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

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Summary

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contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language (Berber, Egypt), through the transcription and translation of an unpublished folktale, recorded by the author in Siwa (Egypt) in 2018.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 The aim of this paper is to contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language by presenting an unpublished folktale, transcribed and translated into English, thus incrementing the amount of data available on Siwi that may be useful for further studies on the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

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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.

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-visuality', 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 ḥaram* '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, qaṣṣaṛ ʕṃəṛha. akəṃṃús n xer i ənšní, akəṃṃús n šaṛ i əntnə́n*, 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) *aggʷíd l-yə́rrəyyaḥ* 'The man was not satisfied'; (69) *yərfá-ya* 'He was scared'; (116) *yəxsá g-iqə́rb-et yáʕni* 'He wanted to grab her'; (169-170) *ággʷid šárəf laʕmí l-ízəṛṛ* 'The old man was blind, he could not see'; (183) *abbá-nnəs n tə̣rwáwen* '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-ɣə́ṛṣʕ-as na la-ga-ɣə́ṛṣʕ-as? mámək ga-ɣə́ṛṣʕ-as i wə́ltma?* "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]

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[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.

(1)　　márra³　di:::　　aggʷíd⁴　　/　d:::　ɣúr̩-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)　　akəḅḅí　　/　abbá-nn-əs　　　　n　tləčča　　/　[FS]　d　　akə́ḅḅi
　　　　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-ə́n　　　tiḥí　i　aḥáǧǧi　　　　　　/
　　　　3-want.PFV-PL　go.VN　to　make_a_pilgrimage.VN　/
　　　　wanted to go on a pilgrimage.

(4)　　g-yə́-ǧǧ-ən　　　　　bəttín　/　g-yə́-ǧǧ-ən
　　　　IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL　who　/　IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL
　　　　Who would they leave (behind)? They would leave

(5)　　tlə́čča　　imán-n-əs　　　/
　　　　girl.SG.F　REFL-of-3SG　/
　　　　the girl (behind) on her own.

(6)　　i-sáwq-n-as　　　　　ləbdaʕə́t　　　n　[FS]　tləttšhúr̩
　　　　3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG　supply.SG.F　of　[FS]　three_months
　　　　They bought a supply (of food) for three,

(7)　　arbaʕtšhúr̩　/　g-yə́-ḥḥ-ən　　　　i　aḥáǧǧi
　　　　four_months　/　IRR-3-go.AOR-PL　to　make_a_pilgrimage.VN
　　　　four months, and then they went on the pilgrimage

(8)　　s　iləɣm̩án　　　/
　　　　with　camel.PL.M　/
　　　　with (their) camels.

(9)　　yə-m̩m̩-án-as　　　　　　ya　bat　　　/　lá-təffaɣ　　　　　　/
　　　　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-ḥátt-am　　　　　　　　əlmunə́t　　n　tləttšhúr̩
　　　　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)　arbaʕtšhúr̩　lá-təffaɣ　　　　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 xáḷəṣ / lá-təffaɣ   / tə-mm-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) xḷaṣ a   ábba   lā-ffɣ-ax   xáḷəṣ / [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-ə́n   yə-qqə́s-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   ləbdaʕə́t   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-ə́n-tət   ğáği   /
      3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F[5] inside /
      they left her inside.

(17) di   aggʷíd   yə-xsá:::   ažbad-ə́nn-əs   tlə́čča   /
      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-wə́ṣṣa   taltí   tləʕğúst   tšarə́ft   /
      3SG.M-ask.PFV   woman.SG.F   old.SG.F   old.SG.F   /
      He asked an old woman,

(19) taltí   bint_ḥarám   / t-raḥ[6]
      woman.SG.F   ill_repute   / 3SG.F-go.PFV
      a woman of ill-repute, she started

(20) tə-qqə́rqb-as   / ulá   / y-usə́d
      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.

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[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-ə́n-**tət***: 3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F 'they left **her**' and *yə-xsá g-i-qə́rb-**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.

(22) bəttín wa[7]   i-qə́rqab   bəttín ?
      who   DEM.SG.M   3SG.M-knock.IPFV   who   ?
      "Who is knocking?"

(23) tə-ṃṃ-ás:::   /   niš   ʕbər_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   əʕṭəš-áx-a   /
      want.PFV-1SG water.PL.M be_thirsty.PFV-1SG-PRAGM[8] /
      I want water, I am thirsty".

(25) tə-ṃṃ-ás   ábba   yə-ṣṣaffáṛ-a   /
      3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG father.SG.M   3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM   /
      (The girl) replied: "My father is away,

(26) áṃṃa   yə-ṣṣaffáṛ-a   /
      brother.SG.M   3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM   /
      my brother is away,

(27) lā-fətk-ʕ-as[9]   albáb   i   ḥədd   /
      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   ḥídda   /
      [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-ṃṃ-ás   ábba   yə-ṃṃa-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-fə́ttk-as   i   ḥədd   /   lá-təffaɣ
      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   xáḷəṣ /   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

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[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 'ɣuṛ-'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.

(33) y-usə́d   yə-qqə́rqb-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-qqə́rqb-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-wə́ṣṣa   taltí   tšarə́ft   /
      until 3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F   old.SG.F   /
      Until (the passer-by) asked an old woman,

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

(37) t-qqərqb-ás   i   tlə́čča   /
      3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG   to   girl.SG.F   /
      and knocked on the girl('s door).

(38) [yəhdiki   yarḍiki   mišʕarəf   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) fə́ttk-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-tə́-ftək   albáb   /   aggʷíd
      IRR-3SG.F-open.AOR   door.SG.M   /   man.SG.M
      to open the door. The man

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

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

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

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

(45) sg   əlḥəǧǧáǧ   //   ággʷid   i-ráḥ
      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-ṃṃ-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-ffáɣ-a   /   tə-ṛṛaḥ
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   tə́-ṛṛaḥ   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-ṛṛaḥ   /
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   əṃṃí-ʕ-ak   əlmanə́t   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) xḷaṣ   /   abbá-nn-əs   yə-ṃṃ-ás
stop   /   father.SG.M-of-3SG   3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG
Well, the father said:

(53) tlə́čča   tat-ók   /   əṣṣiy-ét
girl.SG.F DEM.SG.F-2SG.M   /   take.IMP-DO.3SG.F
"This girl, take her.

(54) ga-ɣə́ṛṣ-ʕ-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-ktə́r-ṭ-i   idammən-ə́nn-əs   /
want.PFV-1SG IRR-bring.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG   blood.PL.M-of-3SG   /
I want you to bring me her blood.

---

[10] The noun following *ɣəṛṣ* '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).

(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-ṃṃ-ás   ga-ɣə́ṛṣ-ṭ-as   na
      3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG   IRR-slaughter.AOR-2SG-IO.3SG   or
      (The father) said: "You will slaughter her or

(59) ga-ɣəṛṣ-ʕ-áwən   i   ğmíʕa   / yə-ṃṃ-ás
      IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.2PL   to everybody   / 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG
      I will slaughter you both". (The brother) replied:

(60) xḷaṣ ábba   / gá-ḫḫ-ax   ga-ṣṣy-áx-tət   /
      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-ɣə́ṛṣ-ʕ-as   / i-ṛáḥ   yə-qqə́rqəb
      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-ṃṃ-ás   niš
      in   door.SG.M   / who   ? 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG   IDP.1SG
      on the door. (Her sister asked:) "Who is (there)?". He replied "I am

(63) áṃṃa-m   / gmáni ábba   ?
      brother.SG.M-POSS.2SG.F   / where father.SG.M   ?
      your brother." (She replied): "Where is my father?"

(64) yə-ṃṃ-ás   abbá-nn-əm   mázal   g   ləmṣaríb   /
      3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG   father.SG.M-of-2SG.F still   in   road.PL.F /
      He said: "Your father is still on the road,

(65) ʕammál i-tásəd   / háyya   gá-(n)-ṛṛaḥ
      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-ftə́k   albáb
      IRR-1PL-meet.AOR-DO.3SG.M   / 3SG.F-open.PFV   door.SG.M
      and meet him". She opened the door,

---

[11] *idammən* 'blood', as well as most liquids, is plural in Siwi. That is why the direct object pronoun here is
      -tən (3PL): *ga-sw-áx-tən*, lit. 'I will drink them'.

(67) t-uɣá[12]   aṃṃá-s   ašabət   i-gə́lləs   /
      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-ɣə́rṣ-as   i
      how   IRR-3SG.M-slaughter.AOR-IO.3SG   to
      How will he slaughter

(69) wə́ltma-s   ?   yə-rfá-ya   /
      sister.SG.F-POSS.3SG   ?   3SG.M-be_scared.PFV-PRAGM   /
      his sister? He was scared.

(70) yə-ṣṣy-ét   g   ágmar   /
      3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3SG.F   in   horse.SG.M   /
      He took her on the horse,

(71) yə-fl-ə́n   i   ṣṣáḥra   /   i-tə́ffal-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-ffɣ-ə́n   af   šal
      far   far   far   far   /   3-go_out.PFV-PL   from   country.SG.M
      far away, they went out of the town,

(73) xáḷəṣ   /   al:::   i-zə́wṭ-ən   yə-ṃṃ-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-rrə́yyaḥ   /   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-ṃṃ-ás   mazál   bʕid   ɣer   ga-n-rrə́yyaḥ   /
      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-ə́n   taṃɣárt   /   yə-ṭṭs-ə́n   /   yə́-ṣṣbaṛ   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-nə́ddum   /   yə-ṣṣáy   txuṣə́t   /
      3SG.F-sleep.IPFV   /   3SG.M-take.PFV   knife.SG.F   /
      she was sleeping. He took a knife.

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[12] The verb *aɣ* '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 əttḥ-aṭ* (to where go.IPFV-2SG) 'where are you going?'.

(78)   ga-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-as   na
        IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG   or
        (He thought:) "Should I slaughter her or

(79)   la-ga-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-as   ?
        NEG-IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG
        not?

(80)   mámək   ga-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-as   i   wə́ltma   /
        how   IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG   to   sister.SG.F /
        How will I slaughter my sister?"

(81)   ššwaytén   sbḥan_allah   rábbi   /
        after_a_while praise_be_to_Allah God.SG.M   /
        After a while, praise be to Allah, God

(82)   i-baʕt-ás   tyaṛzáṣt   /
        3SG.M-send.PFV-IO.3SG   rabbit.SG.F   /
        sent him a rabbit.

(83)   yə-ṭṭə́f   tyáṛzaṣt
        3SG.M-catch.PFV   rabbit.SG.F
        (The brother) caught the rabbit

(84)   i-ɣə́rṣ-as   /   yə-ṣṣáy   ləwʕá:::   /
        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-ččúṛ-a   idammə́n
        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)   ə́gd-əs   /   yə-ṭṭə́wah   tyáṛzaṣt   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-ḥḥ-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   ɣə́rṣ-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-mm-ás   ah   ɣə́rṣ-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   idammə́n   /
        DEM-PL-PRAGM   blood.PL.M   /
        This is (her) blood".

12

(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) báʕd-ma   yə-sw-én   / tləčča   xḷaṣ /
      after-COMP   3SG.M-drink.PFV-DO.3PL   / girl.SG.F   stop /
      After he drank... *well*, the girl

(93) t-nə́ddum   / yə-ǧǧá   wə́ltma-s
      3SG.F-sleep.IPFV   / 3SG.M-leave.PFV   sister.SG.F-POSS.3SG
      was sleeping, (the brother) had left his sister

(94) tt-ə́lla   g támɣaṛt   yə-flá   i   ágbən   xḷaṣ
      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-ɣəṛṣ-ás-a   / nə́tta
      as_if   3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM   / IDP.3SG.M
      as if he had slaughtered her. (But in fact) he

(96) yə-ǧǧ-ét   tə-ddír-a   /
      3SG.M-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F   3SG.F-live.PFV-PRAGM   /
      left her alive.

(97) [FS]   t-fə́ttaš   / t-ṭəḅḅáḥ
      [FS]   3SG.F-look_for.IPFV   / 3SG.F-call.IPFV
      (The girl started) searching, she called out,

(98) lá-di   ḥídda   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-ə́lla   g ṣṣáḥra   /
      REFL-of-3SG   3SG.F-exist   in desert.SG.M   /
      she was alone in the desert,

(100) ɣer g támɣaṛt   / t-ifá
      but in cave.SG.F   / 3SG.F-find.PFV
      but in the cave. She found

(101) tyaṛzáṣt   tə-ɣríṣ-a   tə-ḻḻúz   /
      rabbit.SG.F   3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM   3SG.F-be_hungry.PFV   /
      a slaughtered rabbit, she was hungry,

(102) tə-ṣṣáy   aksúm   tə-bdú   aččú   ə́gd-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) kə́llma_klləmtén   ga-tə́-čč   ḥə́bba   ə́gd-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.

13

(104) t-ifá   [FS]   t-ʕəṭə́š   tə-xsá
       3SG.F-find.PFV   [FS]   3SG.F-be_thirsty.PFV   3SG.F-want.PFV
       She was thirsty, she wanted

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

(106) tə-bdú   abḫát   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   ǧir   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-bə́ṛṛəm   s   ágmar   /
       3SG.M-go_around.IPFV   with   horse.SG.M   /
       who was going around with (his) horse,

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

(110) yə-ṣṣiy-ét   /   í-ṛaḥ   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   sə́bʕa   n   ikəḅḅán   /
       3SG.F-give_birth.PFV   seven   of   boy.PL.M   /
       She gave birth to seven boys.

(113) di   ə́ǧǧən   /   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   ɣer   aqrab-ə́nn-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.

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[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'.

(116) yə-xsá   g-i-qə́rb-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   təṛwáwen   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   təṛwáwen   g-yə-zúr-ən   ənnhaṛdin
      REL   child.PL.F   IRR-3-grow.AOR-PL   in_the_past
      the boys grew up, at that time,

(119) t[15]   yə-ʕmaṛ-ə́n   /   g-yə́-m̩m̩-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   yə́-xs-ən   aqbə́l   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   aqbə́l   aṭahár   /   di   ə́ṭləb
      it_is_needed   before   circumcise.VN   /   EXIST   ask.VN
      They have to ask before they get circumcised".

(123) g-yə-ṭə́l̩b-ən-t   /   amsíḥḥi   yə-m̩m̩-ásən
      IRR-3-ask.AOR-PL-DO.3SG.M   /   Christian.SG.M   3-say.PFV-IO.3PL
      The Christian told

(124) i   təṛwáwen   ləwqáddin   ǧiddí-twən
      to   child.PL.F   a_while_ago   grandfather.SG.M-POSS.2PL
      the children: "A while ago your granfather

(125) yə-m̩m̩-áwən   tánta   xs-əm   ?   əm̩m̩á-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

---

[15] The interrogative word for 'what' *tanta*, can be reduced to *ta*: *ta taʕmaṛ* '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).

(127)   ga-ḅḅ-á-nknum[17]   gá-ẓṛ-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-yə́-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)   əṃṃ-és   d   təṛwawén   //
         mother.SG.F-POSS.3SG   and   child.PL.F   //
         the mother and (her) children).

(130)   y-usə́d   ğə́ddi-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   xḷaṣ   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-ṃṃá-n-as   ənšní   nə-xsá   aẓəṛṛá
         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-ṃṃ-ásən   xḷaṣ   /   yáḷḷa   /
         uncle.SG.M-POSS.1PL   /   3-say.PFV-IO.3PL   stop   /   come_on   /
         our uncle". He said: "Alright, let's go!"

(135)   yə-ktr-ə́n   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-ə́n   /
         3-take.PFV-PL   woman.SG.F   /   3-leave.PFV-PL   /
         they took the woman and they left.

(137)   yə-ṣṣaffaṛ-ə́n   yə-ḥḥ-ə́n   anni   g-yə́-ẓṛ-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,

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[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 *ənknum* 'you (all)').

(139) i-mə́rq-ən   g   ankán
3-reach.PFV-PL   in   place.SG.M
they reached a place.

(140) yə-m̩m̩-ás   ah   /   ga-ṭṭáwaʕ-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-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-am   ə́ǧǧən   n   ǧir   ?
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-m̩m̩-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-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-as   i   ǧir   na
or   IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG   to   child.SG.M   or
either I will slaughter one child or

(144) ga-ṭṭáwaʕ-ṭ-i   /   yə-m̩m̩-ás
IRR-obey.AOR-2SG-IO.1SG   /   3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG
you will obey me". He said:

(145) ɣə́rṣ-as   /   kull   yom   i-ɣə́r̩r̩əs
slaughter.IMP-IO.3SG   /   every   day.SG.M   3SG.M-slaughter.IPFV
"Slaughter him". Every day he slaughtered

(146) hánta   ?   [laugh]   ǧir   /   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-m̩m̩-ás   x̣l̩aṣ   g   axf-ə́nn-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-ṭṭáwaʕ-ṭ-i   na   ga-ɣə́rṣ-ʕ-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) tə́-m̩m̩-as   ə́ṣṣbar̩   gá-ʕbb-ax   /
3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG   wait.IMP   IRR-wash.AOR-1SG   /
She said: "Wait, I will do the ablutions,

(150) ga-ẓ́ál̩l̩-ax   baʕd   ams-ók   ɣə́rṣ-i   /
IRR-pray.AOR-1SG   after   this-2SG.M   slaughter.IMP-IO.1SG   /
I will pray and then, slaughter me!"

---

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

(151)   t-ṛaḥ   tə-ṣṣáy   əṭṭánǧṛət / tə-ɣṛə́ṣ
        3SG.F-go.PFV   3SG.F-take.PFV   pot.SG.F / 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV
        She took the pot, she slaughtered

(152)   tyazə́ṭ   / t-ḥáṭṭ-as   ḥə̣bba 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-bə́ršak   / tə-l̦l̦úm
        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-ə́nn-əs   / tə-rwə́l   / ət-tə́zzəl
        stuff.SG.M-of-3SG / 3SG.F-flee.PFV / 3SG.F-run.IPFV
        her stuff, she ran away,

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

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

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

(158)   əntátət   tə-ɣṛíṣ-a
        IDP.3SG.F 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM
        but she had slaughtered

(159)   tyazə́ṭ   t-ḥaṭṭ-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   əṭṭánǧṛət / 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-ffáɣ-a   / tə-rwə́l   af amsíḥḥi
        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)   xál̦əṣ //
        at_all //
        a lot.

(164) ššwaytén   t-ifá   aggʷíd   ləħğúz   i-ɣəṛṛ
     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-ħánħən   səddw-ás   /   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) əllə́bs   n   aggʷídan   /   tə-ħṃáṛ-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-lmə́d   aħfáṭ   əlquʔrán   /   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) šárəf   /   tə-bdú   aččú   tiswí   tə-ħṃáṛ
     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   šárəf   laħmí
     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-zəṛṛ   /   tə-ɣlá   fəll-ás
     NEG-3SG.M-see.IPFV   /   3SG.F-like.PFV   on-IO.3SG
     he could not see. He liked her,

(171) yə-ğğá   díd-əs   /
     3SG.M-leave.PFV   with-3SG   /
     he stayed with her,

(172) tə-ħfáṭ   əlquʔrán   /   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   əlquʔrán   /
     3SG.F-read.IPFV   Quran.SG.M   /
     (She started) reading the Quran.

(175) yə-bdú-n   itadə́m   s   bħid   i-tasə́d-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-sə́l-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 aggʷíd / əllə́ḥla n
REFL-of-3SG man.SG.M / beauty.SG.M of
herself (like) a man, (for) the beauty of

(179) səwṭ-ónn-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 šaliwən xlaf /
from here / from country.PL.M different.SG.M /
they came from there, they came from different countries.

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

(182) yə-ḷḷumí-n-a sg itadə́m ? aggʷid-ónn-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 ǧíddi-s n təṛwáwen /
REL IDP.3SG.M granfather.SG.M-POSS.3SG of child.PL.F /
the one who was the gradfather 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 ámma-s / tálti tlə́ʕǧust /
and brother.SG.M-POSS.3SG / woman.SG.F old.SG.F /
her brother, the old woman,

(187) d [FS] tálti tlə́ʕǧust wən tə-qqə́rqb-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-qqə́rqb-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.

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(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-səll-ən   /   ləḥla   n   sawṭ-ə́nn-əs   /
     3-listen.IPFV-PL   /   beauty.SG.M   of   voice.SG.M-of-3SG   /
     was listening to the beauty of her voice.

(192) bás͈d-ma   tə-xḷə́ṣ   g   ayə́ṛṛa   /   tə-ṃṃ-ás
     after-COMP   3SG.F-finish.PFV   in   read.VN   /   3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG
     When she stopped reading, she said:

(193) yaḷḷa   ga-nə-xxḅáṛ-wət   ḥə́bba   /   kull   əǧǧə́n
     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-xə́bbaṛ   tánta   i-ṣaṛ-ás-a
     [FS]   IRR-3SG.M-tell.AOR   what   3SG.M-happen.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM
     should say what happened

(195) g   əddənyət-ə́nn-əs   //   [FS]   yə-ṃṃá-n-as   yáḷḷa   /
     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-ṭ   úwwəlúwwəl   /   tə-ṃṃ-ás
     IDP.2SG.F   IRR-start.AOR-2SG   first_of_all   /   3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG
     you start first". She said:

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

(198) i-sáṛ   i-sáṛ   i-ṣáṛ
     3SG.M-happen.PFV   3SG.M-happen.PFV   3SG.M-happen.PFV
     this and this

(199) i-ṣáṛ   i-ṣáṛ   /   lá-t-təṃṃəl
     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-tə́ṃṃəl   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-ṣáṛ-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-ṣáṛ   i-sáṛ   i-ṣáṛ
     3SG.M-happen.PFV   3SG.M-happen.PFV   3SG.M-happen.PFV
     and so on".

(203) i-ṣáṛ   i-ṣáṛ   / ššwaytén   /
       3SG.M-happen.PFV   3SG.M-happen.PFV   / after_a_while   /
       After a while,

(204) tálti   tláʕǧust   d   ággʷid   / 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-išə́ršaḥ   akbər-ə́nn-əs   tə-m̩m̩-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   nə́tta   / tə-bʕád
       IDP.1SG   also   IDP.3SG.M   / 3SG.F-tear.PFV
       "It's me, indeed (behind this man)." She tore off

(208) alfaf-ə́nn-əs   / tə-ffáɣ   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   / amsíḥḥi
       of   REL   3-knock.PFV-PL-IO.3SG-PRAGM   / Christian.SG.M
       Those who knocked (at her door) and the Christian

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

(211) yə-ṭṭf-ə́n-tən   / ašə́bʕan   /
       3-apprehend.PFV-PL-DO.3PL   / rich.SG.M /
       they apprehended them. (To) the rich,

(212) i-ḥáṭṭ-n-as   sən   n   tiḥə́zma   n   ṣɣáṛən
       3-put.PFV-PL-IO.3SG   two   of   bundle.PL.F   of   wood.PL.M
       they put two bundles of wood

(213) yə-ḥə́rq-ən-t   / afə́qṛi   / 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) ə́ǧǧət   n   tḥə́zmət   n   ṣɣáṛən   yə-ḥə́rq-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.

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[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.

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(215) tə-dwə́l   yən   aggʷid-ə́nn-əs   /   t-šáḅəṭ
       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   /   yə́-ʕš-ən
       father.SG.M-of-3SG   /   3SG.M-live.PFV-PL
       her father, they lived

(217) [fi aman   w tabat   aw   nabat   /   xallifu   ṣubyan   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 or 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.

List of abbreviations

AOR	aorist	POSS	possessive
COMP	complementizer	PRAGM	pragmatic relevance marker
DEM	demonstrative	PROG	progressive
DO	direct object	N	noun
EXIST	existential	NEG	negative
F	feminine	REL	relative
FS	false start	SG	singular
IDP	independent pronoun	VOC	vocative
IMP	imperative	VN	verbal noun
IO	indirect object	1	first person
IPFV	imperfective	2	second person
IRR	irrealis	3	third person
M	masculine	/	end of a minor prosodic unit
PFV	perfective	//	end of a major prosodic unit
PL	plural		

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