

Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online

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

Valentina Schiattarella
University of Naples « L'Orientale »
vale.schiattarella@gmail.com

urn:nbn:de:0009-10-49617

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contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language (Berber, Egypt), through the transcription and translation of an unpublished folktale, recorded by the author in Siwa (Egypt) in 2018.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 The aim of this paper is to contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language by presenting an unpublished folktale, transcribed and translated into English, thus incrementing the amount of data available on Siwi that may be useful for further studies on the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 29th 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 ɣra dí* '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 *šaliwən*).

- <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 ḥ 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: *ḥattuta, ḥattuta, qaṣṣaṣ ḥmaṣṣa. akəmmūs n xer i ənšni, akəmmūs n šaṣ i əntn ən*, 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 *ššwayte n* '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^w id l-yə rriyyah* 'The man was not satisfied'; (69) *yərfa' -ya* 'He was scared'; (116) *yə xsá g-iqərb-et yá ḥni* 'He wanted to grab her'; (169-170) *agg^wid šarəf laḥmi l-izəṛṛ* 'The old man was blind, he could not see'; (183) *abbá-nnəs n tərɰáwen* '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- yərsɰ-as na la-ga-yərsɰ-as? māmək ga-yərsɰ-as i wáltma?* 'Should I slaughter her or not? How will I slaughter my sister?'

1.2. Structure of the folktale

- <15> The entire story can be divided in five main parts:
- 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) máɾɾa [3] di:: agg^wid [4] / d:: yúr-əs tləččá / 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) akəɓɓí / abbá-nn-əs n tləčča / [FS] d akəɓɓi
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 tiɰí i aɣáǧǧi /
3-want.PFV-PL go.VN to make_a_pilgrimage.VN /

wanted to go on a pilgrimage.

(4) g-yé-ǧǧ-ən bəttín / g-yé-ǧǧ-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 ləbdaʕət n [FS] tləttšhūr

3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG supply.SG.F of [FS] three_months

They bought a supply (of food) for three,

(7) arbaʕtšhūr / g-yə-ħħ-ən i aħáǧǧi

four_months / IRR-3-go.AOR-PL to make_a_pilgrimage.VN

four months, and then they went on the pilgrimage

(8) s iləymán /

with camel.PL.M /

with (their) camels.

(9) yə-ṛṛ-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 əlmunét n tləttšhūr

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) arbaʕtšhūr 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 álbaṛṛ xáləṣ / lá-təffay / tə-mṛ-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) xləṣ a ábba lā-ffɣ-ax xáləṣ / [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-ğǧ-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 ləbdaɣət 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-ğǧ-én-tət ǧági /
3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F [5] inside /

they left her inside.

- (17) di agg^wíd yə-xsá:: aʒbad-én-n-əs tléčča /
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-wéṣṣa taltí tləɣǧúst tšarəft /

3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F old.SG.F old.SG.F /

He asked an old woman,

(19) taltí bint_ḥarám / t-rah [6]

woman.SG.F ill_repute / 3SG.F-go.PFV

a woman of ill-repute, she started

(20) tə-qqərqb-as / ulá / y-uséd

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

knocking. No! The man came first,

(21) agg^wíd úwwəl / qbəl:: tálti tšáreft /

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-ṛṛṛ-ás:: / niš ʕbər_sabil /

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 əʕtəš-áx-a /

want.PFV-1SG water.PL.M be_thirsty.PFV-1SG-PRAGM [8] /

I want water, I am thirsty”.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------|---|
| (25) | tə-ṁṁ-ás | ábba | yə-ṣṣaffár-a | / |
| | 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG | father.SG.M | 3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM | / |

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

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

- (26) ámma yə-ʃʃaffár-a /

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

my brother is away,

- (27) lā-fətk-ʕ-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-ʕ-as i híd-da /

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

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

- (29) haram fella-m us-i aman /

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

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

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| (30) | tə-ṁṁ-ás | ábba | yə-ṁṁa-í-ya |
| | 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG | father.SG.M | 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.1SG-PRAGM |

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

She said: "My father told me

- (31) la-fóttk-as i hædd / lá-töffay

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 xáļeş / yə-flá táni 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 / táļet 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-wéşşə taltí tşarəft /
 until 3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F old.SG.F /
 Until (the passer-by) asked an old woman,

- (36) taltí::: bint_ħarám / t-uséd
 woman.SG.F ill_repute / 3SG.F-come.PFV
 a woman of ill-repute, she came

- (37) t-qqərqb-ás i tláčča /
 3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG to girl.SG.F /
 and knocked on the girl(‘s door).

- (38) [yəhdiki yərdiki mişʕarəf 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) fəttk-i a bənti / t-ugáy
 open.IMP-IO.1SG VOC my_girl / 3SG.F-refuse.PFV
 Open up for me, girl”. She refused

- (40) ga-té-ftək albab / agg^wíd
 IRR-3SG.F-open.AOR door.SG.M / man.SG.M
 to open the door. The man

- (41) l-yé-rəyyah / al::: abbá-nn-əs xləş
 NEG-3SG.M-rest.PFV / until father.SG.M-of-3SG stop
 was not satisfied. Until the father, *well*,

- (42) i-tás-ənd sg əlhəğğáğ anni
 3-come.IPFV-PL from pilgrimage.PL.M COMP
 they were coming back from the pilgrimage.

- (43) g-(y)-ús-ənd / yə-fl-én tləttšhúr /
 IRR-3-come.AOR-PL / 3-leave.PFV-PL three_months /
 Three months had passed,

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

(45) sg əḥəǧǧǧáǧ // áǧǧ^{wid} i-ɾáḥ

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-ṛṛṛ-ás i abbá-nn-əs / ɣwa

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-ɾɾaḥ

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 té-ɾɾaḥ i iṭílən 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-ɾɾaḥ /

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) ɣer / niš əṛṛṛí-ɣ-ak əlmanét 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-wəṣṣl-áx-tət niš wəṣṣl-áx-tət

IRR-transmit.AOR-1SG-DO.3SG.F IDP.1SG transmit.PFV-1SG-DO.3SG.F

transmit it. I transmitted it”.

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

Well, the father said:

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

“This girl, take her.

- (54) ga-γérʃ-ʃ-as [10] / lá-xs-ix azərrá-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-ʃ-i idammən-ənn-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 azərrá-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-ṛṛ-ás ga-γérʃ-ʃ-as na

(65) ʕammál i-tásəd / háyya gá-(n)-ɾɾaḥ
 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-uɣá [12] aḥḥá-s ašaḇét 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-ɣérʃ-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-ʃʃy-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 ʃʃáhɾa / i-téffal-ən bʕid
 3SG.M-leave.PFV-PL to desert.SG.M / 3-leave.IPFV-PL far

they went to the desert, they went far,

- (72) bʕid bʕid bʕid bʕid / yə-ffɪ-ən af šal
far far far far / 3-go_out.PFV-PL from country.SG.M

far away, they went out of the town,

- (73) xáləʃ / al:: i-zəwɪ-ən yə-ṛṛ-əs
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) yə-ṛṛ-əs mazál bʕid ɣer 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) yə-f-ən tamɣáɪt / yə-ɬs-ən / yə-ʃʃbaɾ 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 / yə-ʃʃáy txušet /
3SG.F-sleep.IPFV / 3SG.M-take.PFV knife.SG.F /

she was sleeping. He took a knife.

- (78) ga-yérʃ-ʕ-as na

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

(He thought:) “Should I slaughter her or

(79) la-ga-γérɣ-ɣ-as ?

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

not?

(80) mámək ga-γérɣ-ɣ-as i wəltma /

how IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG to sister.SG.F /

How will I slaughter my sister?”

(81) ššwaytén sbħan_allah ráḅḅi /

after_a_while praise_be_to_Allah God.SG.M /

After a while, praise be to Allah, God

(82) i-baɣt-ás tyarɣáɣt /

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

sent him a rabbit.

(83) yə-ttəf tyárɣaɣt

3SG.M-catch.PFV rabbit.SG.F

(The brother) caught the rabbit

(84) i-γérɣ-as / yə-ɣɣáy ləwɣá::: /

3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG / 3SG.M-take.PFV bowl.SG.M /

and slaughtered it, he took a bowl,

- (85) yə-fá ləwʕá / yə-ččúr-a idammén
 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) əgd-əs / yə-ttəwah tyárzaʃt 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-hḥ-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 yérʃ-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-mḥ-ás ah yérʃ-ʕ-as /
 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG yes slaughter.PFV-1SG-IO.3SG /

(His son) replied: “Yes I slaughtered her.

- (90) ɣw-í-ya idammén /
 DEM-PL-PRAGM blood.PL.M /

This is (her) blood”.

- (91) yə-ʃʃy-én yə-sw-én //
 3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3PL 3SG.M-drink.PFV-DO.3PL //

(The father) took it and drank it.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|------------------------|---|-----------|------|---|
| (92) | báʕd-ma | yə-sw-én | / | tləčča | xlaʂ | / |
| | after-COMP | 3SG.M-drink.PFV-DO.3PL | / | girl.SG.F | stop | / |

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

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---|-----------------|----------------------|
| (93) | t-néddum | / | yə-ǵǵá | 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-állá | g | tám̃yart | yə-flá | i | ágbən | xlaş |
| | 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-γəɾʃ-ás-a | / | nétta |
| | as if | 3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM | / | IDP.3SG.M |

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

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------|---|
| (96) | yə-ğğ-ét | tə-ddír-a | / |
| | 3SG.M-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F | 3SG.F-live.PFV-PRAGM | / |

left her alive.

- (97) [FS] t-fáttað / t-ṭəbbāḥ
[FS] 3SG.F-look for.IPFV / 3SG.F-call.IPFV

(The girl started) searching, she called out,

- (98) lá-di hídda i-təmm-ás / [FS]

NEG-EXIST person.SG.M 3SG.M-say.IPFV-IO.3SG / [FS]

there was no one,

(99) imán-n-əs tt-élla g ššáhṛa /

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

she was alone in the desert,

(100) ɣer g támyart / t-ifá

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

but in the cave. She found

(101) tyarṛášt tə-ɣrış-a tə-||úṛ /

rabbit.SG.F 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM 3SG.F-be_hungry.PFV /

a slaughtered rabbit, she was hungry,

(102) tə-ššáy 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 ḥəbba 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-ʕəṭəš tə-xsá

3SG.F-find.PFV [FS] 3SG.F-be_thirsty.PFV 3SG.F-want.PFV

She was thirsty, she wanted

(105) amán / t-fəttaš t-fəttaš /
 water.PL.M / 3SG.F-look_for.IPFV 3SG.F-look_for.IPFV /
 some water. She kept searching,

(106) tə-bdú abḥát 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:: əlʔamír 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-ḃərrəṃ s ágmar /
 3SG.M-go_around.IPFV with horse.SG.M /
 who was going around with (his) horse,

(109) yə-zɾ-ét / té-ʕǧb-as /
 3SG.M-see.PFV-DO.3SG.F / 3SG.F-please.PFV-IO.3SG /
 he saw her, she pleased him,

(110) yə-ʂʂiy-ét / í-ɾaḥ 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-nǧf-ét //
 3SG.M-marry.PFV-DO.3SG.F //

and married her.

(112) t-iráw sébʕa n ikəḅḅán /

3SG.F-give_birth.PFV seven of boy.PL.M /

She gave birth to seven boys.

(113) di éǧǧən / əlkah [FS] wihín amsiḥḥí /

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 ʔer aqrab-ənn-əs /

3SG.M-want.PFV only grab.VN-of-3SG /

he just wanted to grab

(115) taltí n əlʔamír n əlmálək //

woman.SG.F of emir.SG.M of king.SG.M //

the wife of the king's emir.

(116) yə-xsá g-i-qərb-et yáʕni /

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 tərʔáwen yə-zúr-ən / əlwóqt

3SG.F-refuse.PFV / until child.PL.F 3-grow.PFV-PL / time.SG.F

She refused. Until the boys grew up. When

(118) wən tərʔáwen g-yə-zúr-ən ənnhaḍdin

REL child.PL.F IRR-3-grow.AOR-PL in_the_past

the boys grew up, at that time,

(119) t [15] yə-ḡmaṛ-én / g-yé-ṛṛṛ-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) ṭləb wən yé-xs-ən aqbél g-i-ṭáhr-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 aṭahár / di étṭləb

it_is_needed before circumcise.VN / EXIST ask.VN

They have to ask before they get circumcised".

(123) g-yə-ṭélḡ-ən-t / amsíḥḥi yə-ṛṛṛ-ásən

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

The Christian told

(124) i tərṣáwen ləwqáddin ḡiddí-twən

to child.PL.F a_while_ago grandfather.SG.M-POSS.2PL

the children: "A while ago your grandfather

- (125) yə-ṛṛ-áwən tánta xs-əm ? əṛṛá-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 azəṛṛá ɣer xalí-tnax / ánni
 1PL-want.PFV see.VN only uncle.SG.M-POSS.1PL / COMP
 ‘We just want to see our uncle, so that

- (127) ga-ḃḃ-á-nknum [17] gá-zṛ-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-qquad
 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) əṛṛ-és d təṛwawén //
 mother.SG.F-POSS.3SG and child.PL.F //
 the mother and (her) children).

- (130) y-uséd ġéddi-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-ṭáhr-am u xlaṣ 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-mṣá-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-tnax / yə-mṣ-ásən xlaʃ / 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 amsíḥḥi / 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-ššaffar-én yə-ḥḥ-én anni g-yé-zṛ-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-mṁ-ás ah / ga-ṭṭáwaɿ-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-ɣérɿ-ɿ-am éğğən n ġir ?

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-mṁ-ás lá-gelləs /

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-ɣérɿ-ɿ-as i ġir na

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

either I will slaughter one child or

(144) ga-ṭṭáwaɿ-ṭ-i / yə-mṁ-ás

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

you will obey me”. He said:

She took the pot, she slaughtered

- (152) tyazét / t-ḥátt-as ḥébbā 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-ǧǧ-ét t-béršak / tə-llúm
 3SG.F-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F 3SG.F-immense.PFV / 3SG.F-gather.PFV
 she left it, she immerse (it). She gathered

- (154) əlhəl-ənn-əs / tə-rwəl / ət-təzzəl
 stuff.SG.M-of-3SG / 3SG.F-flee.PFV / 3SG.F-run.IPFV
 her stuff, she ran away,

- (155) ət-təzzəl ət-təzzəl / amsíḥḥi /
 3SG.F-run.IPFV 3SG.F-run.IPFV / Christian.SG.M /
 far, far away. The Christian

- (156) l-i-tbáh-a yə-ǧǧíl-a
 NEG-3SG.M-sleep.PFV-PRAGM 3SG.M-think.PFV-PRAGM
 did not pay attention, he thought that she

- (157) əntátət / tə-ḥbbu /
 IDP.3SG.F / 3SG.F-wash.IPFV /
 was doing the ablutions,

- (158) əntátət tə-yríṣ-a

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

but she had slaughtered

- (159) tyazét t-ħatt-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 | əṭṭánǧrət | / | əlmuhumm | tə-bdú | ət-tákəl |
| | in | pot.SG.F | / | important.SG.M | 3SG.F-start.PFV | 3SG.F-walk.IPFV |

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) | æt-tákəl | t-kim | i | šal | xlaf |
| | 3SG.F-walk.IPFV | 3SG.F-enter.PFV | to | country.SG.M | different.SG.M |

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-rwəl af amsíħhi
 3SG.F-go_out.PFV-PRAGM / 3SG.M-flee.PFV on Christian.SG.M

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) xá|əʂ //

```
at_all    //
```

a lot.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|---------------------|----------|-----------------|
| (164) | ššwaytén | t-ífa | agg ^w íd | ləŋǵúz | i-ýér̥r̥ |
| | after a while | 3SG.F-find.PFV | man.Sg.M | old.SG.M | 3Sg.M-read.IPFV |

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) əlquʔrán / tə-ʕənʕən səddw-əs / 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 agg^wɪdan / tə-ʕmār-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-lméð aḥfát əlquʔrán / sgən agg^wɪd
- 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) šárəf / tə-bdú aččú tiswí tə-ʕmār
- 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 agg^wɪd / ágg^wɪd šárəf laʕmí
- 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-zərr̥ / tə-ylá fəll-ás
- NEG-3SG.M-see.IPFV / 3SG.F-like.PFV on-IO.3SG
- he could not see. He liked her,

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

he stayed with her,

(172) tə-ḥfát əlquʔrán / agg^wid yə-mmút /

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-yərr əlquʔrán /

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-sól-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-ḥmár-a

DEM.SG.F-2SG.M / IDP.3SG.F 3SG.F-do.PFV-PRAGM

(well) she became

(178) imán-n-əs agg^wíd / əlləḥla n
 REFL-of-3SG man.SG.M / beauty.SG.M of
 herself (like) a man, (for) the beauty of

(179) səwt-ənn-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::: éǧǧən n ənnháṛ tə-zṛá bəttín
 until one.M of day.SG.M 3SG.F-see.PFV who
 Until one day, who did she see,

(182) yə-||umí-n-a sg itadém ? agg^wíd-ənn-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 tərṵáwen / 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 ǧíddi-s n tərṵáwen /
 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 áṃṃa-s / tálti tléṣḡust /

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

her brother, the old woman,

(187) d [FS] tálti tléṣḡust 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 agg^wíd 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-layəm-ín-a / g ammás n itádəm /

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

met among other people.

(190) t-γərṛ t-γərṛ t-γərṛ nnúba

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

She (kept) reading, reading, reading. Everybody

(191) i-sáll-ən / ləḥla n sawṭ-ənn-əs /

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

was listening to the beauty of her voice.

(192) báʕd-ma tə-xləʂ g ayérɾa / tə-ṛṛ-ás

after-COMP 3SG.F-finish.PFV in read.VN / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG

When she stopped reading, she said:

(193) ya||a ga-nə-xxbər-wət həbba / kull əǧǧén

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-xəbbər tánta i-ʂar-ás-a

[FS] IRR-3SG.M-tell.AOR what 3SG.M-happen.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM

should say what happened

(195) g əddənyet-ənn-əs // [FS] yə-ṛṛá-n-as yá||a /

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-ʔ úwwəlúwwəl / tə-ṛṛ-ás

IDP.2SG.F IRR-start.AOR-2SG first_of_all / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG

you start first”. She said:

(197) xlaʂ niš ga-xəbbər-ʕ-áwən / i-ʂar

stop IDP.1SG IRR-tell.AOR-1SG-IO.2PL / 3SG.M-happen.PFV

“Ok, I will tell you, it happened

- (198) i-šar i-šar i-šar
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV
 this and this
- (199) i-šar i-šar / lá-t-təmməl
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV / NEG-3SG.F-say.IPFV
 and so on." (But) she did not tell
- (200) fəll-ás əntátət / ət-təmməl di taltí
 on-IO.3SG IDP.3SG.F / 3SG.F-say.IPFV EXIST woman.SG.F
 that it was about her, she said: 'There was a woman and
- (201) i-šar-as ámsa d ámsa d ámsa /
 3SG.M-happen.PFV-IO.3SG like_this and like_this and like_this /
 this and this and this happened to her,
- (202) i-šar i-šar i-šar
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV
 and so on".
- (203) i-šar i-šar / ššwaytén /
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV / after_a_while /
 After a while,
- (204) talti tləʕgust d ágg^wid / šək [19] akəddáb
 woman.SG.F old.SG.F and man.SG.M / IDP.2SG.M liar.SG.M

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-išéršaḥ akbər-énn-əs tə-mṃ-ás
 šaṭṭ 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) alfaḥ-énn-əs / tə-ffáy tálti /
 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 / amsíḥi
 of REL 3-knock.PFV-PL-IO.3SG-PRAGM / Christian.SG.M
 Those who knocked (at her door) and the Christian

- (210) i-γərɣ-ás-a tərɣawen-énn-əs /
 3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM child.PL.F-of-3SG /
 who had slaughtered her children,

- (211) yə-ṭṭf-én-tən / ašəbʕan /

3-apprehend.PFV-PL-DO.3PL / rich.SG.M /

they apprehended them. (To) the rich,

(212) i-ḥáṭṭ-n-as sən n tiḥézma n şẏáɾən

3-put.PFV-PL-IO.3SG two of bundle.PL.F of wood.PL.M

they put two bundles of wood

(213) yə-ḥérq-ən-t / aféqri / i-ḥáṭṭ-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) éǧǧəṭ n tḥézmət n şẏáɾən yə-ḥérq-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^wid-énⁿ-əs / t-šáḃəṭ

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-ŋš-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 connoted 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 auspicious 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

5. References

Bounfour Abdellah & Daniela Merolla 1994

« Contes », *Encyclopédie berbère* [on line], document C91, <http://journals.openedition.org/encyclopedieberbere/2324> (last access 29.11.2019)

Chaker, Salem 1997

Quelques faits de grammaticalisation en berbère. Grammaticalisation et reconstruction. In *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, pp.103-121

Kossmann, Maarten 2000

A study of Eastern Moroccan Fairy Tales. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica

Lacoste-Dujardin, Camille 1970

Le conte kabyle. Etude ethnologique. Paris: Editions La Découverte

Laoust Émile 1931

Siwa : son parler. Paris: Leroux.

Malim Fathi 2001

Oasis Siwa: from the inside. Traditions, customs & magic. Egypt: Al Katan

Naumann, Christfried 2012

Acoustically Based Phonemics of Siwi (Berber). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Scelles-Millie Jeanne 2002

Contes mystérieux d'Afrique du Nord. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose

Schiattarella Valentina 2015

Le berbère de Siwa. Documentation, syntaxe et sémantique. PhD dissertation. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01794622v1>

Schiattarella Valentina 2017

Berber texts from Siwa (Egypt) – Including a grammatical sketch. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Schiattarella Valentina 2019

Siwa: littérature. *Encyclopédie berbère.* Salem Chaker (ed.), Edisud: Aix-en-Provence, pp.7469-7476

Schiattarella, Valentina (forthcoming)

The -a suffix in Siwi Berber. In Vossen Rainer, Ibrizimow Dymitr & Stroomer Harry (eds.), *Études berbères VII. Essais sur la sémantique et autres articles. Proceedings of the 7. Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie, Frankfurt-sur-le-Main, 16-18 July 2012.* Berber Studies, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Souag Lameen 2013

Berber and Arabic in Siwa (Egypt): a study in linguistic contact. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Souag, Lameen 2014a

Siwi addressee agreement and demonstrative typology. In Taine-Cheikh Catherine and Lux Cécile (eds.), *Berber in typological perspective. STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 67,1:35-45

Souag, Lameen 2014b

The development of addressee agreement on demonstratives. *Diachronica* 31,4:535-563

Vycichl, Werner 2005

Berberstudien & A sketch of Siwi Berber (Egypt). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

[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]; ʕ [ʕ]; h [h]; ʕ [ʕ]; h [h]. Moreover, pharyngealization is marked here with a subscribed dot, while in IPA, it is marked by a raised ʕ [ˤ]. For example: b=bˤ.
- [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-ǧǧ-é n-tə t* : 3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F 'they left her' and *yə- xsá g-iqé rb-et* : 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 *ʕur-* '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)ʕ* instead of *-(a)x*.
- [10] The noun following *yərʃ* '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-aʔ* (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 taʕmar* '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 *ənknəm* '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

Schiattarella V (2019). A contribution to the documentation of Siwi (Berber). Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online, Vol. 2019. (urn:nbn:de:0009-10-49617)

Bitte geben Sie beim Zitieren dieses Artikels die exakte URL und das Datum Ihres letzten Besuchs bei dieser Online-Adresse an.

Volltext

-  Volltext als PDF (Größe: 1.2 MB)

Kommentare

Es liegen noch keine Kommentare vor.

Möchten Sie Stellung zu diesem Artikel nehmen oder haben Sie Ergänzungen?

Kommentar einreichen.