

# Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online

## A contribution to the documentation of Siwi (Berber) through an annotated folktale

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### Abstract

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language (Berber, Egypt), through the transcription and translation of an unpublished folktale, recorded by the author in Siwa (Egypt) in 2018. The main stylistic features of the tale are described in the first part of the paper, while grammatical notes on the language are provided in the footnotes, in order to clarify some passages that could otherwise not be easily understood through the transcription, glosses and translation alone.

### Zusammenfassung

Dieser Text will dazu beitragen, die Siwi-Sprache (Berber, Ägypten) besser zu dokumentieren. Das geschieht durch die Transkription und die Übersetzung einer bislang unveröffentlichten Erzählung, die die Autorin im Jahre 2018 in Siwa aufgezeichnet hat. Die wichtigsten stilistischen Merkmale der Erzählung sind im ersten Teil beschrieben. Erläuterung zu grammatischen Strukturen, die nicht trotz der Übersetzung und Glossierung nicht leicht zu verstehen sind, werden in den Fußnoten gegeben.

### 1. Introductory remarks

<1> The aim of this paper is to contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language by presenting an unpublished folktale, transcribed and translated into English, thus incrementing the amount of data available on Siwi that may be useful for further studies on the language, as well as for comparative analysis from both a linguistic and literary point of view.

Siwi is a Berber language (Afro-asiatic phylum) spoken in the oases of Siwa and El Gara in Egypt. Almost all speakers are bilingual (Siwi and Arabic). The main oasis, Siwa, is inhabited by over 25.000 people, including non-natives (especially Egyptians coming from other parts of the country).

<2> The oral literary tradition in Siwa has already drawn the attention of researchers, and especially in the last few years. As far as folktales are concerned, four of are recounted in Laoust (1931: 146-159). Siwi anthropologist Malim (2001) included a number of Siwi folktales and proverbs in his book, but only translated into Arabic. The book has also been translated in other languages. Fourteen folktales collected among men and women from Siwa can be found in Schiattarella 2017. Siwa oral literary tradition is not limited to folktales, but features also other genres, such as proverbs, legends, religious poems, etc. For an overview, see Schiattarella 2019.

<3> I recorded this 7'56"-long folktale on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September 2018 at the house of my main consultant. The story was told by his brother, a man in his thirties, to an audience comprised of myself and other family members, both children and adults, who were present in the room. The reason why the narrator decided to tell me this story is interesting: he had been listening to his brother and me for several years and he had always been interested in our transcription sessions. As he knew I was particularly keen to record folktales, he spontaneously offered to tell me one he knew well, and which was meaningful to him because it was a way to remember his aunt, who used to gather all the children together for storytelling sessions, on winter evenings. [1]

## 1.1. Features of oral folktales

<4> The folktale below follows the structure and features present in other folktales collected in North Africa, and shares fundamental characteristics with them (Bounfour & Merolla 1994: 2082-2084).

Before analysing the main features included in this story, I will summarise the main episodes of the plot. The story is about a girl who is obliged to remain secluded in her house while his father and brother go away for the pilgrimage. During her father's absence, the girl is approached by ill-intentioned people. Despite the fact that she obeys her father's instructions and does not let anyone into the house, when her father returns, someone tells him that the girl had gone out several times. The father thinks that the girl has disobeyed him, and tells his son to kill her. The girl's brother manages to avoid killing his sister and instead leaves her in the desert. The girl survives, marries the son of a king and has seven children. Unfortunately, an evil character, a Christian, kills them all. The woman then flees and reaches a place where an old man teaches her to read the Quran. When the old man dies, she takes his place, dresses like a man and starts reciting the Quran. Many people go to listen to her beautiful voice, including all the people who hurt her in the past. She is then able to tell the truth about her story, exposing the wicked characters and finally returning to her house with her father and husband.

<5> The main features typical of many oral folktales are unsurprisingly also found in this one. I will list some of them here, in order to present Siwi oral literary tradition within a broader frame.

The very first feature is the imprisonment of the girl while the men of the family are away, travelling and, as a consequence of the men being absent, the prohibition to open the door to any stranger. A second *topos* is the appearance of ill-intentioned characters who try to distract the protagonist from her promises. There are then also the father's revenge for the injustice he feels he has suffered, and the trick come up with by the girl's accomplice, in this case her brother.

<6> Another interesting recurring theme is the prominence of the number seven – in this case the protagonist has seven sons (Scelles Millie 2002: 25-26; Lacoste-Dujardin 1970: 91-92 in Kabyle folktales; Schiattarella 2017: tales 3.2, 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9 for other examples of Siwi tales featuring the number seven) – and the crossdressing imposed on the protagonist when she needs to do something that according to social conventions is not acceptable for a woman - in this case leading and singing prayer. The beauty of the protagonist's voice, and its fame reaching far, unnamed places, is also a very frequent pattern.

The punishment reserved to wicked characters also contains a recurrent element. Folktales usually end with cruelties: in this tale, the evil characters are burned over a bundle of wood. What is interesting here is that the rich evil-doer (it is not clear who the storyteller refers to) always receives a worse punishment than the poor one, namely being burned over two bundles of wood instead of one.

<7> In general, no reference to a specific time in history or to a particular historical episode is found in Siwi folktales, as in many other folktales. Only on rare occasions is reference to a specific period given in the text (Lacoste-Dujardin 1970:142-145). In Siwi, tales usually start with the formula *má ḥra di* 'once upon a time', referring to an unspecified moment in the past. The rest of the narration proceeds in chronological order and the course of the events flows in linear succession without flashbacks or flash-forwards.

<8> Space is unidentified. Nonetheless, some generic places are mentioned by the storyteller, and are the same often found in other tales as well: the *ssuq*, the market, which usually represents where the main activities take place. It is a space reserved for men, and when a woman spends much of her time there, this often carries a negative connotation (Lacoste-Dujardin 1970:139). Another generic place is the desert, removed from the view of most of the characters; its harshness is not described but inferred by the context, such as, in the tale below, from the fact that the protagonist suffers from lack of food and water. The cave, instead, represents a shelter from danger. In all other instances, such as when the protagonist must escape from the evil Christian, or when people come to hear her beautiful voice recite the Quran, the storyteller always refers to unspecified places and countries (SG *šal* 'town', PL *šal/wən*).

<9> There are several characters who, one after the other, interact with the protagonist of the story. No detailed description of these characters is given: none of them has a name and physical appearance and personality features are never commented upon by the storyteller ('non-visibility', in Kossmann's terms (2000: 55-59)), except for rare cases where certain attributes are relevant to the story. The story revolves around a girl whose father and brother are mentioned because of the fact that their departure for the pilgrimage is crucial to the events that ensue in the story. The mother of the children is never mentioned. The untrustworthy characters who

wrong the protagonist are personified by a passer-by and an old woman, who is defined by the narrator as a *bint h aram* 'immoral woman'. Old women are usually associated with unfortunate misadventures in these folktales. Later on, the girl meets the emir, son of the king: this kind of meeting usually indicates that something positive is about to happen to the previously unlucky protagonist, as marriage to a noble character constitutes a sort of redressing of her past. The birth of her seven boys only serves as a pretext for the introduction of another wicked character, here personified by a Christian. The last character is an old man, who, contrary to the old woman, is often considered positively in tales, especially for his wisdom.

<10> Religious elements are present throughout the tale and refer not only to Islam, but also to Christianity. The pilgrimage is found in many tales and is often used as a means to justify the absence of the protagonists for a long period of time (Lacoste-Dujardin 1970: 344). What is interesting here is the presence of a Christian, who plays a role similar to that usually associated with the ogre, as he kidnaps and eats the protagonist's children. Other references to religion are the circumcision of the boys as they come of age, and the recitation of the Quran, which is usually performed by men.

<11> Siwi tales are introduced by an opening formula and end with a closing one. Opening and closing formulas in fact play an important role in tales and usually serve to detach the dimension of reality from that of the imagination and to defend the storyteller from the evil eye that the narration might trigger (Schiattarella 2017: 21-22; 2019: 7470-7471). In the tale analysed here, the speaker only uses an Arabic ending formula, but most times, the two languages mix together, such as in the typical Siwi closing formula: *hattuta, hattuta, qaṣṣar ḥmərha. akəmmús n xer i ənšní, akəmmús n šar i əntrn én*, literally 'Tale, tale, it has shortened its span. A bundle of goodness to us, a bundle of badness to them', where the first part is in Arabic and the second in Siwi.

<12> It is not rare for some parts of the text, especially verbs, to be repeated in order to connect one episode with another. This is the case in (154-155), (160-161), (190), (198-199) and (202-203) with verbs, where the characters move from one scene to another and from one episode to the other. Another way in which these connections are achieved is through the use of temporal connectives. Several formulaic expressions in Arabic are used to divide the text and establish the temporal frame of the sequence of the episodes. That is why we very often find expressions such as *ššwaytén* 'after a while' (see (81), (138), (164) and (203)).

<13> The intonation of the speaker's voice changes throughout the text, in accordance with which character is speaking and with the function of each section of the text. The speaker tries to individually reproduce the voices of all the different characters, and the difference is remarkable when two characters speak to each other, one after the other. The tone is instead more neutral when the speaker narrates the events of the story, but then changes again, with a raising of the voice, when the speaker is offering a clarification and/or a personal comment on what is happening. See for example (40-41) *agg<sup>w</sup> id l-yé rriyyah* 'The man was not satisfied'; (69) *yərfa`-ya* 'He was scared'; (116) *yə xsá g-iqérb-et yá ʃni* 'He wanted to grab her'; (169-170) *ágg<sup>w</sup>id šáref laʃmí l-izər* 'The old man was blind, he could not see'; (183) *abbá-nnəs n tərwáwen* 'the father of the children'.

It is not uncommon to find formulas or riddles, sometimes in Arabic, within Siwi tales, which are sung by the protagonists of the story and sometimes repeated several times in the text. In the case of our folktale, we can find an example in (38), where the formula is in Arabic (in square brackets).

<14> Indirect speech is never present in this folktale, as is generally the case in all folktales. Dialogue, on the contrary, is sometimes used in order to create suspense in the story (Kossmann 2000: 63). In our story, suspense is also created by monologues, such as in the passage in (78-80), where the brother asks himself how to react to his father's request to kill his sister: *ga- yérṣf-as na la-ga-yérṣf-as? mámək ga-yérṣf-as i wéltma?* "Should I slaughter her or not? How will I slaughter my sister?"

## 1.2. Structure of the folktale

The entire story can be divided in five main parts:

<15>

- 1) The main characters are presented: a father and his son, who announce their intention to leave for a pilgrimage, and a daughter, who is obliged to wait for them inside the house. The first two wicked characters are introduced, as they try to convince the girl to disobey her father's orders.
- 2) The men return from the pilgrimage, the girl is the victim of false accusations which cause her father to order her to be killed. Her brother takes her to the desert, but the girl manages to survive.

3) The girl reaches a far-away place, marries an emir and has seven children. She is again the victim of an evil character, who kills all her children and plans to kill her too.

4) The girl runs away again, finds an old man, starts to recite the Quran and attracts the attention of many people.

5) The girl is reunited with all the characters mentioned before. She is able to tell the truth about her story and to obtain justice, punishing the characters who had wronged her.

Despite the fact that storytelling as a practice has almost disappeared, and that this tale was not told by a professional storyteller (who in the past were usually women who entertained kids with their stories in the evenings), the narrator is able to deliver a coherent and clear plot for the story in each of its parts. This is probably due to the fact that he heard this story many times as a child, confirming the importance of the storytelling ritual in a not so distant past.

## 2. A Siwi folktale (tanfast)

<16> The following folktale has been transcribed, glossed and translated into English. I decided to mark the end of minor and major intonation units, false starts and hesitations. These elements may well prove useful for further studies. The grammatical notes in the footnotes are meant to clarify some passages that might not immediately be clear from the transcription, gloss or translation alone without a prior knowledge of the language. They will, of course, only cover a small number of features. [2]

(1)	máṛra [3]	di:::	aggʷíd [4]	/	d:::	γúṛ-əs	tléččá	/	d
	once	EXIST	man.SG.M	/	and	at-3SG	girl.SG.F	/	and

Once upon a time there was a man, he had a daughter and

(2)	akébbí	/	abbá-nn-əs	n	tléččá	/	[FS]	d	akébbí
	boy.SG.M	/	father.SG.M-of-3SG	of	girl.SG.F	/	[FS]	and	boy.SG.M

a son. The father of the girl, and the boy

(3)	yə-xs-én	tiḥí	i	aháḡgi	/
	3-want.PFV-PL	go.VN	to	make_a_pilgrimage.VN	/

wanted to go on a pilgrimage.

(4)	g-yé-ḡg-ən	bəttín	/	g-yé-ḡg-ən
	IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL	who	/	IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL

Who would they leave (behind)? They would leave

(5) tléčča imán-n-əs /

girl.SG.F REFL-of-3SG /

the girl (behind) on her own.

(6) i-sáwq-n-as ləbdaʃét n [FS] tləttšhúṛ

3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG supply.SG.F of [FS] three\_months

They bought a supply (of food) for three,

(7) arbaʃtšhúṛ / g-yé-ħħ-ən i aháġgi

four\_months / IRR-3-go.AOR-PL to make\_a\_pilgrimage.VN

four months, and then they went on the pilgrimage

(8) s iləy়mán /

with camel.PL.M /

with (their) camels.

(9) yə-ṛṛm-án-as ya bat / lá-təffay /

3-say.PFV-PL-IO.3SG VOC girl.SG.F / NEG-go\_out.IMP /

They told her: "Girl, do not go out!"

(10) ga-n-ħátt-am əlmunéṭ n tləttšhúṛ

IRR-1PL-put.AOR-IO.2SG.F supply.SG.F of three\_months

We will leave for you a supply of food for three,

(11) arbaʃtšhúṛ lá-təffay af álbab n ágbən

four\_months NEG-go\_out.IMP on door.SG.M of house.SG.M

four months, do not go out the door of the house,

(12)	i	álbarṛ	xáłəš	/	lá-təffay	/	tə-łm̩-ásən
	to	outside	at_all	/	NEG-go.out.IMP	/	3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3PL

outside, never, do not go out!" She told them:

(13)	xlaš	a	ábba	lā-ffy-ax	xáłəš	/	[FS]
	stop	VOC	father.SG.M	NEG-go_out.AOR-1SG	at_all	/	[FS]

"Alright, father, I will not go out at all!"

(14)	yə-ğğ-én	yə-qqés-n-as	albáb	s	albáṛṛ	/
	3-leave.PFV-PL	3-close.PFV-PL-IO.3SG	door.SG.M	from	outside	/

They left, they closed the door from the outside,

(15)	i-sáwq-n-as	ləbdařét	n	tləttšhúṛ	/
	3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG	supply.SG.F	of	three_months	/

they bought a supply (of food) for three months,

(16)	yə-ğğ-én-tət	ğáğı	/
	3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F [5]	inside	/

they left her inside.

(17)	di	aggʷíd	yə-xsá:::	ažbad-énn-əs	tláčča	/
	EXIST	man.SG.M	3SG.M-want.PFV	take.VN-of-3SG	girl.SG.F	/

There was a man who wanted to take the girl.

(18)	i-wéšša	taltí	tləčgúst	tšaréft	/
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3SG.M-ask.PFV      woman.SG.F      old.SG.F      old.SG.F      /

He asked an old woman,

(19) taltí      bint\_harám      /      t-rah [6]

woman.SG.F      ill\_repute      /      3SG.F-go.PFV

a woman of ill-repute, she started

(20) tə-qqérqb-as      /      ulá      /      y-uséd

3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG      /      NEG      /      3SG.M-come.PFV

knocking. No! The man came first,

(21) aggʷíd      úwwəl      /      qbəl:::      tálti      tšárəft      /

man.SG.M      first      /      before      woman.SG.F      old.SG.F      /

before the old woman.

(22) bəttín      wa [7]      i-qérqab      bəttín      ?

who      DEM.SG.M      3SG.M-knock.IPFV      who      ?

“Who is knocking?”

(23) tə-ℳℳ-ás:::      /      niš      ɻbər\_sabíl      /

3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG      /      IDP.1SG      passer\_by.SG.M      /

she said. (The man replied): “I am a passer-by,

(24) xs-ix      amán      əʃtəš-áx-a      /

want.PFV-1SG      water.PL.M      be\_thirsty.PFV-1SG-PRAGM [8]      /

I want water, I am thirsty”.

(25) tə-㎜-ás ábba yə-ʂʂaffá-r-a /

3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG father.SG.M 3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM /

(The girl) replied: "My father is away,

(26) ámṛma yə-ʂʂaffá-r-a /

brother.SG.M 3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM /

my brother is away,

(27) lā-fətk-ڻ-as [9] albáb i hədd /

NEG-open.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG door.SG.M to person.SG.M /

I will not open the door to anyone,

(28) [FS] lā-fətk-ڻ-as i hídda /

[FS] NEG-open.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG to person.SG.M /

I will not open (the door) to anyone!"

(29) ḥarám fəllá-m úš-i amán /

shame on-2SG.F give.IMP-IO.1SG water.PL.M /

(The man said:) "Shame on you! Give me water".

(30) tə-㎜-ás ábba yə-㎜ma-í-ya

3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG father.SG.M 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.1SG-PRAGM

She said: "My father told me

(31) la-féttk-as i hədd / lá-təffay

NEG-open.IMP-IO.3SG to person.SG.M / NEG-go\_out.IMP

‘do not open for anyone, do not go out

(32) i albáb xáləš / yə-flá tání yom  
to door.SG.M at\_all / 3SG.M-leave.PFV second day.SG.M

the door at all”. He left. The second day

(33) y-uséd yə-qqérqb-as / tálət yom  
3SG.M-come.PFV 3SG.M-knock.PFV-IO.3SG / third day.SG.M

he came and knocked (at her door), the third day

(34) yə-qqérqb-as / lá-tə-ftək albáb /  
3SG.M-knock.PFV-IO.3SG / NEG-3SG.F-open.PFV door.SG.M /

he knocked (at her door), she did not open the door.

(35) al i-wéssa taltí tšaréft /  
until 3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F old.SG.F /

Until (the passer-by) asked an old woman,

(36) taltí::: bint\_harám / t-uséd  
woman.SG.F ill\_repute / 3SG.F-come.PFV

a woman of ill-repute, she came

(37) t-qqərqb-ás i tléčča /  
3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG to girl.SG.F /

and knocked on the girl(‘s door).

(38) [yəhdiki yardımki miščarəf eh] hánta /

[May God lead you and fulfill you and so on] what /

"[In Arabic: (May God) lead you and fulfill you, and so on]. What?

(39) féttk-i a bénti / t-ugáy  
 open.IMP-IO.1SG VOC my\_girl / 3SG.F-refuse.PFV

Open up for me, girl". She refused

(40) ga-té-fték albáb / aggʷíd  
 IRR-3SG.F-open.AOR door.SG.M / man.SG.M

to open the door. The man

(41) l-yé-rrəyyaḥ / al::: abbá-nn-əs xlaṣ  
 NEG-3SG.M-rest.PFV / until father.SG.M-of-3SG stop

was not satisfied. Until the father, *well*,

(42) i-tás-ənd sg əlhəggáj anni  
 3-come.IPFV-PL from pilgrimage.PL.M COMP

they were coming back from the pilgrimage.

(43) g-(y)-ús-ənd / yə-fl-án tləttshúṛ /  
 IRR-3-come.AOR-PL / 3-leave.PFV-PL three\_months /

Three months had passed,

(44) na arbaṭtshúṛ / i-tás-ənd  
 or four\_months / 3-come.IPFV-PL  
 or (maybe) four, they were coming back

(45) sg əlhəg̡ág // ággʷid i-ṛáḥ  
 from pilgrimage.PL.M // man.SG.M 3SG.M-go.PFV  
 from the pilgrimage. The man (who knocked at the girl's door)

(46) yə-mm̩-ás i abbá-nn-əs / ywa  
 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG to father.SG.M-of-3SG / DEM.SG.M  
 told her father: "There you go,

(47) tləččá-nn-ək tə-ffáy-a / té-ṛrah  
 girl.SG.F-of-2SG.M 3SG.F-go-out.PFV-PRAGM / 3SG.F-go.IPFV  
 your daughter has gone out. She went

(48) i ssuq tá-ṛrah i it̩lən lá-di  
 to market.SG.M 3SG.F-go.IPFV to garden.PL.M NEG-EXIST  
 to the market, she went to the gardens,

(49) šra / lá-di ankán lá-tə-ṛrah /  
 thing.SG.M / NEG-EXIST place.SG.M NEG-3SG.F-go.IPFV /  
 there is nothing, there is no place she did not go,

(50) yer / niš əm̩m̩í-č-ak elmanéti ánni  
 but / IDP.1SG say.PFV-1SG-IO.2SG.M deposit.SG.F COMP  
 but I am (just) telling you (this) secret in order to

(51) ga-wəššl-áx-tət niš wəššl-áx-tət  
 IRR-transmit.AOR-1SG-DO.3SG.F IDP.1SG transmit.PFV-1SG-DO.3SG.F

transmit it. I transmitted it".

(52)	xlaš	/	abbá-nn-əs	yə-ṛṛm-ás
	stop	/	father.SG.M-of-3SG	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG

Well, the father said:

(53)	tléčča	tat-ók	/	əşşiy-ét
	girl.SG.F	DEM.SG.F-2SG.M	/	take.IMP-DO.3SG.F

"This girl, take her.

(54)	ga-γérş-č-as [10]	/	lá-xs-ix	azəṛṛá-nn-əs
	IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG	/	NEG-want.PFV-1SG	see.VN-of-3SG

I will slaughter her. I don't want to see her.

(55)	xs-ix	ga-ktér-č-i	idammən-énn-əs	/
	want.PFV-1SG	IRR-bring.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG	blood.PL.M-of-3SG	/

I want you to bring me her blood.

(56)	ga-sw-áx-tən [11]	/	lá-xs-ix	azəṛṛá-nn-əs
	IRR-drink.AOR-1SG-DO.3PL	/	NEG-want.PFV-1SG	see.VN-of-3SG

I will drink it. I don't want to see her".

(57)	bídu	/	mámək	ábba	?
	also	/	how	father.SG.M	?

(His son said:) "How (is it possible), my father?"

(58)	yə-ṛṛm-ás	ga-γérş-č-as	na
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3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG      IRR-slaughter.AOR-2SG-IO.3SG      or

(The father) said: "You will slaughter her or

(59)	ga-γεර්-ń-áwən	i	ğmífa	/	yə-mm-ás
	IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.2PL	to	everybody	/	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG

I will slaughter you both". (The brother) replied:

(60)	x <small>la</small> ş	ábba	/	gá-ħħ-ax	ga-ħħ-áx-t <small>et</small>	/
	stop	father.SG.M	/	IRR-go.AOR-1SG	IRR-take.AOR-1SG-DO.3SG.F	/

“Alright, father, I will go, I will take her,

(61)	ga-γáṛṣ-č-as	/	i-ṛáḥ	yə-qqérqəb
	IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG	/	3SG.M-go.PFV	3SG.M-knock.PFV

I will slaughter her". (The brother) started knocking

(62)	g	álbab	/	bəttín	?	yə- <b>m</b> -ás	niš
	in	door.SG.M	/	who	?	3SG.M-sav.PFV-IO.3SG	IDP.1SG

on the door. (Her sister asked:) "Who is (there)?". He replied "I am

(63)	ámma-m	/	gmáni	ábba	?
	brother SG M-POSS 2SG F	/	where	father SG M	?

your brother." (She replied): "Where is my father?"

(64)	yə- <sup>m</sup> m-ás	abbá-nn-əm	mázal	g	ləmşaríb	/
	3SG M-sav PFV-IO 3SG	father SG M-of-2SG F	still	in	road Pl F	/

He said: "Your father is still on the road

(65)	ɻammál	i-tásəd	/	háyya	gá-(n)-ṛṛah
	PROG	3SG.M-come.IPFV	/	come_on	IRR-(1PL)-go.AOR

he is coming. Come on, let's go

(66)	ga-n-qábl-a	/	tə-fték	albáb
	IRR-1PL-meet.AOR-DO.3SG.M	/	3SG.F-open.PFV	door.SG.M

and meet him". She opened the door,

(67)	t-uyá [12]	am̥má-s	ašabé́t	i-gélləs	/
	3SG.F-take.PFV	brother.SG.M-POSS.3SG	hug.VN	3SG.M-cry.IPFV	/

she hugged her brother, he cried.

(68)	mámək	g-i-γéṛṣ-as	i
	how	IRR-3SG.M-slaughter.AOR-IO.3SG	to

How will he slaughter

(69)	wéltma-s	?	yə-rfá-ya	/
	sister.SG.F-POSS.3SG	?	3SG.M-be_scared.PFV-PRAGM	/

his sister? He was scared.

(70)	yə-ssy-ét	g	ágmar	/
	3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3SG.F	in	horse.SG.M	/

He took her on the horse,

(71)	yə-fl-én	i	ssáhṛa	/	i-téffal-ən	bṛid
	3SG.M-leave.PFV-PL		to		desert.SG.M	/

3-leave.IPFV-PL far

they went to the desert, they went far,

(72)	b <small>ʕ</small> id	b <small>ʕ</small> id	b <small>ʕ</small> id	b <small>ʕ</small> id	/	y <small>ə</small> -ffy-én	af	šal
	far	far	far	far	/	3-go_out.PFV-PL	from	country.SG.M

far away, they went out of the town,

(73)	xáləš	/	al:::	i-żéw <small>ł</small> t-ən	y <small>ə</small> -mm-ás
	at_all	/	until	3-be_tired.PFV-PL	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG

until (the time) they were tired and he told her:

(74)	háyya	ga-n-rréyyah	/	mazál	ábba	g	ma [13]	?
	come_on	IRR-1PL-rest.AOR	/	still	father.SG.M	in	where	?

“Come on, let’s rest”. (She said:) “Where is our father?”

(75)	y <small>ə</small> -mm-ás	mazál	b <small>ʕ</small> id	y <small>ə</small> r	ga-n-rréyyah	/
	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG	still	far	but	IRR-1PL-rest.AOR	/

He replied: “(Our father is) still far away. Let’s rest”.

(76)	y <small>ə</small> -f-én	tamyárt	/	y <small>ə</small> -t <small>ł</small> s-én	/	yé-şşbar	al:::
	3-find.PFV-PL	cave.SG.F	/	3-sleep.PFV-PL	/	3SG.M-wait.PFV	until

They found a cave, they laid down, he waited until

(77)	t-néddum	/	y <small>ə</small> -şşáy	txušájt	/
	3SG.F-sleep.IPFV	/	3SG.M-take.PFV	knife.SG.F	/

she was sleeping. He took a knife.

(78)	ga-γér <small>ł</small> -ć-as	na
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IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG or

(He thought:) "Should I slaughter her or

(79) la-ga-γéṛṣ-č-as ?

NEG-IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG

not?

(80)	mámək	ga-yéṛṣ-č-as	i	wéltma	/
	how	IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG	to	sister.SG.F	/

How will I slaughter my sister?"

(81)	ššwaytén	sbħan_allah	rábbi	/
	after a while	praise be to Allah	God.SG.M	/

After a while, praise be to Allah, God

(82)	j-bačt-ás	tvárvázst	/
------	-----------	-----------	---

3SG M-send PFV-IO 3SG      rabbit SG F      /

sent him a rabbit

(83) yə-<sup>t</sup>téf tyáržašt

(The brother) caught the rabbit.

(84)	i-γér̩-as	/	yə-ssáy	ləw̩cá:::	/
	3SC M.slaughter.PEV	/	3SC M.take.PEV	bowl SC M	/

and slaughtered it, he took a bowl

(85)	yə-fá	ləwčá	/	yə-ččúṛ-a	idamméñ
	3SG.M-find.PFV	bowl.SG.M	/	3SG.M-fill.PFV-PRAGM	blood.PL.M
(well, actually) he found a bowl, he filled it with blood,					
(86)	égd-əs	/	yə-ṭṭéwah	tyárzašt	yə-nyá
	in-3SG	/	3SG.M-throw_away.PFV	rabbit.SG.F	3SG.M-mount.PFV
(then) he threw away the rabbit, he mounted					
(87)	ágmar	yə-flá	/	yə-hħ-ás	i
	horse.SG.M	3SG.M-leave.PFV	/	3SG.M-go.PFV-IO.3SG	to
the horse and he left. He went to					
(88)	abbá-nn-əs	/	ah	yéṛṣ-t-as	?
	father.SG.M-of-3SG	/	yes	slaughter.PFV-2SG-IO.3SG	?
his father. (The father asked): "So, did you slaughter her?"					
(89)	yə-ṛṛ-ás	ah	yéṛṣ-č-as	/	
	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG	yes	slaughter.PFV-1SG-IO.3SG	/	
(His son) replied: "Yes I slaughtered her.					
(90)	yw-í-ya	idammén	/		
	DEM-PL-PRAGM	blood.PL.M	/		
This is (her) blood".					
(91)	yə-ṣṣy-én	yə-sw-én	//		
	3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3PL	3SG.M-drink.PFV-DO.3PL	//		

(The father) took it and drank it.

(92)	báñd-ma	yø-sw-én	/	tléčča	x as	/
	after-COMP	3SG.M-drink.PFV-DO.3PL	/	girl.SG.F	stop	/

After he drank... *well*, the girl

(93)	t-néddum	/	yø-ğğá	wéltma-s
	3SG.F-sleep.IPFV	/	3SG.M-leave.PFV	sister.SG.F-POSS.3SG

was sleeping, (the brother) had left his sister

(94)	tt-élla	g	támŷaṛt	yø-flá	i	ágbən	x as
	3SG.F-exist	in	cave.SG.F	3SG.M-leave.PFV	to	house.SG.M	stop

in the cave, he went home

(95)	aqbá	i-yørs-ás-a	/	néttá
	as_if	3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM	/	IDP.3SG.M

as if he had slaughtered her. (But in fact) he

(96)	yø-ğğ-ét	tø-ddír-a	/
	3SG.M-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F	3SG.F-live.PFV-PRAGM	/

left her alive.

(97)	[FS]	t-fáttáš	/	t-ṭəbbáḥ
	[FS]	3SG.F-look_for.IPFV	/	3SG.F-call.IPFV

(The girl started) searching, she called out,

(98)	lá-di	ḥídda	i-təm̩m-ás	/	[FS]
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NEG-EXIST      person.SG.M      3SG.M-say.IPFV-IO.3SG      /      [FS]

there was no one,

(99)      imán-n-əs      tt-əlla      g      şşáhṛa      /

REFL-of-3SG      3SG.F-exist      in      desert.SG.M      /

she was alone in the desert,

(100)      yer      g      támyart      /      t-ifá

but      in      cave.SG.F      /      3SG.F-find.PFV

but in the cave. She found

(101)      tyarżást      tə-γṛíṣ-a      tə-||úz      /

rabbit.SG.F      3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM      3SG.F-be\_hungry.PFV      /

a slaughtered rabbit, she was hungry,

(102)      tə-şşáy      aksúm      tə-bdú      aččú      égd-əs      /

3SG.F-take.PFV      meat.SG.M      3SG.F-start.PFV      eat.VN      in-3SG      /

she took the meat, she started to eat it,

(103)      kállma\_klləmtén      ga-té-čč      h̥ébba      égd-əs      /

word\_two\_words      IRR-3SG.F-eat.AOR      a\_little      in-3SG      /

every once in a while, she would eat a bit of it.

(104)      t-ifá      [FS]      t-ڻətéš      tə-xsá

3SG.F-find.PFV      [FS]      3SG.F-be\_thirsty.PFV      3SG.F-want.PFV

She was thirsty, she wanted

(105) amán / t-féttāš t-féttāš /

water.PL.M / 3SG.F-look\_for.IPFV 3SG.F-look\_for.IPFV /

some water. She kept searching,

(106) tə-bdú abhát g támart / tə-bdú tiswí

3SG.F-start.PFV dig.VN in land.SG.F / 3SG.M-start.PFV drink.VN

she started digging in the ground. She started drinking

(107) amán / al::: di::: əl?amír ġir n əlmálək

water.PL.M / until EXIST emir.SG.M son.SG.M of king.SG.M

water. Until (the moment) there was an emir, the son of the king,

(108) i-bérrəm s ágmar /

3SG.M-go\_around.IPFV with horse.SG.M /

who was going around with (his) horse,

(109) yə-żr-ét / té-ʕgb-as /

3SG.M-see.PFV-DO.3SG.F / 3SG.F-please.PFV-IO.3SG /

he saw her, she pleased him,

(110) yə-ssiy-ét / i-rah yən abbá-nn-əs

3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3SG.F / 3SG.M-go.PFV to father.SG.M-of-3SG

he took her, he went to his father's

(111) yə-nğf-ét //

3SG.M-marry.PFV-DO.3SG.F //

and married her.

(112)	t-iráw	sébča	n	ikəbən	/
	3SG.F-give_birth.PFV	seven	of	boy.PL.M	/

She gave birth to seven boys.

(113)	di	éğğən	/	əlkah	[FS]	wihín	amsiħħí	/
	EXIST	one.M	/	priest.SG.M [14]	[FS]	whatchacallit	Christian.SG.M	/

There was a person, a pri(est), whatchacallit, a Christian,

(114)	yə-xsá	yer	aqrab-énn-əs	/
	3SG.M-want.PFV	only	grab.VN-of-3SG	/

he just wanted to grab

(115)	taltí	n	əl?amír	n	əlmálæk	//
	woman.SG.F	of	emir.SG.M	of	king.SG.M	//

the wife of the king's emir.

(116)	yə-xsá	g-i-qérb-et	yáŋni	/
	3SG.M-want.PFV	IRR-3SG.M-grab.AOR-DO.3SG.F	I mean	/

He wanted to take her. I mean,

(117)	t-ugáy	/	al	tə́rwáwen	yə-zúr-ən	/	əlwóqt
	3SG.F-refuse PEV	/	until	child PI.F	3-grow PEV-PI	/	time SG.F

She refused. Until the boys grew up. When

(118) wan tarwáwen q-va-zúr-an annhardim

REL child.PL.F IRR-3-grow.AOR-PL in\_the\_past

the boys grew up, at that time,

(119) t [15] yə-Ćmar-én / g-yə-ምም-as i

what 3-do.PFV-PL / IRR-3SG.M-say.AOR-IO.3SG to

what did they do? (The emir) would say to

(120) abbá-nn-əs hánta xs-əm ?

father.SG.M-of-3SG what want.PFV-2PL ?

his father: “What do you (all) want?

(121) tləb wən yé-xs-ən aqbél g-i-Ńähr-ən /

ask.IMP REL 3-want.PFV-PL before IRR-3-circumcise.AOR-PL /

Ask (them) what they want before they get circumcised.

(122) lázəm aqbél aŃahár / di étləb

it\_is\_needed before circumcise.VN / EXIST ask.VN

They have to ask before they get circumcised”.

(123) g-yə-Ńálb-ən-t / amsíhhi yə-ምም-ásən

IRR-3-ask.AOR-PL-DO.3SG.M / Christian.SG.M 3-say.PFV-IO.3PL

The Christian told

(124) i təŃwáwen ləwqáddin ġiddí-twən

to child.PL.F a\_while\_ago grandfather.SG.M-POSS.2PL

the children: “A while ago your grandfather

(125)	yə-ñm-áwən	tánta	xs-əm	?	əm̥má-m-as [16]
	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.2PL	what	want.PFV-2PL	?	say.IMP-2PL-IO.3SG
asked you: 'what do you want?'. (Well, you all) tell him					
(126)	nə-xsa	azərrá	yer	xalí-tanax	/ ánni
	1PL-want.PFV	see.VN	only	uncle.SG.M-POSS.1PL	/ COMP
'We just want to see our uncle, so that					
(127)	ga-bb-á-nknum [17]		gá-zr-əm	xalí-twən	
	IRR-take.AOR-1SG-DO.2PL	IRR-see.AOR-2PL		uncle.SG.M-POSS.2PL	
I will take you and you will see your uncle					
(128)	ga-sdul-á-nknum			/ anni	g-yé-qqad
	IRR-let_come_back.AOR-1SG-DO.2PL		/	COMP	IRR-3SG.M-take.AOR
and (then) I will let you come back" (so that he could take					
(129)	əm̥m-és	d	tə̥rwawén	//	
	mother.SG.F-POSS.3SG	and	child.PL.F	//	
the mother and (her) children).					
(130)	y-uséd	ğéddi-s		/ háyya	awlád
	3-come.PFV	grandfather.SG.M-POSS.3SG		/ come_on	boy.PL.M
The grandfather came (and asked:) "Come on, boys,					
(131)	ga-táhr-am	u	xłas	yomén	tláta
	IRR-circumcise.AOR-2PL	or	stop	two_days	three

you will be circumcised, two, three days more days

(132) ga-n-ṭahr-áwən / hánta xs-əm ?

IRR-1PL-circumcise.AOR-IO.2PL / what want.PFV-2PL ?

and we will circumcise you. What do you want?"

(133) yə-ℳℳá-n-as ənšní nə-xsá azərrá

3-say.PFV-PL-IO.3SG IDP.1PL 1PL-want.PFV see.VN

(The children) told him: "We just want to meet

(134) xwalí-tanax / yə-ℳℳ-ásən xlaš / yálla /

uncle.SG.M-POSS.1PL / 3-say.PFV-IO.3PL stop / come\_on /

our uncle". He said: "Alright, let's go!"

(135) yə-ktr-én amsíhhi / yə-qqád-ən-t /

3-bring.PFV-PL Christian.SG.M / 3-take.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.M /

They (the emir and the king) brought the Christian, they took him,

(136) yə-qqád-ən tálti / yə-fl-én /

3-take.PFV-PL woman.SG.F / 3-leave.PFV-PL /

they took the woman and they left.

(137) yə-ṣṣaffar-én yə-hh-én anni g-yé-żr-ən

3-travel.PFV-PL 3-go.PFV-PL COMP IRR-3-see.AOR-PL

They traveled, in order to see

(138) xwalí-tsən / ššwaytén

uncle.SG.M-POSS.3PL / after\_a\_while

their uncle. After a while,

(139) i-mérq-ən g ankán

3-reach.PFV-PL in place.SG.M

they reached a place.

(140) yə-ṛṛm-ás ah / ga-ṭṭáwañ-ṭ-i

3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG yes / IRR-obey.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG

(The Christian) said: “Will you obey me

(141) na ga-γérṣ-ñ-am éğğən n ğir ?

or IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.2SG.F one.M of son.SG.M ?

or will I slaughter one of the children?

(142) tə-bdú aglás / yə-ṛṛm-ás lá-gəlləs /

3SG.M-start.PFV cry.VN / 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG NEG-cry.IMP /

(The woman) started to cry. (The Christian) said: “Don’t cry,

(143) na ga-γérṣ-ñ-as i ğir na

or IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG to child.SG.M or

either I will slaughter one child or

(144) ga-ṭṭáwañ-ṭ-i / yə-ṛṛm-ás

IRR-obey.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG / 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG

you will obey me”. He said:

(145)	γérš-as	/	kull	yom	i-γérřəš
	slaughter.IMP-IO.3SG	/	every	day.SG.M	3SG.M-slaughter.IPFV

“Slaughter him”. Every day he slaughtered

(146)	hánta	?	[laugh]	ğir	/	al	yə-qqʷá-n	/
	what	?	[laugh]	son.SG.M	/	until	3-finish.PFV-PL	/

what? (One of the) son(s). Until there were no more.

(147)	yə-μμ-ás	xlaš	g	axf-énn-əm [18]	/	na
	3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG	stop	in	head.SG.M-of-2SG.F	/	or

(The Christian) told her: “Now it's your turn.

(148)	ga-ṭṭáwań-Ń-i	na	ga-γérš-Ń-am	?
	IRR-obey.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG	or	IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.2SG.F	?

Will you obey me or will I slaughter you?”

(149)	té-μμ-as	éşşbar	gá-Ńbb-ax	/
	3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG	wait.IMP	IRR-wash.AOR-1SG	/

She said: “Wait, I will do the ablutions,

(150)	ga-żáll-ax	bańd	ams-ók	γérš-i	/
	IRR-pray.AOR-1SG	after	this-2SG.M	slaughter.IMP-IO.1SG	/

I will pray and then, slaughter me!”

(151)	t-řah	tə-şşáy	əttánğrət	/	tə-γréš
	3SG.F-go.PFV	3SG.F-take.PFV	pot.SG.F	/	3SG.F-slaughter.PFV

She took the pot, she slaughtered

(152) tyazéṭ / t-ḥáṭṭ-as      hébba      n      áman  
 chicken.SG.F / 3SG.F-put.PFV-IO.3SG      a\_bit      of      water.PL.M

a chicken, she put a bit of water,

(153) tə-ğğ-ét      t-béršak      /      tə-ḥlúm  
 3SG.F-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F      3SG.F-immerse.PFV      /      3SG.F-gather.PFV

she left it, she immerse (it). She gathered

(154) əlḥal-énn-əs      /      tə-rwál      /      ət-tézzəl  
 stuff.SG.M-of-3SG      /      3SG.F-flee.PFV      /      3SG.F-run.IPFV

her stuff, she ran away,

(155) ət-tézzəl      ət-tézzəl      /      amsíḥhi      /  
 3SG.F-run.IPFV      3SG.F-run.IPFV      /      Christian.SG.M      /

far, far away. The Christian

(156) l-i-tbáh-a      yə-ğñíl-a  
 NEG-3SG.M-sleep.PFV-PRAGM      3SG.M-think.PFV-PRAGM

did not pay attention, he thought that she

(157) əntátət      /      té-ḥbbu      /  
 IDP.3SG.F      /      3SG.F-wash.IPFV      /

was doing the ablutions,

(158) əntátət      tə-ɣṛís-a

IDP.3SG.F 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM

but she had slaughtered

(159) tyazət t-ħaṭṭ-ít-a g bətta ?  
 chicken.SG.F 3SG.F-put.PFV-DO.3SG.F-PRAGM in what ?  
 the chicken and put it where?

(160) g əṭṭánğṛət / əlmuhumm tə-bdú ət-tákəl  
 in pot.SG.F / important.SG.M 3SG.F-start.PFV 3SG.F-walk.IPFV

In the pot. Most importantly, she started to walk

(161) ət-tákəl t-kim i šal xlaf  
 3SG.F-walk.IPFV 3SG.F-enter.PFV to country.SG.M different.SG.M  
 a lot, she entered another town,

(162) tə-ffáy-a / tə-rwál af amsíħħi  
 3SG.F-go\_out.PFV-PRAGM / 3SG.M-flee.PFV on Christian.SG.M  
 she had gone out, she had run away from the Christian,

(163) xáłəs //  
 at\_all //  
 a lot.

(164) ššwaytén t-ifá aggʷíd ləħgúz i-γérr  
 after\_a\_while 3SG.F-find.PFV man.Sg.M old.SG.M 3Sg.M-read.IPFV  
 After a while, she found an old man who was reading

(165) əlqu?rán / tə-ڻénڻən səddw-és / tə-lsá  
 Quran.SG.M / 3SG.F-sit.PFV beside-3SG.F / 3SG.F-wear.PFV  
 the Quran and she sat close to him, she wore

(166) əllébs n aggʷídan / tə-ڻmáṛ-a alfáf /  
 cloth.PL.M of man.PL.M / 3SG.F-do.PFV-PRAGM turban.SG.M /  
 men's clothes, she made a turban,

(167) tə-lmád ahfáṭ əlqu?rán / sgən aggʷíd  
 3SG.M-learn.PFV recite.VN Quran.SG.M / from man.SG.M  
 she learned how to recite the Quran, from the old man.

(168) šáref / tə-bdú aččú tiswí tə-ڻmáṛ  
 old.SG.M / 3SG.M-start.PFV eat.VN drink.VN 3SG.F-do.PFV  
 She started to eat, drink, she became

(169) imán-n-əs aggʷíd / ággʷid šáref laqmí  
 REFL-of-3SG man.SG.M / man.SG.M old.SG.M blind.SG.M  
 herself (like) a man. The old man was blind,

(170) l-í-żərr / tə-ȝlá fəll-ás  
 NEG-3SG.M-see.IPFV / 3SG.F-like.PFV on-IO.3SG  
 he could not see. He liked her,

(171) yə-ȝgá díd-əs /  
 3SG.M-leave.PFV with-3SG /

he stayed with her,

(172)	tə-ḥfāṭ	əlqu?rán	/	aggʷíd	yə-mmúṭ	/
	3SG.F-recite.PFV	Quran.SG.M	/	man.SG.M	3SG.M-die.PFV	/

she recited the Quran. The old man died

(173)	əntátət	tə-bdú		hánta	?	
	IDP.3SG.F	3SG.F-start.PFV		what	?	

(and) what did she start (doing)?

(174)	t-ɣəṛṛ	əlqu?rán	/			
	3SG.F-read.IPFV	Quran.SG.M	/			

(She started) reading the Quran.

(175)	yə-bdú-n	itadém	s	bˤid	i-taséd-n-as	/
	3-start.PFV-PL	people.PL.M	from	far	3-come.IPFV-PL-IO.3SG	/

People from far away started to come to her,

(176)	ánni	g-i-sél-n-as	/	tálti		
	COMP	IRR-3-listen.AOR-PL-IO.3SG	/	woman.SG.F		

in order to listen to her. This woman,

(177)	tát-ok	/	əntátət	tə-ʕmáṛ-a		
	DEM.SG.F-2SG.M	/	IDP.3SG.F	3SG.F-do.PFV-PRAGM		

(well) she became

(178) imán-n-əs aggʷid / əlléħħla n  
 REFL-of-3SG man.SG.M / beauty.SG.M of  
 herself (like) a man, (for) the beauty of

(179) səwt-énn-əs i-tás-ənd / s əgdá  
 voice.SG.M-of-3SG 3-come.IPFV-PL / from here  
 her voice, they came from here,

(180) s əgdá / səg šaliwén xlaf /  
 from here / from country.PL.M different.SG.M /  
 they came from there, they came from different countries.

(181) al::: éggən n ənnhár tə-zṛá bəttín  
 until one.M of day.SG.M 3SG.F-see.PFV who  
 Until one day, who did she see,

(182) yə-llumí-n-a sg itadém ? aggʷid-énn-əs /  
 3-gather.PFV-PL-PRAGM from people.PL.M ? man.SG.M-of-3SG /  
 gathered among the people? Her husband

(183) d::: abbá-nn-əs n təṛwáwen / d::: əlmálək /  
 and father.SG.M-of-3SG and child.PL.F / and king.SG.M /  
 (the father of the children), the king,

(184) əlli howa góddi-s n təṛwáwen /  
 REL IDP.3SG.M grandfather.SG.M-POSS.3SG of child.PL.F /

the one who was the grandfather of the children,

(185) d amsíḥḥi / d::: abbá-nn-əs /

and Christian.SG.M / and father.SG.M-of-3SG /

the Christian, her father,

(186) d ámṛma-s / tálti tléḥğust /

and brother.SG.M-POSS.3SG / woman.SG.F old.SG.F /

her brother, the old woman,

(187) d [FS] tálti tléḥğust wən tə-qqérqb-as /

and [FS] woman.SG.F old.SG.F REL 3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG /

the old woman who knocked (at her door)

(188) d aggʷíd wən yə-qqérqb-as nnúba

and man.SG.M REL 3SG.M-knock.PFV-IO.3SG all

and the man who knocked (at her door), everybody

(189) i-llayəm-ín-a / g ammás n itádəm /

3-meet.PFV-PL-PRAGM / in middle of people.PL.M /

met among other people.

(190) t-ɣəṛṛ t-ɣəṛṛ t-ɣəṛṛ nnúba

3SG.F-read.IPFV 3SG.F-read.IPFV 3SG.F-read.IPFV all

She (kept) reading, reading, reading. Everybody

(191) i-séll-ən / léḥla n sawt-énn-əs /

3-listen.IPFV-PL / beauty.SG.M of voice.SG.M-of-3SG /

was listening to the beauty of her voice.

(192) báːd-ma tə-x̣iːs g ayérra / tə-㎜ₘ-ás  
after-COMP 3SG.F-finish.PFV in read.VN / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG

When she stopped reading, she said:

(193) yálla ga-nə-xxbáṛ-wət ḥébba / kull əgg̣én  
come\_on IRR-1PL-tell.AOR-2PL a\_little / every one.M

“Come on, let’s tell (a story). Each one (of you)

(194) [FS] g-i-xébbər tánta i-ṣar-ás-a  
[FS] IRR-3SG.M-tell.AOR what 3SG.M-happen.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM  
should say what happened

(195) g əddənyət-énn-əs // [FS] yə-㎜ₘá-n-as yálla /  
in life.SG.F-of-3SG // [FS] 3-say.PFV-PL-IO.3SG come\_on /  
in his (/her) life”. They told her: “Come on,

(196) šəm gá-bdu-ť úwwəlúwwəl / tə-㎜ₘ-ás  
IDP.2SG.F IRR-start.AOR-2SG first\_of\_all / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG

you start first”. She said:

(197) x̣laš niš ga-xəḅḅr-ń-áwən / i-ṣáṛ  
stop IDP.1SG IRR-tell.AOR-1SG-IO.2PL / 3SG.M-happen.PFV  
“Ok, I will tell you, it happened



the old woman and the man (told her): "You are a liar,

(205)	səg	má	ssn-aṭ	žlan	daw-í-ya	?
	from	where	know.PFV-2SG	speech.PL.M	DEM-PL-PRAGM	?

from where do you know this story?"

(206)	šaṭṭ	t-išéršah	akbər-énn-əs	tə-ℳℳℳ-ás
	3SG.M-tear_off.PFV	cloth.SG.M-of-3SG	3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG	

She tore off her clothes, she said:

(207)	niš	bídu	nétta	/	tə-bˤád
	IDP.1SG	also	IDP.3SG.M	/	3SG.F-tear.PFV

"It's me, indeed (behind this man)." She tore off

(208)	alfaf-énn-əs	/	tə-ffáy	tálти	/
	turban.SG.M-of-3SG	/	3SG.F-go_out.PFV	woman.SG.F	/

her turban, the woman came out.

(209)	n	wən:::	yə-qqərqb-n-ás-a	/	amsíḥhi
	of	REL	3-knock.PFV-PL-IO.3SG-PRAGM	/	Christian.SG.M

Those who knocked (at her door) and the Christian

(210)	i-γərṣ-ás-a	tərwawen-énn-əs	/
	3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM	child.PL.F-of-3SG	/

who had slaughtered her children,

(211)	yə-ṭṭf-én-tən	/	ašébˤan	/
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3-apprehend.PFV-PL-DO.3PL / rich.SG.M /

they apprehended them. (To) the rich,

(212) i-ḥátt-n-as sən n tihézma n şyáṛən  
3-put.PFV-PL-IO.3SG two of bundle.PL.F of wood.PL.M

they put two bundles of wood

(213) yə-ḥéṛq-ən-t / aféqri / i-ḥátt-n-as  
3-burn.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.M / poor.SG.M / 3-put.PFV-PL-IO.3SG

and they burned him. (To) the poor, they put

(214) éğğət n thézmət n şyáṛən yə-ḥéṛq-ən-t /  
one.F of bundle.SG.F of wood.PL.M 3-burn.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.M /

one bundle of wood and they burned him.

(215) tə-dwél yən agg<sup>wid</sup>-énn-əs / t-šábət  
3SG.F-come\_back.PFV to man.SG.M-of-3SG / 3SG.F-hug.PFV

(The woman) came back to her husband, she hugged

(216) abbá-nn-əs / yé-Ńš-ən  
father.SG.M-of-3SG / 3SG.M-live.PFV-PL

her father, they lived

(217) [fi aman w tabat aw nabat / xallifu şubyan u banat]

[Ending formula in Arabic: in peace and security, they gave birth to boys and girls].

### 3. Conclusions

<17> The list of features in the first part of this paper has shown how Siwi folktales fit with the broader characteristics that have been found to be typical in North African folktales, showing that this kind of oral production is constantly influenced and transmitted between different peoples who may even live far away from each other. Nevertheless, the folktale presented above also enriches our knowledge of Siwi literary tradition because it contains elements not found in the Siwi texts collected until now, such as the presence of different religious people who are sometimes connotated positively, and other times negatively.

<18> Moreover, the presence of Arabic riddles and ending formulas confirms how this kind of oral production influences and in turn is being influenced by surrounding communities. It is auspicable that in the near future we will have more data on the oral literary production of the non-Siwi communities living in the oasis (such as Bedouins living in the peripheral areas of the oasis). This would allow us to understand whether this influence is limited to specific/functional parts of the folktale only, or whether it is taking place on a larger scale. The paper aims at making a small contribution to filling this gap in an area which still requires a lot of investigation.

### 4. List of abbreviations

AOR	aorist
COMP	complementizer
DEM	demonstrative
DO	direct object
EXIST	existential
F	feminine
FS	false start
IDP	independent pronoun
IMP	imperative
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
M	masculine
PFV	perfective

PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRAGM	pragmatic relevance marker
PROG	progressive
N	noun
NEG	negative
REL	relative
SG	singular
VOC	vocative
VN	verbal noun
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
/	end of a minor prosodic unit
//	end of a major prosodic unit

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[1] I wish to thank here the narrator of this tale and all the speakers of Siwi who have helped me throughout the years I spent conducting my research.

[2] For a more thorough analysis of different aspects of the Siwi language, the reader might refer to Laoust 1931, Vycichl 2005, Naumann 2012, Souag 2013, Schiattarella 2017, as well as to all the works cited throughout the paper. The list is not intended to be exhaustive.

[3] The symbols used in the examples do not always correspond to the ones used in IPA, namely: š [ʃ]; ž [ʒ]; y [j]; č [tʃ]; ġ [dʒ]; x [χ]; y [ʁ]; h [h]; ڻ [ڻ]; h [h]. Moreover, pharyngealization is marked here with a subscribed dot, while in IPA, it is marked by a raised ڻ [ڻ]. For example: b=bڻ.

[4] In this article, the accent has been marked using an acute accent. Accent on nouns in Siwi is not fixed and does not depend on the syllable weight. The accent can in fact fall on the last or penultimate syllable. When a vowel is long and stressed, only the length diacritic will be used (ex. ā).

[5] 3SG.M/F and 3PL direct object clitics also follow two different paradigms, depending on the fact that they follow the verb stem or other suffixes. See for example *yə-ğğ-é n-ə t* : 3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F 'they left her' and *yə- xsá g-iqé rb-ət* : 3SG.M-want.PFV IRR-3SG.M-grab.AOR-DO.3SG.F 'he wanted to grab **her**' (116). See Souag 2013: 46 for an overview on the Siwi pronouns.

[6] The verb 'to go' is grammaticalized in Siwi (Schiattarella 2015: 95), like in other Berber languages (Chaker 1997: 110) and is used to express that the action is imminent.

[7] Demonstratives in Siwi have a very rare typological feature: the addressee agreement. If the addressee is a male, the suffix is *-ok*, if a female, the suffix is *-om*, if there is more than one person *-erwən*. A suffix *-a* (-ya) is also possible, when the speaker does not share the information with the addressee or when the speaker refers to abstract referents (see Souag 2013: 138-151, 2014a, 2014b; Schiattarella 2017: 33-34).

[8] The *-a* suffix, here glossed PRAGM, can be attached to verbs, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers and to the existential particle *di* 'there is' or '*yur*-'at'+pronouns', indicating possession. Its function for all this categories is to mark pragmatic relevance for the speaker. See Schiattarella (forthcoming) for more details.

[9] When a verb at 1SG is followed by an indirect object clitic, the personal clitic is *-(a)c* instead of *-(a)x*.

[10] The noun following *yəṛṣ* 'to slaughter' can be both a direct or indirect object. In the latter case, the indirect object pronoun is obligatory suffixed to the verb and the lexical indirect object is preceded by the preposition *i* 'to'. The choice between direct and indirect complements is often determined by semantic properties, like animacy and definiteness. Direct objects are favoured with non-human and/or non-identifiable nouns, while indirect objects are preferred with human and/or identifiable nouns. When the indirect pronoun is not co-referential to the noun that follows the verb (the object of slaughtering), the noun following the verb is a direct object (without *i*), even if human and/or identifiable (see 141 and 210).

[11] *idammən* 'blood', as well as most liquids, is plural in Siwi. That is why the direct object pronoun here is *-tən* (3PL): *ga-swáx-t ən*, lit. 'I will drink them'.

[12] The verb *ay* 'to take' is here grammaticalized and used with the meaning of 'to do the action of'. The verb 'to give' is also grammaticalized in this sense. See for example: *y-uš-as ačču* 'he did the action of eating, he started to eat', lit. 'he gave him to eat'.

[13] The interrogative word *mani* 'where', sometimes preceded by a preposition (*g* 'in' *mani*, *sg* 'from', *i* 'to') can be reduced to *ma*, like in this passage (*g ma* instead of *g mani*) or to *m* alone '*i m ətth-at* (to where go.IPFV-2SG) 'where are you going?'.

[14] *wihin* (SG.M/PL); *tihin* (SG.F) is a placeholder word used when the speaker has temporarily forgotten what to say. The speaker was about to say *əlkahin* 'priest' rather than 'Christian'.

[15] The interrogative word for 'what' *tanta*, can be reduced to *ta*: *ta tačmar* 'what does she do?' or *t* alone, if followed by a word starting with a vowel, like in this example.

[16] When an imperative is followed by an indirect object, the plural *-wət* is replaced by *-m-* (Souag 2013: 195-196).

[17] When the verb is 1SG and has the 2SG.M/F or 2PL direct object, the suffix is just *a* (instead of *-(a)x* and the direct object clitic does not follow the usual paradigm, but the independent pronouns are used instead (in this case *ənkn̩um* 'you (all)').

[18] *axfi* is the word for 'head', but when followed by the possessive pronoun, it can also be translated with 'turn': *axf-ənnaw* 'my turn', *axf-ənnək* 'your turn (M), etc.'.

[19] The 2SG.M form of the independent pronoun is used here because people think the protagonist is a man,

as she is wearing men's clothes.

## Lizenz

### Empfohlene Zitierweise

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