Transcription and gloss of the Kabyle sample (Mettouchi et al.)

Abbreviations: ANAPH: anaphoric marker, PERF: perfect/-ive, IMPERF: imperfective, AOR: aorist, NEG.PERF: negative perfect/-ive, IRR: irrealis particle, REL.IRR: irrealis relator, NEG: negation, POSTNEG: postverbal element of negation, INT: integrative case (annexation state), ABS: absolute case (free state), SUBJ: subject affix, ACC: accusative clitic, DAT: dative clitic, 1,2,3: person, S: singular, P: plural, PROX: proximal particle, COP: (nonverbal) copula. / = minor boundary; //= major boundary.

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baba-tsent=nni
                                                                          ara /
     father-KINSHIP3PL=ANAPH
                                  NEG
                                            SUBJ.3MS-have(NEG.PERF)
                                                                          POSTNEG /
     Their father didn't have anything /
    i-xus //
     SUBJ3MS-lack(PERF) //
     he was poor //
    i-ṛuḥ
                                   akka
                                            ar
                                                       lğiran /
     SUBJ3MS-go(PERF)
                                   thus
                                            to
                                                      neighbours.INT /
     He went to the neighbours /
    ye-rdel=ed
     SUBJ3MS-borrow(PERF)=PROX a::h/
     he borrowed aaah /
    sebεa
              tqundyar /
              dresses.INT /
     seven
     seven dresses /
     sebεa
              wagusen /
     seven
              belts.INT /
     seven belts /
    sebεa
              tyugwin n
                                  sebbad /
     seven
              pairs.INT of
                                  shoes.INT /
     seven pairs of shoes /
    i-xedm=asent
                                            iḍellaεen /
     SUBJ3MS-make(PERF)-DAT3S
                                            baskets.of.presents.ABS /
     he prepared them baskets of presents /
     cebh-ent //
     SUBJ3FP-make.beautiful(PERF) //
     they made up and dressed up //
                                  ye-rdel=itent=id
10. ye-nna=yas
                                                                          umbead ticki
     SUBJ3MS-say(PERF)-DAT3S
                                  SUBJ3MS-borrow(PERF)-ACC3FP=PROX
                                                                                    when
                                                                          after
     He thought, he had borrowed them (in order to) once
                                                                tesraft=nni /
                        i-ger
     IRR=ACC3FS
                        SUBJ3MS-throw(AOR)
                                                                pit.INT=ANAPH /
     he had thrown the girls into the pit /
11. ad
                                                      lqec=nni //
              v-err
              SUBJ3MS-give.back(AOR)
                                                      clothes.INT-ANAPH //
     IRR
     he would give back the clothes //
              ye-bbwed
                                                       tesraft=nni
                                                                          anda
                                            ar
              SUBJ3MS-arrive(PERF)
     quand
                                            to
                                                      pit.INT=ANAPH
                                                                          where
     when he arrived at the pit, 'where...?'
     leḥḥu-nt leḥḥu-nt g
                                            udrar /
     SUBJ3FP-walk(IMPERF) x 3
                                            mountain.INT /
     the girls walked and walked and walked in the mountain /
13. a
                                            xwali-yagi //
              haha
                        anda=ten
              daddy
                        where=ACC3MS
                                            uncles.INT-these //
     'where are they those uncles daddy?' //
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14. [jmaɛin] // (aside in the conversation) [same for you] //

15. anda=ten xwali-yagi a ba where=ACC3MS uncles.INT-these VOC dad

'where are they those uncles daddy?'

ihi baεd-en/

well be.far(PERF)-SUBJ3MP /
'well they are far from here'/

16. ye-nna=yas tura a yessi

SUBJ3MS-say(PERF)-DAT3S now VOC my.daughters

he told them 'now my daughters

qrib a n-aweḍ //

soon IRR SUBJ1P-arrive(AOR) //

we have almost arrived'//

17. armi bbwd-en ar tesraft // until arrive(PERF)-SUBJ3MP to pit.INT //

until they arrived at the pit //

18. mi bbwd-ent ar tesraft / when arrive(PERF)-SUBJ3FP to pit.INT /

when they arrived at the pit /

19. tin imi ara i-senser lqec-is

the.one to.whom REL.IRR SUBJ3MS-slip(AOR) clothes.ABS-POSS3S

as soon as he had undressed one

i-degger-itt/

SUBJ3MS-throw(PERF)=ACC3FS /

he threw her (into the pit) /

 $20. \hspace{0.2in} tin \hspace{0.2in} imi \hspace{0.2in} ara \hspace{0.2in} i\text{-senser} \hspace{0.2in} lqec\text{-}is$

the.one to.whom Rel.irr Subj3ms-slip(AOR) clothes.Abs-poss3s

as soon as he had undressed one

i-degger=itt/

SUBJ3MS-throw(PERF)=ACC3FS /

he threw her (into the pit) /

21. arammi setta //

until six //

until the sixth //