meet him on the door-step, and speaking to him gently: – Hush! Shut up! My uncle Lion is asleep, do not wake him up! said she. Serving him a bit of the meat: – Look here seat over there because if he hears you chewing... turn yourself that side and eat, said the she-Jackal.

I, 53.

A. – Me‘e hay dalhi.

sS. – Me‘e ye dalhi.

nS. – Me‘e ye nanguli⁵³.

⁵¹ Verb sS (imp. 2 sg.) *ikéy*, pl. *eké(y)a*; nS *ekéya*, pl. *ekeyaanta* “to put to dry on the soil”.

⁵² Hyena is lexically a feminine.

⁵³ Here, nS *nangula* (var. *yangula*) “spotted-hyena” is not differentiated from “stripped-hyena”, although the latter is known as *šulettá*, and the first as *bédál* (pl. *bédol*).

- *Bien, dit l’Hyène.*
- *It’s ok, said the Hyena.*

I, 54.

- A.** Too ḥado yattakammeeh yan wa‘di, lubaakak kale galboy kaftek geera dalḥuk geerat aḍuwwu heeh, kaḍdam edde ḍongollu-yyeeh, ḥaḍḍat lubak galbo nabaam diseeh: – Akkee! ya ‘am lubak akkee!, yeḍḥe yen wakri.
- sS.** **Ama** ḥado bettisiitah, lubakah kalteḥ tane anada kaftē taneyya sarra dalḥi sarrad oḍoyyiisse, mangom **ed** andaḥteḥ, ḥoḍḍad ‘aadaako kaa tibbiḍeh, waḍḥo mangom kaad tootoke: – Kee ‘ammi lubakow!, teḍḥe yen wakkari.
- nS.** **Amaa** ḥazo beetak, lubakko **kaltih** yane qarbat kaftih taneyahi geera nanguli geradde akko tuḍuwe, mangom aad(e) andaḥtiḥ iloh ‘aazaako, waḍḥo mangom **adde** tootoke: – Kee! ‘ammi lubakow! teḍḥe yen wakari.
- Pendant qu’elle mangeait, il attacha la peau séchée du Lion à la queue de l’Hyène, et faisant un grand bruit, il frappa à toute force la peau du Lion avec un bâton: – Debout, mon oncle ! Debout, dit la Renarde, dit-on.*
- While she was eating, he attached the dry skin of the Lion to the Hyena’s tail, and making a lot of noise, he stroke violently the Lion’s skin with a stick: – Get up, my uncle! Get up, said the she-Jackal, people said.*

I, 55.

- A.** Karḥit yan dalḥuuy ḍiinit yani kaak iyyes suge wakrim makeyni, gabah yot ugsak me‘ee iyyeh, wariggiteh iyyen.
- sS.** Garḥed yane dalḥuk, ḍinid yane ak **teḥ** sugte wakkarim makoyta, aadigeh yod ugussek “yod ugutemko me‘e”? yeh wariggite.
- nS.** Garḥedde yane nangulak, ḍiinidde yane, ak **tih** ‘ambalte wakarit maylaleyti, aadigih yedde ugusse yedde ugutemko me‘e? **yih** berrige.
- Surprise, l’Hyène, à qui la Renarde avait prétendu malignement qu’il dormait, se demanda: Est-ce bon pour moi qu’il le réveille exprès?, et elle prit peur, dit-on.*
- Quite surprised, the Hyena to whom the Jackal had asserted malignantly that he was sleeping, wondered: Is it good for me if she wakes him intentionally? And she became frightened, people said.*

I, 56.

- A.** Ka‘te wa‘di, geera kaak yoḍee galbo galabak rade kaak ḥinteeh, woysa tama galbo kakaw kaak itteeh.
- sS.** Ka‘ite **ged**, sarrad ak yoḍoweh yane waḍḥi akah rade ḥine, **amae** sarra ama waḍḥi kakaw kaad ye.
- nS.** Tire **gedda**, geeradde ak teḍih tane waḍḥi akah rado ḥine, **amaimih** sarrah ama waḍḥi kakaw **adde** ye.
- Lorsqu’elle eut sauté sur ses pattes, la peau attachée à sa queue refusa de se détacher de son corps, et en plus cette peau faisant vlan! vlan!*
- Jumping on her legs, the skin attached to her tail refused to come off her body, and besides this skin was making bang! bang!*

I, 57.

A. Abe wariggah wadirih wagga ma haannaay, fooḥah fan kaḍdam yardeh yan wa‘di, wakri isi gabla afak kaak ḍongoleeh: “Keey keey! koo ḥabtam hinnak boolok rad, keey keey! koo ḥabtam hinnak boolok rad”, kaak yeḍhe yen.

sS. Abe wariggah sabbatah, sarral kuluḥ minna, nefil mangom yerde yen, wakkari isi gablak afko akah andaḥte: – Keey keey! koo ḥabtam hinnak, boolko rad, koo ḥabtam hinnak, boolok raad, kee kee! ko ḥabtam **ma** kiiy ki, boolok rad ak teḍhe yen.

nS. Abe berriiḡih, sarralle kuluḥ minna, wajḥi gabolle mangom yerde gedda, wakkari iṣi galbaḥi afko akah andaḥte: – Kee kee! ko ḥabtam **mi** hin kii, bolko rad, ko ḥabtam **mi** hin kii, ak teḍhe yen.

Avec la peur qu’elle avait, sans prendre garde, lorsqu’elle se mit à courir droit devant elle, la Renarde, du seuil de sa grotte, l’appela: – Hé! Hé! Puisqu’il ne te laissera pas, jette-toi dans le ravin! Hé! Hé! Puisqu’il ne te laissera pas, jette-toi dans le ravin! dit-elle, dit-on.

Frightened, without notice, when she began to run straight ahead, the she-Jackal, from the door-step of his grotto called her: – Hi! There! Since he won’t leave you, jump into the ravine! Hi! There! Since he won’t leave you, jump into the ravine!, said she, people said.

I, 58.

A. Taadige dalḥi wariggite wa‘di, hayyek me‘e iyyeh, galbo geerat edde luk boolok amok fiḍḍi-yyeh, ḍiironul butukka ye iyyen.

sS. **Ama** dalḥi hankabite, “me‘e hay” **yeh**, waḍḥo geeraḍ lik, bolaamoko⁵⁴ ka‘ite, ḍiidoḍul butukka ye⁵⁵.

nS. **Amaa** nanguli berriige, “me‘e hay” **yih**, waḍḥo geeraḍde leya lih, bolot amoko tire, diirorulle yiggidile ye.

Ladite Hyène était terrorisée, cela vaut mieux, se dit-elle, et avec la peau au bout de la queue elle se jeta du haut du précipice, et elle se cassa le dos, dit-on.

The Hyena was terrorized, that is the best thing to do, she thought, and with the skin at the end of her tail, she jumped from the top of the ravine and she broke her back, people said.

I, 59.

A. Dalḥi ḍiiron ullullu too saakuk luk raa‘e-yyen.

sS. Dalḥi ḍiidoḍ ullullu **ama** daḥiineeko lih raa‘e.

nS. Nanguli diirortii gudda **amaa** maḥko lih raa‘e.

Depuis ce jour, l’Hyène a l’échine courbée, dit-on.

Since that very day, the Hyena got a bent backbone, people said.

⁵⁴ [*boloh amoko].

⁵⁵ Or *butuk* ye. The informant considers *butuk* as « more descriptive » than *iggil*: ‘aadal yiggidile.



II. TITLE.

sS. Wakkarii kee kaakoyta.

nS. Wakarii kee kaakotta.

La Renarde et le Corbeau.

The she-Jackal and the Crow.

II. 1.

sS. Basoh, wakkari ala liy tine, yen.

nS. Kalḥa wakari ala liy tine, yen.

Jadis, la Renarde avait des chèvres, dit-on.

Long ago, the she-Jackal had goats, people said.

II. 2.

sS. Kaakoyti, ala ḍalta **gul**, ḍaylik arrob ak beeta yine.

nS. Kaakotti ḍalta **gedda** ḍaylko anrab akko beetak yine.

Le Corbeau, quand elles mettaient bas, mangeait les langues des cabris.

The Crow when they delivered used to eat their kids' tongues.

II. 3.

sS. Kamaan, wakkari ḥanel ḥabtal, kaakoyti ḥanak beetam kee ḥaḍamak kii yine.

nS. Waa ḥan alle ḥabtalle ḥanak yaa‘ubem kee ḥaḍam akkuk yine.

Egalement, quant au lait que la Renarde laissait, le Corbeau le buvait ou le renversait.

Also, concerning the milk left by the she-Jackal the Crow used to drink it or to spill it.

II. 4.

sS. Yanna wakkari kaakoyti **aek** abamih sabbatah kaa tin‘ibeh tine.

nS. Yanna wakari kaakotti **amaimik** abamhi sabbatah kaa tin‘ibeh tine.

Tante Renarde, à cause de ce que le Corbeau faisait, se fâcha contre lui.

Aunt Jackal for that reason got angry with him.

II. 5.

sS. Aa gul⁵⁶, garhed, kaa geyto ilaala tinemko, lelle‘ko tiyah garhed kaa geyteh, kaa tibbiḍe.

nS. Manda gahredde kaa geyto asibbiḍi tinemko, uli maḥ gahredde kaa geytih, kaa tibbiḍe.

A tout moment, comme elle l’attendait pour le prendre par surprise, un jour, l’ayant eu par surprise, elle s’en saisit.

While she was constantly waiting to catch him doing it, one day, having caught him, she seized him.

II. 6.

sS. El kaa tibbiḍel, kaa esserte:

nS. Alle kaa tibbidelle, kaa esserte:

En saisissant le Corbeau, elle lui demanda:

Having seized the Crow, she asked:

⁵⁶ Aa gul, litt. this moment: “when”, “at any time”. The nS *manda* shares an etymological link with Beja *minda* “moment”.

II. 7.

sS. – **Ae** umaanimko, atu ni‘ibtoḥ koh umam? ak te.

nS. – **Aimii** ummaanimko, atu ni‘ibtom, waa koh umam, ak te.

Quelle est de toute chose, celle que tu détestes le plus?, dit-elle [la Renarde].

Above all things, what do you hate most, said she [the she-Jackal]?

II. 8.

sS. Kaakoyti ak ye: – Anu ni‘ibyoh yoyyah umam buh⁵⁷ le ifad yi hayteh bolko yi ‘iddam kinni.

nS. Kaakotti alle yedebbee: – Anu ni‘ibyoy yettah umam buhute gaybedde yi haytih boloko yi‘iddam kinni ak ye.

Le Corbeau lui dit: – Moi, ce que je déteste le plus est que tu me jettes du haut de la falaise dans le récipient où tu m’a mis, où reste du lait.

The Crow said to her: – As for me what I hate most is that you throw me from the top of the cliff in the vessel where you put me and where is still some milk.

II. 9.

sS. Yanna wakkari rumma yekkeleenih, ifad haenih bolko kaa ‘iden kaakoyta.

nS. Yanna wakari rumma tekkelih⁵⁸ gaybedde kaa haytih boloko kaa ‘idde.

Tante Renarde pensant qu’il disait vrai, l’ayant mis dans un récipient, jeta le Corbeau du haut de la falaise.

Aunt Jackal thinking that he had said the truth, after putting him in the milk-vessel threw the Crow from the top of the cliff.

II. 10.

sS. Ifi ḍaal radeh akah fakkite **gul**.

nS. Gaybi ḍaalle radih akah fakkite **gedda**.

Le récipient tomba sur les pierres où il s’ouvrit.

The vessel fell on the stones and opened up.

II. 11.

sS. Kaak! Kaak! yeh, ‘aranal yedeh yisillime, kaakoyti.

nS. Kaak! Kaak! yih, ‘aranelle yedih yisillime, kaakotti.

Le Corbeau s’envola au ciel en croassant et s’y réfugia.

The Crow cawing flew to the sky where he took refuge.

⁵⁷ *Buh* “brown (see v. *buhut*) milk deposit found in the *ifa*”: *ifi buh baaha* “the milk vessel is dirty.”

⁵⁸ *sS* plural *yekkeleenih* is used as a polite form, not in *nS* *tekkelih*.



III. Title.

sS. Dummuu kee ‘anḍaawa.

nS. Dummuu kee furta⁵⁹.

Le Chat et la Souris.

The Cat and the Mouse.

III. 1.

sS. Dummuu kee ‘anḍaawa fanad gi‘a maraa tine.

nS. Dummuu kee furtat fantadde gi‘a maraa⁶⁰ tine.

Il y avait depuis bien longtemps dispute entre le Chat et la Souris.

For long there was a dispute between the Cat and the Mouse.

III. 2.

sS. Dummu ‘anḍaawa beeta tine⁶¹.

nS. Dummu furta beeta tine.

Le Chat mangeait la Souris.

The Cat used to eat the Mouse.

III. 3.

sS. Inkinnah ḥadol ak raddeh, ḥabaa **ma** tine.

nS. Tee ḥazo liba‘addih⁶² ḥabaa **mi** tine.

Il avait coutume de ne se jeter que sur cette viande, il ne la laissait pas.

He was accustomed to eat only that meat, he did not leave it.

III. 4.

sS. Goronisa tine tee bettaggidah.

nS. Bettandan goroniša tine.

Il la cherchait pour la manger.

He looked for her to eat her.

III. 5.

sS. Dummu ‘anḍaawa **el** geytal tabbiḍe **el** digiraa tine bettaamko basol.

nS. Dummu furtalle **alle** ‘ataba tine **alle** geynanille bettamak afti gabolle.

Lorsque le Chat attrapait la Souris, c’était pour jouer avec avant de la manger.

When the Cat caught the Mouse, he played with her before eating her.

III. 6.

sS. Tabbiḍe **gul** kee ḍiḍiyta **gul** ak kii tine.

nS. Tabbiḍe **geddaa** kee ḥaddigiišša **gedda** ak, kii tine.

Tantôt il l’attrape, tantôt il la laisse partir, il lui faisait ainsi.

One time he catches her, another time he leaves her, he used to do so.

⁵⁹ Also nS ‘anzawa. As with furta, the two nouns make no distinction between mouse and rat.

⁶⁰ Final length [marā] is intensive: for a long time. Without intensivity the nS “Concomitant” opposes masc. –ak (máarak yiné) and fem. már-a tiné (Morin 2003: 138).

⁶¹ With a masculine subject: beetak yine.

⁶² *Liba‘addi “being accustomed”, from lubbi “heart” and ‘aad “custom”. Vergari (2003: 124) indicates nS lab‘aade “to become accustomed”. In the folk-tale vowel [i] occurs in nS: masc. lib‘aade; (f.) lib‘adde. The sS equivalent being lab‘aade; (f.) lab‘adde.

III. 7.

sS. ‘Anḍaawa dummu tee ḍiḍiyta **gul** kuda tine, kudinnaan hiddal **ed** kataytah abbiḍi tine.

nS. Furta dummu te ḥaddigiışšiinan **wakṭe** kuda tine, kudinnaan wakṭe **adde** tanḍebidiḥ abbiḍi tine.

La Souris, que le Chat laissait partir, s'enfuyait, à chaque fuite, l'ayant poursuivie, il la saisissait.

The Mouse that the Cat let go, runned away, each time, he pursued her and caught her again.

III. 8.

sS. **Amae** isaa⁶³ tine tinemko beeta tine.

nS. **Amaayim** iša tinemko beeta tine.

Après avoir fait longtemps comme ça, il la mangeait.

After having done so for a long time, he ate her.

III. 9.

sS. Dummu ‘anḍaawal aba tine digir beetek**kah**.

nS. Dummu furtalle aba tine ‘atab beetinniḥi⁶⁴.

Le Chat jouait ainsi avec la Souris avant de la manger.

The Cat used to play with the Mouse before eating her.

III. 10.

sS. Missila ra‘e ḥaylaalii kee ḥaylamali fanad.

nS. Missilah ra‘e ḥaylale tiyaa kee ḥaylahin tiyahi fanad**de**.

Il existe un proverbe à propos du fort et du faible.

There is a proverb concerning the strong and the weak.

III. 11.

sS. Dummu digirih lem, ‘anḍaawa rabah le yaanah.

nS. Dummulle ‘atab kinnam furtalle rabi kinni yaanah.

Ce qui est jeu pour le Chat signifie la mort pour la Souris.

What is a play for the Cat means the death for the Mouse.

III. 12.

sS. Abaa yeneenimko dummu kee ‘anḍaawa wagaraanam guren.

nS. Amae aba yiniinimko dummu kee furta ‘irḳe abanam faḍen.

Après avoir fait ainsi, le Chat et la Souris cherchèrent à pactiser.

After having done so, the Cat and the Mouse looked for peace.

III. 13.

sS. “Wagaaraggid**ah** waasiibo abnoy” yeḍḥen yen.

nS. “‘Irḳe yakko waasibo abno” yeḍḥen yen.

“Pour pactiser, faisons alliance”, dirent-ils, dit-on.

“In order to make peace, let us arrange a marriage”, said they, people said.

⁶³ Intensive long vowel “doing much”.

⁶⁴ Negative 3 p. s. of the perfect of verb *beet* “eat”: before eating.

III. 14.

sS. Waasibo⁶⁵ aboona yewweefegen.

nS. Waasibo aboona yewweefekin

Ils s’accordèrent pour s’allier par mariage.

They agreed to make an alliance through marriage.

III. 15.

sS. ‘Andaawa baḍa taḥao dummu mar‘asitto.

nS. Furta baḍa taḥao dummu mar‘išitto.

Que la Souris donne sa fille pour que le Chat l’épouse.

Let the Mouse give her daughter so that the Cat marries her.

III. 16.

sS. Mar‘a takko bar yeedegen.

nS. Mar‘a takko bar yigiri‘in.

Ils choisirent la nuit des noces.

They chose the night of the wedding⁶⁶.

III. 17.

sS. Dummu **amae** akah abak sugtem, mar‘ah ma kiy ‘andaawa bettaggidah.

nS. Dummu **amaim** akah aba tinem mar‘a ma hin, furta betto tih kinni.

Ce pourquoi le Chat faisait cela, ce n’était pas pour la noce, c’était pour manger la Souris.

The reason why the Cat did so, was not for the wedding, it was in order to eat the Mouse.

III. 18.

sS. ‘Andaawa **amae** teḍeg**h** bodad⁶⁷ fotte**h** sugte.

nS. Furta **amaim** teḍeg**ih** horor fatt**ih** ‘ambalte**h**.

La Souris sachant cela, elle s’était creusé un trou.

Knowing that, the Mouse had dug a hole for her own sake.

III. 19.

sS. Dummu waraddih **el** orobtel horrisak temeete:

nS. Dummum waradde**h** **alle** orobte**lle** horišša temeete:

Le Chat arriva en chantant là où les gens s’étaient réunis pour faire la noce.

The Cat arrived singing where the people had gathered for the wedding.

III. 20.

sS. “Yalli naab**eh**⁶⁸ ḥado ‘aasir lino”, aik temeete dummu.

nS. “Yalli no**h** ab**ih** ḥazodde ‘aašiir lino”, aḍ**hi** yemeetin.

“Nous avons la chance que Dieu nous a donné de la viande”, dit en venant le Chat.

“Luckily God provided us with meat”, said the Cat while coming.

⁶⁵ Alliance concluded through marriage.

⁶⁶ Litt. *They knew when would be the night for the wedding.* In Ns: *they decided* (irgi‘) *when would be the night.*

⁶⁷ *Bodad* “hole”, var. of *boodo* (pl. *boodad*; nS *boozo*, pl. *boozoz*). nS (and sS) *hóror* is a smaller hole. *Hodom* (var. *hudum*, pl. nS *hodaami* [hodâmi], sS *hudumá*) means a deeper hole, a cavity.

⁶⁸ [*noh abeh].

III. 21.

sS. ‘Anḍaawa **amae el** teeḍeegel teeḍegeh bodadad **el** fotte sugtel is uulako **el** tedebe.

nS. Furta **amaim alle** teeḍegelle teeḍegih horor fattih ‘ambalteh, iš(i) ulako **alle** tedebe.

*La Souris sachant cela, dudit trou qu’elle s’était creusée, répondit de son côté:
Knowing that, from the hole she had dug for herself, the Mouse replied:*

III. 22.

sS. “Oy! Needegeh bodad dagne nane”, tee bodad sayte.

nS. “Oy! **Amaim** kinnim needegih horor fatinnih nane, tee hororudde akko sayte.

*“Eh! Sachant cela, nous avons creusé un trou”, dit-elle en entrant dans son trou.
“Hey! Knowing this we dug a hole”, said she entering her hole.*

III. 23.

sS. Dummuu kee ‘anḍaawa wagari to ginal raa‘e, birik a bar ma wagarinnon.

nS. Dummuu kee furtat sulhi tolle raa‘e.

*La paix entre le Chat et la Souris en resta là, de cette nuit⁶⁹, ils ne furent plus en paix.
The peace between the Cat and the Mouse stopped at that point.*

III. 24.

sS. ‘Anḍow teketteh bakite ḍaḍḍemko **ama** ginal tisillime⁷⁰.

nS. Furut inkille yekettih bakite ḍaḍḍemko **amaa** ginah raa‘e.

*Les Souris rassemblées faillirent mourir, mais furent sauvées de cette façon.
The Mice that had gathered there were near to die but were saved this way.*



IV. Title.

sS. Abuu kee abuusumá.

nS. Abuu kee abuusumá.

*Oncle et nièce
Uncle and niece.*

IV. 1.

sS. Yangula laa liy tine.

nS. Nanguli laa luk yine.

*L’Hyène possédait des vaches.
The Hyena had cows.*

IV. 2.

sS. Wakkari laad loynah ḥabe.

nS. Wakari laa ašiššo⁷¹ ḥabe

*Elle laissa la Renarde à la garde des vaches.
She left the she-Jackal in charge of the cows.*

⁶⁹ Litt. *de la nuit passée* (bir-ik) *cette nuit* (a bar).

⁷⁰ Coll f. ‘anḍow implies feminine verbal agreement. Vergari (*op. cit.*: 61) indicates nS plural m. ‘anzuu. sS (also in nS) coll. m. *fúrut* implies the masculine.

⁷¹ Verb *ašiš* “to keep watch”, see “be jealous” (Vergari, 48): with a jealous care. sS m. *asíso* “temporary guard”; f. *asissó*; nS m. *ašišo*; f. *ašiššó*.

IV. 3.

sS. Wakkari rugaageko aklusinnaan tiya **ak** arḥudik bakkisse.

nS. Wakari ruwaageko aklusinnaan tiya **akko** arḥudi bakte.

La Renarde extermina en les égorgeant tous les veaux gras des vaches.

The she-Jackal killed and slaughtering all the fatted calves of the cows⁷².

IV. 4.

sS/ nS. Inki ‘aḍame‘e ‘asagalin⁷³ ruga ak ḥabte.

Elle ne laissa vivant qu’un veau à la belle robe blanche et rouge.

She left alive a single calf with a nice white and red coat.

IV. 5.

sS. Aki rugaage inkoh bakkisse waḍaaha inkid teskette, yen.

nS. Aki ruwaage onkoh bakte waḍoḥ inkidde askatti tine, yen.

Ayant exterminé tous les autres veaux, elle rassembla les peaux de ces veaux morts en un endroit, dit-on.

After exterminating all the other calves, she collected the skins of these dead calves in one place, people said.

IV. 6.

sS. **Ama** ḥabte inki rugah nabaa dogol malḥina ife **leyya** akah abte.

nS. **Amaa** ḥabte inki rugah naba dagge malḥiina af **leya** akah abte.

Laissant celles-ci, elle construisit un enclos à sept grandes portes pour le seul veau.

Leaving them, she built an enclosure with seven big doors for the single calf.

IV. 7.

sS. Yanguli safarko gaḥeh, tee essere:

nS. Nanguli gedoko gaḥe⁷⁴. Te essere:

L’Hyène revenant de voyage, lui demanda:

Coming back from a journey, the Hyena asked:

IV. 8.

sS. – Yi sa‘alah wakkari, yi laa ḍayloh **ae** baaḥeh yanee?

nS. – Wakari, yabuusuma⁷⁵, yi laa **aim** ḍalih yane?

O Renarde, ma nièce, mes vaches, quels veaux ont-elles mis bas?

O she-Jackal, my niece, about my cows, what kind of calves have they delivered?

IV. 9.

sS. – Yi ‘as aabow, sin laa inkoh ḍaleh inkoh inki gina le, ‘asagalin rugaage baaḥeh yane, ak te.

nS. – Yi ‘as abow, šin laa inkoh ḍaleh, onkoh inki gina le ‘asagalin ruwaage baahih yane, ak te

– *O mon cher Oncle, vos vaches ont toutes mises bas des veaux à robe bicolore d’une seule sorte? dit-elle.*

⁷² These cows staying alive.

⁷³ ‘asa (red), gale “strip”: with red strips on a white coat.

⁷⁴ In sS (as in ‘Afar), *ih* marks the anteriority of *gaḥe-h* “having returned...”, which is not marked here in nS, so that a final point is used instead of a coma.

⁷⁵ Alternatively to *wakari yi sa‘la-hi* “she-jackal my-sister-of”: my sister’s daughter.

– *O my dear Uncle, your cows have all delivered calves with the same two colours coat? said she.*

IV. 10.

sS. Kaso, inki ruga ḥabte**h** taneyya dogolud hayte**h** akah andaḥte:

nS. Kasow, inki ruga habti**h** taneya dagged**de** hayti**h** akah andaḥte:

Le soir, avec le seul veau qu'elle avait laissée dans l'enclos, elle fit du bruit et appela à son propos:

In the evening, with the single calve she had left in the enclosure, the she-Jackal made noise and said about it:

IV. 11.

sS. – Abow! Ama, rugaage sin ayballao, ak te.

nS. – Waabow, amanta⁷⁶, ruwaage šin ayballao, ak te.

O Oncle! Venez, que je vous montre les veaux, dit-elle.

O my dear Uncle, come, let me show you the calves, said the she-Jackal.

IV. 12.

sS. Yanguli yamiite⁷⁷ **gul**, uli gul ulafko, uli gul ulafko, uli gul ulafko teyyee'eh, kaa tuybulluwe.

nS. Nanguli yemeete **gedda** uli waḥte, uli afko tayyaa'ih kaa taybulee.

Lorsque l'Hyène vint, se montrant tantôt à cette porte, tantôt à celle-là, tantôt à cette autre, elle le lui fit voir.

When the Hyena arrived, showing herself through this door, through that door, through that another one, she showed her.

IV. 13.

sS. Inki ruga kinam šakkitamko **teh**, ak te:

nS. Inki ruga kinam šakkitamko **tih**, ak te:

Pour éteindre tout soupçon à propos du seul veau restant, la Renarde dit:

In order to lull suspicion about the sole calf alive, the she-Jackal said:

IV. 14.

sS. – Siinak minniyo, yi 'as aabow, sin laa inki gina le 'asa 'asgalin rugaage baahe**h** yanee?

nS. Šinak minniyo, yi 'as abow, šin laa inki gina le 'asagalin ruwaage baahi**h** yanee?

Ne vous avais-je pas dit, mon Oncle, que vos vaches avaient mis bas des veaux d'une seule sorte de robe bicolore?

My Uncle, didn't I tell you that your cows had delivered calves with the same red and white coat?

IV. 15.

sS. Yanguli rumma yekkele. Bar, sifra arer afad akah abte.

nS. Nanguli rumma yekkele. Bar, ḍintima bol-t-afad**de**⁷⁸ akah abte.

⁷⁶ *Amanta*, polite plural of nS Imperative *amo* when addressed to elders, here to the uncle.

⁷⁷ The vowel of the Perfect basis is short in sS and nS: *emete, temete, yemete, nemete, temeten, yemeten or yemeten*. It is long or short in the Imperfect according to the paradigm: *amate tamate, yamate*, etc. Var. *amiite, tamiite, yamiite, namiite, tamiitin* (or *tamitin*), *yamitin* (or *yamiiten*).

⁷⁸ **Bol-t-afa-dde*; “precipice-of-mouth-at” (‘Afar *boolo*); sS *arer*.

L’Hyène crut que que c’était vrai. A la nuit, la Renarde se fit une couche au bord d’un précipice.

The Hyena believed this was true. At night, the she-Jackal prepared her couch on the verge of a precipice.

IV. 16.

sS. – Aabow, ak te, kakaḥ ya maḥaadi yanek bar intibiha, ak te.

nS. – Waabow, ak te, kakaḥ ya maḥaadi yaneki, bar ḥat idiga, ak te.

– O Uncle, dit la Renarde, comme on entend le bruit que font des rôdeurs, veillez cette nuit, dit-elle.

– O Uncle, said the Jackal, since one hears prowlers’ noise, keep awake this night, she said.

IV. 17.

sS. Ḥan akah bahteh yiddirireenih, ḍiinen.

nS. Ḥan akah bahtih yiddirireenih ḍiinen.

Ils dînèrent du lait qu’elle apporta, ils passèrent la nuit.

They dined with the milk that the she-Jackal brought, they slept.

IV. 18.

sS. Bar, wakkari laahi waḍaaha kakaḥ **ed** isse **gul** laa gilite.

nS. Bar, wakari laat waḍoh⁷⁹ kakaḥ addišše⁸⁰ **gedda** laa gilite.

A la nuit, lorsque la Renarde fit du bruit avec les peaux des veaux, les vaches prirent la fuite.

At night, when the she-Jackal made noise with the skins of the calves, the cows ran away.

IV. 19.

sS. Yanguli, kasow, wakkari ak **teh** tanemih kakaḥ ya maḥaadi yemetem yekkeleh, kudak ane **yeh**, bolko radeh, rabe yen.

nS. Nanguli kaso wakari ak **tih** tanemih kakaḥ ya maḥaadi yemeetiinim yekkele, kudak ane **yih**, bolko rade.

L’Hyène à qui la Renarde avait dit de veiller crut que c’étaient des rôdeurs qui étaient venus et faisaient du bruit, courut et tomba dans le ravin.

The Hyena, to whom the she-Jackal had said to stay awake, thinking that there were prowlers who were making noise, ran and fell into the ravine.

IV. 20.

sS. Wakkari to ginal abi laa nagarte, yen.

nS. Wakari to ginalle abi laa tewrise, yen.

La Renarde, de cette façon, hérita, dit-on, des vaches de son oncle.

In this manner the she-Jackal inherited her uncle’s cows, people said.

⁷⁹ Vergari (op. cit. 174) warxhit [wadḥit].

⁸⁰ *waḍoh kakaḥ edde išše «she made (išše) noise (kakaḥ) with (edde) the skins (waḍoh)».



V. Title.

nS. Alluula akotta abte.

sS. Alluula akokotta abte.

L'assemblée des animaux.

The meeting of the animals.

V. 1.

nS. Kalḥa tinem tine, uli **gedda** umboka alluula akotta abte.

sS. Kalḥa tinem tine, uli **gul** umboka alluula akotta abte.

Jadis, tous les animaux se rassemblèrent quelque jour.

Long ago, all the animals met together some day.

V. 2.

nS. **Amaimidde** yanna wakari aalih **adde** mangalinna.

sS. **Amaedde** yanna wakkari eelih **edde** mangalinna.

Tante Renarde ne se mêla pas de cette affaire.

Aunt Jackal did not get involved in that matter.

V. 3.

nS. **Amaim** aḍḥi, yabba lubak laḥuuten.

sS. **Amae** akkuk, yabba lubak laḥuute.

Ceci dit, Père Lion tomba malade.

Now, Father Lion got sick.

V. 4.

nS. Umboka alluula maḥṣiiṣih **alle** amiiti tine.

sS. Umboka alluula aaginah maaḥeenim yabloona **el** amiiti yenen.

Tous les animaux vinrent pour le visiter.

All the animals came to visit him.

V. 5.

nS. Ḥasan kee wakari zooba kii yinin.

sS. Ḥasan kee wakkari araaka kiy yinen.

Ḥasan [l'Hyène] et la Renarde étaient amis.

Ḥasan [the Hyena] and the she-Jackal were friends.

V. 6.

nS. – Abba Ḥasanow, yabba lubak ahaa aḍḥi maaḥeeni?

sS. – Kee, abba Ḥasanow, yabba lubak ah aḍḥi maaḥeeni?

Eh! Compère Ḥasan, que dit-on de Père Lion ce matin?

Hey! Comrade Ḥasan, what do people say about Father Lion this morning?

V. 7.

nS. – ‘Ambal, uroona aḍḥi yanin.

sS. – Uroona kab yeenih yaniiniki, ilal.

Attends donc! Il va mieux.

Wait a minute, he is much better.

V. 8.

nS. Wakari rabo akko aṣebbiri tine.

sS. Wakkari rabo akko ilala tine

La Renarde [qui] s’attendait à ce qu’il mourût [répéta].

The she-Jackal expected him to die [said again].

V. 9.

nS. – Koye, abba Ḥasanow, yabba lubak aha⁸¹ aḍhi maaḥeeni?

sS. – Kee, ya ‘am Ḥasanow, yabba lubak ahe aḍhi maaḥen?

Eh!, Compère Ḥasan, mais que dit-on de Père Lion ce matin?

Hey! Comrade Ḥasan, what do people say about Father Lion this morning?

V. 10.

nS. – Kaafa yekkemko yaṣṣiin dawdaw aḍhi maaḥeen.

sS. – A saaku tekkek yaysen dawdaw aik maaceenih yanin.

– Pour ce qui est d’aujourd’hui, il allait mieux, il s’est levé avec énergie⁸²

– As for today, he got better and rose with much energy.

V. 11.

nS. Amaimik ledelle yanna wakari mangom temḥesebe.

sS. Amaeko lakal yanna wakkari mangom temḥesebe.

Après cela, Tante Renarde demeura très pensive.

After that, Aunt Jackal remained very thoughtful.

V. 12.

nS. – Abba Ḥasanow kaado aha abo ul im ul im yee lih **mi** taanaa?

sS. – Abba Ḥasanow kaado ah abo ul im ul im yoo lih **ma** taanaa?

– Compère Ḥasan, pourquoi ne fais-tu pas avec moi ce que je dois faire

– Comrade Ḥasan, why don’t you do with me what I have to do?

V. 13.

nS. – **Aim** ko lih aḍho, maḥṣiiṣ iššo waytak hinnaa, kaado **aim** koh aboo?

sS. – **Ae** kollih owwa akah yaneka ubuul isso waytak hinnaa?

– En ce qui te concerne, puisque tu refuses, n’est-ce pas, de rendre visite [au lion], que puis-je faire pour toi?

– As for you, since you refuse to visit the Lion, isn’t it, what can I do for you?

V. 14.

nS. Yanna wakari amḥesibinannamko, garaballe tedih baska bahtih ḥangalko **adde** muute.

sS. Yanna wakari amḥesibinannamko, garabal tedeh baska bahteh ḥangalko **ed** booddeh⁸³.

Tante Renarde, après être restée pensive, partit dans la forêt, portant du miel, elle se posta sur une petite colline [et dit au Lion:].

Aunt Jackal, after remaining deep in thought, went to the forest and carrying honey took up position on a hill [said to the Lion].

⁸¹ nS *aha* “what”, var. *ahe* (as in sS).

⁸² Litt. *he woke up making noise.*

⁸³ nS *muut*, sS *bood*, A *boosit*.

V. 15.

- nS/sS.** – Abba lubakow, aaginah maḥteenii?, ak te.
 – *Père Lion, comment allez-vous ce matin?, dit-elle.*
 – *Father Lion, how do you do this morning?, said she.*

V. 16.

- nS/sS.** – Uremko kwagdafo⁸⁴ kinni, ak ye.
 – *Si je guéris, je te tuerai, dit-il.*
 – *If I recover, I will kill you, said he.*

V. 17.

- nS.** – Abba lubakow, šin dawa wagiyo hinna?
sS. – Abba lubakow, sin dawa wagiyo ma kaa?
 – *Père Lion, n'étais-je pas parti vous chercher des remèdes?*
 – *Father Lion, I had gone to find remedy for you, didn't I?*

V. 18.

- nS.** – Umboka baaḍolle heel⁸⁵ ayyuk mare rabiyyoh tatiminiinii?
sS. – Umboka baaḍol heel aik mareh, raba yoh tatmin yeenii?
 – *J'ai passé partout dans le pays [pour vous porter remède] et vous espérez la mort pour moi?*
 – *I have gone everywhere in the country [to get remedy for you] and you hope to see my death?*

V. 19.

- nS.** – Šekko šekille, ḥaakimko ḥaakimille hinnaa, heel ayyuk mare.
sS. – Šekko šekille, ḥaakimko ḥaakimille ma kaa, heel aik mare⁸⁶.
 – *Je suis allé de guérisseur en guérisseur, de médecin en médecin, n'est-ce pas?*
 – *I have gone from herbalist to herbalist, from doctor to doctor, isn't it?*

V. 20.

- nS.** – Kaado, **aim** kok yeenii?
sS. – Kaado, **æ** kok yeenii?
 – *Alors, que t'ont-ils dit?*
 – *So what did they tell you?*

V. 21.

- nS.** – Baska kinni, ten⁸⁷ dawa yok yen.
sS. – Baska kinni, ku dawa yok yen
 – *C'est le miel qui est votre remède m'ont-ils dit.*
 – *Honey is your remedy, they told me.*

⁸⁴ [*ko agdafo].

⁸⁵ *hel edeḥ* “to go from one place to another”. Intensive with vowel lengthening: to go every where in the country.

⁸⁶ In proverbs, the difference of postpositions, here sS / nS *elle*, may disappear.

⁸⁷ Plural of politeness instead of *ku*.

V. 22.

nS. – Kaado bahteehi?

sS. – Kaado bahte hay?

– *Alors, tu l’as apporté?*

– *So, you brought it?*

V. 23.

nS/sS. – Yoo, ak te.

– *Oui, dit-elle*

– *Yes, said she.*

V. 24.

Ns – **Amaim do**, amo, ak ye

sS. – **Amae do**, amo, ak ye.

– *Si cela est, viens, dit-il.*

– *If it is so, come, said he.*

V. 25.

nS. Yanna wakari, yabba lubako **amaayim tih** ak tew‘e.

sS. Yanna wakkari, yabba lubakow **amahe teh** ak tede.

Tante Renarde, de cette façon, s’enfuit de Père Lion.

Thus, Aunt Jackal escaped from Father Lion.

Conclusion

As a whole, nS, sS and ‘Afar appear to be highly isomorphic. Sometimes no difference is found between the dialects (see parag. I, 18; I, 20). The sixteen isoglosses identified in the corpus are proposed as a basis for classifying oral or written productions in the related languages. Other isoglosses can be investigated in the domain of Verb Morphology especially. They might add new arguments to the proposed methodology.

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