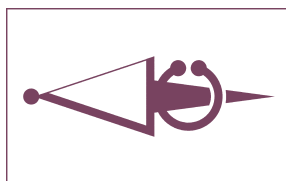Studi Africanistici

Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-berberi

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Libya between History and Revolution: Resilience, New Opportunities and Challenges for the Berbers

Edited by

ANNA MARIA DI TOLLA - VALENTINA SCHIATTARELLA

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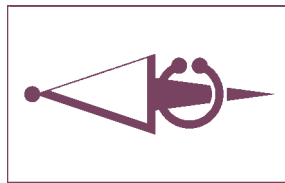
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Table of contents

History, Representations and Transition in Libya

Socio-Political and Linguistic Aspects of Libyan Berber

List of Contributors

ANNA MARIA DI TOLLA - VALENTINA SCHIATTARELLA

A Literary and Linguistic Analysis of Nafusi Berber Based on Past Works[1]

Introduction

This article analyses the variety of Berber spoken in the Jebel Nafusa, Libya, and illustrates how past sources can be used as a starting point for further analysis, especially if more audio recordings of this language are made available.

The paper is structured as follows: after a brief introduction on the language of the Nafusi people and on the region they inhabit, we will offer an analysis of the texts (both narrative and descriptive) at our disposal. Most of these texts have been used here to conduct a linguistic analysis on the forms and functions of demonstratives as found in the variety spoken in Fassato. We will discuss some potential avenues for the linguistic and literary implementation of this study in the conclusion.

In North Africa today, Berber, or Amazigh (Afro-asiatic phylum) is spoken – alongside dialectal Arabic – by almost half of the population of Morocco, by 30% of Algerians, and by small communities spread across different countries, including Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Niger, Mali, and Mauritania. Berber is characterized by a great internal diversity, which has led many scholars to argue for the existence of different Berber "languages", insisting on the diversity of each of them relative to others.

The Berber linguistic area is not continuous, as it is characterized by small communities of speakers who often live in relatively isolated locations near Arabic-speaking areas. Moreover, migration and, more recently, growing urbanization have caused changes in the linguistic distribution in some regions of North Africa.

In this paper, we will analyze the variety of Berber spoken in the Jebel Nafusa, in Tripolitania (Libya), where the Berber speaking area is known to have featured a significant degree of linguistic continuity until 2011. After that year, when

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[1] This contribution has been written by A. M. Di Tolla from p. 273 to p. 278 and Valentina Schiattarella from p. 278 to p. 290

Qaddafi's longstanding regime came to an end and the – still ongoing – civil war began, many Berbers from the Jebel moved to Tripoli or to South Tunisia. It is thus very difficult to get a clear picture of the current situation of the Berber community living there today. Chaker and Ferkal (2012)[2] estimate, with caution, that the overall Berber population in Libya constitutes 10% of the country's population, with a large concentration in Zwara on the coast and in the Jebel Nafusa in the interior.

The Jebel Nafusa is a mountainous area that extends from the region of Matmata, near Gabes in Tunisia, and reaches the coast not far from Misrata, in Tripolitania.[3] To the West, the territory is quite arid, while there are watercourses that run down into the main valley. Olive cultivation represents a major source of income for the region's economy. The name of the region refers to the ancient populations who had settled this territory, the Nafusa. The toponym of Jebel Nafusa (*Drar n Infusən*) has also been extended to the area between Wazzin and Yefren since the Nafusa were also dominant among the tribes that lived in that area. This region gained a modicum of fame through Ibrahim b. Sliman aš-Šammakhi's manuscript *Iγasra d ibridən di Drar n Infusən* (Villages and itineraries of the Jebel Nafusa), published between 1884 and 1885, and which described the territories of Yefren, Fassato and Nalut (as attested by de Calassanti Motylinski).[4]

Today, when talking of the Jebel Nafusa, we refer primarily to the main centers of Nalut (or Lalut), Kabaw, Fassato, Yefren and Wazzin. Fassato (in Berber Fasaṭu), located 225 km south-west of Tripoli, includes the capital Jadu and the villages of Mezzu, Jemmari, Termisa, Ušbari (which is near Talat Numiran), Indebas, Timezγura (located on the range's summit), Wifat, Regreg and Temezda (these last five villages lie along the same road), Ujlin, Tmuget (the latter is uninhabited today, but is visited often due to the water source located there), Igennawen, Šekšuk (located at the foot of the mountain range).

A network of Berber villages and some small towns forms a single block, traditionally unified by language ties and by the Ibadi tradition. The Jebel Nafusa is a region with a high concentration of ancient mosques, many of which are partially built underground. Their distinctive feature is the absence of minarets; in this regard, they resemble the Ibadi mosques in the Mzab villages in Southern Algeria. In Ibadi writings, the region is described as being full of sacred sites and sanctuaries, and numerous books were written as guides to pilgrims. The area is also characterized by fortified warehouses, known as *iγərm*, which are made up of agglomerates of citadels, with granaries placed inside a defensive wall.

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[2] S. Chaker Salem - M. Ferkal, Berbères de Libye : un paramètre méconnu, une irruption politique inattendue, *Politique Africaine*, 1, 2012, 105-126.

[3] J. Despois, *Le Djebel Nefousa. Tripolitaine. Étude géographique*, Larose, Paris, 1935.

[4] G. A. de Calassanti Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa. Transcription, Traduction Française et notes avec une étude grammaticale*, Leroux, Paris, 1898.

Before the arrival of Islam, the area was inhabited mainly by Jews and Christians. Following the adoption of Ibadism, the local Berbers became separated from the Sunni Arabs around them, and, at the same time, came into contact with the other Ibadi communities found in the Mzab (Algeria), Jerba (Tunisia), and Oman. Not only did the Jebel Nafusa Berbers play an important role in the development of Ibadi theology, but they also integrated the practices of Islam into many aspects of their culture, developing a rich literature and creating a distinctly Ibadi identity in North Africa. A number of religious poems, orally composed in the region around the beginning of the nineteenth century, have survived until the present day, such as, for instance, those collected by Serra in Mezzu and published in 1986, as we will see in more depth later.

A number of important Berber manuscripts played a key role in the development of the Ibadi literary tradition. Furthermore, the translation into Arabic of these manuscripts constituted an important contribution to the commentaries on Ibadi catechism (*'aqīda*), a combination of faith and basic education.[5]

During the period of Italian occupation, the Nafusi people were quick to display their hostility towards the colonizers. Although Ottoman rule came to an abrupt end with the Treaty of Lausanne, which granted sovereignty over Libya to the Italians, the Berber population of the Jebel Nafusa continued to resist the latter. One of the leading figures of the resistance who distinguished himself in the struggle against Italian colonialism was the Berber Sulayman al-Baruni (1870-1940). The strong pressure exercised by the Italians on the Berber leaders and the populations of Tripolitania caused disunity and rivalry between Arabs and Berbers, and the resistance in the Jebel Nafusa was eventually annihilated.[6]

Both during Italian colonial rule and after independence in 1951, the Berber language was not given official status. Following Qaddafi's rise to power in 1969, state repression of the language intensified, especially after the Cultural Revolution of 1973. The use, teaching, and dissemination of Berber through the media were constitutionally forbidden and considered as attempts to deny the Arab identity of the State, thus qualifying as betrayal, a capital offense. Until the 2011 revolution, the language was not openly spoken: it remained absent from the country's public culture, as well as from education and the government, and could not be taught, printed or transmitted.

In Libya, in recent years the development of research on the Nafusi language and literature is thus of course due to scholarly interest, but it has also, in large part, been enabled by the dynamism of the cultural associations active in the territory of the Jebel.

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[5] A. M. Di Tolla, Ibāḍī 'aqīdas in Berber, in E. Francesca (ed.), *Ibadi Theology. Rereading Sources and Scholarly Works.* Studies on Ibadism and Oman 4, Georg Olms Verlag Hildesheim, Zürich / New York, 2015, 115-128.

[6] A. Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Libia*, Laterza, Rome / Bari, 1986-1988.

The Nafusi Language

Nafusi, like many other varieties of Berber, does not present a linguistic unity, but instead features phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences from one village to another.

When it comes to the classification of varieties of Berber into subgroupings, placing Nafusi proves to be somewhat problematic, because, on the one hand, it retains very archaic features, and, on the other hand, it also shares certain characteristics with the Zenata group and with the variety spoken in Ghadames (Libya). For this reason, Kossmann (forthcoming) proposes to consider Nafusi as a non-Zenatic language, which was nonetheless certainly influenced by neighboring Zenati varieties, and that can be probably linked to the variety of Berber spoken in Ghadames.

As mentioned before, Nafusi can in turn be further divided into two main subgroups: on the one hand, the variety spoken in Fassato, Nalut and Kabaw, and the other, the variety spoken in Yefren. The Yefren variety seems to share more features with the variety of Berber spoken in Zwara and, in general, with the languages that are usually considered to be part of the Zenata group.[7]

19th and 20th century research on Nafusi

The most indicative sources on Libyan Berber focus mostly on linguistic aspects. Francesco Beguinot was the first Italian scholar to publish an extensive grammar on the variety spoken in Fassato, the first edition of which was published in Rome in 1931[8] and then republished in 1942.

While the Berber dialects of Algeria, Morocco and the Sahara area have been the subject of extensive research, with a number of important works on these varieties having been published over time, Nafusi, which holds a crucial place in Berber linguistics, is still not very well known, especially in the case of the variety spoken in the Eastern part of the region. Several works on the language have nevertheless made it to the present day and are still the objects of study.

In 1890, René Basset provided a rich collection of folktales in his *Loqman Berbère:*[9] each tale is included in different versions and in different varieties of Berber (for a total of 23 covered varieties). These folktales were for the most part collected by the author during his visits to the region, but the collection also includes material provided to the author by other scholars. That is why Basset's *Loqman* also contains ten folktales collected by de Calassanti Motylinski, which were translated by aš-Šammakhi in Nafusi (tales n. 3, 9, 11, 17, 22, 26, 30, 36).

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[7] K. Naït-Zerrad, Djebel Nefousa / Adrar n Infusen : Langue, *Encyclopédie berbère*, XXXIII, Peeters, Paris / Leuven, 2012, 5363-5368.

[8] F. Beguinot, *Il Berbero Nefûsi di Fassâṭo. Grammatica, testi raccolti dalla viva voce, vocabolarietti*, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente, 1931 [2nd edition revised, 1942].

[9] R. Basset, *Loqman berbère*, Leroux, Paris, 1890.

In addition to the tales included in this collection, in 1898, de Calassanti Motylinski, encouraged by R. Basset, also asked his friend aš-Šammakhi to write an overview on the Jebel Nafusa. A first version, using Arabic characters, was published in 1885. In 1898, Motylinski published a version of the manuscript using Latin characters and translated it into French. In his work, he also included some grammatical notes at the beginning, and a glossary at the end.

Buselli, Beguinot's pupil, was the first to publish texts collected through the oral telling of a speaker from Jemmari. The same speaker was later also consulted by Beguinot. Buselli's first seven texts are short folktales where the protagonists are animals,[10] while the other seven[11] are texts related to religion. These texts tell of the healing powers of sheikhs and holy women who live in the region. From among these holy women, who were often associated with prodigies and magical powers, Buselli collected the story of Nanna Tala. A different episode of Nanna Tala's life is also present amongst the texts collected by Provasi.[12]

The collection of texts put together by Beguinot is the longest: it contains ten folktales of different kinds (featuring human characters associated with magical powers, or animals which represent the vices and virtues of men). The final text in the collection[13] is divided into five parts and contains a description of the region, its economy, geography, mosques, and resources. These texts were collected by Beguinot based on his work with two speakers: one from Jadu and one from Jemmari (the latter being the same speaker consulted by Buselli).

The texts collected by Cesàro[14] consist solely of folktales transcribed from the same speaker, years before they were published. They were part of a collection of texts Cesàro had prepared and then lost. The two tales in his collection are introduced by some brief notes by Cesàro on the style and contents of the tales, which follow the traditional patterns of North African folktales, where the message conveyed has a clear pedagogical aim.

Provasi collected his texts in 1969, recording four native speakers of Nafusi. The texts he presented were followed by a glossary that included both words found in the collected texts and others obtained though questionnaires. Provasi's collection is comprised of twelve narrative texts and twelve ethnographical texts. The former include short songs (the first of which was composed in Yefren, but according to the author was known throughout the region) and folktales. Most of

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[10] G. Buselli, Testi berberi del Gebel Nefûsa, *L'Africa Italiana*, Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia, 1, 1921, 26-34.

[11] G. Buselli, Berber texts from Jebel Nefûsi (Žemmari dialect), *Journal of the African Society*, 23, 1924, 285-93.

[12] E. Provasi, Testi berberi di Žâdu, *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 23, 1973, 503–505.

[13] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, 202-206.

[14] A. Cesàro, Due racconti berberi in linguaggio nefûsi, *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 3, 1949, 395-404.

these tales have also been found in Arabic[15] or belong to the Hausa oral tradition.[16] The ethnographic texts found in the collection are shorter and concern mainly agriculture, house chores and traditional ceremonies (wedding, birth, circumcision).

Finally, in 1986 Serra[17] published two short Ibadi poems by the Berber poet Abu Falgha, which he had collected years earlier following Beguinot's indications as to the existence of these short compositions. The two *qaṣīda* were narrated by Ḥaji Musa ben Sasi, who knew them by heart. Their contents are about religion, the loss of values and faith, and the author's disappointment. They also contain exhortations to follow the precepts of Islam in order to benefit of the joy of the afterlife. The second *qaṣīda* is dedicated to the five pillars of Islam.

A text-based analysis of Nafusi: demonstratives in old and new data

The following analysis focuses on the form and functions of demonstratives. It will be based on the varieties of Nafusi spoken in Jadu and in Jemmari.

At the end of this section, we will take a very brief look at the variety spoken in Yefren, where demonstratives differ from those found in the Western varieties.

For the aims of this paper, we will only consider narrative texts, taken from the collections published by Beguinot (which includes data from Jadu and Jemmari), Buselli (Jemmari), Cesàro (Jadu) and Provasi (Jadu).

The manuscript transcribed by de Calassanti Motylinski, though interesting from a linguistic point of view, will not be taken into account here, due to the uncertainty of its origin. It is likely that the author, aš-Šammakhi, used terms from different varieties, to create a language which could be as pure as possible, but *de facto*, not understandable by most speakers from the region.[18] Aš-Šammakhi's brief folktales included in the *Loqman Berbère* have not been considered partly for the same reason, but also the shortness of each text does not allow for a study of the use of demonstratives.

Following a brief overview of the general functions of demonstratives, and some notes on demonstratives as they are specifically used in Berber, we will analyze the functions of "proximal" and "distal" adnominal and pronominal demonstratives in the written texts mentioned above.

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[15] E. Provasi, *op. cit.*, 504.

[16] *Idem*, 509.

[17] L. Serra, Su due poemetti berberi ibāḍiti, in L. Serra (ed.), *Gli interscambi culturali e socio-economici fra l'Africa Settentrionale e l'Europa Mediterranea*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Amalfi, 5-8 dicembre 1983, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli, 1986, 521-539.

[18] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, Preface.

Demonstratives and their functions

Demonstratives serve different functions in various languages: "First demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions… Second, demonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects and locations in the speech situation… but they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse".[19]

All languages have at least two contrasting demonstratives,[20] one used to indicate the proximity of an entity that is close to the deictic center, and one that instead marks the distance of the referent, which is positioned far from the speaker. Some languages are "person-oriented", where the position of the addressee is considered the reference point. Demonstratives sometimes serve to mark the determination of a referent, especially in languages without definite articles, and some use the same form when the demonstrative functions as a pronoun or as an "adjective". This might make it difficult to argue that they belong to two different categories: "all demonstratives are referential in their own right, although they may be semantically coreferential with the adjacent noun".[21]

Clitics are very common in a number of languages across the world, while pronominal demonstratives are almost always independent, even though sometimes the presentative can be a clitic.[22]

From a pragmatic point of view, demonstratives serve to focus the attention of the addressee on the situation of the speakers, especially when they function as anaphoric devices, where they are used to follow the participants from the previous discourse.[23]

The use of demonstratives to point to elements in the discourse is also important. These referents sometimes do not exist in the exterior world, they only exist in discourse, such as, for example: "that's false" where "that" refers to the proposition that has been uttered[24] and not to a specific referent. Finally, demonstratives can have a "recognitional use", usually possible with adnominal demonstratives that have no referents in discourse or in the situation. They are "specifically used to mark information that is discourse new, hearer old and private. Private information is information that speaker and hearer share due to common experience in the past".[25]

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[19] H. Diessel, *Demonstratives: form, function, and grammaticalization*, Typological studies in language, John Benjamins, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, 1999, 2.

[20] *Ibidem.*

[21] M. Mithun, The Grammatical Nature and Discourse Power of Demonstratives, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 13, 1987, 187.

[22] H. Diessel, *op. cit.*, 23.

[23] *Idem*, 96.

[24] *Idem*, 101.

[25] *Idem*, 106.

Demonstratives sometimes function as a way "to focus the attention of the audience on a specific event, time, place, or character", as explained by Mithun[26] for Tuscarora. Distal demonstratives, on the contrary, are used to refer to important entities, far from the reference point. When characters are presented, demonstratives can be used to link them, as well as to provide more information on a precise entity.[27]

Demonstratives in Berber

Demonstratives in Berber languages are quite different in their forms and functions, with some elements found in almost all languages.

In Kossmann's[28] overview on Berber, demonstrative pronouns are listed as belonging to one of two kinds: those referring to definite entities and those which refer to non-definite identities.

For adnominal demonstratives, Berber mostly uses clitics that mark a difference between proximity and distance, such as in Western Tarifit (*-u*: proximal; *-in*: distal) or Figuig (*-u*: proximal, *-ənn*: distal and anaphoric). Touareg Iwellemmeden features two types of determination, one where the clitic is attached to the noun (1) and one where a demonstrative pronoun, with a deictic, follows the noun (2):[29]

(1) *aləs=di* "The man, close to you"
(2) *aləs w-a* "The man here"

Most Berber languages also feature an anaphoric demonstrative, like in Ghadamsi: *anṭfa l-i* "le garçon en question" (the aforementioned boy); *əddrari-yid* "les garçons en question" (the aforementioned boys)[30] or in Kabyle: *argaz-nni* "this man" (aforementioned).[31]

In the case of Kabyle, a more thorough analysis has shown that *-nni* does not serve a solely anaphoric function, because it can appear after a noun cited for the first time.[32] Mettouchi's analysis suggests that demonstratives play an important

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[26] M. Mithun, *op. cit.*, 188.

[27] *Idem*, 192.

[28] M. Kossmann, Berber, in Z. Frajzyngier - E. Shay (eds.), *The Afroasiatic languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012.

[29] *Idem*, 73.

[30] J. Lanfry, *Ghadamès : étude linguistique et ethnographique*, Fichier de documentation berbère, Algeria, 1968, 355.

[31] A. Mettouchi, Démonstratifs et construction de la référence en kabyle, in A. Mettouchi (ed.), *Parcours berbères, Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90e anniversaire*, Berber Studies, 33, Köppe, Köln, 2011, 471.

[32] A. Mettouchi, Anaphoricité et appel à l'attention partagée dans un conte oral en kabyle (berbère), in P. -G. Borbone - A. Mengozzi - M. Tosco, *Loquentes Linguis*, *Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2006, 499-507.

role in discourse and that sometimes what is usually referred to as anaphora, is instead a way to mark shared attention between the speaker and the hearer, on a specific referent.

Some languages (namely, Siwi but probably also Sokna, El Fogaha and Awjila[33]) also include special suffixes that agree according to the gender and number of the addressee.

Demonstratives in Nafusi

The system of demonstratives in Nafusi (mainly as presented in different sections of Beguinot's grammar), is the following:

	Proximal	Distal
Adnominal	uh, uha[34]	ih, iha
Pronominal		
SG.M	wuh wuha	wih, wiha
SG.F	tuh, tuha	tih, tiha
PL.M	yuh, yuha	yih, yiha
PL.F	tyuh, tyuha[35]	tyih, tyiha
Manner	siha, sih, sah, saha, sahen	
Locative	dah, daha	dus
Approximate locative	ssiah, siah	ssius
Presentative		
SG.M	akwu	aktwi
SG.F	aktu	
PL	aktiwha	

For the purposes of this article, we will mainly focus on the functions of adnominal and pronominal demonstratives. Pronominal demonstratives agree in

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[33] See L. Souag, 2014a, Siwi addressee agreement and demonstrative typology, in Catherine Taine-Cheikh (ed.), *StuF*, 67/1, *Berber in typological perspective*, 2014, 25-34 and L. Souag, The development of addressee agreement on demonstratives, *Diachronica*, 31/4, Benjamins, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, 2014b, 535-563.

[34] The presence of two different forms (with or without the ending *-a*) seems to be linked to dialectal variation: if we consider the texts by Beguinot collected from a speaker from Jemmari (texts n. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) and those by Buselli, we can notice that, apart from some occurrences in Beguinot's text n. 7, only the form with *-a* is used. This data should be nevertheless confirmed by other speakers, for two reasons: 1) the speaker consulted by Beguinot and Buselli is the same, so we only have data from the same person, 2) Cesàro's texts collected from a speaker from Jadu also show a predominance of the form with *-a* over the form without this suffix. Beguinot's texts from Jadu, on the contrary, show a striking preference of the use of the demonstrative without *-a*.

[35] G. A. de Calassanti Motylinski (1989, 20) also gives the forms: *aiouh* "ceci"; *aih*: "cela", but does not mention the forms with *-a*.

gender and number with the noun they refer to, while adnominal demonstratives are invariable. As for the presentative demonstratives, in Beguinot's texts the only attested form is the singular masculine (proximal and distal).[36]

Provasi notices the presence of distal and proximal demonstratives with a suffix *-n: ihən* for the adnominal demonstrative; *wuhən; tihən* for the pronominal demonstrative.

He remarks that, with the exception of the manner demonstrative *sahən*, these forms were not recorded by Beguinot.[37] The *n* is an infix with plural forms: *ainyuh / ainhuha / ainyiha.*

Examples of such demonstratives are very rare and only found in one of his texts.[38] The author states that these forms are only used by younger generations and considers them as innovations (his texts were collected in 1969):

u_táli əlmalə́k **ihə́n**   aɣr-ə́s   agnáw
then   king.SG.M DEM.DIST   at-3SG   slave.SG.M
That king had a slave.[39]

More data is needed to verify whether there are functional differences with respect to the forms without *-n*.

Functions of the proximal demonstrative uh / uha

Proximal demonstratives in Nafusi are *uh / uha* and do not agree in gender and number with the noun they refer to. Deictic proximity is only one of the possible functions coded by this demonstrative, as its use in discourse demonstrates how the deictic center sometimes is no longer the location of the speaker and the hearer but shifts to the referents in discourse.

uh / uha are often used in the texts for exophoric function, where "the hearer's attention [is] on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors".[40]

In the following example, the city is not visible, but the demonstrative makes clear that the protagonist is referring to the place where she and her addressees are.

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[36] We wish to thank here Ismail Duga, Mohammed Shinnib and Madghis Bouzakhar for the data they gave us on demonstratives in the variety of Jadu and Yefren. Transcription, glosses and translation of the examples have been adapted by the authors.

[37] E. Provasi, *op. cit.*, 510.

[38] *Idem*, 509-512.

[39] *Idem*, 512.

[40] H. Diessel, *op. cit.*, 95.

In this case, the referent is not visible but is anchored in the speech situation of the referents (symbolic use[41]):

tə-ml-ás   nəč   bába   lḥákəm
3SG.F-say.PFV-IO.3SG   IDP.1SG   father.SG.M   governor.SG.M

n   ləmdínət   **uh**
of   city.SG.F   DEM.PROX
*She said: "My father was the governor of **this** city".*[42]

Even if accompanied by a demonstrative, the referent is not necessarily present or visible in the situation:

mammó   dak-i-ssaḥáfṭ-an
who   IO.2SG.M-REL.SBJ-teach.PFV-REL.SBJ

əssyást   **uh**?
politics.SG.F   DEM.PROX

tuḥ   taẓunít   af   ššəríʕat
DEM.PROX.F   division.SG.F   on   law.SG.F
*Who taught you **this** good way? This is a division based on the law.*[43]

Moreover, especially in narrations, this demonstrative refers to "a location that only exists in the imagination of the interlocutors"[44], and is referred to as "deictic projection" using Lyons's terminology:[45]

aya   a-n-ugur-út   d   brid   **úha**
come_on   IRR-1PL-go.AOR-PL   with   road.SG.M   DEM.PROX

d   iyidí   mlu-n-ás   aya   a-n-ugúr
and   others   say.PFV-PL-IO.3SG   come_on   IRR-1PL-go.PFV

d   brid   **úha**
with   road.SG.M   DEM.PROX

[41] *Idem*, 94-95.

[42] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, 189.

[43] *Idem,* 196.

[44] H. Diessel, *op. cit.*, 95.

[45] J. Lyons, "Deixis and Anaphora", in T. Myers (ed.), *The Development of Conversation and Discourse*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1979, 88-103.

*"Let's go towards **this** road" and the others replied: "Let's go towards **this** road".*[46]

γámmaṭ	taṭṭawin-ə́nn-ək	ad-ʕazzm-áγ	γəf-ə́k
close.IMP	eye.PL.F-of-2SG.M	IRR-make_magic.PFV-1SG	on-2SG.M

a-t-áf-əd	iman-ə́nn-ək	s
IRR-2SG-find.AOR-2SG	REFL-of-2SG.F	with

də́nnəg	əlžəzírət	**uh**
on	island.SG.F	DEM.PROX

*Close your eyes. I will perform some magic, you will find yourself on **this** island.*[47]

The same happens with other types of referents, as in the following example where the snake is clearly present only in the frame of the narration:

mammó	a-y-ks-ə́n	ttuɛabán	**úha**
who	IRR-SBJ.REL-take.AOR-SBJ.REL	snake.SG.M	DEM.PROX

af	yəll-ís	n	əlmúlk
on	daughter.SG.F-POSS.3SG.M	of	king.SG.M

ad-as-yə́-fk	zəgní	n	əlmaḥkəmt-ə́nn-əs
IRR-IO.3SG-3SG.M-give.PFV	half	of	empire.SG.F-of-3SG

*The one who will take **this** big snake from the king's daughter, he will give him half of his empire.*[48]

Pronominal proximal demonstratives are often used as discourse deictics: the co-reference is not of the same kind as that of anaphoric demonstratives with an aforementioned noun. In fact, in this case, demonstratives refer to an entire proposition.

They usually appear at the end of a text, when the speaker is offering a summary or comment on what he has said before:

túha	tanfúst	n	Nánna	Zúra
DEM.PROX	story.SG.F	of	Nanna	Zura

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[46] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, 170.

[47] *Idem*, 165.

[48] *Idem*, 174.

d   limám   n   Tihárt
and   imam.SG.M   of   Tihart
This is the story of Nanna Zura and the Imam of Tihart.[49]

In this tale, the fox suffers from an injustice on the part of the jackal, so it takes revenge and asks the lion to break the jackal's leg. *wuha* refers to this episode, explained just before by the storyteller:

wúha   ləkfá-nn-ək,
DEM.PROX.M   reward.SG.M-of-2SG.M

wə́lli   a-y-gg   əlxér
REL   IRR-3SG-M-do.PFV   good.SG.M

ad-t-i-láqa   əlxér   d
IRR-DO.3SG.M-3SG.M-meet.AOR   good.SG.M   and

wə́lli   á-y-gg   əššárr
REL   IRR-3SG-M-do.PFV   bad.SG.M

ad-t-i-láqa   əššárr
IRR-DO.3SG.M-3SG.M-meet.AOR   bad.SG.M
This is your reward. Those who do good things, will find good things. Those who do bad things, will find bad things.[50]

Functions of the distal demonstrative ih / iha
As is the case with proximal demonstratives, distal demonstratives do not agree in gender and number with the noun they refer to. Apart from indicating distance from the speaker, distal demonstratives also have other functions within discourse.

The main function of *ih / iha* is to mark anaphora, when a referent has already been mentioned before.

In this example, the use of the demonstrative indicates that the speaker is referring to the aforementioned camel:

yə-ml-ás   alɣə́m   **ih**   bárra
3SG.M-say.PFV-IO.3SG   camel.SG.M   DEM.DIST   outside

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[49] G. Buselli, 1924, 289.

[50] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, 196.

ad-t-šə́bəḥ-əd   aktwí   di   birg(ə)n-ə́nn-əs
IRR-2SG-see.AOR-2SG   PRES   in   tent.SG.M-of-3SG
That *camel told him: "Go see him, there he is in his tent".*[51]

Distal demonstratives are usually used not only to mark co-reference, but also in cases when the storyteller wishes to keep track of the characters[52] and when a particular given referent is crucial for what follows. In the example above, several animals are introduced by the storyteller and they all interact with one another, but the camel is the only animal that shows the protagonist what he is looking for.

The demonstrative can also refer to a noun which can be deduced from the context. In the following example, *meat* appears for the first time, but it is a referent that one can easily deduce from the context, as the lion is slaughtering a goat for his meal:

si   i-ɣə́rrəs   di-s   i-šbə́h-t
when   3SG.M-slaughter.IPFV   in-3SG   3SG.M-see.PFV-DO.3SG.M

mámmək   i-ttə́gg
how   3SG.M-do.IPFV

baʕd   ə́lli   i-tɣádda   s   isán   **ih**
the   REL   3SG.M-have_lunch.PFV   with   meat.PL.M   DEM-DIST
*While the lion was slaughtering it, (the porcupine) looked at how he was doing it. After he had eaten from **that** meat…*[53]

The variety of Nafusi spoken in Yefren: some preliminary notes

As a first attempt to provide some information on the variety of Nafusi as spoken today in Yefren,[54] we will present some additional data, through a brief comparison, which will mainly concern demonstratives.

The following data comes from a six-minute-long recording of a speaker from the Yefren region and from an elicitation session with another speaker. Though data is very scarce, it is already possible to underline some interesting differences, such as, for example, a partially different set of independent pronouns:

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[51] *Idem*, 152.

[52] H. Diessel, *op. cit.*, 103.

[53] F. Beguinot, *op. cit.*, 152.

[54] In this article, we have decided to focus only on data collected starting from the 19th century. For a brief overview and some references on the language spoken in the Middle Ages, see K. Naït-Zerrad, *op. cit.*, 5368-5369.

Independent pronouns

	Yefren	Fassato
1	*nəč / nəš*	*nəč*
2M	*čək*	*šək*
2F	*čəm*	*šəm*
3M	*nətta*	*nit*
3F	*nəttat*	*niyət*
1M	*nəččin*	*nəččən*
1F	*nəčəntin*	*nəččənt*
2M	*knim / kənniw*	*šəkwən*
2F	*kəmmitin*	*šəkmət / šəkwənt*
3M	*nətnin*	*nitən*
3F	*nitəntin / nətninat*	*nitənt*

And the residual presence, in Yefren[55], of the state opposition in nouns, which is still visible in some contexts, namely when a noun follows most prepositions:

*g ammas n **tməzgida*** "in the middle of the mosque" (ABS: ***taməzgida***)
*s **wawal**-ənsən* "in their language" (annexed state) (ABS: ***awal***)
*udi n **uzəmmur*** "the oil of the olive" (ABS: ***azəmmur***)
*taddart n **tməṭṭut*** "the house of the woman" (ABS: ***taməṭṭut***)
*taddart n **tsədnan*** "the house of the old women" (ABS: ***tisədnan***)

It seems that the state alternation is only visible in some contexts and no longer productive for the arguments of a clause.

More importantly for our discussion, demonstratives also display different forms in Yefren, and they maintain a distinction between genders in the singular and (except for the presentative) in the plural:

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[55] K. Naït-Zerrad, *op. cit.*, 5367.

	Proximal	**Distal**
Adnominal		
SG.M	*wəd / wədha*	*wəd-din*
SG.F	*təd / tədha*	*təd-din*
SG.M/F	*ayəd*	
PL.M	*yidha / yidhat*	*yid-din*
PL.F	*tidha / tidhat*	*tid-din*
Pronominal		
SG.M	*wəd / wədha*	*wəd-din*
SG.F	*təd / tədha*	*təd-din*
SG.M/F	*ayəd*	
PL.M	*yidha / yidhat*	*yid-din*
PL.F	*tidha / tidhat*	*tid-din*
Manner	*sa / saha / sahat*	
Locative	*da / daha / dahat*	*din*
Approximate locative		*din yayət*
Presentative		
SG.M	*aktwa*	*aktwa-din*
SG.F	*aktta*	*aktta-din*
PL	*aktya*	*aktya-din*

Demonstratives can follow a noun with a possessive clitic:

taməzgid-ə́nn-aɣ   **təd**
mosque.SG.F-of-1PL   DEM.SG.F
This (our) mosque.

A suffix *-ha*, which recalls the presentative *h(a)* present in many Berber varieties (see Souag 2014b for an overview) is only used with proximal adnominal and pronominal demonstratives, as well as with manner and locative demonstratives. According to the speakers, the difference when *-ha* is suffixed is linked to the fact that the speaker puts emphasis on that particular entity, but we do not have enough data to confirm his intuitions with linguistic evidence. In this regard, Mettouchi analyses the presence of *h* in distal demonstratives (*dihin*, *dihinna*) in Kabyle as opposed to the forms without it (*dinna*) when the addressee is taken as a witness: "Le formant '*h-*' est sans doute le même qui entre dans la composition des présentatifs (*h-i-t*, *h-a-t*, 'voici!'), et qui apporte la dimension de prise à témoin".[56] Further data are thus needed for Nafusi, in order to understand whether this opposition also occurs in this variety of Berber.

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[56] A. Mettouchi, 2011, 472.

When alone, the adnominal or pronominal demonstrative is opposed to the same demonstrative followed by *din* to express distance:

atə́rras   **wə́d(ha)**   yə-ččú
man.SG.M   **DEM.SG.M**   3SG.M-eat.PFV
This man ate.

atə́rras   **wə́d-din**   yə-ččú
man.SG.M   **DEM.SG.M-DIST**   3SG.M-eat.PFV
That man ate.

When pronominal, the demonstrative is followed by the predicative particle *d*, no longer attested in Fassato:

wəd   d   uwwa-k
DEM.SG.M   PRED   brother.SG.M-POSS.2SG.M
This is your brother.

Conclusions

This paper constitutes a first attempt at a reanalysis of old sources for Nafusi Berber, with the aim of valorizing the data we already possess, and, at the same time, understand what is still missing and thus what needs to be done for further research. The paper has also had the objective of raising awareness of the lack of adequate documentation on many Berber varieties, especially those spoken in Libya.

From a literary point of view, in the first part of the paper we described the sources in our possession and the kind of texts they include. While we do have material in Nafusi, this is mostly comprised of folktales and descriptive narrations. A broader selection of texts, belonging to different genres, would undoubtedly benefit our knowledge of Nafusi, not only from a linguistic point of view.

As for the linguistic part of the paper, we chose to focus our attention on demonstratives, taking into account the fact that information on many other aspects is still lacking, especially with regard to syntax and pragmatics; these are parts of a language's grammar that need to be researched through the use of audio recordings. The lack of audio recordings is a major obstacle when working on prosody and intonation, for example.

Together with other devices, demonstratives play an important role in discourse, when it comes to managing how information is conveyed to the addressee and how referents are presented or reactivated by the speaker on the basis of shared knowledge and shared imagination between the speaker and the addressee.

Based on written texts provided by different authors, the paper has illustrated the entire system of demonstratives in Nafusi Berber, focusing mainly on the functions of adnominal and pronominal demonstratives.

The system of demonstratives in Nafusi seems to be quite simplified when compared to other languages, where specific medial/anaphoric demonstratives are present: in Nafusi, only proximal and distal demonstratives are attested. Thanks to the analysis of narrative texts, we have been able to list some functions of proximal and distal demonstratives. Proximal demonstratives serve for exophoric use, when the speaker refers to something which is external from the discourse, or is found in the imagination of both the speaker and the addressee. Proximal demonstratives also function in discourse deixis, where they refer to a proposition, rather than a noun. Distal demonstratives are, on the contrary, mainly used for anaphora. Not all mentioned referents are reactivated by the anaphoric demonstrative: this suggests that their function is also that of establishing a new topic or of promoting that particular referent to a special status for the continuation of the narration. The final section of the paper constitutes a very brief introduction to demonstratives as they are encountered in Yefren, which seem to be quite different from those found in the West.

List of Abbreviations

ABS	Absolute state
AOR	Aorist
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distal
DO	Direct object
F	Feminine
IDP	Independent pronoun
IMP	Imperative
IO	Indirect object
IPFV	Imperfective
IRR	Irrealis
M	Masculine
P	Plural
PASS	Passive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Presentative
PROX	Proximal
REFL	Reflexive
SBJ.REL	Subject relative clause verbal form
SG	Singular

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the variety of Berber spoken in the Jebel Nafusa, Libya, and illustrates how past sources can be used as a starting point for further analysis, especially if more audio recordings of this language are made available.

The introduction to the article offers a brief account of the history and geography of the Jebel Nafusa and of the texts that are currently available to scholars of the language. The second part of the article offers a linguistic analysis of demonstratives and their functions in Nafusi. The aim of the article is to show how more in-depth studies can be carried out based on texts collected in the past, but also to underline the necessity to learn more about this variety of Berber, and especially about the specific variety spoken in Yefren.

The International Conference *Libya between History and Revolution: Resilience and New Narrations of Berber Identity* convened at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" from the 15th to the 17th January 2018, was dedicated to the contemporary history of Libya. Its purpose was to understand a reality that is for the most part little known to the vast majority of the Italian public, and this despite colonization, its consequences, and the relations that have always existed between the two countries. Conversely, first the promotion of the colonizers' rationale, then the rhetoric of Qadhafi's regime, and finally the current representations closely related to terrorist emergencies, immigration, and war within and outside the Islamic world, are all well-known and documented.

This volume *Libya between History and Revolution: Resilience, New Opportunities and Challenges for the Berbers* brings together papers by the scholars (from both Italy and abroad) who took part in the conference. The aim of this collection is to provide insights into a range of crucial issues that affected the country as a consequence of its colonial history and informed the uprisings of 2011; the volume looks in particular at the role of the Berbers in Libya through the prism of the new opportunities and challenges that face them today and which were discussed during the three-day international conference.

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