

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

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

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contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language (Berber, Egypt), through the transcription and translation of an unpublished folktale, recorded by the author in Siwa (Egypt) in 2018.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 The aim of this paper is to contribute to the documentation of the Siwi language by presenting an unpublished folktale, transcribed and translated into English, thus incrementing the amount of data available on Siwi that may be useful for further studies on the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

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-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 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, qaššar šmərha. akəmmús n xer i ənšni, akəmmús n šar i əntnən*, literally ‘Tale, tale, it has shortened its span. A bundle of goodness to us, a bundle of badness to them’, where the first part is in Arabic and the second in Siwi.
- <12> It is not rare for some parts of the text, especially verbs, to be repeated in order to connect one episode with another. This is the case in (154-155), (160-161), (190), (198-199) and (202-203) with verbs, where the characters move from one scene to another and from one episode to the other. Another way in which these connections are achieved is through the use of temporal connectives. Several formulaic expressions in Arabic are used to divide the text and establish the temporal frame of the sequence of the episodes. That is why we very often find expressions such as *ššwaytén* ‘after a while’ (see (81), (138), (164) and (203)).
- <13> The intonation of the speaker’s voice changes throughout the text, in accordance with which character is speaking and with the function of each section of the text. The speaker tries to individually reproduce the voices of all the different characters, and the difference is remarkable when two characters speak to each other, one after the other. The tone is instead more neutral when the speaker narrates the events of the story, but then changes again, with a

raising of the voice, when the speaker is offering a clarification and/or a personal comment on what is happening. See for example (40-41) *agg^wid l-yárrəyyah* ‘The man was not satisfied’; (69) *yərfá-ya* ‘He was scared’; (116) *yəxsá g-iqárb-et yáñni* ‘He wanted to grab her’; (169-170) *ágg^wid šárəf lañmi l-izərr* ‘The old man was blind, he could not see’; (183) *abbá-nnəs n tərwáwen* ‘the father of the children’.

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

<14> Indirect speech is never present in this folktale, as is generally the case in all folktales. Dialogue, on the contrary, is sometimes used in order to create suspense in the story (Kossmann 2000: 63). In our story, suspense is also created by monologues, such as in the passage in (78-80), where the brother asks himself how to react to his father’s request to kill his sister: *ga-yársə-as na la-ga-yársə-as? mámək ga-yársə-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

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) mářra³ di::: agg^wid⁴ / d::: yúr-əs tləčča / 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) akəbbí / abbá-nn-əs n tləčča / [FS] d akəbbi
 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-xš-ən tihí i aháğgi /
 3-want.PFV-PL go.VN to make_a_pilgrimage.VN /
 wanted to go on a pilgrimage.
- (4) g-yó-ğğ-ən bəttín / g-yó-ğğ-ən
 IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL who / IRR-3-leave.AOR-PL
 Who would they leave (behind)? They would leave
- (5) tləčča imán-n-əs /
 girl.SG.F REFL-of-3SG /
 the girl (behind) on her own.
- (6) i-sáwq-n-as ləbdašət n [FS] tləttšhúr
 3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG supply.SG.F of [FS] three_months
 They bought a supply (of food) for three,
- (7) arbaštšhúr / g-yó-ħħ-ən i aháğgi
 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-mṃ-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 əlmunət n tləttšhúr
 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) arbaštšhúr 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,

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

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).

- (12) i álbaṛṛ xáḷəṣ / lá-təffay / tə-mṃ-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-ən yə-qqəs-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 ləbdaṣət n tləttšhúr /
3-buy.PFV-PL-IO.3SG supply.SG.F of three_months /
they bought a supply (of food) for three months,
- (16) yə-ğğ-ən-tət ġáġi /
3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F⁵ inside /
they left her inside.
- (17) di agg^wíd yə-xśá:: aźbad-ənn-əs tləčča /
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-wəṣṣa taltí tləṣğúst tšarəft /
3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F old.SG.F old.SG.F /
He asked an old woman,
- (19) taltí bint_ħarám / t-ṛaḥ⁶
woman.SG.F ill_repute / 3SG.F-go.PFV
a woman of ill-repute, she started
- (20) tə-qqérqb-as / ulá / y-usəd
3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG / NEG / 3SG.M-come.PFV
knocking. No! The man came first,
- (21) agg^wíd úwwəl / qbəl:: tálti tšarəft /
man.SG.M first / before woman.SG.F old.SG.F /
before the old woman.

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-ən-tət*: 3-leave.PFV-PL-DO.3SG.F ‘they left **her**’ and *yə-xśá g-i-qərb-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 (Schiatarella 2015: 95), like in other Berber languages (Chaker 1997: 110) and is used to express that the action is imminent.

- (22) bəttín wa⁷ i-qárqab bəttín ?
 who DEM.SG.M 3SG.M-knock.IPFV who ?
 “Who is knocking?”
- (23) tə-m̩m-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 əʕtəš-áx-a /
 want.PFV-1SG water.PL.M be_thirsty.PFV-1SG-PRAGM⁸ /
 I want water, I am thirsty”.
- (25) tə-m̩m-ás ábba yə-ʕʕaffár-a /
 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG father.SG.M 3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM /
 (The girl) replied: “My father is away,
- (26) ámm̩a yə-ʕʕaffár-a /
 brother.SG.M 3SG.M-travel.PFV-PRAGM /
 my brother is away,
- (27) lā-fətk-ʕ-as⁹ 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 híd̩da /
 [FS] NEG-open.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG to person.SG.M /
 I will not open (the door) to anyone!”
- (29) ɣarám 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-m̩m-ás ábba yə-m̩ma-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-fəttk-as i hədd / lá-təffay
 NEG-open.IMP-IO.3SG to person.SG.M / NEG-go_out.IMP
 ‘do not open for anyone, do not go out
- (32) i albáb xáləš / yə-flá 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

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

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

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

- (33) y-usód yə-qqərqb-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-qqərqb-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-wəşša taltí tšarəft /
 until 3SG.M-ask.PFV woman.SG.F old.SG.F /
 Until (the passer-by) asked an old woman,
- (36) taltí::: bint_ħarám / t-usód
 woman.SG.F ill_repute / 3SG.F-come.PFV
 a woman of ill-repute, she came
- (37) t-qqərqb-ás i tləčča /
 3SG.F-knock.PFV-IO.3SG to girl.SG.F /
 and knocked on the girl('s door).
- (38) [yəhdiki yardiki mišħarəf 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 bénti / t-ugáy
 open.IMP-IO.1SG VOC my_girl / 3SG.F-refuse.PFV
 Open up for me, girl”. She refused
- (40) ga-tə-ftək albáb / agg^wid
 IRR-3SG.F-open.AOR door.SG.M / man.SG.M
 to open the door. The man
- (41) l-yə-rrəyyah / al::: abbá-nn-əs xlaş
 NEG-3SG.M-rest.PFV / until father.SG.M-of-3SG stop
 was not satisfied. Until the father, *well*,
- (42) i-tás-ənd sg əlhəğğág anni
 3-come.IPFV-PL from pilgrimage.PL.M COMP
 they were coming back from the pilgrimage.
- (43) g-(y)-ús-ənd / yə-fl-ón tləttšhúr /
 IRR-3-come.AOR-PL / 3-leave.PFV-PL three_months /
 Three months had passed,
- (44) na arbaťtšhúr / i-tás-ənd
 or four_months / 3-come.IPFV-PL
 or (maybe) four, they were coming back
- (45) sg əlhəğğág // ágg^wid i-rah
 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* / *ywa*
 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG to father.SG.M-of-3SG / DEM.SG.M
 told her father: “There you go,
- (47) *tləčča-nn-ək* *tə-ffáy-a* / *tə-rraḥ*
 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* *tə-rraḥ* *i* *iṭlən* *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-rraḥ* /
 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) *yər* / *niš* *əṃṃí-ḥ-ak* *əlmanət* *ánni*
 but / IDP.1SG say.PFV-1SG-IO.2SG.M deposit.SG.F COMP
 but I am (just) telling you (this) secret in order to
- (51) *ga-wəššl-áx-tət* *niš* *wəššl-áx-tət*
 IRR-transmit.AOR-1SG-DO.3SG.F IDP.1SG transmit.PFV-1SG-DO.3SG.F
 transmit it. I transmitted it”.
- (52) *xlaš* / *abbá-nn-əs* *yə-ṃṃ-ás*
 stop / father.SG.M-of-3SG 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG
 Well, the father said:
- (53) *tləčča* *tat-ók* / *əššiy-ét*
 girl.SG.F DEM.SG.F-2SG.M / take.IMP-DO.3SG.F
 “This girl, take her.
- (54) *ga-γərs-ḥ-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-ktár-ṭ-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.

¹⁰ The noun following *γərs* ‘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-tən¹¹ / lá-xs-ix azərǝrá-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 / mámæk ábba ?
also / how father.SG.M ?
(His son said:) “How (is it possible), my father?”
- (58) yə-məm-ás ga-yərs-ǝ-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-yərs-ǝ-áwən i ğmífa / yə-məm-ás
IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.2PL to everybody / 3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG
I will slaughter you both”. (The brother) replied:
- (60) xlaş ábba / gá-hh-ax ga-şşy-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-yərs-ǝ-as / i-ráh yə-qqérqəb
IRR-slaughter.AOR-1SG-IO.3SG / 3SG.M-go.PFV 3SG.M-knock.PFV
I will slaughter her”. (The brother) started knocking
- (62) g álbab / bəttín ? yə-məm-ás niş
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) ámmə-m / ğmáni ábba ?
brother.SG.M-POSS.2SG.F / where father.SG.M ?
your brother.” (She replied): “Where is my father?”
- (64) yə-məm-ás abbá-nn-əm mázal g ləmsaríb /
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) řammál i-tásəd / háyya gá-(n)-řrah
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-ftók 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-uḡá¹² amṃá-s ašabət i-gálləs /
 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-ḡərs-as i
 how IRR-3SG.M-slaughter.AOR-IO.3SG to
 How will he slaughter
- (69) wəltma-s ? yə-rfá-ya /
 sister.SG.F-POSS.3SG ? 3SG.M-be_scared.PFV-PRAGM /
 his sister? He was scared.
- (70) yə-šsy-ét g ágmar /
 3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3SG.F in horse.SG.M /
 He took her on the horse,
- (71) yə-fl-ən i ššáħra / i-təffal-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-ffḡ-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) xáləš / al::: i-zəwt-ən yə-mṃ-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-rrəyyaḡ / mazál ábba g ma¹³ ?
 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-mṃ-ás mazál bʕid ḡer ga-n-rrəyyaḡ /
 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 tamḡárt / yə-tts-ən / yə-ššbar 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-nóddum / yə-ššáy txušet /
 3SG.F-sleep.IPFV / 3SG.M-take.PFV knife.SG.F /
 she was sleeping. He took a knife.

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 atth-aṭ* (to where go.IPFV-2SG) ‘where are you going?’.

- (104) t-ifá [FS] t-ʕəʔəš tə-xsá
 3SG.F-find.PFV [FS] 3SG.F-be_thirsty.PFV 3SG.F-want.PFV
 She was thirsty, she wanted
- (105) amán / t-fəʔtaš t-fəʔtaš /
 water.PL.M / 3SG.F-look_for.IPFV 3SG.F-look_for.IPFV /
 some water. She kept searching,
- (106) tə-bdú abhát g támart / tə-bdú tiswí
 3SG.F-start.PFV dig.VN in land.SG.F / 3SG.M-start.PFV drink.VN
 she started digging in the ground. She started drinking
- (107) amán / al::: di::: 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-bərrəmə s ágmar /
 3SG.M-go_around.IPFV with horse.SG.M /
 who was going around with (his) horse,
- (109) yə-zr-ét / tə-ʕġb-as /
 3SG.M-see.PFV-DO.3SG.F / 3SG.F-please.PFV-IO.3SG /
 he saw her, she pleased him,
- (110) yə-ššiy-ét / í-rah yən abbá-nn-əs
 3SG.M-take.PFV-DO.3SG.F / 3SG.M-go.PFV to father.SG.M-of-3SG
 he took her, he went to his father's
- (111) yə-nġf-ét //
 3SG.M-marry.PFV-DO.3SG.F //
 and married her.
- (112) t-iraw səbʕa n ikəbbán /
 3SG.F-give_birth.PFV seven of boy.PL.M /
 She gave birth to seven boys.
- (113) di əġġən / əlkah [FS] wihín amsiħí /
 EXIST one.M / priest.SG.M¹⁴ [FS] whatchacallit Christian.SG.M /
 There was a person, a pri(est), whatchacallit, a Christian,
- (114) yə-xsá yer 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.

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-xśá* *g-i-qərb-et* *yáŋni* /
 3SG.M-want.PFV IRR-3SG.M-grab.AOR-DO.3SG.F I_mean /
 He wanted to take her, I mean.
- (117) *t-ugáy* / *al tərwáwen* *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 tərwáwen* *g-yə-zúr-ən* *ənnhərdin*
 REL child.PL.F IRR-3-grow.AOR-PL in_the_past
 the boys grew up, at that time,
- (119) *t¹⁵ yə-ŋməŋ-ən* / *g-yə-ŋmə-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-ŋm-əs* *hánta xs-əm* ?
 father.SG.M-of-3SG what want.PFV-2PL ?
 his father: “What do you (all) want?”
- (121) *tləb wən yə-xś-ən* *aqbəl g-i-táhr-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 aqbəl aṭahár* / *di étləb*
 it_is_needed before circumcise.VN / EXIST ask.VN
 They have to ask before they get circumcised”.
- (123) *g-yə-təlb-ən-t* / *amsíħħi* *yə-ŋmə-ásən*
 IRR-3-ask.AOR-PL-DO.3SG.M / Christian.SG.M 3-say.PFV-IO.3PL
 The Christian told
- (124) *i tərwáwen ləwqáddin* *ğiddí-twən*
 to child.PL.F a_while_ago grandfather.SG.M-POSS.2PL
 the children: “A while ago your grandfather
- (125) *yə-ŋmə-áwən* *tánta xs-əm* ? *əŋmə-m-as¹⁶*
 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-xśa* *azərrá* *yer 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 təŋməŋ* ‘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-nknum¹⁷ gá-zr-əm xalí-twən
IRR-take.AOR-1SG-DO.2PL IRR-see.AOR-2PL uncle.SG.M-POSS.2PL
I will take you and you will see your uncle
- (128) ga-sdul-á-nknum / anni g-yó-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) əmḡ-és d tərɰawén //
mother.SG.F-POSS.3SG and child.PL.F //
the mother and (her) children).
- (130) y-usód ġəddi-s / háyya awlád
3-come.PFV grandfather.SG.M-POSS.3SG / come_on boy.PL.M
The grandfather came (and asked:) “Come on, boys,
- (131) ga-táhr-am u xlaş yomén tláta
IRR-circumcise.AOR-2PL or stop two_days three
you will be circumcised, two, three days more days
- (132) ga-n-tahr-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-ḡḡá-n-as ənşní 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-ḡḡ-ásən xlaş / yállá /
uncle.SG.M-POSS.1PL / 3-say.PFV-IO.3PL stop / come_on /
our uncle”. He said: “Alright, let’s go!”
- (135) yə-ktr-ən amsíḡḡi / 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-ən /
3-take.PFV-PL woman.SG.F / 3-leave.PFV-PL /
they took the woman and they left.
- (137) yə-şşaffar-ən yə-ḡḡ-ən anni g-yó-zr-ən
3-travel.PFV-PL 3-go.PFV-PL COMP IRR-3-see.AOR-PL
They traveled, in order to see
- (138) xwalí-tsən / şşwaytén
uncle.SG.M-POSS.3PL / after_a_while
their uncle. After a while,

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 *ənknun* ‘you (all)’).

- (151) t-rah tə-ssáy əttángrət / tə-yrəs
 3SG.F-go.PFV 3SG.F-take.PFV pot.SG.F / 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV
 She took the pot, she slaughtered
- (152) tyazət / t-ħátt-as həbba n áman
 chicken.SG.F / 3SG.F-put.PFV-IO.3SG a_bit of water.PL.M
 a chicken, she put a bit of water,
- (153) tə-ğğ-ét t-bəršak / tə-llúm
 3SG.F-leave.PFV-DO.3SG.F 3SG.F-immersed.PFV / 3SG.F-gather.PFV
 she left it, she immerse (it). She gathered
- (154) əlħal-ənn-əs / tə-rwál / 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 / amsíħħi /
 3SG.F-run.IPFV 3SG.F-run.IPFV / Christian.SG.M /
 far, far away. The Christian
- (156) l-i-tbáh-a yə-ğǧíl-a
 NEG-3SG.M-sleep.PFV-PRAGM 3SG.M-think.PFV-PRAGM
 did not pay attention, he thought that she
- (157) əntátət / tə-ħbbu /
 IDP.3SG.F / 3SG.F-wash.IPFV /
 was doing the ablutions,
- (158) əntátət tə-yrís-a
 IDP.3SG.F 3SG.F-slaughter.PFV-PRAGM
 but she had slaughtered
- (159) tyazət t-ħátt-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 əttángrət / əlmuhumm tə-bdú ət-tákəl
 in pot.SG.F / important.SG.M 3SG.F-start.PFV 3SG.F-walk.IPFV
 In the pot. Most importantly, she started to walk
- (161) ət-tákəl t-kim i šal xlaf
 3SG.F-walk.IPFV 3SG.F-enter.PFV to country.SG.M different.SG.M
 a lot, she entered another town,
- (162) tə-ffáy-a / tə-rwál af amsíħħi
 3SG.F-go_out.PFV-PRAGM / 3SG.M-flee.PFV on Christian.SG.M
 she had gone out, she had run away from the Christian,
- (163) xáləs //
 at_all //
 a lot.

- (164) ššwaytén t-ifá agg^wíd ləŋğúz i-yəřř
 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-ŋənŋən 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) əlləbs n agg^wídan / tə-ŋmár-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-lmód aħfát əlquʔrán / sgən agg^wíd
 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-ŋmár
 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^wíd / ágg^wíd šárəf laŋmí
 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-i-zəřř / tə-ylá fəll-əs
 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-ħfát əlquʔrán / agg^wíd 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-yəřř əlquʔrán /
 3SG.F-read.IPFV Quran.SG.M /
 (She started) reading the Quran.
- (175) yə-bdú-n itadém s bŋid 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-səl-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-ʃmár-a
DEM.SG.F-2SG.M / IDP.3SG.F 3SG.F-do.PFV-PRAGM
(well) she became
- (178) imán-n-əs agg^wíd / əlləhla n
REFL-of-3SG man.SG.M / beauty.SG.M of
herself (like) a man, (for) the beauty of
- (179) səwʔ-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::: əgğən n ənnhár tə-zŕá bəttín
until one.M of day.SG.M 3SG.F-see.PFV who
Until one day, who did she see,
- (182) yə-llumí-n-a sg itadém ? 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 təŕwáwen / 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 ġíddi-s n təŕwáwen /
REL IDP.3SG.M grandfather.SG.M-POSS.3SG of child.PL.F /
the one who was the grandfather of the children,
- (185) d amsíhhi / d::: abbá-nn-əs /
and Christian.SG.M / and father.SG.M-of-3SG /
the Christian, her father,
- (186) d ámm̩a-s / tálti tlóʃğust /
and brother.SG.M-POSS.3SG / woman.SG.F old.SG.F /
her brother, the old woman,
- (187) d [FS] tálti tlóʃğust 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-llyəm-ín-a / g ammás n itádəm /
3-meet.PFV-PL-PRAGM / in middle of people.PL.M /
met among other people.

- (190) t-yǝrɾ t-yǝrɾ t-yǝrɾ nnúba
 3SG.F-read.IPFV 3SG.F-read.IPFV 3SG.F-read.IPFV all
 She (kept) reading, reading, reading. Everybody
- (191) i-sáll-ən / lǝhla n sawɿ-ənn-əs /
 3-listen.IPFV-PL / beauty.SG.M of voice.SG.M-of-3SG /
 was listening to the beauty of her voice.
- (192) báɿd-ma tǝ-xlǝs g ayǝrɾa / tǝ-mɿ-ás
 after-COMP 3SG.F-finish.PFV in read.VN / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG
 When she stopped reading, she said:
- (193) yaɿla ga-nǝ-xxbǝr-wət hǝbba / kull əǵǵǝn
 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-xǝbbǝr tánta i-šar-ás-a
 [FS] IRR-3SG.M-tell.AOR what 3SG.M-happen.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM
 should say what happened
- (195) g əddǝnyət-ənn-əs // [FS] yǝ-mɿá-n-as yálla /
 in life.SG.F-of-3SG // [FS] 3-say.PFV-PL-IO.3SG come_on /
 in his (/her) life”. They told her: “Come on,
- (196) šǝm gá-bdu-ɿ úwwǝlúwwǝl / tǝ-mɿ-ás
 IDP.2SG.F IRR-start.AOR-2SG first_of_all / 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG
 you start first”. She said:
- (197) xɿas niš ga-xǝbbǝr-ɿ-áwǝn / i-šar
 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-tǝmmǝl
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV / NEG-3SG.F-say.IPFV
 and so on.” (But) she did not tell
- (200) fǝll-ás əntátət / ət-tǝmmǝl 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-şár i-şár / şşwaytén /
 3SG.M-happen.PFV 3SG.M-happen.PFV / after_a_while /
 After a while,
- (204) tálti tləfğust d ágg^{wid} / şək¹⁹ 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-aţ žlan daw-í-ya ?
 from where know.PFV-2SG speech.PL.M DEM-PL-PRAGM ?
 from where do you know this story?”
- (206) şaţ t-işórşah akbər-ənn-əs tə-məm-ás
 şaţ 3SG.M-tear_off.PFV cloth.SG.M-of-3SG 3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG
 She tore off her clothes, she said:
- (207) niş bídu nótta / tə-bşád
 IDP.1SG also IDP.3SG.M / 3SG.F-tear.PFV
 “It’s me, indeed (behind this man).” She tore off
- (208) alfaf-ənn-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 / amsíħi
 of REL 3-knock.PFV-PL-IO.3SG-PRAGM / Christian.SG.M
 Those who knocked (at her door) and the Christian
- (210) i-yərş-ás-a tərwawen-ənn-əs /
 3SG.M-slaughter.PFV-IO.3SG-PRAGM child.PL.F-of-3SG /
 who had slaughtered her children,
- (211) yə-ttf-ən-tən / aşəbşan /
 3-apprehend.PFV-PL-DO.3PL / rich.SG.M /
 they apprehended them. (To) the rich,
- (212) i-ħáţt-n-as sən n tiħəzma n şyáɾən
 3-put.PFV-PL-IO.3SG two of bundle.PL.F of wood.PL.M
 they put two bundles of wood
- (213) yə-ħərq-ən-t / afəqri / i-ħáţt-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) əğğət n tħəzmət n şyáɾən yə-ħərq-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.

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.

- (215) tə-dwəl yən agg^wid-ónn-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 / yá-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.

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		

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 & Stroemer Harry
(eds.), *Études berbères VII. Essais sur la sémantique et autres articles. Proceedings of
the 7. Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie, Francfort-sur-le-
Main, 16-18 July 2012*. Berber Studies, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag
- 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