

The Arabic Dialect Spoken in Southeastern Kasserine (Central Tunisia)

Texts and Linguistic Peculiarities

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Abstract: In this contribution seven texts from a 72-year-old female speaker from the village Magsam Trab in the Kasserine Governorate of Central Tunisia are transcribed and translated. Based on these texts, important phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of this dialect are described and provided with examples. As hitherto no texts have been published from this region, this contribution aims to broaden our knowledge of Central Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects.

Keywords: Tunisian dialects, Bedouin-type dialects, descriptive, fieldwork based linguistics, Arabic dialectology

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1. Introduction: Aims and research questions

Previous studies (e.g. Ritt-Benmimoun 2023) have shown that the dialect spoken in southeastern Kasserine is characterized by archaisms on the one hand and interesting innovations on the other hand. According to W. Marçais' publication in *Initiation à la Tunisie* (1950: 211, 214) the dialects spoken in Kasserine form part of what he termed the H- (Hilāl) dialects, which are supposed to differ in a number of important features from the so-called S- (Sulaym) dialects (see also Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b). Among the tribes in these regions are the "Frâchîch" (W. Marçais 1950: 214) which the speaker of the texts below belongs to. H- and S-dialects grouped together comprise all Tunisian dialects which are of the Bedouin type.

Many further studies were based on Marçais' distinction without seriously challenging it (see Benkato 2019). However, Marçais himself characterized these

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inner regions of Tunisia, where H-dialects are supposed to be spoken, as a *terra incognita* (in his words a *terra ignota*). And in fact, except for an MA-thesis (Prinnoth 2017) and some recently published articles (Ritt-Benmimoun: in print, Ritt-Benmimoun 2021, 2022) there are no studies, let alone detailed descriptions, on the dialects termed Hilāli.

In the following sections, texts from a rural region in southeastern Kasserine are transcribed and translated and their most striking linguistic features are described. For this purpose, data were elicited and recorded in five villages: These villages, called Magsam Trab, Gouira, Hassi El Frid, Garaat Toufiya and Dakhlet Ajej, are situated in geographical vicinity to each other about 40 km to the south-east of the town of Kasserine, close to the governorate of Sidi Bouzid. Among the most interesting features described in Section 3 are: (A) in phonology: (1) presence of short vowels in open syllables, (2) word-internal *imāla*; (B) in morphology: (1) interrogatives, (2) future markers, (3) indirect object pronouns, (4) peculiarities of III-weak verbs, (5) prepositions, (6) adverbs extended with *-kīna* and *-kīya*; (C) in syntax: (1) the auxiliaries *ydāl* (in various forms), *šād* and *mā-bā-š*; (2) negation; (D) a number of lexical peculiarities.

2. Methodology and state-of-the-art

Publications for this region are very scarce. There is an MA-thesis on the dialect of Sidi Bouzid (Prinnoth 2017), an article containing texts and grammatical characteristics of the town El Kef, which is situated to the north of the governorate of Kasserine (Ritt-Benmimoun 2022), and a preliminary comparative study which compares selected features of the dialect spoken in Magsam Trab with those of the South Tunisian Bedouin dialects (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b). A text and grammatical notes on the dialect spoken in the town of Sidi Bouzid are in print (Ritt-Benmimoun: in print).

Based on the texts transcribed and translated below in Section 4, and on questionnaires recorded during fieldwork campaigns within the TUNOCENT-project, some striking characteristics of the dialect spoken in the rural regions of southeastern Kasserine are presented. The texts were recorded in February 2010 from a then 72-year-old female member of the Fṛāšīš tribe¹, of the village of Magsam Trab. Magsam it-Trāb near Ḥāsi l-Frīd (Hassi El Frid) is situated within the Kasserine governorate of Central Tunisia near the border to the governorate of Sidi Bouzid. The data for the villages of Gouira, Hassi El Frid, Garaat Toufiya and Dakhlet Ajej were recorded during fieldwork conducted in the region during August and October 2020 and between January and February 2021 by Nidhal Aloui, one of our Tunisian collaborators in the TUNOCENT-project. Nidhal, who himself originates from the governorate of Kasserine, recorded unmonitored speech as well as four different types of questionnaires. Our speakers from Gouira are

¹ The singular form is Firšīši, fem. Firšīšīya.

one woman and three men aged between 43 and 79 (Gouira1/m/68, Gouira2/f/78, Gouira3/m/43 and Gouira4/m/79); those from Hassi El Frid include three women and one man aged between 40 and 69 (HassiFrid1/f/60, HassiFrid2/ m/43, HassiFrid3/f/40, HassiFrid4/f/69), one speaker originates from Garaat Toufiya (Garaat-Toufiya1/f/70) and three speakers from Dakhlet Ajej (DakhletAjej1/m/73, DakhletAjej2/m/49, DakhletAjej3/f/47). So, the basis for the grammatical features presented in Section 3 are the transcribed texts from Magsam Trab of Section 4, which are completed with questionnaire data from the villages of Gouira, Hassi El Frid, Garaat Toufiya and Dakhlet Ajej. The phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical traits are presented comparatively referring to other Tunisian and some Algerian dialects in order to situate the here described dialect within Tunisia's dialectal landscape. Within Tunisia mainly the prestigious sedentary dialect of Tunis and the Southern Bedouin dialect of Douz situated to the southeast of the Chott el-Jerid are referred to.

3. Linguistic features²

3.1. (Morpho-)phonological features

3.1.1. Consonants

- *g* as reflex of **q*: *gāl* 'he said'; *guṭrān* 'tar'; *ganfūd* 'hedgehog'; *guddām* 'in front of'; only two *q*-words: *haqq* 'right'; *ʕqal* 'rationality'.
- *ž* and *ǧ* as reflex of **ǧ*: *minžil* 'sickle'; *židdā-ya* 'my grandmother'; *gurbiz* 'bulk trash'; *yitfarrǧu* 'they watch'; *iǧʕr* 'run! (SG.M)'. Whether their distribution is conditioned or whether they are free variants remains to be investigated.
- Interdentals are retained: *tilāta* 'three'; *turt* 'I woke up'; *māxid* 'he has married'; *ḥdā-na* 'near us'; *nuḍrub* 'I hit'.
- Consonant shifts (most of them optional or only attested in certain lexemes):
 - *l* > *n*: *rḥal* > *rḥan* 'he went off'; *gālt-illi* > *gālt-inni* 'she told me', but more frequently: *gālt-illi*. An analogy to forms like *gālt-inna* (< *gālt-ilna*) 'she told us' is likely.
 - *n* > *l*: *yaxʕnbu* > *yaxʕlbu* 'they steal', *bint-i* > *bilt-i* 'my daughter'; *ǧanam* > *ǧalam/ǧilam* 'sheep'.
 - *q* > *ǧ*: only attested in the word *wagʕt* 'time'. This shift is attested in Singer (1980) for the group of Maghrebi Bedouin dialects termed H¹ and M-dialects.³ The shift from *ǧ* > *q*, on the

² If not denoted otherwise all the examples given in this section are from the texts in Section 4.

³ Singer (1980: 252): "Umgekehrt erscheint vereinzelt altes *q* in diesen Mundarten als *ǧ*: *ǧlil* »selten« < *qalil* eine Realisation, die sich in allen H¹-Dialekten und z.T. auch in M-Dialekten findet".

other hand, is well known from Algerian dialects (e.g. Bou Saâda, Mzâb, ?Arbâŝ).

- $q > x$: *il-wax't giddēš?* ‘What’s the time?’; *xahwa* ‘coffee’; *xbal* ‘before’ (all three examples: Gouira2/f/78).⁴
- $h > ħ$ (optionally) in the verb *yħizz* ‘to take’.
- Metathesis in *mšā > šmā* ‘with’.
- Loss of initial *h*: *ātu* ‘hand over! (PL)’; *f-a-l-gurbiz* ‘in this bulk trash’; *ayya* ‘come on’.
- Labialisation of *b*: *sāgu b^wī-h* ‘they drove him’ (but also *mšit bī-h* ‘she went with it’); *ka^rhba b^wēda* ‘a white car’ (Garaat Toufiya1/f/70).

3.1.2. Vowels

- Short vowels: *a, i, u*
- Long vowels: *ā, ā̄, ī, ū, ē, ō*⁵
- Epenthetic vowels: *^a, ⁱ, ^u*
- **Monophthongisation:** In the speech of our speaker from Magsam Trab, *aw* generally (but not exclusively) occurs as monophthongised *ū*, *ay* as *ī*: *mūt-i* ‘my death’; *yūm* ‘day’; *ħūs-hum* ‘their house’; *līl* ‘night’; *wlīd-ha* ‘her son (DIM)’; *xallīt* ‘you (SG.M) left’; *šahrīn* ‘two months’; but: *ħaṭṭēt-ha* ‘I put her’, *ṛaddēt-ha* ‘I brought her back’ (which might be connected to the lowering of long vowels below). It has to be stressed that there are remarkable differences in the realization of the monophthongized diphthongs between the speakers of our five localities which have to be analysed in a separate study.
- **Insertion of a glide after the long vowels *ī/ē* and *ū/ō*:** *ħlē^vl-i* ‘oh my!’; *imšē^vna* ‘we went’; *ġanne^vtu* ‘you (PL) sang’; *ṛō^wħ-i* ‘myself’; *wāšbē^v-k* ‘What’s wrong with you?’; *tālīfū^wni* ‘my mobile phone’ (Garaat Toufiya1/f/70). This phenomenon is also attested for the Northern town of Nefza and Central Tunisia (Naddari 2023: 78f.; Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 38).
- **Lowering of the long vowels *ī* and *ū* to *ā̄* and open *ō* respectively when immediately preceding the suffix *-ha*:** *hazzō-ha* (< *hazzū-ha*) ‘they took her’; *žō-ha* (< *žū-ha*) ‘they came to her’; *fā-ha* (< *fī-ha*) ‘in it’; *bā-ha* (<

⁴ The occasional shift $q > x$ is also attested for Northern Morocco (see Larej 2020: 200).

⁵ See the following sections on monophthongisation, diphthongisation, lowering of long vowels and *imāla*. As already mentioned in Ritt-Benmimoun 2022 and 2023, the presence or absence of the long vowel *ā̄* in certain words and under certain phonological conditions is an important criterion for the classification of Tunisian dialects. For this reason, though the transcription here is otherwise mainly phonemic, *ā̄* is used in addition to the vowel *ā*. All other relevant information concerning transcription can be found in Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a). Most previously published scholarly work on Tunisian dialects, and especially Bedouin-type dialects, can be found in the reference section of Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a).

bī-ha ‘with her’; *ʕlā-ha* (< *ʕlī-ha*) ‘on her’; *l-ʔmmālā-ha* (< *l-ʔmmālī-ha*) ‘to her family’. This lowering has been frequently attested for Tunisian dialects. An unconditioned lowering of the monophthongized diphthong *ī/ē* to *ā/ā* is attested for the village of Gouira in open as well as closed syllables: *lgāt-ha* ‘I found her’; *alfān* ‘two thousand’, *tʕaddāna* ‘we passed by’; *mšātu w-žātu* ‘you (PL) went and came (back)’; *karʔhba bāḏa* ‘a white car’. This interesting phenomenon needs further investigation.

- **Word-internal *imāla*** is not only attested in the vicinity of front consonants, but even before and after gutturals: *xāl-i* ‘my uncle’; *xāli* ‘empty’, but *xāl-ha* ‘her uncle’; *ḥāžž* ‘Hajj’; *wād* ‘riverbed, river’; *sāʕa* ‘hour’; *mā-ʕād-š* ‘not anymore’; *xāf* ‘he was afraid’. Note that the same word by the same speaker may be attested with or without *imāla*, as shown by the following example with *ʕād/ʕād*:⁶ *gutt-illik ʕād: niḥna rkibna ʕād ʕlā l-bill* ‘I am telling you: We got on the camels’. In many cases a raising towards *ē* and even *ī* is attested: *glēm-i* (< *glāmi*) ‘my sheep’; *šēšu* (< *šāšu*) ‘they were bothered’; *xyālēt* ‘shapes’; *minēzil* ‘sickles’; *xiyyēn* ‘thieves’; *yēsir* ‘a lot, many’; *ḥēžž* ‘Hajj’; *l-ʔḥdīs* ‘eleven o’clock’ (GaraatToufiya1/f/70); *il-bībēn* ‘the doors’ (GaraatToufiya1/ f/70); *mā-ʕannā-š bāš nxallšu il-krā. mā-ngiddū-š nxallšu, mā-ʕannī-š*. ‘We don’t have (money) to pay the rent. We cannot pay, we don’t have (money).’ (GaraatToufiya1/f/70); *āš ʕandik wlidīt?* ‘How many children do you have?’ (Gouira2/f/78); *sakkru l-bībīn! sakkru l-bībān ʕa-l-hawa?!* ‘Close (PL) the doors! Close (PL) the doors against the wind!’ (Gouira2/f/78); *kallimnī-k* ‘we called you’ (Gouira2/f/78). Word-internal *imāla* towards *ē* and *ī* is otherwise found in Maltese (e.g. *bieb* ‘door’) and Andalusi Arabic (e.g. *kiin* ‘he was’) (Owens 2006). Some of our examples suggest that the raising towards *ē/ī* is strongly linked to the words’ occurrences *in pausa*.⁷ A detailed investigation of this phenomenon is definitely needed.
- No or weak *imāla* of stressed word final *ā/a*: *mā* ‘water’; *nā, na* ‘I’; *mša/mšaʔ/mšā/mšā* ‘he went’; *žira/žrā* ‘he ran’ (compare to El Kef *mā* ‘water’; *nsā* ‘women’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339), and Douz *mē* ‘water’; *hnē* ‘here’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 31)).
- Contradictory to what was stated in Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b, we do find **traces of etymological short unstressed *a** in open syllables, which on the surface either occurs as *a* or is raised to *i*. Examples are: *ḥaráb* ‘he fled’; *gidá* ‘he got lost; he escaped’; *žirá* ‘he ran’; *ṭilāṭa* ‘three’; *minēzil/mināzil* ‘sickles’; *gilám/galám/gulám* ‘sheep’; *ṭinīya* ‘road’; *ḥašīs* ‘grass’; *žirā-li* ‘it happened to me’; *žimál* ‘camel’; *ḥigáb* ‘saddle

⁶ This kind of variation is also found in the town of Nefza (Naddari 2023: 52f.).

⁷ A word-internal *imāla* (*ā > ē*) is also described by Guerrero & Abdessemed for Annaba (2019: 10).

girth'; *ħinás* 'snake'; *kilā-ha* 'it ate her'; *kilit-ha* 'she ate her'. Not only the speech of our speaker from Magsam Trab features these vowels but also that of our speakers from Gouira and Garaat Toufiya. This is a highly interesting phenomenon we do not find in other Central Tunisian dialects hitherto investigated. However, it is, among others, attested for the Algerian dialect of Bou Saâda described by Ph. Marçais (1947: 41–54) and for the Bedouin-type dialects spoken in Douz in Southern Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 354).

- Central Tunisian dialects, including the dialect described here, feature no vowel change from *a* > *i/u* in the verbal and nominal pattern C1vC2C3v(C) as in Southern Bedouin dialects: *xalṭit* 'she joined'; *gaṣdu* 'they stayed'; *zargt is-sams* 'the sun rose'; *ġalm-i* 'my sheep'. The respective forms in the South Tunisian dialect of Douz are *xul^uṭat*, *giṣdu*, *zu^uḡat* and *ġinⁱmi*.

3.2. Morphological features

3.2.1. Pronouns

- **Personal pronouns:**

	SG	PL
1	<i>nā, na, nāy</i>	<i>naḥna, niḥna</i>
2M	<i>inta</i>	<i>intum</i>
2F	<i>inti</i>	
3M	<i>hū, hūw</i>	<i>hūma</i>
3F	<i>hī, hīy</i>	

There are no feminine plural forms attested in the texts and the questionnaires.

- **3SG.M pronominal suffix** after -CC or -v̄C is *-u*: *mkattfīn-u hnā w-mlawwḥīn-u* 'they have trussed him here and thrown him'; *xatf-u* 'he seized him'; *ahl-u* 'his family'; *ġalm-u* 'his sheep'; *lgāt-u* 'she found him'; examples of the pronominal suffix following the negation morpheme *-š* which in turn follows a long vowel (*v̄-š-u*): *mā-ṛažžaṣṭū-š-u* 'you (PL) didn't give it back'; *mā-taṣṣṛfū-š-u* 'you (PL) don't know him'. Dialects of Central Tunisia like those of El Kef, Sidi Bouzid and Kasserine, use *-u* and are as such in line with Tunisian sedentary dialects. The suffix *-u* is, however, also found in the Bedouin dialects spoken in Central and Saharan Algeria, like that of Bou Saâda (Ph. Marçais 1957: 235) and ?Arbâš (Dhina 1938: 319).
- **Plural suffixes:** In addition to *-hum* and *-kum*, *-him* and *-kim* occur: *txallī-him* 'you (SG) let them (PL)'; *tālīfōnāt-kim* 'your (PL) mobile phones' (Garaat Toufiya); *gutt-ilhim* 'I told them' (Gouira). The suffixes *-kim* and *-him* are also attested for the governorates of Jendouba, Beja,

Sidi Bouzid and Gafsa (Naddari 2023: 82, Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 43, Ritt-Benmimoun: in print). Interestingly these suffixes are also found in the Algerian dialect of Bou Saâda, especially after long vowels, e.g. *xallīh'm*, *ḍarḅūk^em* (Ph. Marçais 1947: 55).

- For the **indirect object pronouns** three different paradigms are attested, two suffixed ones and an independent one: **(1)** For the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG.M a series augmented with *-il-* is used, resulting in the forms *-illi*, *-illik*, and *-illu*.⁸ This is mainly attested after two (or three) consonants *-(C)CC-*, or after a long vowel followed by a consonant *(-v̄C-)*: *tā-nžīb-illik* ‘I will bring you (SG)’; *gutt-illik* ‘I told you (SG)’; but we also have occurrences like *gatt-lik* ‘she said to you’ in the texts, which shows the simple, not the extended suffix. Obviously, *-illi*, *-illik*, and *-illu* are formed in analogy to the forms used in the 3SG.F and in the plural: *-ilha*, *-ilna*, *-ilkum*, *-ilhum/-ilhim*. The forms *-illi*, *-illik* and *-illu* are also attested for Sidi Bouzid (Prinoth 2017: 60f., Ritt-Benmimoun: in print) and the northern town of Nefza (Naddari 2023: 84f.). **(2)** Immediately following a long vowel *(-v̄-)* or after a short vowel followed by a consonant *(-vC-)*, mainly the simple forms *-li*, *-lik* and *-lu* are used, as for instance *gal-lu* ‘he told him’;⁹ *yhizzū-lik* ‘they take from you’. So, the two paradigms are in a way complementary. **(3)** In addition to series (1) and (2) a third one is attested: *lay-ya*, *lī-k*, *lī-h*, as e.g. in *hāzzīl līh* ‘you (PL) have taken from him’. These forms are used in other Tunisian dialects when the suffixed forms are out of different reasons not applicable. Even with the same verb and the same speaker all three series of indirect object pronouns are attested. One of our speakers from Hassi El Frid (Hassi-Frid3/f/40) may serve as example: *gult-illi* ‘you (M) said to me’, *gult-illik* ‘I said to you (SG)’, *gult-illu* or *gult līh* ‘I/you said to him’, *gult-ilha* ‘I/you said to her’, *gult-ilkim* or *gult līkim* ‘I said to you (PL)’, *gult-ilhim* or *gult līhim* ‘I/you said to them’.
- **Double suffixation:** *ṛadd-hum-lik* ‘he brought them back to you’; *hazzū-hum-lu* ‘they took them from him’.
- **Demonstrative pronouns:** *f-a-l-gurbiž* ‘into this bulk trash’; *aḍāka žrā* ‘that one ran’; *āk l-īglēm* (invariable) ‘those sheep’.

3.2.2. Function words

- **Interrogative pronouns and adverbs:** *min*, *āškūn* ‘who’; *limmin* ‘for whom; to whom does ... belong’; *wāš*, *wāš-i*, *wāšin-hi*, *āš* ‘what’; *wēmta* ‘when’; *wīn* ‘where’, *wīn-u* ‘where is he’; *lāš* ‘why’; *wāšbṛ-k/(ā)šbṛ-k* ‘why; what happened to you’; *warṛā-* ‘why’ (Garaat Toufiya, Gouira);

⁸ For the other persons we have well known forms like *-ilhum* or *-ilkum*.

⁹ Mostly the forms of the verb *gāl/ygūl*+indirect suffixes display short vowels, though also long vowels occur, as in the examples *gāl-lu* and *gāl-lha*.

- guddāš* ‘how many, how much’.¹⁰
- The **polar question marker** used in the texts and in the questionnaires is a form of **axi*: *ax inta māš taxdim il-yūm willa lā?* ‘Will you (M) work today or not?’ (Gouira2f78). This marker seems to fulfil various pragmatic functions, as can be seen in the example *xī limmin a-l-‘mšiz thizz fā-ha?* ‘To whom do these goats you are taking away belong?’.¹¹
 - **Subordinating conjunctions**: *kī* ‘when(ever)’; *sašt-il* ‘(in the moment) when’; *baš‘d-la* ‘after’; *waļļāhi yā-kān, kān* and *lā-kān* ‘if’; *lil* ‘until’; *kin-ni* ‘as if I’.
 - **Prepositions**: *šmā-y* ‘with me’ (the form with metathesis is also common in the Algerian Bou Saāda, cf. Ph. Marçais 1947: 83 and in the South Tunisian dialect of Douz, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a); *mā-bīn-hum* ‘between them’; *guddām-ha* ‘in front of her’; *tufla lē-na* ‘a girl from us’; *ħdā-na* ‘next to us’; *fūg min ktāf-u* ‘on his shoulders’; *m-ak id-duwwār* ‘from that tent camp’; *ša-l-ġalam* ‘on the sheep’; *wṛā-ya* ‘behind me’.
 - The **genitive marker** *mtāš* is not invariable as in many Tunisian dialects: *l-il-māžin mtāš mā* ‘to the water cistern’; *b-il-kaṛ‘hba mtāšit-hum hūma* ‘with their car’; *mtāšit-ha* ‘hers’.
 - **Relative pronoun** *il-, l-*: *l-iṭ-tinīya l-fā-ha gurbiž* ‘to the path where a bulk trash is’; *yitfarṛžū ša-l-‘ġlam il-yhizzu fā-ha* ‘they watched the sheep being taken’; in the next example *il-* is assimilated to the following consonant *r*: *āškūn ir-ṛadd-u min tamm?* ‘Who brought them back from there?’.
 - The 3SG.M forms of the **particles** *ṛā-* and *hā-* are interesting, as both forms with the base *rān-* and *(h)ān-*, such as *rān-u, ān-u, hān-u*, as well as forms based on *ṛā-, hā-* are attested, e.g. *hā-hu, ā-w, ṛā-w*. The forms with an additional *n* in the base are most probably formed in analogy to the 1SG *hā-ni* and *ṛā-ni* whereby the *n* was reinterpreted as forming part of the base. In the sentence *in‘dbi šlā Maḥammad ṛā-w ān-u ymarrid ā-w akka* ‘Lament (F) over Maḥammad because he is crawling over there.’ both forms originating in **hā-hu* are attested: *ān-u* and *ā-w*. A study focusing on these forms and their pragmatic functions could be very promising.¹²

¹⁰ A detailed study on interrogatives in Tunisia is Ritt-Benmimoun 2023.

¹¹ For polar question markers in Tunisian Arabic see Procházka & Dallaji 2022 and Ritt-Benmimoun 2023.

¹² Cf. Procházka & Dallaji (2019) for *ṛā-* in Tunis Arabic, and Klimiuk (2017) in Libyan Arabic.

3.2.3. Adverbs

- *b-ḥāl* ‘probably; approximately’; *ṭūl* ‘completely’; *b-in-nizzih* ‘properly’ (*nizzih* ‘many, much, a lot’, e.g. in *nṣubb-lik nizzih* ‘I pour you a lot’); *‘imballḥig* ‘really’; *tamm* ‘there is’; *bikri* ‘in former times; early’; *ūmit ḡudwa* ‘on the next day’ (compare to *nhārit-* and *ayyāmit-*, common for instance in Takrouna); *hnā* ‘here’ features several extensions: *hnāwkīna/hnāwkīna* (Hassi El Frid, Garaat Toufiya), *hnākīna* (Gouira, Hassi El Frid); *hnāwkīya* (Magsam Trab); *ḡādi* and *tamm* ‘there’ show the extensions *tammīka* and *ḡādīka* which are very common, as well as *ḡādīkīna* (Hassi El Frid) and *tamm’kīna* (Hassi El Frid), *tammkīya*, *tamm’kīya* (Magsam Trab). The same is true for the temporal adverb *taww*: *tawwkīna* (Hassi El Frid) and *tawwkīya* (Magsam Trab).¹³

3.2.4. Verbs

- **3SG.F of verbs** in the perfect is *-it*: *in-nās sāḡit w-mšit* ‘people had shepherded and left’. The vowel *i* is prone to omission, resulting in forms like *galt-illi* ‘she told me’; *žābt il-ḡalam* ‘she brought the sheep’; *zargt is-sams* ‘the sun rose’ (cf. also Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340, Ritt-Benmimoun: in print).
- Vowel lengthening and lowering of the **ending -it** when followed by a vowel-initial suffix: *hazzit* > *hazzāt-u* ‘she took him’; *tawwrit* > *tawwṛāt-u* ‘she woke him’. This is a feature shared by all hitherto known Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects.
- **3PL of III-weak verbs** of Form I in the **perfect** is *-ū/-u*: *mšū* ‘they went’; *žū* ‘they came’ (as opposed to *žāw* in sedentary dialects and *žaw* in the Bedouin-type dialect of Douz).
- **Plural forms of III-weak verbs** in the **imperfect** are formed with *-u*: *yilgu* ‘they find’ (as opposed to *yilgāw* in sedentary dialects), and are as such in line with Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects in general.
- In this dialect the singular forms of **III-weak verbs** of Form I show an interesting development in the imperfect and the imperative: The final vowel is dropped, instead an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and the second radical, as in *hā-y tim’š hā-y tim’š hā-y tim’š* ‘she goes on and on’; *iḡ’r wild-i!* ‘run, my son!’, *yiž’r* ‘he runs’, *w-tiž’r fi-ṣḡāb-him* ‘she was running after them’. In our corpus of texts presented here, this is so far only attested for the two verbs *yimši* and *yižri*. It is important to mention that also the imperative *imši* also occurs in the texts. To the best of my knowledge, this phenomenon has not been attested for Maghrebi

¹³ These extensions with *-kīya* and *-kīna* are neither attested in Ph. Marçais (1977) nor found in the *WAD* for Tunisia. *tammākīna* is given in the *WAD* for Morocco and Algeria (Behnstedt & Woidich 2021: 177, 187, 190, Karten 450a, 450c, 450d), *hnākīna* for Morocco (Behnstedt & Woidich 2021: 173, 187, Karten 449d, 450c).

dialects. It is, however, well known for the dialects of the Sinai Peninsula (de Jong 2011), the dialects of Eastern Arabia (Holes 2016) and, with imperatives in some dialects of the Syrian Desert (Behnstedt 1997, map 202). In the dialects of the Sinai only the 2SG.M and the imperative SG.M are formed without a final vowel, de Jong (2011) calls them apocopated forms. An anaptyctic vowel is inserted before a consonant or a pause (de Jong 2011: 169f., 439). In Eastern Arabia, where apocopated forms are only found in the imperative (with or without insertion of an anaptyctic vowel according to the respective dialect), these forms are becoming, according to Holes, obsolete (Holes 2016: 211).

- Whereas the irregular verbs ‘**to take**’ and ‘**to eat**’ are formed in analogy to III-weak-verbs in the perfect, they are formed like I-weak-verbs with the long vowel *ō/ū* in the first syllable in the imperfect in all of Central but also Northern Tunisia: *yōxuḍ* and *yōkul*, as in *tā-nōxuḍ minn-u žgīma waḥda* ‘I will take a small sip of it’. The participle is *māxiḍ* (M), *māxḍa* (F). Note that also the **adjective ‘other’** is formed with a long *ō*: *ōxur* ‘another one’, whereas in the South Tunisian Douz it is *āxar*.
- The **passive** is formed by prefixing the consonant *t(i)*- to the perfect stem of a Form-I-verb, i.e. *tfašš*, *yitfašš* from *fašš*, *yfišš*. This is also the way the passive is formed in all other Central and also North Tunisian dialects (see Naddari 2023: 222f. for Nefza, Zarb 2023: 95f. for Testour, Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340 for Kef, Ritt-Benmimoun: in print, for Sidi Bouzid) and in sedentary Tunisian dialects.¹⁴ Also in Algerian Bedouin dialects like that of Bou Saâda described by Ph. Marçais, prefixed *t-* is the most common way to form the passive (Ph. Marçais 1947: 43, 70-73). By contrast, Form VII is used in the Southern Sulaym group, in which we even find some remnants of the internal passive (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a).
- There is **gender distinction** with pronouns (see above) and verbs in the singular, as in *mīḥi žāy* ‘come closer (SG.F)’, *raddū-h inti?* ‘Did you (SG.F) bring it back?’. Gender merging in the 2SG of the imperfect as in Sidi Bouzid (Ritt-Benmimoun: in print) is not attested.
- **Future and intention markers**: Interestingly, as far as the future is concerned, speakers from Kasserine, and from Central Tunisia in general, behave similarly to South Tunisian speakers (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a). Their usual way to modify the future is the marker *tā-* which is prefixed to the imperfect verb: *tā-nḥaddit-ha* ‘I will tell her’, *wāš tā-ngūl nā tawwkīya?* ‘What should I say now?’. However, also the pan-Tunisian marker *bāš* is found. Furthermore, the marker *māš* is attested in the texts, as in the example: *māš tmūt* ‘she will die’. As in other Tunisian dialects

¹⁴ See for instance Singer (1984: 364f.) for Tunis. See also W. Marçais (1950: 215).

taww expresses the near future and the intention: *taww ngūl-lik* ‘I am going to tell you (SG)’.

3.2.5. Nouns

- **Plural forms** of the pattern *fʿālīl*: *rʿāzīl* ‘men’; *nsāwīn* ‘women’; *srāwīl* ‘trousers’. They clearly differ from the sedentary-type pattern *fʿālil*.
- **Dual forms**: *šahrīn* ‘two months’; *xarʿzīn* ‘two injections’.

3.3. Syntactic aspects

3.3.1. Auxiliaries, modal and pseudo-verbs

- **ʿād, ʿitt - yʿūd** ‘to start, to begin’:¹⁵ *ʿād yindib* ‘he began to lament’; *w-baʿd ʿitt nšāgī-h* ‘and then I started to talk to him again’. As the following examples suggest it also serves as copula: *niḥna ʿidna giblit il-wād* ‘we were south of the oued’; *ʿāt¹⁶ māḍi sāʿa* ‘it was already one o’clock’. Within Tunisia its use as copula is attested for Nefza (Naddari 2023: 233).
- **mā-bā-š** ‘not to want’:¹⁷ *mā-bā-š ynūd il-yūm* ‘he didn’t want to get up today’ (HassiFrid3f40); *mā-bā-š yšāgī-ni* ‘he wouldn’t talk to me’; *mā-bā-š yaʿtī-h* ‘he didn’t want to give (it) to him’; *w-inta mā-bīt-š taḥḍir ʿmā-y?* ‘and you didn’t want to be here with me?’.
- **walla - ywalli** ‘to start, to begin’: *wallu yahʿrtu ʿlā tarʿktūr* ‘they began to plough on a tractor’.
- **ḥāzī-** ‘to need’: *ḥāzī-ik bā-ha?* ‘do you need her/it?’
- Forms that originate in the verb *ḍall* ‘to stay’ are important copulae in this dialect. In the seven texts the forms **ḍāl** and **nḍālu** occur: *w-ḍāl ʿanna milk kbīr* ‘we had a huge piece of land’; *nḍālu nušʿrbu fā-ha* ‘we drink from it’.¹⁸
- **zīt** *nḥuṭt-ha hakka* ‘when I was about to put it like this’

¹⁵ It is also attested in Beaussier (1958: 688) in this sense: ‘se mettre à, se prendre à’.

¹⁶ < *ʿādīt*.

¹⁷ See also Beaussier (1958: 26): ‘ne pas vouloir, refuser’; ‘probablement altéré de ’abā’. Ph. Marçais (1947: 65) notes the verb *ba / yāba* (always negated) for Bou Saāda, and Pereira (2010: 140–142) *ba / yābbi* for Tripoli.

¹⁸ In Takrouna the forms are *ḍall*, *yḍull* which have the following meaning: “demeurer dans un certain état, en un certain lieu, ou à faire qq.ch.; se trouver dans un certain état, un certain lieu ou avec une certaine caractérisation; être, exister, se trouver” (Marçais & Guīga 1958–61: 2459f.). They remark however, that it is *yḍall* in poetry and in certain Bedouin dialects. In Takrouna, when followed by an indeterminate subject, the verb can be in the impersonal 3SG.M. But other than that, the verb is in no way fossilized. For the function of *yḍall* in Southern Tunisia, see Boris 1958.

3.3.2. Progressive marker

fi- preceding a direct object, e.g. *xī limmin a-l-ʾmʿīz thizz fā-ha?* ‘To whom do these goats you are taking away belong?’; *w-yōkul kān f-il-ḥašīš* ‘he was eating only grass.’; *nā ngallaʿ f-il-ḥalfa* ‘I was pulling up halfah grass’.¹⁹

3.3.3. Negation

Examples with bipartite, circumfixed negation are *mā-yšūfū-nī-š* ‘they don’t see me’; *mā-ʿand-hum-īš il-xīl* ‘they didn’t have horses’. Occasionally negation can be formed with the suffix *-š* only, as in: *ʿād-īš* ‘not anymore’, e.g. also *ʿutt-īš tẓī-ni = mā-ʿād-š tẓī-ni* ‘don’t come to me anymore’ (elicited for the purpose of this study);²⁰ *mā-tamm ḥadd* ‘there is nobody’.

The negative copula is formed with the negation *miš-/muš-* which is provided with the respective pronominal suffixes, e.g. *miš-hum* ‘they are not’, *muš-ni* ‘I am not’. Further forms are given by a speaker from Hassi Frid (HassiFrid3/f/40): *miš-ni* (1SG), *mišš-ik* (2SG.M), *miš-ki* (2SG.F), *mušš-u* (3SG.M), *mušš-i* (3SG.F), *miš-ku/im* (2PL), *miš-hum* (3PL). *miš-ki* for the 2SG.F is really remarkable. An example is: *tā-taxdim il-ʿašwa willa mišš-ik xādim?* ‘Will you work in the afternoon or won’t you work?’ (HassiFrid3/f/40). As our TUNOCENT-data shows, this or similar paradigms prevail in the area stretching from Northern Tunisia as far as Gafsa, but they also occur for instance in Annaba (Guerrero & Abdessemed 2019: 17). The second paradigm widely used in Tunisia is formed with the circumfixed negation marker *mā-...-š* which encloses the enclitic pronouns. These forms are commonly found in urban dialects (Singer 1984: 718f.) as well as in South Tunisian dialects.

3.4. Lexical aspects

In this section some interesting verbs and nouns are presented which are typically found in Kasserine but may differ from the Southern Bedouin dialects and/or also from the urban-type dialect of Tunis.

Verbs		Nouns	
<i>adda/idda – yiddi</i>	‘to take, to bring’	<i>bbayy-u</i>	‘his father’
<i>tār – ytūr</i>	‘to stand up; to wake up’	<i>xannāb</i>	‘thief’
<i>ytawwir</i>	‘to wake someone’	<i>xāyin – xiyyān</i>	‘thief’
<i>yḥizz = yhizz</i>	‘to take, to steal’	<i>bīt</i>	‘house’

¹⁹ For the use of *fi-* as aspect marker in Tunisian dialects see Ritt-Benmimoun 2017.

²⁰ Cf. also D’Anna 2020.

<i>yaxnib</i>	‘to steal’	<i>dāda</i>	‘mother; grand-mother’
<i>danna – ydanni</i>	‘to do’	<i>ʕašwa</i>	‘late afternoon, evening’
<i>šadd – yšudd</i>	‘to come back, to return’	<i>ḡalam/ḡilam</i>	‘sheep’
<i>ymīh</i>	‘to come closer’	<i>ḡurbiž</i>	‘bulk trash’
<i>aṛṛāh</i> (M) – <i>aṛṛāhi</i> (F) – <i>aṛṛāhu</i> (PL)	‘come!’	<i>kirʕay-ya</i>	‘my feet’
<i>gaʕmiz – ygaʕmiz</i>	‘to sit down; to stay’		

4. Texts: Transcription and translation

[...]: Other speakers whose speech is not transcribed here, or incomprehensible passages.

4.1. Text 1

1	<i>naḥīṛtu w-ʕan-na</i> ²¹ <i>w-dāl ʕan-na</i> <i>milk kbīr naḥīṣdu. nuḡʕdu šahrīn</i> <i>w-tilāta w-nihna naḥīṣdu. [...]</i> <i>naḥīṣdu b-il-minēzil. [...]</i> <i>minēzil.</i> [...]	We used to plough and we had... We had a huge piece of land, which we harvested. We were har- vesting for two or three months. We were harvesting with sickles. Sickles.
2	<i>w-il-ḥarīṭ nuḡʕdu yumkin ḡxur</i> <i>yugʕud šahrīn yaḥsid w-ḡxur</i> <i>yugʕud išhar w-nuṣṣ yumkun</i> <i>akkāka. [...]</i>	And (as far as) the ploughing (is concerned), we stay perhaps... one harvests for two months, and the other for one and a half months, perhaps like that.
3	<i>yaḥriṭ ʕlā it-tṛak... ā... l-ayyāmāt</i> <i>l-ūla yaḥriṭu ʕlā... ʕa-l-bill. taww</i> <i>wallu yaḥriṭu ʕlā taṛktūr.</i>	He ploughs on... In former times [lit. in the first days] they used to plough on camels, nowadays they began to plough on a tractor.
4	<i>w-hā-na naḥīṣdu nḡālu. [...]</i> <i>llagḡtu</i> ²² <i>is-sbūl w-il-ḡalam hā-y</i> <i>tafla f-is-sbūf... f-is-sbūl wṛā-na.</i>	We were harvesting. We collected the cereal ears, and the sheep flock pastured behind us in the crop fields.

²¹ < ʕand-na.

²² < nlagḡtu.

5	<i>maṛṛa ʕlā maṛṛa nā nzi mxarʔtla, mafzūʕa. rgitt f-il-gāyla. mā-w lāzz-ni š-šāyib ygūl-li aḥʕsdi dīma.</i>	Occasionally it happened that I was confused, I was startled. I fell asleep at noontime. Because the old man had obliged me (to work), he used to tell me: You always have to harvest!
6	<i>turt f-il-gāyla na, nahna rgūd w-nā turt ngul-lhum: il-minzil wīn-u? ā hlāl-i l-minzil ā hlāl-i zargt is-sams is-sams zargt.</i>	I woke up at noontime. When we were sleeping I woke up and said to them: Where is the sickle? O dear, the sickle, o dear, the sun has risen, the sun has risen.
7	<i>gʕadt w-gālt-inni Nūra: ā dēda ā dēda rā-y rā-k graʕti²³ tawwkīya rā-k, rā-k ɾawwaḥti. šbʕ-k? danni ʕaql-ik!</i>	When I sat up Nūra said to me: Mum, mum, you have had enough now, you are already at home. What's up with you? Be reasonable!
8	<i>imma... ātu l-minzil ātu l-minzil! gatt-lik²⁴ mšū-li ā wāš-i? āy ʕbād ygūlu rā-y dāda tār-t-inna mxartla.</i>	Give (PL) (me) the sickle, give (PL) (me) the sickle! She told you, they went to me: What? People said that our mum has woken being in a confused state.
9	<i>gālu mxartil. mā-w aḍāka mxartil-ha xartil-lha. nā barṛu, unʔzru unʔzru ʕlā-ha b-in-nizzih taww trudd ʕgal-ha.</i>	They said, confused. That one has confused her. Come on, shout (PL), shout (PL) at her properly, then she will return to consciousness.
10	<i>xaltt²⁵ Nūra, gālt-illi: hā dēda hā dēda! b-in-nizzih. hā, gult-ilha, kin-ni turt m-in-nūm. mafzūʕa. hāka-hūw.</i>	Nūra joined (us) and shouted at me: Mum, mum! Very loud. Yes, I said to her. It was as if I had awoken from sleep. I was startled. That's it.

4.2. Text 2

11	<i>willa ḥatta tā-nḥaddit-ha ʕlā l-xiy-yān taww. ah? ḥāžt-ik bā-ha l-xiy-yān? [...] xannāb, yaxnib.</i>	Or I could also tell her about the thieves now. What? Do you (SG) need (stories) about thieves? A thief, someone who steals.
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²³ Marçais & Guîga 1958–61: 3172: ‘avoir à satiété de qq. ch.’; Boris 1958: 491: ‘s’incliner devant la supériorité de qqn (l-) en qq. ch. (b-)’; Beaussier 1958: 794: ‘cogner, heurter’.

²⁴ < galt-lik < gālt-lik < gālit-lik. Preceding suffixes, in the texts both *gāt* and *gatt* occur.

²⁵ < xaltt.

12	<i>tamm šāyib ḥaṭṭ^a ḥdā-na tammkīya. yžū-h l-iš-šwihāt hazzū- hum-lu žimla fu-kaṛ^hhba.</i>	There was an old man who had set up his tent next to us over there. They came to his sheep and goats and took them all from him in a car.
13	<i>saft-il hazzū-hum-lu žimla fi- kaṛ^hhba tnaṭṭir hūw žā fi-galb il- ġalam. w-ġad tamm 'smā-h. w- mša?</i>	In the moment when they took them all from him in a car he jumped into the midst of the sheep. He stayed there and went off (with them).
14	<i>mšū sāgu b^wi-h il-kaṛ^hhba, sāgu b^wi-h hūw sāġū-h, w-xlaṭ li-galb is- sūg gidd gidd.</i>	They went off and drove the car with him in it, they drove (it) with him in it, they drove him, (until) he arrived exactly in the centre of the market.
15	<i>w-yiddu fi-h. mā-tamm ḥadd. hūw xlaṭ tammkīya w-hūw ſād yindib ak iš-šāyib: hā šūm-i hā gill-i hā šūm-i!</i>	They took him. There was no one. When he arrived there, that old man began to lament: oh my, o dear, oh my!
16	<i>wāš bī-k, wāš bī-k? žū-h žū-h il- ḥaraṣ: wāš bī-k, wāš bī-k?</i>	What happened? What's up with you? They came to him, the police came to him (and asked him): What happened? What's up with you?
17	<i>gal-lhum: ā-w ġalm-i āḍi, rā-y ġalm-i nā hazzō-ha ġīr nā tnaṭṭirt id-dinya ḡalma tnaṭṭirt wrā-hum hā-m²⁶ mā-yšūfu-nī-š.</i>	He said to them: These here are my sheep. They took my sheep. Luckily, I jumped, it was dark and I jumped behind them (onto the car) without them seeing me.
18	<i>hazz-lū-hum²⁷ w-il-ġalam raddō- ha b-kaṛ^hhbit-ha ġāḍi. w-hūma šaddū-hum ṛabṭū-hum.</i>	He took them to him ²⁸ and they brought the sheep back there with their car. They arrested them and imprisoned them.
19	<i>w-waššlū-hum gal-lhum ġāḍi tammkīya b-il-kaṛ^hhba mtāſit-hum hūma, b-il-kaṛ^hhba mtāſit-hum hūma. [...]</i>	They brought them there with their car, (as) he had told them, with their car.

²⁶ < hā-hum.

²⁷ The expected form is *hazz-hum-lu*. It is not clear whether *hazz-lū-hum* is also used or whether it is a lapsus linguae.

²⁸ Actually 'he took them [i.e. the policemen] to them [i.e. the thieves]' would be expected here.

20	<i>šaddu šād hūma. taww kī waššlū-lhum il-ġalam tammkīya šaddu. [...] hāka-hūw waššlū-h tammkīya l-il-ġalam, waššlū-h tammkīya l-hūš-hum.</i>	They came back. Now, after they had brought them the sheep there they came back. That's it. They brought him there to the sheep, they brought him to their home. ²⁹
21	<i>w-ṛaddū-hum. w-ṛaddū-h tammkīya w-waššlū-h tammkīya.</i>	They gave them back. They returned him there and took him there.

4.3. Text 3

22	<i>mā-y židdā-ya tšārkt hī w-iš-šāyib mtāh-ha,³⁰ māxiḍ ḡlā-ha mṛā.</i>	My grandmother had quarreled with her husband, (because) he had married another woman.
23	<i>kī tšārkit hī w-yā-h hazzāt-u, hazzit wild-ha, wild-ha. kān f-il-līl w-mšit b-hāl l-^ummālā-ha.</i>	When she quarreled with him, she took him, she took her son, her son (and left). It was at night and she probably went to her family.
24	<i>hā-y³¹ timⁱš hā-y timⁱš hā-y timⁱš hī šād xaltit, xaltit l-it-tinīya l-fā-ha fū-ha gurbiz, hādika it-tinīya hī.</i>	She went on and on (until) she arrived, she came to the path with a bulk trash. That was the path.
25	<i>hī tkallmit, gāt-illu: ayya ḡMuṛ wild-i alhiḡ ayya. hūw gal-lha: āxi Rīm bint-i? gāt-illu: āy.</i>	She spoke and said to him: Come on, ḡMuṛ, my son, close up (with me)! He said to her: Can it really be that you are my daughter Rīm? She said to him: Yes.
26	<i>gal-lha: mīhi žāy ā Rīm bint-i! hā-w 'bbayy-ik 'mkattfīn-u mkattfīn-u hnā w-mlawwhīn-u fī-... f-a-l-gurbiz.</i>	He said to her: Come closer, my daughter Rīm. They have trussed your father up, they have trussed him here and thrown him into this bulk trash.
27	<i>lahgīt hīy. tilgū-h 'l-taww³² yḡhizz f-il-ġilam. gāt-illu: iḡ'r wild-i iż'r fazzaḡ.</i>	She closed up (with him). You (PL) will see that they are still taking the sheep. She said to him: Run, my son, run and call for help!

²⁹ Actually *l-hūš-u* 'to his home' would be expected here.

³⁰ < *mtāḡ-ha*.

³¹ < *hā-hi*.

³² For *l-taww* / *l-il-taww* used as expression with the meaning 'still' see Fischer & Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun 2023.

28	<i>hūw bhaz yiž'ir w-il-xāyin ḥkam žirrt-u. hūw yiž'ir hūw yiž'ir hūw yiž'ir hūw yiž'ir mā... harab ʿʕlī-h, ġidā š-šinti ġidā.</i> ³³	He dashed off and ran, and the thief came after him. He ran and ran and ran and got away from him. He escaped, the boy escaped.
29	<i>žit hīy habṭit l-ʿbbayy-ha, sayybāt-u. žit w-gaʕdt hī w-bbayy-ha yit-farṙṙḡu ʕa-l-ʿġlam il-yḥizzu fā-ha.</i>	She came and went down to her father, she set him free. She came and sat together with her father watching the sheep being taken.
30	<i>iš-šinti yiddi fī-h, mā-ʕand-hum-š il-xīl lā... gaʕdu yḥizzu f-il-ġilam...</i>	The boy made him [i.e. the thief] run after him. ³⁴ They didn't have horses. They were taking the sheep.
31	<i>miš-hum sāhlīn ʿʕlī-h. miš mḥaw-wmīn ʿʕlī-h.</i>	They didn't pay any attention to him [i.e. the boy]. They didn't care about him.
32	<i>aḏāka žrā žrā w-šadd, il-xāyin šadd, šadd min žurṙt iš-šinti.</i>	That one ran and ran and came back. The thief returned. He came back from chasing the boy.
33	<i>kī šadd min žurṙt iš-šinti ġāl: imši imši š-šinti mšā. taww f...yḥizz f-il-ġilam, tā-yfallig ʕlā-ha.</i>	When he returned from chasing the boy, he said: Go, go, the boy is gone. He would take the sheep, he would capture them.
34	<i>hāzz-ha tā-yhizz-ha il-xāyin. iš-šinti hā-w minaʕ mšā l-il-ʕĀyid. iš-šinti mšā l-il-ʕĀyid.</i>	He had taken them; the thief would take them. But the boy had escaped and went to il-ʕĀyid. The boy went to il-ʕĀyid.
35	<i>gal-lhum: rān-u hā-w židd-i hakk w-hakk, w-nulgū-h rābṭīn rābṭīn mkattfīn-u w-rāmīn-u fī-gurbiž. ... w-rāy dāda gatt-illi baṙṙa ḥizz-ha.</i>	He said to them: That and that (happened to) my grandfather. We found that they had tied (him) up, they had tied (him) up, trussed him and thrown him into a bulk trash. And my mother said to me: Go and take them!

³³ *ġidā* has the two meanings 'to get lost' and 'to escape': Boris 1958: 433 's'égarer, se perdre; s'échapper, échapper à', and for Takrouna: 's'éloigner de qq. ou de qq. ch. (*ʕala*) en prenant une large avance' (Marçais & Guīga 1958–61: 2793).

³⁴ lit. 'the boy was taking him away'.

36	<i>žū arʿbʿa m-il-xīl, il-xīl titnāgg³⁵ wāšīn-hi? yilgū-hum l-il-taww tammīka, ʿl-taww xāyḍīn tammkīya w-yḥizzu f-is-saʿy.</i>	Four horses came. The horses were running together, and what else? They found that they were still there, still in a mess there, and taking the sheep and goats.
37	<i>šaddū-hum, šaddū-hum il-arʿbʿa. w-šaddū-hum w-žābū-hum l-iš- šāyib.</i>	They seized them, they seized the four of them. They seized them and brought them to the old man.
38	<i>gal-lu: hā-hu wāš ʿddanni fī-hum danni. ḥabbīt rbaṭṭ ḥabbīt ṣawwiṭṭ.</i>	He told him: Whatever you want to do with them, do (it)! If you want to tie them up (do it), if you want to beat them up (do it).
39	<i>gal-lhum: sayybu ʿlī-ya d-daʿwa fī-him! sayybū-hum ʿlī-ya id- daʿwa fī-him!</i>	He said to them: Set them free, (keep them) away from me! A curse may be on them! Set them free, away from me! Curse them!
40	<i>gālu: wallah mā-nsayybū-hum illa- ma naʿtū-hum trīḥa.</i>	They said: By God, we will only set them free if we can beat them up.
41	<i>^aʿlī-hum trīḥa w-baʿd walla yḥizz ^aʿlī-hum hūw w-sayyib-hum say- yib-hum iš-šībāni.</i>	They beat them up, and then he began to get them apart, and he set them free, the old man let them go.

4.4. Text 4

42	<i>ʿamm-i l-ḥāžž tmarrġ-illu žmal bū grān, ṭāḥ w-l-grān gʿad mlawwaḥ w-iž-žmal mšaʿ.</i>	My uncle's, the Hajj's, camel, it had two bags, wallowed in the dust. It had fallen, the bags were chucked on the ground and the camel was gone.
43	<i>[...] grān mtāʿ grib yṭayybū-h b-il- guṭṭān. [...] mtāʿt l-ʿmʿīz. mtāʿt l- ʿmʿīz, ydannō-ha grib w-nuṣʿbu fā-ha. [...] w-nḍālu nuṣʿbu fā-ha, hāka-hūw.</i>	Bags on either side of the pack animal for the water hoses, which they cook with tar. (They are made) of goat (skin), out of goat (skin). They make water bags out of it and we drink from it. We drink from it. That's it.

³⁵ Neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guïga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958.

44	<i>hāyh. šadd šamm-i l-hāžž l-il-grān w-il-šmār yōkul.</i> ³⁶ <i>taww il-šmār yōkul w-hūw šadd l-il-šgrān xatf-u w-mša.</i>	Yes. My uncle the Hajj returned to the bags while bullets were fired all around. While bullets were fired all around, he returned to the bags, took them and went off.
45	<i>mā-ža yilga wāhid ymarrid mnawwḏīn</i> ^a <i>šlī-h.</i> ³⁷ <i>gāl-lu: guddāš lī-k min yūm w-inta tmarrid?</i>	The moment he came, he found someone crawling. They had fired at him. He asked him: For how many days have you been crawling?
46	<i>gāl-lu: lay-ya xamštāš-in yūm. xamštāš-in yūm w-nā nmarrid. w-yōkul kān f-il-ḥašīš.</i>	He said to him: For fifteen days. I have been crawling for fifteen days. And he was eating only grass.
47	<i>gāl: nilgā-h id-dargūm</i> ³⁸ <i>hāda axḏīr ṭīl k-il-ganfūd. il-ganfūd ān-u yōkul f-il-ḥašīš.</i>	He said: I found this mouth completely green like a hedgehog's. Because a hedgehog eats grass.
48	<i>gāl: lay-ya ā-w fāt-u wāhid min mā, rāḳib šlā mūtūr. gāl-lu: ahl-ik wīn-u?</i>	He said to me: For... one from [?] had passed him by, riding a motorcycle. He said to him: Where is your family?
49	<i>bsā... hūwa ā-w gāl-lu: ahl-i ā-w akk. gal-lu: akk, fhīm šlī-h kān akk. mšā-lu ḡādi, akk, mšā l-ahl-u.</i>	He said to him: My family is in this direction. He said to him: This way. He understood from him only 'this way'. He went to them there, in this direction, he went to his family.
50	<i>xlatṭ-ilhum</i> ³⁹ <i>tamm w-gāl: hā Faṭṭīma, āy āy. in'dbi šlā Maḥammad! [...] hā-y. in'dbi šlā Maḥammad rā-w ān-u ymarrid ā-w akka.</i>	He arrived there and said: Faṭṭīma! Yes, yes. Lament over Maḥammad! ⁴⁰ Yes. Lament over Maḥammad because he is crawling somewhere over there.

³⁶ For this verb Marçais & Guïga (1958–61: 89) have also the meaning 'se répandre dans toute une étendue, toute une masse; envahir qq. ou qq. ch.; dévorer l'espace'.

³⁷ Marçais & Guïga 1958–61: 4094: 'faire partir un coup de feu, des coups de feu, une arme à feu, des armes à feu; faire feu'.

³⁸ This word is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guïga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958. One of our younger collaborators from Kasserine is not familiar with *dargūm* but with the participle *mdargam*: 'having a filthy mouth (from eating)'.

³⁹ < **xlat-ilhum*. The *ṭ* is doubled to prevent the loss of the short vowel *a* in the open syllable.

⁴⁰ Another speaker present during the interview explains that the name Fātna/Fātma (here: Faṭṭīma) is used to address a female stranger, and Maḥammad for a male stranger.

51	<i>gāl ʕamm-i l-Hāžž gāl: nāy akkāka nʕabbah⁴¹ ʕlī-h w-n-nsāwīn ʕit tižžāra w-ir-ržāžl.</i>	My uncle the Hajj said, he said: I was like that, [?], when the women and the men came running quickly.
52	<i>bahzit ʕlī-h waḥda w-tḥammlāt-u. wīn xallīt Mansūr, ā Bilgāsīm?</i>	One (woman) lunged at him and embraced him. Where did you leave Mansūr, Bilgāsīm?
53	<i>gāl-lha: Mansūr ʕādi bī-h⁴² l-štar il-līl nšāgī-h⁴³ yšāgī-ni w-baʕid ʕitt ʕnšāgī-h ʕnšāgī-h mā-bā-š yšāgī-ni. māt. hazzū-h w-mšū hāka-hūw.</i>	He said to her: As far as I can tell, until midnight I was talking to Mansūr and he was talking to me, and then I started to talk to him again, (but) he wouldn't talk to me. He had died. They took him and went off. That's it.

4.5. Text 5

54	<i>tamm wāḥid... ḥdā-na taww mṛā tammīka. ʕō-ha zūz xiyyēn hazzū-lha ḡlammit-ha l-kull.</i>	There was someone... there was a woman (living) near us there. Two thieves came to her and took all her sheep.
55	<i>w-hī kān hīy w-wlīd-ha. taw-wṛāt-u: tūr ā Mḥammad iṣ-Ṣālah wild-i tūr! ḡlēm-i ʕimla hazzō-ha.</i>	She lived alone with her son. She woke him: Wake up, Mḥammad iṣ-Ṣālah, my son, wake up! They have taken all my sheep!
56	<i>wāḥid... l-mṛā tʕayyit l-il-taww w-hūw šadd ʕl-tāli yžīb f-in-naʕza ḡṛ kī wāld yhizz fi-wild-ha.</i>	Someone... The woman was still screaming, and he stayed behind to bring the ewe which had just given birth, he took her son.
57	<i>w-il-ḡalam l-uxra sāgō-ha ʕimla w-mšit. w-tižʕr fi-ʕḡāb-him: hā ḥlāl-i ḡalm-i hazzō-ha ā ḥlāl-i!</i>	They had led all the other sheep away and they were gone. She was running after them: Oh my, they have taken my sheep! Oh my God!

⁴¹ This verb is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guîga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958.

⁴² < ʕāhd-i bī-h.

⁴³ This verb is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guîga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958.

58	<i>xāl-i Ḥmid ḥanni</i> ⁴⁴ <i>ḡalm-i hazzō-ha, ā ḥlāl-i ḥanni ā xāl-i Ḥmid w-hū w-lī.</i>	Xāli Ḥmid, stand by us! They have stolen my sheep! Oh my! Assist me, Xāli Ḥmid! He is a local saint. ⁴⁵
59	<i>mšit bī-h barša yēsir w-baʿd ak ir-ržāzīl hūma ʕād yaxʿlṭu yaxʿlṭu l-il-māzīn mtāʕ mā.</i>	She walked for a long time. And then those men arrived at, they came to a water cistern.
60	<i>w-hūma hūma ḡāl akka šēšu</i> ⁴⁶ <i>šēšu w-harṛbu. šāfu xyālēt yumkun tamm, kīma akka.</i>	And they, it was said, were bothered (by sth.), they were anxious and fled. Perhaps they saw shapes there, something like that.
61	<i>harṛbu ʕal-āk l-ḡlēm w-xallō-ha, žābt hīy l-ḡlam w-žit.</i>	They fled away from those sheep and left them behind. She brought the sheep and came (back).
62	<i>žā-ha l-ifzaʕ baʿd, baʿd žābt il-ḡalam w-žit [...] baʿd-la... hāy, raddit-ha.</i>	Those who were supposed to help her came afterwards. After she had brought the sheep and come (back). After... yes, she had brought them back.
63	<i>w-žā xāl-ha Ḥmid ḥayy, gatt-illu: lāš ā xāl-i Ḥmid txallī-him yžū yaʕʿmlū-li yhizzū-li fi-ḡalm-i?</i>	When her uncle Ḥmid came, he was alive (then), she said to him: Why, Xāli Ḥmid, did you let them come and make me... take away my sheep from me?
64	<i>yifzʕu fī-y fi-ḡalm-i w-inta mā-bīt-iš taḥḍir ʕmā-y? hī ḡāl-lha: miṛ-radd-hum-lik</i> ⁴⁷ <i>inti min tamm? āškūn iṛ-radd-u</i> ⁴⁸ <i>min tamm?</i>	They gave me a scare for my sheep and you didn't want to be here with me? He said to her: Yes, and who brought them back to you from there? Who brought them back from there?

⁴⁴ Boris 1958: 129: *ḥann - yḥinn* 'avoir pitié de, éprouver de la compassion pour'; Marçais & Guïga 1958–61: 959: 'amener qq. à se tenir auprès de qq. pour surveiller, pour assister'. Possibly in this variety it is a verb of Form II: *ḥanna - yḥanni*.

⁴⁵ Local saints are commonly addressed with *sīd-i*. Perhaps his being a family member makes the speaker address him with *xāl-i* 'my uncle'.

⁴⁶ Beaussier (1958: 548) has Form II with the meaning 'exciter, inspirer; inquiéter, troubler, causer des troubles; déranger'; and Form I is documented in Marçais & Guïga (1958–61: 2101): 'être en tumulte; être inquiet, hésitant'.

⁴⁷ < *min radd*.

⁴⁸ < *l-radd-u*.

65	<i>ṛaddītī-h inti? mā-hum ṛaddū-hum mā-ni ḥaḍḍirnā-lhum xyālāt min tamm.</i>	Did you bring them back? They brought them back... We made shapes be present for them there.
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4.6. Text 6

66	<i>ṣamm-i mḥaddir l-iṣ-ṣaḥra w-sāyig sāyig ḡalm-u. in-nās sāḡit w-mšit w-hūw ḡṣad fāli mḥal "ḡtār b-il-ḡilam. ḡṣad fāli tamm'kīya.</i>	My uncle had gone down to the desert and shepherded his sheep. People had shepherded and left whereas he stayed to pasture the sheep (in) the region of Guettar. He stayed to pasture there.
67	<i>barra barra barra⁴⁹ w-ṣand-u muḡrūn fūš fūḡ min ktāf-u. tamm dawwār tammīka.</i>	And then... And he had a fūš rifle ⁵⁰ on his shoulders. There was a tent camp there.
68	<i>f-il-lil ḥaḍḍb-illu⁵¹ wāhid, ḡāl rā-w rāzil gudd akka. ḡāl: mā-farrīt-^{iṣ}⁵² bī-h kān l-mḡārīb⁵³ b-iḍ-ḍab'it. il-ḡalam fātāt-u.</i>	At night someone came to bother him. He said: It was a huge man. He said: I became aware of him only when the sun went down. The sheep had passed him by.
69	<i>ḥaḍḍb-illu. ḡāl mā-zilt nitlāwa⁵⁴ nā w-yā-h ṣlā ḡāl ḡ... ṣruḍ-ni wāhid m-ak id- duwwār.</i>	He came to bother him. He said: I was still striving with him over... Someone from that tent camp came to meet me.

⁴⁹ Cf. Boris 1958: 27: 'expression narrative'. Marçais & Guíga 1958–61: 262f.: *barra barra barra barra* 'pour marquer un acquiescement mêlé de surprise'.

⁵⁰ The word *fūš* is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guíga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958. Most probably it denotes a certain rifle type.

⁵¹ *ḥaḍḍb-illu*: Boris 1958: 117 *ḥaḍḍab* 'aller et venir sans but et sans profit, comme un chien'. Marçais & Guíga 1958–61: 839: 'réunir des gens, des animaux en troupe; se rassembler, se grouper; mettre qq. en éveil, sur le qui-vive'. Local meaning: 'to come up to so. to bother him/her'.

⁵² *farr - yfirr*: Beaussier 1958 and Boris 1958 give only the meaning 'to flee', but Marçais & Guíga 1958–61: 2904 have also 's'apercevoir de, se rendre compte de'.

⁵³ The plural form *mḡārīb* is also attested for el-Ḥamma (cf. Marçais & Farès 1933: 1–2).

⁵⁴ *yitlāwa*: 'to war, to strive with so. over sth.' Form VI is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guíga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958. Beaussier 1958: 914 gives the meaning 's'enrouler; faire un coude, tourner' for Form V.

70	<i>šadd il-mugrūn gāl danna rōh-u yšūf fī-h akka, šāf-u šāf-u lāh-u fūg ktāf-u w-mša. hlāl-i!</i>	He took the rifle and did as if he was looking at it like this. He looked at it, looked at it, tossed it on his shoulders and went away. Oh my!
71	<i>āt žāy l-mugrūn! gāl mā-bā-š yašfī-h. w-yitlāwu šlī-h yitlāwu šlī-h w-hūwa mšammir.</i>	Hand over the rifle! He said, he didn't want to give it (back). They were warring over it, struggling over it, though it was loaden.
72	<i>nāḍ mā-bīn-hum ak il-mugrūn w-baš'd sā... šamm-i nā sallim w-mša w-lhag il-šalam, šaddit ša-ž-žurra, ražšit.</i>	That rifle discharged between them and then... My uncle surrendered and went to catch up on the sheep. They had returned in their traces, they had come back.
73	<i>žira žira žira gāl mā-šaddig⁵⁵ illa rrudd-ha. sāg šalm-u w-mša?</i>	He ran and ran and ran. He said: I won't believe it until I have brought them back. He shepherded his sheep and went away.
74	<i>žā šurq-u bbayy-u w-umm-u. gāl-lu: āxi wāšbē-k āšbē-k? wāš žrā-lik? l-al faš'ī?⁵⁶</i>	When he came (back), his father and his mother came to meet him. He said to him: What's up with you? What's wrong with you? What happened to you? Up to now?
75	<i>gal-lu: wāš žirā-li? hā-w ḥadḍb-illi tarrās m-ak in-nās m-ak id-du-wwār.</i>	He said to him: (That's) what happened to me: A young man from those people, from that tent camp came to bother me.
76	<i>hā tlāwīt nā ša-l-mugrūn tlāwīt tlāwīt. baš'd xallīt-u šand-u w-lhagt ša-l-šalam, dāru... ražšit 'l-tāli hā-ni raddēt-ha.</i>	I was warring (with him) over the rifle, I was struggling hard. Then I let it with him and caught up on the sheep. They turned... They had returned backwards, I brought them back.
77	<i>šār yax' lbu yhizzū-lik f-il-mugrūn! gūdwa l-hayy yšūf āš 'ndannī-lhim.</i>	So they really stole and took your rifle from you! Tomorrow he will see what I will do to him.

⁵⁵ Actually, a first person would be expected here.

⁵⁶ Cf. Beausssier 1958: 751 *في هذا الفصل 'actuellement'*.

78	<i>w-mša? iṣ-ṣub^aḥ gāl l-umm-u: tawwri-h! rkib hūw w-yā-h. žā-hum min gibⁱlt gibⁱlt id-dawwār, gāl-lhum āh!</i>	And he went away. In the morning he said to his mother: Wake him up! They rode together. He came to them from the south, the south of the tent camp and said to them: Hey!
79	<i>mā-taṣ^rifū-nī-š nā l-ḥaṣṣid? ḥākim l-^uGtār naṣ^rif-u w-ḥākim il-Gaṣ^r naṣ^rif-u.</i>	Don't you (PL) know that I am the [?]. I know the governor of Guettar and I know the governor of Kasr.
80	<i>w-hūw imbalḥig šāhid, illa-ma nxalli dawwār-kum xāli!</i>	He really declared: I swear, I will leave your tent camp empty!
81	<i>ḥāzzil līh⁵⁷ xamsīn ḥūlīya? xamsīn zād xamsīn ḥūlīya w-muḡrūn! tšūf āš ndannī-lkim.</i>	You (PL) have taken from him fifty two-year-old sheep, fifty! Fifty two-year-old sheep and a rifle! You (SG) will see what I will do to you (PL)!
82	<i>w-ṛadd ṣa-l-baḡla w-gāl yā yā l-ⁱGtār. w-gāl kallm-ilhum šāyib gal-lhum: ūḡfu ūḡfu ruddu l-muḡrūn!</i>	He came back to the mule and said, oh Guettar! He said, an old man addressed them and said to them: Stand up (PL), stand up, give back (PL) the rifle!
83	<i>mā-taṣ^rifū-š-u⁵⁸ naḥna? nhizzu ḥaqq bātil? taṣ^rifū-na? illa-ma tuḡṣud klāb-kum titṣāwig.⁵⁹</i>	Don't you (PL) know us? Do we take something unjustly? Do you know us? I swear, your dogs will be howling!
84	<i>[...] gāl... gal-lu: ṣayyit ṣlā bbayy-ik ṣayyit ṣlā bbayy-ik, xallī-h yṣudd, ṣayyit ṣlā bbayy-ik!</i>	He said... He said to him: Call your father, call your father, let him come back! Call your father!
85	<i>gāl: ṣayyit ṣlā bbayy. w-gāl: ṣayyit ṣayyit ṣayyit, mā-smaṣ-nī-š.</i>	He said: I called my father. He said: I shouted and shouted and shouted, (but) he didn't hear me.
86	<i>baṣ^d ṣād gāl ndanni f-it-tṛāb. gāl hūw danna t-tṛāb w-hūw šāf-u w-ṛžāṣ.</i>	Then, he said, I threw sand in the air. He said, he threw the sand in the air and he saw him and came back.

⁵⁷ < ḥāzzīn līh.

⁵⁸ This might be a lapsus linguae as it means 'don't you know him', but what the speaker intends to say is 'don't you know us'.

⁵⁹ Form VI is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guïga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958. But it is attested in de Premare 1993–1999, Tome 9: 288 with the meaning 'hurler, glapir à qui mieux mieux'.

87	<i>ayya gāl gal-lu: ʕakkl-u⁶⁰ ʕakkl-u wṛā-ya. wallāhi yā-kān mā- ražžaʕtū-š-u l-muḡrūn illa illa-ma nxalli dawwār-kum xāli.</i>	Come on, he said, he said to him, trip him up, trip him up behind me. By God, if you (PL) don't give back the rifle, I will leave your tent camp empty behind.
88	<i>lākin hā-kum ražžaʕtu l-muḡrūn [...] hāk-hūw, mšū hādāka⁶¹ mšū l-iš-šahṛa w-hādāka gʕad fi-blāšt- u.</i>	But there you (PL) are, you gave back (PL) the rifle. That's it. They went, persons went to the desert and that one stayed in his place.

4.7. Text 7

89	<i>blād magsam it-trāb blād ramla. [...] fi-dūlt iʕrānša. dūlt iʕrānša w-lakʕit-ni,⁶² nā ngallaʕ f-il- ħalfa.</i>	The village Magsam it-Trāb is a village (full of) sand. During the French government, when the French were governing, it bit me, while I was pulling up halfah grass.
90	<i>sāʕāt-ha ngallaʕ f-il-ħalfa, nirdis f-il-ħalfa ħafyāna. žīt nhuṭṭ fā-ha iš-šub^h žīt i'nhuṭṭ-ha hakka ħaṭṭēt-ha ʕlā rāš il-liʕa, klit-ni hikka.</i>	At that moment I was pulling up halfah grass, I was stamping down the halfah grass and I was barefoot. When in the morning I was about to put it [i.e. the grass], when I was about to put it like this, I put it on the head of the viper. It bit me like this.
91	<i>galt-illi hakka, gālt-illi w-gaʕdit i'gūl akka, mǧammḍa ʕenā-ha w- tgūl akka.</i>	It did to me like this, it did to me, it stayed doing like this, it had closed its eyes and did like this.
92	<i>w-nāy nuḍṛub fi-sidr-i akka: ā ħlāl-i ḥāḥa ḥanni ā ħlāl-i ḥāḥa ḥanni.</i>	And I was hitting my chest like this: Oh my, father, stand by me, oh dear, father, assist me!

⁶⁰ Boris 1958: 413 'faire un croc-en-jambe'; de Premare 1993–1999, Tome 9: 197: 'at-traper, entraver; enchevêtrer'.

⁶¹ Here a plural would be expected as the demonstrative is followed by a verb in the plural.

⁶² This verb is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guíga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958 with this meaning. It is, however, attested in Behnstedt & Woidich (2014: 478) for Morocco.

93	<i>w-nīḡⁱr w-nīzⁱr</i> ⁶³ <i>nādīt nādīt</i> ⁱ <i>b-ḡāḡa. hazzū-ni l-... ṡād ḡāḡa sāsāt-ha nilḡāḡh yḡazzīm w-rās-u xallā-h ṡigg</i> ⁱ <i>b-ṡigg</i> [...]	I ran and ran, I called, I called for my father. They took me to... At that moment my father was shaving, and he left his head half of it shaved off and the other unshaved.
94	<i>gutt-illik ṡād: niḡna rkibna ṡād ṡlā l-bill, hazzū-na ṡa-l-bill: dāda w-ḡidda w-ḡāḡa w-ṡmā-na wāḡid oḡur.</i>	I am telling you: We got on the camels, they took us on camels. My mother, my grandmother, my father and someone else was with us.
95	<i>niḡna ṡidna gibⁱlt il-wād. il-bill mā-y kānt mā-taṡraf-ⁱṡ a-l-lābsa s-srāwīl b-iṡ-ṡwāl.</i>	We were south of the oued. The camels were not familiar with those wearing long trousers.
96	<i>hīy lgit hūma naḡrūn-u zūz zūz lābsīn b-iṡ-ṡwāl. w-il-bill ḡālt rā-y ḡaṡṡit, ḡarbit ḡarbit.</i>	They found... Unexpectedly for them, we were two, two wearing long (clothes). The camels, did (like this), they bent down..., they fled, they ran away.
97	<i>dāda ṡādda wilⁱd-ha ygūl-lu ā ṡAmmār taww ngūl-lik. ṡādda wilⁱd-ha akka guddām-ha, w-in-nāḡa tiḡr bā-ha ḡādi w-tarḡaṡ.</i>	My mother was holding her son, he was called ṡAmmār. I am going to tell you. She was holding her son like this in front of her, while the she-camel was running with her there and came back.
98	<i>w-nā iḡ-ḡimal ḡāl akka nā mā-ni malsūṡa ḡ-ḡmal ḡāl akka ḡīt fi-wiṡṡ il-wād.</i>	And I... the camel did like this, and I had been bitten. The camel did like this and I landed in the middle of the oued.
99	<i>ḡāl ḡāḡa: ḡlḡⁱl-i ṡlā bilt-i! dāda wīn-ha hīya w-wild-ha w-k-kull? mṡit.</i>	My father said: Oh my because of my daughter! Where was my mother and her son and everyone? They had gone.
100	<i>hāy ⁱḡrit ⁱḡrit ⁱḡrit ⁱḡrit w-hīy ṡādda b-il-ḡigab⁶⁴ ḡakka w-ṡādda ṡAmmār.</i>	There it [i.e. the she-camel] was, it was running and running and running, while she was holding the saddle girth like this and holding ṡAmmār.

⁶³ The long *ī* in *nīḡⁱr* and *nīzⁱr* serves to emphasise the dramatic situation the speaker is in.

⁶⁴ *ḡigab*: Beaussier 1958: 220 حَقَاب ‘sangle tressée en laine pour le bât des chameaux’. The root *ḡ-g-b* is otherwise neither attested for Takrouna nor in Boris 1958.

101	<i>w-šādda ʕAmmār akka w-šādda b-il-ḥigab akka w-tiġʳ w-tgūl: hā Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah.</i> ⁶⁵	She held ʕAmmār like this and held the saddle girth like this, while [the she-camel] was running and she was saying: Oh Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah!
102	<i>lil wugfit... ʕyīna [...] lil wugfit ḥdā-na tammkīya. in-nāga žrit žrit.</i>	Until she came to a stop. We are exhausted... Until she came to a stop near us there. The she-camel had run and run.
103	<i>gaʕdū-ni nā w-hazzū-ni ʕlā iż-žimal w-addū-ni ʕgāb il-līl. ʕgāb il-līl niḥna xlatna wṛā... fi-gib'lt Firyāna.</i>	They placed me on the camel (again), transported me and took me (there) at the end of the night. At the end of the night we arrived there behind... south of Feriana.
104	<i>w-hūma ʕurḍū-na b-iz-zaġrīt hāzzīn mahfil. nās mā-y ʕarris bikri f-il-līl.</i>	They [i.e. the people in Feriana] came our way with trills of joy, they were leading a wedding procession. Because in former times people used to marry at night.
105	<i>gālt Lalla Rīm: ayya, ā ʕMur ā ʕMur, it-tinīya hā-y zīna hā-w ʕrud-na d-dzaġrīt.</i>	Lalla Rīm said: Come on, oh ʕMur, ʕMur, our path is good (because) trills of joy encountered us.
106	<i>ʕmšʕna ʕmšā bāba l-il-wāḥid, gāl-lu: muthanni. ʕād-ʕš, fāt il-waġit, mā-ʕād-š, fāt, ʕāt⁶⁶ māḍi sāʕa w-il-kull.</i>	We went... My father went to the (responsible person). He said to him: You can put your mind at rest. It was late, there was no time anymore, it had gone by, it was already one o'clock and everything.
107	<i>ʕtā-h bāba l-ʕflūs, hūwa ʕtā-h l-ʕflūs w-bāba daxxan-ni⁶⁷ l-dār l-ʕmṛā. w-gālt-illu: ḥanša willa ḥinaš? gal-lha: ḥanša.</i>	My father gave him the money, he gave him the money, and my father took me into the woman's room. She asked him: A female or a male snake? He told her: A female snake.

⁶⁵ Bū-Žimʕa s-Sāyah is the local saint of this region.

⁶⁶ < ʕādīt.

⁶⁷ < daxxal-ni.

108	<i>gālt-illu: ā lṭīf ā lṭīf, hī mā-y rūmīya. xarrzit-li xarza hna? w- xarza hna?, xar^zztīn. [...] zūz zrārīg.</i>	She said to him: O my God, o my God! She was a European woman. She gave me an injection here and an injection there, two injections. Two shots.
109	<i>w-mšīt ⁱl-dāda gutt-ilha ḥlāl-i dāda ḥānna! hā-y nilga iṭ- rūmīya ā ḥlāl-i... ḥīya ā-y min fṛānša.</i>	I went to my mum and said to her: Oh my, dear mother! I found the European woman, oh dear... She was from France.
110	<i>nā ngūl-lha rā-w galt-illi mā- bhā-ha ā dāda ḥānna w-mā- ḥāḍig-ha.</i>	I told her that she had said to me: How good she is, dear mother, and how smart!
111	<i>gālt: ā saʿid-na bī-hum, Ḥāmid xū-ya, hūma yḥibbū-na w-naḥna nakrhū-hum.</i>	She said: How lucky we are that we have them, my brother Ḥāmid. They like us but we hate them.
112	<i>ḥāy ūmit ḡudwa iṣ-ṣubḥ ^aṣṭū-ni wāḥid wzaʿ ʿād il-wāḥid w-na... ḥabbsit n-naḥx žimla hnā.</i>	On the next day in the morning they gave me one which ached, and I... It stopped the swelling com- pletely here.
113	<i>ṣṭū-ni wāḥid yitlābiṣ⁶⁸ akka yit- bāgiṣ. gal-li saxxni il-mā w- ṣagḡti kirṣī-k.</i>	They gave me one that was spar- kling like this, it was glittering. He said to me: Make (F) water hot and bathe your feet in it.
114	<i>hāda ūmit ḡudwa iṣ-ṣub^h ṣag- gaṭṭ kirṣay-ya. mā-xlatṭ l-il-bīt kān kirṣay-ya tfaššit hāka-hūw.</i>	On the next day in the morning I bathed my feet (in the water). I only came home when my feet had already detumescd. That's it.

5. Conclusion

Some of the here described features suggest that the dialect of southeastern Kasserine should be typologically located between the Tunisian Sulaym dialects, whose Southern representative of Douz we have frequently referred to, and the urban dialect of the capital Tunis. However, features that can be seemingly labelled urban like the pronominal suffix of the 3SG.M which is *-u*, and the formation of the passive with a *t*-prefix, are also found in Algerian Bedouin dialects like that of Bou Saāda and the ?Arbāṣ described by Ph. Marçais (1947) and Dhina (1938) respectively. So, in the context of Central Tunisian dialects these features should

⁶⁸ This verb is neither attested in Boris 1958 nor in Marçais & Guīga 1958–61 nor in Beaussier 1958.

perhaps not be labelled urban, as they are urban only in relation to Tunisian sedentary dialects but not necessarily in a broader Maghrebi context.

The maintainance of short vowels in open syllables, which had hitherto only been attested for South Tunisian Bedouin dialects in Douz, Bil-Khir in Gafsa, and Tozeur (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a, Ritt-Benmimoun 2013, Saada 1984) is highly uncommon for the group of dialects labelled H (Hilāl) by Marçais. But also in this case our dialect can be linked to Algerian Bedouin dialects. For the dialect of Bou Saâda Ph. Marçais has a long section on the nominal and verbal patterns which allow a short vowel even though the syllable is open. He concludes “Cette survivance [i.e. that of the old short vowel *a*] supposerait une tendance conservatrice assez exceptionnelle au Maghreb, où la chute des voyelles brèves en syllabe ouverte est de règle” (Ph. Marçais 1947: 52). Furthermore, many forms, above all interrogatives and adverbs, have not been attested for Tunisia so far, but, if at all, only for Algeria and/or Morocco. This suggests that the linguistic peculiarities described for the Central Tunisian dialect of Magsam Trab, Gouira, Hassi El Frid, Garaat Toufiya and Dakhlet Ajej can be very useful for the classification of Tunisian dialects in general, and for the intra-Bedouin classification (Hilāl vs. Sulaym) described above in particular. Further and in particular more detailed studies which include variables that go beyond the isoglosses used by W. Marçais (1950) and J. Cantineau (e.g. 1938, 1941) for Tunisian and Algerian dialects will show the role that Central Tunisian dialects play in a larger Maghrebi context and will broaden our understanding of Maghrebi Bedouin-type dialects.

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