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The Arabic Variety of Nefza (Northwest Tunisia): Phonology, Morphology and Texts

Colección Estudios de Dialectología Árabe
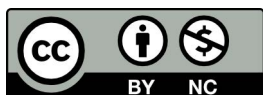
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ESTUDIOS DE DIALECTOLOGÍA ÁRABE, 22

Directora de la colección

Acknowledgements

Moreover, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Stephan Procházka, who was the one to open the doors of the fascinating world of Arabic dialectology to me throughout my BA and MA courses in Arabic studies.

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General remarks

i.   Abbreviations

Eng.	English
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Gr.	Greek
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NA	Nefza Arabic
OA	Old Arabic
Sp.	Spanish
Tr.	Turkish
#	word boundary
|	syllable boundary
*	reconstructed non-existent form
~	Variants

ii.   Glossing abbreviations

AP	active participle
DIM	diminutive
FEM	feminine
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
MASC	masculine
PEJ	pejorative
PFV	perfective

PL	plural
PP	passive participle
SG.F	singular feminine
SG.M	singular masculine

iii.   Transcription

In this study a mainly phonemic transcription is used. The only exception is the vowel $\bar{\bar{a}}$, whose phonemic status is not entirely clear (see 2.1.2.1.1 for possible minimal pairs). Both the vowels $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{\bar{a}}$ are reflected in the transcription, as the raising of $\bar{a}$ is an important distinguishing feature among Tunisian Arabic varieties (see 2.1.2.1.3 on the raising of $\bar{a}$).

A hyphen (-) is used in the transcription to distinguish the following parts of speech:

Part of speech	Example	Translation
Negation	*mā-nimšū-š.*	"We don't go."
Definite article	*id-dabbūza*	"the bottle"
One-letter prepositions	*b-mūs ḷām*	"with a shaving razor"
Indirect pronominal suffixes	*gālū-li*	"they told me"

The following is a list of the used transcription symbols and their IPA equivalent:

Used symbol	IPA equivalent
b	[b]
ḅ	[bˤ]
t	[t]
ṯ	[θ]
ž	[ʒ]
ḥ	[ħ]
x	[x]
d	[d]
ḏ	[ð]
r	[r]
ṛ	[rˤ]
z	[z]
ẓ	[zˤ]
s	[z]
š	[ʃ]
ṣ	[sˤ]
ṭ	[tˤ]
ḏ̣	[ðˤ]
ʿ	[ʕ]
ġ	[ɣ]

f	[f]
g	[g]
q	[q]
k	[k]
l	[l]
ḷ	[lˤ]
m	[m]
ṃ	[mˤ]
n	[n]
h	[h]
w	[w]
y	[j]
ʔ	[ʔ]
a	[ä]
i	[i]
u	[u]
ā	[ä:]
ǟ	[æ:]
ī	[i:]
ē	[e:]
ū	[u:]
ō	[o̞:]

Note: The transcriptions from the following sources are taken over in a simplified version (i.e. without the additional diacritic signs of the vowels): Singer (1984), Boris (1958), Saada (1984), Bencheneb (1946), Marçais/Guîga (1958-61), Marçais/Viré (1981), Fischer (1959), Marçais/Jelloûli (1931-33), Guerrero/Abdessemed (2019) and Oueslati (2022).

iv.   Terminology

In the following the important terms used in this study shall be defined.

Concerning NA speakers

Urban & rural speakers

In this study the terms "rural" and "urban" are used to distinguish the speech of the rural population of the Nefza region ("rural")[1] from the speech of the inhabitants of the town of Nefza ("urban"). Both of these varieties are <u>Bedouin-type</u> Arabic varieties, however the distinction between rural and

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[1]   As spoken in five localities of the Nefza region listed in 1.3.2.

urban speakers is important for understanding the rapid language change in NA.

Young, middle-aged and old speakers

By these terms, speakers of the following age ranges are meant (based on the actual ages of the speakers)[2]:

- o   Young: 6-28
- o   Middle-aged: 40-55
- o   Old: 60-85

Identifier

Throughout this study, speakers' identifiers (which are used in the TUNOCENT project as well) are given to designate specific linguistic phenomena to the respective speaker for which this phenomenon is attested in my corpus. The speaker's identifier consists of the following information: the locality, the speaker's number within the locality, the speaker's gender and age. For instance, the speaker UmmLabid2/m/27 is the second (number '2') speaker I recorded in the locality Umm Labid, and he is male and 27 years old. Another example is the speaker Nefza1/f/50, which is the first speaker I recorded in the locality Nefza, female and 50 years old.

Concerning Arabic linguistics

Old Arabic (OA)

This term as it is used in this study implies all forms of Old Arabic (e.g. Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic) as opposed to New Arabic vernaculars. In this context, one can refer to the definition of Old Arabic made by Holes (2018), which for the most part corresponds to its use in this study:

> "**Old Arabic** (**OA**): a cover term, used in this book to refer to reconstructed varieties of pre- and early Islamic spoken Arabic of which we have little reliable direct knowledge and which were the ancestors of the modern dialects. Old Arabic forms are by no means always identical with the **Classical Arabic** (q.v.) forms described by the early Arab grammarians." (Holes 2018: 343)

Bedouin-type Arabic variety

This debatable classification term is used in this study to classify Arabic varieties (as opposed to their "sedentary" counterparts), as per the definition made by Holes (2018):

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2   The given three age groups have these ranges because my corpus does not include data from speakers in the age groups 29-39 and 56-59.

"'**bedouin**' (**dialects**): a group of geographically widely dispersed Arabic dialects with certain common linguistic features, notably a voiced reflex, usually /g/, of OA /q/ and the interdental series of consonants /t̠, d̠, ḏ̣/. 'Bedouin' dialects, as the name suggests, are spoken by tribal communities from north-west Africa to the Arabian Peninsula which until the relatively recent past led a life of seasonal migrations and pastoral nomadism. However, virtually all such groups, wherever they live, are now fully sedentarized, though they often still retain their 'bedouin' dialects in modified form." (Holes 2018: 335f.)

Sedentary Arabic variety

The classification term "sedentary Arabic variety" is used in this study as the counterpart of "Bedouin-type" Arabic varieties, as defined by Holes (2018):

"'**sedentary**' (**dialects**): cf. '**bedouin**' (Ar. *badawī*) (**dialects**), of which the 'sedentary' (Ar. *ḥaḍarī*) dialects are the antithesis – the dialects of city-dwellers and villagers who do not, and did not historically, ever pursue a life of pastoral nomadism. The 'sedentary' dialects are a very varied group but have certain basic shared characteristics; most notably, in contrast to the 'bedouin' dialects, a voiceless reflex of OA /q/, which may be /q/, /k/, or /ʔ/ […]." (Holes 2018: 339f.)

Leveling

The following definition of leveling is used in this study: "elimination of very localized dialectal features in favor of more regionally general ones." (Holes 1995: 39)

1. Introduction

The present publication is a revised version of the author's PhD thesis, which was written within the scope of the research project "Tunisia's Linguistic *terra incognita:* An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia (TUNOCENT)", whose objective is the investigation of the hitherto almost undocumented Northwest and Central Tunisian Arabic varieties of the Governorates of Jendouba, Béja, Kéf, Siliana, Kasserine, Sidi Bouzid and Gafsa.[3]

1.1. Aim and research questions

This study aims at giving a comprehensive linguistic description of the phonology and morphology of the Arabic variety spoken in the Northwest Tunisian Nefza region. Regarding phonological categories, the phonemic inventory, the syllable structure, the stress, phonotactics as well as the morphophonology will be treated. Moreover, morphological categories such as the pronouns, adverbs, particles, nouns and verbs will be included. The study is based on empirical data collected in the Nefza region.[4]

In the description of the phonology and morphology of the Arabic variety spoken in the Nefza region, the sociolinguistic variation concerning the age,

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[3]   The project "Tunisia's Linguistic *terra incognita*: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia (TUNOCENT)" is a collaboration between the University of Vienna and the Austrian Center for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ACDH-CH-OeAW) and is funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), project number P 31647-G. For a description of the project see https://tunocent.acdh.oeaw.ac.at and https://www.oeaw.ac.at/acdh/projects/tunocent/.

[4]   See 1.3 for the list of localities, more details on the speakers and the type and volume of data.

gender and origin of the speakers is considered to a certain extent. The inclusion of sociolinguistic differences appeared important, as the speech of young and urban middle-aged Nefza Arabic speakers shows a non-negligible degree of leveling towards the prestigious variety of Tunis (see 4.2 on the sociolinguistic variation). Nevertheless, this study is clearly descriptive in nature.

Moreover, comparisons are drawn with other geographically adjacent and linguistically cognate varieties, in order to put Nefza Arabic (henceforth NA) in a further context within Tunisian Arabic varieties, primarily with the sedentary variety of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984) and the South Tunisian Bedouin-type variety of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a). Besides, other geographically adjacent and linguistically cognate varieties such as for instance Mateur Arabic (cf. Mion 2014a), Takrouna Arabic (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1931-33) and Tozeur Arabic (cf. Saada 1984) are taken into account as well.

In addition to the grammar description, eight ethnographic transcribed and translated texts are attached to the dissertation. These texts shall give insight into my linguistic corpus.

The detailed grammatical description of NA will facilitate answering the following research questions:

1.   Is the classification of NA as a Tunisian Bedouin-type variety valid (see W. Marçais 1950)? To what extent does NA contain linguistic features described by W. Marçais (1950) as typical of the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties?

2.   To what extent does NA differ from the South Tunisian Arabic variety of the Maṛāzīg tribe in Douz (as a representative of the southern group of Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties)? Which features do they have in common? Can NA be considered equally conservative as the southern Sulaym-type varieties?

3.   Does the examined variety contain any of the features typical of Tunisian Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties (listed by W. Marçais 1950)? If so, to which category of linguistic features do these belong (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical)?

4.   Is the Arabic variety spoken in the town of Nefza different from the varieties of its rural surroundings (variation regarding rural and urban distribution)? If so, what kind of features does it mainly affect (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical)? What are the linguistic features all these varieties have in common?

5.   Are there linguistic features in the speech of the middle-aged and older NA speakers which are given up in the speech of young NA speakers? If so, to which category of linguistic features do these belong (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical), and from which variety are these

counterparts adopted (urban Tunisian varieties, Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties, Standard Arabic, etc.)?

1.2. Nefza region

1.2.1. Geography

The municipality (*muʕtamdīya*) of Nefza is located in Northwest Tunisia, in the very north of the Béja governorate, some 150km away from the capital Tunis, 40km from the city of Béja and 35km from the popular tourist destination Tabarka.

The Nefza region has access to the Mediterranean Sea (iz-Zwăraʕ beach) and is a mountainous and arboreous region.[5] The town of Nefza is located in a valley[6] between the mountain ranges of Kroumirie (Xmīr) and Mogods (Mugʕud). Furthermore, the river Oued Maden (Wăd Mādin) flows through

Fig. 1 Location of the Northwest Tunisian Béja
governorate © Wikipedia

Nefza. Barhūmī (2010: 29) describes the Nefza plain as consisting of calcareous rock blocks and sand dunes. He also gives the information that the Kroumirie massif is at its highest at the Djebel Ghorra (Žbal il-Ġuṛṛa) at 1203 meters, and at its lowest in Nefza with a height of 600 meters (cf. Barhūmī 2010: 29). Pellat (1993a: 896) states about Nefza: "In contemporary Tunisia, to the east of the massif of Kroumirie […], there extends the country of the Nafzas, a fertile region fringed with woodlands abounding in game."

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5   See Despois (1950a: 26): "Les plus belles forêts sont celles du Nort-Ouest. Les sols siliceux fortement arrosés de Kroumirie et des Mogod sont couverts de bois de chênes-liège […]."

6   Attested by Despois (1950a: 12) as "la plaine des Nefza".

Despois (1950a: xiii) includes a photograph of the tell landscape in the Nefza region (mentioning the Oued Maden and Jebel Abiod, which was the name of Nefza during the French colonial period):

I. — PAYSAGE DU TELL SEPTENTRIONAL   (Cl J. Despois)
Route de Béja à Tabarca ; l'oued Maden traverse en cluse l'anticlinal du Jebel Abiod.

Fig. 2 Landscape of the Nefza countryside in 1950 © Despois (1950a: xiii)

1.2.2. Demographics

According to the census of 2014 (cf. Statistiques Tunisie 2015: 70), the whole municipality of Nefza has a population of 48,100, whereas the town of Nefza has a population of 7,302, consisting of Eastern (2,913) and Western (4,389) part of the town, separated by the river Oued Maden. According to my NA speakers, the Western part of the town of Nefza is the more original one, whereas the Eastern part rather consists of recent settlers, which migrated from the rural surroundings.[7]

As for historical data, Barhūmī (2010: 71) quotes the registers of the National Archive of Tunisia, which give some 1,700 as the number of inhabitants of Nefza in the second half of the 19th century.[8]

Moreover, Barhūmī (2010: 67) quotes official statistics between 1911-1926, which give the number of a total of 15,000 for the population of the three tribes of al-Ǧilāǧila, Nafza and Huḍayl[9] and 2,000 for the Waštāta (nowadays a locality in the Nefza municipality).

The population of the Nefza region is homogenous regarding ethnicity and religion. All my interview partners identify as Arabs and Sunni Muslims. The

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7   My data of the town of Nefza were exclusively recorded in the Western part of the town.

8   More precisely: 1,702 (in the register 643 from the year 1856), 1,618 (in the register 723 from the year 1856), 1,729 (in the register 805 from the year 1861), 1,787 (in the register 771 from the year 1863) and 952 (in the document 361 from the year 1877) (cf. Barhūmī 2010: 71).

9   Only the Nefza tribe is of relevance for this study, however Barhūmī (2010: 67) does not provide numbers for the Nefza tribe separately.

endonym of the inhabitants of the Nefza region is *Nifzi*SG.M, *Nifzīya*SG.F and *Nfāza*PL.

1.2.3. Economy

Nefza is located in Northwest Tunisia, which is a region characterized by poverty and high unemployment rates.

The fact that the region of the Kroumirie massif is characterized by poverty is attested in older sources already: "In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia." (Talbi 1986: 52).

In the World Bank annual report (2016) Northwest Tunisia is described as one of the poorest regions of the country: "les régions les plus pauvres du pays, notamment les régions du Nord Ouest, du centre Ouest et du Sud Ouest". According to data from the World bank (cf. World Bank 2016), in 2010 the poverty rate in Northwest Tunisia was 25.7%, in contrast to 9.1% in "Grand Tunis" and 8.0% in "Centre Est", i.e. the Sahel region.

Furthermore, Boughzala/Tlili Hamdi (2016: 339) remark the following on the regional income inequalities of the country: "As a result of low public and private investment in Tunisia's western regions, income and consumption levels there are significantly lower than in the northeast and mideast regions."

The unemployment rate among persons with a high level of education is significantly higher in Northwest and Central Tunisia than in Tunis and the Sahel region. Boughzala/Tlili Hamdi (2016: 342) quote 31.6% for Northwest Tunisia in contrast to 14.4% in Grand Tunis for the year 2010.

Regarding the main source of income of the Nefza population, it is the agricultural production, owing to its fertile soils.[10] The landmark of Nefza is the persimmon fruit, called *krīma* in the local variety. Another important economical factor in Nefza is the Sidi El Barrak dam. This embankment dam was constructed in the 1990s and is located on the outskirts of the town of Nefza. It is one of the most important water supply sources of the country. Rāziqī (2022: 153f.) notes that the Nefza region is marked by its mines (especially for zinc and lead) as well as its agricultural, hydrological, and forest sources. Barhūmī (2010: 123) highlights that the Nefza and Mogods regions are ideal for maize cultivation due to their clay soils and the high precipitation rate.

As concerns sources of income of the Kroumirie population, Talbi (1986: 52) states: "The most important source of income is provided by the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats […] provides only a mediocre income."

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10 Frankenberg (1981: 38) describes the Béja region, to which Nefza belongs, as a developed agricultural region.

1.2.4. History

1.2.4.1. Origin of the Nefza population

As for the origin of the population of the Kroumirie massif, Talbi (1986: 51) indicates:

> "Regarding the origins of the inhabitants of the massif, we have no precise and reliable information. The name Khumayr does not appear in any mediaeval text. In the period when Ibn Khaldūn was writing […], the region between Béja and the sea was inhabited by Hawwāra Berbers, by that time completely arabised, with whom there had been blended various elements of Arab descent, notably the Hudhayl […]."

In contrast to Talbi (1986: 51), who states that this region was populated by Hawwāra Berbers in the time of Ibn Khaldoun, Ben Jaafar (1985: 50) attests the Arabization of the Northwest Tunisian "Wishtēta" tribe for the same period (14th century). Ouechtata (*Wištāta*) today is a locality in the municipality of Nefza.

The map below provided by Despois (1950b: 137) suggests that the Nefza region (marked with a star symbol[11]) was populated by the tribes "Kroumir" and "Mogod". Moreover, concerning their lifestyle, one can gather from the provided map that Nefza was inhabited by "populations forestières", in contrast to "villages agglomérés" and "villes" in North Tunisia and in contrast to "semi-nomades des steppes" of Central Tunisia.

In addition, the origin of the population of the Northwest Tunisian mountainous area (including the Nefza region) is profoundly treated by Barhūmī (2010). He states that the Northwest Tunisian tribes like those of Kroumirie, Amdoun, Ouechteta and Nefza must have been rather small and new groups in those areas (attested by purchase contracts of land), which is visible by the fact that they have lost the prefix "Awlād" or "Banū" in their tribe name (cf. Barhūmī 2010: 44f.).

Barhūmī (2010: 45) proceeds by explaining that – according to French reports – those groups have immigrated to Northwest Tunisia from three sides: from Morocco and Algeria, from the South Tunisian desert as well as from the Arabian Peninsula.[12] He names the search for grazing areas and the higher precipitation as the reason for the migration of the South Tunisian tribes towards Northwest Tunisia. Moreover, Barhūmī (2010: 51) emphasizes that French sources (during the French colonial period) attest the movement of the South Tunisian tribes towards Northwest Tunisia, including the number of their livestock.

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11   The star symbol and the label "Nefza" are added by me.

12   Besides the French sources, Barhūmī (2010: 48) highlights that the tribes of Northwest Tunisia themselves insist on their origin from Morocco and Algeria and the South Tunisian desert.
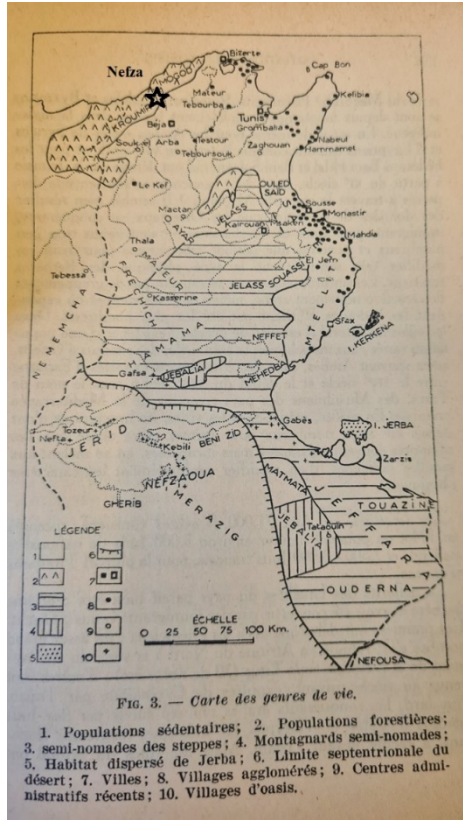
Fig. 3 Map of lifestyles and tribes of Tunisia ©
Despois (1950b: 137)

Referring to the origin of the Nefza population specifically, Barhūmī (2010: 46) reports that the elders of the Nefza tribe believe that their ancestor (*ǧidd*) came from the Nefzaoua region and that his *nisba* was an-Nafzī an-Niftī some six centuries ago.[13] Furthermore, Barhūmī (2010: 46) lists names of subtribes of the Nefza region: Awlād Bū ʕAlī, which are considered to be among the oldest settlers: "*wa-ǧadduhum hūwa Mubārak bin ʕAlī n-Niftī l-Ǧarīdī ʔaṣīl Nafzāwa*" (Barhūmī 2010: 46). He continues by saying that the named founder Mubārak has had children, who on their part founded tribal

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13   A more in-depth analysis including older Arabic sources would doubtlessly be desirable.

fractions: Qāsim, who founded Awlād Qāsim, ZāriՂ, who founded az-ZawāriՂ, Sālim, who founded Awlād Sālim and Ǧamīl, who founded al-Ǧamāylīya.[14]

Regarding the connection between Nefza and the above-mentioned South Tunisian Nefzaoua region with a strinkingly similar name, according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* both the "Berber tribe" Nafza and the Nafzāwa tribe belong "to the group which the mediaeval genealogists and historians mention under the name of Butr" (cf. Pellat 1993a: 896, Pellat 1993b: 896).

When asked about their tribal affiliation, my speakers denied any tribal affiliation (Գaṛᵢš "tribe"), however the concept of *gōm* is common in Nefza, which represents the (extended) family and seems to be the equivalent of the concept of Գaṛᵢš, which on the other hand is widespread in other Tunisian regions such as Central and South Tunisia.

1.2.4.2. Nefza during the time of the French colonial period

The town of Nefza is attested in historical sources under the name Djebel Abiod (al-Ǧabal al-Abyaḍ) during the time of the French colonial period, meaning "the white mountain" (cf. Barhūmī 2010: 62, Rāziqī 2022: 153), which – to the best of my knowledge – is a name not used anymore.

Rāziqī (2022: 153) emphasizes the strategically important position of the town of Nefza during the French colonial period, representing a basic transportation node linking the Northeast and the Northwest (the cities of Bizerte and Tabarka) on the one hand and the capital Tunis and the mountain ranges between Amdoun and the Kroumirie massif on the other hand.[15]

Furthermore, Djebel Abiod (i.e. the town of Nefza) is mentioned in historical sources in the context of the Run for Tunis in 1942 as part of the Tunisian campaign, which took place during the Second World War (cf. Anderson 1946: 5453).

1.3. Methodology and data

1.3.1. Fieldwork and methodology

The applied methodology consists of the collection of empirical linguistic data during my field research stays in the Nefza region and the subsequent transcription, translation and linguistic analysis of the collected data in a linguistic corpus.

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14 I am also familiar with the listed tribal fractions as names of localities of the Nefza region (Ūlād Bū ՂAlī, Ūlād Gāsim, iz-ZwāraՂ and iž-Žmāylīya), in which I have either conducted field research or I have heard of people mentioning those localities during my field research stays.

15 Moreover, Rāziqī (2022) is a historical contribution on the institution of the caliphate in Nefza and the techniques for shaping social status and political affairs of the caliph between 1881 (the date of French colonial entry into Tunisia) and 1926 (the date of the removal of the caliph al-Ḥāǧǧ ՂAlī bin Muxtār).

Within the scope of the research project "Tunisia's Linguistic *terra incognita:* An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia (TUNOCENT)" I conducted two field research campaigns in the Nefza region in April and July 2019,[16] in which the majority of the data was collected. Due to the emergence of the COVID pandemics I had to cancel my planned field research campaign in 2020. However, in 2021 a Tunisian colleague (Nidhal Aloui) contributed to the present study by collecting additional data from male speakers from the localities Umm Labid and Zaga, making the data on which this study is based more representative concerning the quantity and diversity.

I am aware of the fact that the authenticity of the speakers' speech might be reduced when talking to a foreigner and non-native of Tunisian Arabic, as opposed to having a local Nefzi interlocutor. More precisely, I noticed that some speakers switched to a more "standard" Tunisian variant and used more MSA forms when talking to me.

For this reason, I aimed at reducing the risk of collecting not fully authentic speech by – among other text types – also recording dialogues between several Nefzi speakers, without my involvement. Furthermore, a comparison of the data collected by me with the data collected by the Tunisian colleague allows the verification of the authenticity of my data.

The collected data[17] were used for establishing a linguistic corpus of NA, with a volume of ~ 50,000 words. An insight into the corpus is provided by the attached texts (see chapter 5), which are transcribed[18], provided with linguistic and contextual notes, and translated into English utilizing the standard methods of Arabic dialectology and historical linguistics. Moreover, comparative methods establish differences and similarities between the examined varieties of the Nefza region.

1.3.2. Localities

With regard to localities included in this study, linguistic data was collected from the following localities of the municipality (*muʕtamdīya*) of Nefza during the field research campaigns: the town of Nefza as well as five the surrounding villages Zaga, Touila, Umm Labid, Ouled Bou Ali and Hbeba.

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16 During these two fieldwork campaigns I also conducted field research in other localities of the Northwest Tunisian Governorates of Béja, Jendouba and Kéf apart from Nefza.

17 For the type and volume of the collected data see 1.3.3 and 1.3.4.

18 For details on the used transcription see chapter "General remarks".

Fig. 4 The localities of the Nefza region where fieldwork was
conducted © Google Maps

The following table shows each locality's name in English as well as in the local variety (some localities have two names[19]). Moreover, the locality's distance from the town of Nefza and the geo-coordinates are given:

Locality name in English	Locality name in the local variety	Distance from Nefza[20]:	Geo-coordinates
Nefza	Nifza	/	36.976069861619536, 9.079733841785329
Umm Labid	Umm l-ᵃʕBīd, il-Mūmnīya[21]	3 km	36.98472462239971, 9.04457387239055
Touila	iṭ-Ṭwīla, il-Ḥāṛšīya	3 km	36.96810659562558, 9.053015586047398
Zaga	Zāga[22]	12 km	36.918047, 8.994748
Hbeba	Ḥbāba	3 km	36.968467, 9.104435

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19   During my field research stays in Northwest Tunisia, I noticed that many localities in the Béja governorate (including the Nefza region) have two names, usually an official and an additional unofficial one.

20   Measured from the city center of Nefza, the starting point used for the measurement is the post office in Nefza with the geo-coordinates 36.9754922080286, 9.07577100589921.

21   The endonym il-Mūmnīya is derived from the surname (i.e. family) il-Mūmni.

22   More specifically, the data was collected in a part of Zaga called iḏ-Ḏṛābnīya.

Ouled Bou Ali	Ūlād Bū ʕLī	5 km	37.0033161005863, 9.095944613347823[23]

The map below shows neighborhoods within the town of Nefza, where most of the data was collected (marked with a star symbol):

Fig. 5 Neighborhoods in Nefza which the recorded speakers
origin from © Google Maps

Unintentionally, all three neighborhoods are located in the Western part of Nefza (West from the river Oued Maden).

1.3.3. Type of data

The collected data in the form of audio recordings can be divided into two types: free speech texts and questionnaires. In addition to recorded questionnaires and free speech texts, linguistic notes taken by me during participant observation in the field research are also part of the NA linguistic corpus.

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23   These are approximate geo-coordinates of this locality, as the data from the two old speakers from Ouled Bou Ali was not collected in Ouled Bou Ali itself, but in the eastern part of Nefza, where they live today. The speakers told me the village is located "behind the Alrawabi Hotel", i.e. somewhere on the main road exiting Nefza in the Northeast direction after the Alrawabi hotel, i.e. in the Northeast surroundings of Nefza.

Concerning free speech texts, a big part of them consists of ethnographic narrative texts, on topics like agriculture, traditions, folk medicine and food. Moreover, dialogues between several NA speakers were recorded.

The orally queried linguistic questionnaires have the purpose of systematically investigating specific phonological and morphological phenomena. I am aware of the fact that data collected through questionnaires does not always represent the spontaneous authentic speech of a speaker, however data collected through questionnaires is indispensable for creating a comprehensive grammatical description of a linguistic variety. Additionally, data collected through questionnaires is compared with free speech texts of the same speaker, for the sake of the verification of its authenticity.

As for the questionnaires used in the field research in the Nefza region as well as in other Northwest and Central Tunisian localities within the scope of the TUNOCENT project, four kinds of questionnaires were used.

Firstly, and most importantly, a comprehensive "TUNOCENT" questionnaire consisting of 74 pages, which was created by the project leader Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun for the TUNOCENT project, was used for the investigation of various phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the given variety. The "TUNOCENT" questionnaire includes, among others, full verb conjugations and features listed by Marçais (1950) as typical of Tunisian Sulaym- and Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties.

Furthermore, two types of questionnaires (or rather templates) were adopted from the project "Vienna Corpus of Arabic Varieties" (VICAV)[24], hosted by the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Vienna and the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ACDH-CH): the so-called *feature list* and *sample text*. A *feature list* is a catalogue made up of sentences and phrases containing salient linguistic features of the respective variety, whereas a *sample text* means a short, standardized text containing linguistically significant words and phrases as well as morphological and morpho-syntactic peculiarities.

In contrast to the "TUNOCENT" questionnaire, where local Tunisian forms are given, the sentences from the *feature list* and *sample text* are given (read out loud to the speaker) in MSA, with the request of repeating the same sentence in his/her local variety. Hearing the MSA form might influence the authenticity of the forms given by the speaker.[25] Furthermore, the collection of

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24 For further information on the VICAV project see https://vicav.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/#map=[biblMarkers,.*,geo]&1=[textQuery,vicavMission,MISSION,open].

25 However, it needs to be pointed out that next to the MSA sentences I also explained the sentences in Tunisian Arabic and asked further questions when a used form was unclear, or I had the feeling that the used form might be influenced by MSA or unauthentic.

feature lists and *sample texts* was not possible with old NA speakers, due to their insufficient knowledge of MSA.

Lastly, the extensive questionnaire adopted from the *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (WAD)[26] (cf. Behnstedt/Woidich 2011), was used for investigating lexical features, among them everyday items, animals, food as well as grammatical categories such as verbs and adverbs.

1.3.4. Volume of data

A total of about 31 hours of audio recordings was collected, including five hours of audio recordings made by Nidhal Aloui. This number includes all types of data: free speech texts as well as the questionnaires.

The linguistic corpus consists of fully transcribed and translated free speech texts on the one hand, and free speech recordings transcribed in excerpts (only the remarkable features) on the other. Additionally, all recorded questionnaires are fully transcribed and are part of the linguistic corpus. All transcribed data form a linguistic corpus of ~ 50,000 words.

The following table represents the total amount of speakers and volume of data for each examined locality, including both free speech recordings and questionnaires:

Locality	Number of speakers (m/f)	Collected Data (Free Speech + Questionnaires)
Nefza	37 (13/24)	18h
Zaga	3 (2/1)	4h
Umm Labid	10 (3/7)	4h
Touila	6 (1/5)	3h
Hbeba	6 (2/4)	1.5h
Ouled Bou Ali	2 (1/1)	0.5h
Total	64	~ 31h

Regarding the questionnaires, the table below offers an overview of the number of collected questionnaires in each examined locality as well as in total:

Locality	TUNOCENT	WAD	Feature List	Sample Text
Nefza	4	4	5	3
Zaga	2	1	1	/
Umm Labid	1	1	1	/
Touila	2	1	1	1

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26 Provided to the TUNOCENT project by the authors Manfred Woidich and Peter Behnstedt.

Hbeba	/	/	/	/
Ouled Bou Ali	/	/	/	/
Total	9	7	8	4

As can be seen from the table, most data (a total of 18h) was collected in the town of Nefza. Moreover, both free speech texts and questionnaires were recorded in Nefza, Zaga, Umm Labid and Touila, whereas in Ouled Bou Ali and Hbeba only free speech texts were recorded.

1.3.5. Speakers

The present study is a differentiated description of the speech of NA speakers of different age groups and backgrounds. Both the speech of the old (both rural and urban) and rural middle-aged Nefza population on the one hand, and young (both rural and urban) and urban middle-aged NA speakers on the other, are taken into account. The first mentioned shows a higher number of remarkable and distinctive features, while the latter is characterized by a larger number of forms influenced by the sedentary variety of the capital Tunis (see 4.2 on the sociolinguistic differences). The large number of speakers (a total of over 60 speakers in all Nefza localities) facilitates a differentiated description of this Northwest Tunisian Bedouin-type variety.

With regard to the gender of the speakers, approximately 80% of the data was collected from female NA speakers. This can be explained by the fact that the interviewer (me) is female, and my local assistants were female as well, who took me to their female relatives and friends. Nefza is a quite conservative region (in comparison to Tunis and the Sahel), where the mixing of genders is not as socially accepted as in urban costal centers of the country. Due to this fact, an imbalance of genders in my collected data was created. However, this gender imbalance could luckily be partially offset by the data collected by Nidhal Aloui, who recorded male speakers only.

Concerning the age of the recorded speakers, their age range is wide: 6-85, with a focus on speakers above 18. Most free speech recordings were made with older speakers, while the questionnaires were mainly recorded with young and middle-aged speakers, due to the difficulty of asking for specific grammatical features from old speakers with no or very low level of education. In three families data from three generations of a single family were collected, which allows an analysis of the language change across the generations.

In reference to the education level of the speakers, many of the recorded old speakers were illiterate. Similarly, the recorded middle-aged rural speakers have no or low education level. In contrast, the education level of the recorded young (both rural and urban) and urban middle-aged speakers is middle school or high school.

The profession of the recorded urban middle-aged speakers is housewife for most female speakers, whereas their male counterparts work as traders, craftsmen or in the administration. As for the recorded rural middle-aged speakers, the female speakers work in agriculture, either as day laborers or in their own agricultural fields. Their male counterparts have the profession of minibus drivers or work in cafés or in agriculture as well. The recorded young speakers are either in training or education or are unemployed.

Finally, it shall be emphasized that even in a small region like Nefza migration and urbanization are a constant development taking place. The recorded middle-aged and old speakers from the town of Nefza (i.e. "urban" NA speakers) were born in the surrounding villages and migrated to Nefza in their childhood. Only the recorded young speakers (below the age of 25) were actually born in Nefza. Nevertheless, the urban middle-aged NA speakers differentiate their speech from rural NA speakers, identifying themselves as originating from the town of Nefza. As regards young NA speakers, they show an increasing mobility towards the capital Tunis.

1.4 State of the Art

To the best of my knowledge, the Arabic variety spoken in the Nefza region is hitherto undocumented and represents a research gap in Arabic dialectology. The same holds true for other Northwest Tunisian Arabic varieties. However, the investigation of Nefza Arabic – among other Northwest and Central Tunisian Arabic varieties – is one of the objectives of the research project "Tunisia's Linguistic *terra incognita:* An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia (TUNOCENT)", in the realm of which this study has come to existence. Nefza Arabic is briefly mentioned in Ritt-Benmimoun (2021), which is a paper based on empiric data of the TUNOCENT project.

Apart from this, a few recent publications on other Northwest Tunisian Arabic varieties exist, such as a dialectal text and grammar sketch of El Kef Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022) as well as a study on language attitudes and leveling in the Northwest Tunisian varieties of the Jendouba and Siliana governorates (cf. Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun 2022). Moreover, Zarb (2023) treats the Arabic variety spoken in the town of Testour, whereas Oueslati (2022) gives an insight in the variety of Ouled Slama, which is located in the rural surroundings of Testour. Lastly, W. Marçais (1921) is a study on the *nomen unitatis* in Jendouba Arabic, while Dornier (2004) comprises a collection of politeness phrases used in certain situations in North Tunisian countryside.

As concerns other geographically adjacent Arabic varieties, there is a paper on the North Tunisian variety of Mateur (cf. Mion 2014a), which is located

some 71km from Nefza. Moreover, several studies have been done on the grammar of Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984, Gibson 2009), which is both geographically near and sociolinguistically important, as the leveling among young Nefza Arabic speakers occurs towards the prestigious Tunis Arabic (see 4.2.1).

Prior to the TUNOCENT project, in the course of which significant empirical linguistic data of the Arabic varieties of the mentioned region was collected, the whole region of Northwest and Central Tunisia was a linguistically unknown region (*terra incognita*). In contrast to that region, previous linguistic studies on Tunisian Arabic are available for South Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties[27] as well as Tunisian varieties of the sedentary and "villageois" type.[28]

W. Marçais (1950) dedicates five pages to Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties, wherein a classification of these varieties into two main groups of the so-called Hilāl- und Sulaym-type varieties is made (including only brief basic information on the respective dialect group):

"Dans cet ensemble bédouin, comme il a été dit plus haut, il semble légitime de distinguer deux groupes, dont on peut indiquer en gros la composition. Le premier que l'on désignera comme groupe H [Hilāl] comprend tout ce qui, sédentarisé ou vivant sous la tente, a pour habitat la Tunisie central, du Nord des Chott à la Méjerda : les Hamâmma, les Frâchîch, les Mâjeur, les Zlâs, les Ouled 'Ayyâr [sic], les Ouled Bou-Rhânem, les Drîd, etc. Les second qu'on désignera comme groupe S [Sulaym] occupe un territoire étendu, mais discontinu allant de la pointe du Sud tunisien que limitent de part et d'autre l'Algérie et la Tripolitaine, pour remonter le long du littoral sur une profondeur variable. Interrompu par les régions sédentaires du Sahel, du Cap Bon, de la grand banlieue de Tunis, et de celle de Bizerte, il réapparaît dans les massifs montagneux limités, par la vallée de la Méjerda au Sud, et au Nord par la mer. Il semble déborder sur deux régions algériennes : celle du Souf au Sud, celle de la Calle au Nord. On y rattachera en gros les Ouerghemma, les Marâzîg et les gens du Nefzâoua, les 'Akkâra [sic], les Hamârna, les Benî Zîd, les oasis de la région de Gabès, les Mhâdhba, les 'Agârba [sic], les Neffât, les Mthâlîth, les Souâsi, les Oulâd Sa'îd [sic], les Hdîl, les Mog'od [sic] et les groupes humains de la Kroumirie." (W. Marçais 1950: 214)

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27 See, for instance, Boris (1958) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2011, 2014a) on the Arabic variety of the Maṛāzīg tribe, Behnstedt (1998-99) on different Arabic varieties of Djerba, Saada (1984) on Tozeur Arabic and Marçais/Jelloûli (1931-33) on El Hamma Arabic.

28 See, for instance, Singer (1984) on Tunis Arabic, Talmoudi (1980-81) on Sousse Arabic and Marçais/Guîga (1958-61) on Takrouna Arabic.

The above-mentioned tribes of the Mugʕud ("Mog'od") and Xmīr ("Kroumirie"), which are supposed to be part of the so-called Sulaym-type varieties, coincide with the location of the Nefza region. Thus, according to the classification made by W. Marçais (1950), Nefza Arabic should belong to the northern group of Sulaym-type varieties. In the final part of this study (see 4.1) W. Marçais' Sulaym – Hilāl division of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties is reevaluated by investigating the degree of correspondence of the linguistic features listed by W. Marçais as typical for Sulaym-type varieties with actual Nefza Arabic features. Furthermore, the southern group of the Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties is hitherto by far better investigated than the northern group and can thereby be used for the comparison with Nefza Arabic as a supposed representative of the northern group of Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties.

2. Phonology

2.1. Inventory

2.1.1. Consonants

Nefza Arabic has the following consonant phonemes[29]:

Bilabial   *(p), b, ḅ, m*
Labial-velar   *w*
Labiodental   *f, (v)*
Interdental   *ṯ, ḏ, ḍ*
Alveolar   *t, d, ṭ, s, z, ṣ, ẓ, n, r, ṛ, l, ḷ*
Postalveolar   *š, ž*
Palatal   *y*
Velar   *k, g, x, ġ, w*
Uvular   *q*
Pharyngeal   *ḥ, ʕ*
Laryngeal   *(ʔ), h*

2.1.1.1. Reflexes of OA interdentals

OA interdentals *ṯ, ḏ* and *ḍ* are retained in NA, same as in the vast majority of Tunisian varieties[30]. Moreover, OA *ḍ* is coalesced with *ḏ* and realized as *ḍ*:

OA	NA		
ṯ	*ṯ*	*ṯōm*	"garlic"
ḏ	*ḏ*	*kḏib – yikḏib*	"to lie"

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29   Marginal phonemes are given in brackets.

30   The only exceptions are the Jewish Tunisian varieties (cf. for instance Behnstedt (1998: 58) for Djerba Jewish Arabic) as well as Mahdia Arabic (cf. Attia 1969: 122f.).

| _ḏ_ | _ḏ_ | _ḏhaṛ_ | "back" |
| _ḍ_ | _ḍ_ | _abyiḍ_ | "white" |

Exceptions to this rule, i.e. the loss of interdentals, is observed in few lexical items, which are common within Tunisian varieties[31]:

OA	NA		
qunfuḏ	_ganfūd_	"hedgehog"	
ǧaḏaʕ	_ždaʕ_	"billy goat"	
samīḏ	_smīd_	"semolina"	

Another example of the loss of interdentals is the word _tallāža_[32] "freezer" which is used by some speakers (attested for Umm Labid), whereas other speakers use _ṯallāža_.

Furthermore, the words _tlāṯa_ "three" and _tlāṯīn_ "thirty" are realized by most speakers with an initial t (dissimilation of _ṯ_ > t)[33]. _ṯlāṯa_ and _ṯlāṯīn_ are limited to some rural middle-aged and old speakers, whereas the rest of the speakers use _tlāṯa_ and _tlāṯīn_, which are also the forms used in Tunis (cf. Gibson 2009: 564)[34]. The variation of _tlāṯa_ ~ _ṯlāṯa_ is also attested for Sidi Bouzid Arabic (cf. Prinoth 2017: 41), while the interdental is retained in this word in many other Tunisian varieties[35].

The pronunciation of the word _ṯamma_ "there is" is sociolinguistically determined in NA. The realization _famma_[36] is considered urban, and _ṯamma_ on the other hand more rural and original. _famma_ is used by young speakers (both urban and rural), whereas middle-aged urban speakers alternate between _famma_ and _ṯamma_ with a tendency to _famma_, and finally middle-aged and old rural speakers use exclusively _ṯamma_:

ṯamma vs. _famma_ "there is"

	young	middle-aged	old
urban	_famma_	_famma_ ~ _ṯamma_	_ṯamma_
rural	_famma_	_ṯamma_	_ṯamma_

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31 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 10) for Douz Arabic and Singer (1984: 101) for Tunis Arabic.

32 Also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 10) as an exception from the rule of keeping the interdental _ṯ_.

33 The variant with an initial t (_tlāṯa/tlāṯīn_) is attested 43 times and the one with an initial _ṯ_ (_ṯlāṯa/ṯlāṯīn_) is attested nine times in my corpus.

34 Singer (1984: 102), which is a quarter-century older source than Gibson (2009), states that _ṯlāṯa_ is very often dissimilated to _tlāṯa_ in Tunis Arabic, whereas Gibson (2009: 564) only mentions the dissimilated form.

35 See, for instance, _ṯlāṯa_ in the North Tunisian variety of Mateur (cf. Mion 2014a: 59) and _ṯᵢlāṯa_ in the South Tunisian variety of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 278).

36 Fischer/Jastrow (1980: 251) attest the shift of interdentals to _f_ for several Maghrebi Arabic varieties.

Interestingly, Singer (1984: 102) describes the replacement of *ṯ* by *f* in the word *famma* "there; there is" as a phenomenon specific to women in Tunis Arabic, while in NA this does not represent a gender-specific phenomenon.

In contrast to *famma* "there is", the local adverb *ṯamm* "there" is always realized with *ṯ*, and its usage is limited to middle-aged and old speakers[37].

2.1.1.2. Reflexes of OA *ǧ*

As in most Tunisian varieties[38], OA *ǧ* is realized as *ž* in all positions in the word[39]: *žāṛ* "neighbor", *žbal* "mountain", *ṛāžil* "man", *ḥāža* "thing", *ḥažžām* "hairdresser".

Very rarely[40], words with a *ǧ*-realization are found: *nǧāwib nāya?* "Should I answer?", *xuṛžit… xuṛǧit*[41] *willa xṛaž ᵢl-baṛṛa.* "She went out… She went out or he went out.", *bitᵢnǧān* "eggplant". However, even the speakers who use *ǧ* in the listed examples normally use *ž* in the large majority of other examples.

2.1.1.3. Reflexes of OA *q*

As is expected for a Bedouin-type variety, the usual reflex of OA *q* is *g*. A minimal pair for *q* : *g* is *yfaṛṛiq* "to distinguish" : *yfarrig* "to distribute, to give out". Another possible minimal pair is *qrīb* "relative" : *grīb* "near"[42], whereas some speakers use *grīb* for "relative" and also realize the corresponding verb with *g*, such as in *yugṛub-li* "He is related to me." Thus, this minimal pair does not apply to all speakers. Apart from these minimal pairs, *g* and *q* are lexically conditioned allophones.

Examples of the realization as *g*: *sūg* "market", *bgaṛ* "cows", *guffa* "(traditional) shopping basket", *gṛaʕ* "pumpkin", *maṛga* "sauce", *gdīm* "old", *gāl – ygūl* "to say", *gʕad – yugʕud* "to sit (down); to stay", *dagg – ydugg* "to hit, to knock", *wgif – yūguf* "to stand (up)", *bzig – yibzig* "to spit", *ṭaḷḷig – yṭaḷḷig* "to divorce sb.".

The following words are attested with both *q* and *g* realizations in my corpus:

qbal	86	vs.	*gbal*[43]	12	"before"
waqtāš	8	vs.	*wagtāš*	4	"when?"
qaṣṣ – yquṣṣ	6	vs.	*gaṣṣ – yguṣṣ*	4	"to cut"
zdāq[44]	1	vs.	*zdāg*	6	"marriage contract"
ṭrīq	4	vs.	*ṭrīg*	2	"path"
qlīl	2	vs.	*glīl*[45]	4	"few, rare"

In the examples above, i.e. in words which are realized with either *q* or *g* in NA, sociolinguistic factors play a role in the chosen realization: the *g*-realization of the words above is limited to and associated with the middle-aged and old rural speakers and has practically vanished in the speech of young speakers, both urban and rural. Furthermore, even among the old rural speakers, *g* is not retained as the only variant, but these speakers often vary between *q* and *g* in these words as well. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 11) describes a similar situation in Douz Arabic, where certain words are realized with *g* ~ *q*, and that the *q*-realization of those words is more recent and modern than *g* and represents an influence of either the sedentary varieties or MSA, which I assume for NA as well.

Lastly, the realization of OA *q* as *q* is lexically conditioned and limited to specific words, both MSA borrowings and dialectal words[46]: *qahwa* "coffee", *waqⁱt* "time", *dqīqa*[47] "minute", *faṛⁱq* "difference", *ḥaqq* "right; truth", *naqša* "traditional temporary tattoo for women", *buqʕa* "place", *qīma* "value", *lqab* "surname", *qaḏya* "purchase", *qisⁱm* "(school) class", *ġāmiq* "dark", *taqlīdi* "traditional", *qwī* "strong", *bqā – yabqa*[48] "to stay", *nquṣ, yunquṣ* "to become

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43   The form *gbal* is also attested for the North Tunisian variety of Mateur (cf. Mion 2014a: 58) as well as varieties of the Béja governorate (Béja, Medjez el-Bab, Shikh el-Widyan and Testour) (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 40). Next to *gbal*, there is one instance of the variant *gᵘbal* attested in my corpus, used by an old female speaker from Umm Labid. Nevertheless, this speaker also uses *qbal*.

44   < *ṣ - d - q*. The word *zdāq* is also attested for Nabeul Arabic (cf. Dallaji-Hichri 2010: 94).

45   *glīl* is also attested for the South Tunisian variety of the Mahadhba tribe (cf. Marçais/Viré 1981: 370), whereas *qlīl* is used in the Central Tunisian variety of Magsam Trab (Kasserine), which usually has a *g*-realization of OA *q* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 297). Interestingly, the words *qilla* "lack", *aqáll* "less" and *qillīl* "poor", which have the same root as *glīl*, are realized with *q* by all speakers.

46   In contrast to the Libyan variety of Al-Khums, where the OA *q* is realized as *q* "mainly in words from Modern Standard Arabic as well as in religious terms and expressions" (Benmoftah/Pereira 2017: 303), in NA the *q* realization is attested for dialectal words as well.

47   In contrast to *dgīg* "durum wheat flour".

48   The only exception is the speaker Zaga1/f/83, who uses the active participle *bāgi* (root *b - q - y*) with *g*. However, this speaker uses *q* in *mā-bqā-š* "not anymore".

less", *qṣad – yuqṣud* "to mean", *qrē – yaqṛa* "to read; to study", *wā̆fiq, ywā̆fiq* "to agree".

Some middle-aged rural speakers stated that variants *wagⁱt* "time", *yagṛa* "to read; to study", *yabga* "to stay" and *yunguṣ* "to become less" used to be used by their parents and grandparents, however there are no first-hand examples of the realization of these words with *g* in my corpus.[49] These statements represent an evidence of the language change from *g* towards *q* in an increasing number of words during the last decades.

Moreover, a language change on the phonological level is attested for the youngest speakers of NA (age range 10-20): they vary between *g* and *q* in words where older speakers exclusively use *g*, such as in *is-sāriq yisriq f-il-flūs.* "The thief is stealing the money.", *iṣ-ṣġāṛ qāʕdīn yalᵃʕbu.* "The kids are playing."

2.1.1.4. Reflexes of OA *h*

Yoda (2017) deals with the elision of etymological *h* in some eastern Maghrebi Arabic. He observes the elision of etymological *h* "especially in the pronouns and pronoun suffixes" (Yoda 2017: 85). Among Maghrebi Arabic varieties, he remarks that this phenomenon mostly concerns non-Muslim varieties (Jewish Maghrebi varieties and Maltese).

In NA the elision of OA *h* is mostly visible in third person enclitic personal pronouns: 3SG.M *-hu ~ -w*, 3SG.F *-hi ~ -y* and 3PL *-hum ~ -wm ~ -m*. This optional elision mainly takes place in all third person forms of the particles *ṛā-*, *hā-* and *mā-*.[50] For instance, variants of the 3SG.F form of these particles exist with and without *h*: *ṛāhi ~ ṛāy, hāhi ~ hāy* and *māhi ~ māy*.[51] This phenomenon is found in all third person suffixes, i.e. With all three named particles, the variants without *h* are more common.

In addition to the third person pronominal suffixes of the particles *ṛā-*, *hā-* and *mā-* described above, *h* of the enclitic shortened 3SG.M and 3SG.F personal pronouns in negative copulas is assimilated to preceding *š*: *mišši* (< *miš + hī*) "she is not", *miššu* (< *miš + hū*) "he is not".[52]

There are only a few examples of the elision of initial *h* of the 3PL pronominal suffix *-hum ~ -him* in words other than the particles discussed

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49 Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 11) states that words like *yunquṣ, waqᵊt, yabqa, qahwa* exist in both *q* and *g* realizations in Douz Arabic (e.g. *yunquṣ ~ yunguṣ*), which is not the case in NA (at least not from first-hand data). Moreover, the root *n - g - ṣ* is attested for the Northwest Tunisian variety of Ouled Slama: *nāgṣa* "not complete" (cf. Oueslati 2022: 69).

50 See the following chapters for full declension tables of these particles: 3.3.10 for *ṛā-*, 3.3.11.1 for *hā-* and 3.3.12 for *mā-*.

51 Comparable developments are also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 258ff.), Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68, 147f.) and Tozeur Arabic (cf. Saada 1984: 26, 34).

52 For more assimilations of *h* see 2.4.3.

above: *nšaṛṛbu minum (< minhum) l-ᵢbgaṛ.* "We give the cows to drink from it.", *mՙā ummātim (< ummāthim)* "with their mothers".

A common phenomenon is the elision of initial *h* of demonstrative forms: *hāḏāya ~ āḏāya* "this^MASC", *hāḏīka ~ āḏīka* "that^FEM". Lastly, the local adverb *minna* "from here" has developed from *min + hunā*.[53]

2.1.1.5. Reflexes of OA ʔ

The glottal stop ʔ is retained (only in medial position) in some MSA borrowings: *sʔil – yisʔil*[54] "to ask", *suʔāl* "question", *masʔūl*[55] "responsible", *akkid – yʔakkid* "to affirm", *Quṛʔān* "Quran". Besides, ʔ is only retained in the absolute beginning of a word.[56]

Apart from these exceptions, OA ʔ is reflected in the following ways in NA:

2.1.1.5.1. Elision

OA ʔ is usually elided. With regard to OA initial ʔ, the vowel after initial ʔ is frequently elided as well: OA *ʔaḥad > ḥadd* "someone, noone", OA *ʔusbūՙ > sbūՙ* "gathering on the seventh day of a marriage".

In medial position after a short vowel (*-vʔ-*), OA ʔ is elided, while the short vowel is lengthened: OA *ḏiʔb > ḏīb* "jackal", OA *raʔs > ṛās* "head", OA *faʔr > fāṛ* "mouse", OA *biʔr > bīr* "well", OA *istaʔnasa > stānis* "to get used to".

Examples of the elision of OA final ʔ preceded by a (short and long) vowel: OA *hādiʔ > hādi* "calm", OA *sawdāʔ > sōda* "black^SG.F".

Verbs with C₃ ʔ are final weak verbs in NA: OA *q - r - ʔ > qrē – yaqra* "to read, to study", OA *b - d - ʔ > bdē – yabda* "to start".

Moreover, in words ending in *-wʔ* and *-yʔ*, the glides are geminated after the elision of ʔ: OA *nawʔ > naww* "rain", OA *ḍawʔ > ḍaww* "light; electricity", OA *nayʔ > nayy* "raw", OA *šayʔ > šayy* "nothing".

2.1.1.5.2. ʔ > h

The realization of words of the OA root *s - ʔ - l* as *s - h - l* is a phenomenon attested for middle-aged and old NA speakers: *shil – yishil*[57] "to ask", *mashūl*[58] "responsible".

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53 This is a common development in Maghrebi Arabic varieties. The form *minna ~ mənnä* is also found in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 131), Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 112), Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 26) and Ouled Brahim Arabic (cf. W. Marçais 1908: 9).

54 Next to *shil – yishil*, see 2.1.1.5.2.

55 Next to *mashūl*, see 2.1.1.5.2.

56 Moreover, a hitherto rarely documented NA pausal form consists of ʔ in a closed word-final syllable: *bnāt > bnāʔt* "girls, daughters" (see 2.4.4.1 on this pausal phenomenon).

57 The *s - h - l* realization of the verb "to ask" is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 131), Sousse Arabic (cf. Talmoudi 1980: 94) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 14).

58 Also attested by Boris (1958: 260).

Young[59] and educated speakers in general tend to retain the original OA realization *s - ʔ - l* instead: *sʔil – yisʔil* "to ask", *masʔūl* "responsible".

Moreover, the noun OA *ʔaǧǧāla > hažžā̃la* "widow" represents a pan-Tunisian realization.[60]

2.1.1.5.3. *ʔ > w/y*

Examples of *ʔ > w/y* attested in my corpus: OA *qirāʔa > qrāya* "reading; study", OA *ʕāʔila > ʕāyla* (~ *ʕēla*) "family; wife", OA *al-Ǧazāʔir > id-Dzā̃yr* "Algeria". Moreover, this development is found in the active participle forms of medial weak pattern I verbs $C_1āʔiC_3$: OA *ṣāʔim > ṣāym* "fast[AP.SG.M]", OA *ġāʔib > ġāyb* "be absent[AP.SG.M]".

As regards the development *ʔ > w*, it is attested for II pattern C_1 *ʔ* verbs: *ʔ - k - l > wakkil – ywakkil* "to feed", *ʔ - x - r > waxxaṛ – ywaxxaṛ* "to be late; to move backwards".[61]

2.1.1.6. Secondary emphatic consonants

With regard to the phonemic status of the secondary emphatic consonants *ṛ*, *ḷ* and *ẓ*, the attested minimal pairs do not show clearly if the emphatic consonant has influenced the back vowel *ā* or the other way around.

2.1.1.6.1. *ṛ*

The emphatic consonant *ṛ* is mostly a phonologically conditioned allophone of *r*, which occurs before and after the vowels *a/ā*, *u/ū* and *ō*: *ṭōṛ* "bull", *mṛā*[62] "woman", *nūmṛu* "number".

In contrast, the non-emphatic *r* is usually used in the surrounding of the vowels *i/ī* and *ē*: *rēna* "we saw", *bīr* "well", *sirwāl* "pants". The minimal pair *žāṛi* "my neighbor" : *žā̃ri* "running; fluid"[63] is attested in my corpus.

2.1.1.6.2. *ḷ*

The emphatic consonant *ḷ* is mostly a phonologically conditioned allophone of *l*, which occurs in an emphatic consonantal environment: *ṭḷaʕ – yaṭḷaʕ* "to ascend". My corpus comprises two minimal pairs proving its phonemic status: *lā̃m* "he reprimanded" : *ḷām*[64] "razor blade", *walla* "he became" : *waḷḷa* "by God (vow)"[65].

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59 Especially young female speakers.

60 Cf. for instance Singer (1984: 131) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 14).

61 As mentioned earlier, in some MSA borrowings, C_1 *ʔ* of derived verb patterns is retained: *yʔakkid*.

62 Moreover, the variant *mrē* is used with its non-emphatic counterpart *r*.

63 This minimal pair is also given by Singer (1984: 47) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 15).

64 In this case, the emphatic *ḷ* in this French borrowing could be caused by the aiming at preserving the original pronunciation of the French word *lame*.

65 Also given by Singer (1984: 48) for Tunis Arabic.

2.1.1.6.3. *ẓ*

The emphatic consonant *ẓ* is mostly an allophone of *z* and *ṣ*, which usually occurs in an emphatic consonantal environment: *ẓirnīṣ* "scolymus (plant)"[66], *ẓaġriṭ – yẓaġriṭ* (cf. OA *zaġrada*) "to utter trilling cries of joy", *ẓummāṛa* "horn (car)", *ẓuḷḷāṭ* "cane", *ẓawwāli* "pauper, poor person", *mẓammiṛ* "poor, in a bad condition (person)". One minimal pair is attested in my corpus: *gā̈z* "kerosene" : *gāẓ* "gas stove".[67]

Moreover, the sonorization of *ṣ* to *ẓ* in words of the root *ṣ - ġ - r* (*ẓġīr, ẓġīra, ẓġāṛ, ẓġayyrīn, tiẓġīr*), which is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 189) and Testour Arabic (cf. Zarb 2023: 58), seems to be a modern phenomenon, as it is attested for young and urban middle-aged speakers only, whereas old and rural middle-aged speakers retain *ṣ* in words of this root.[68]

2.1.1.6.4. Emphatization of labials

The labials *b*, *m* and *f* are emphatized to *ḅ*, *ṃ* and *f̣* in a specific phonetic environment (see below). In contrast to *ṃ* and *f̣*, which are only attested as phonologically conditioned allophones, *ḅ* can be both an allophone and a phoneme, as two minimal pairs prove its phonemic status: *bāba* "his door" : *ḅāḅa* "my father", *bāy* "Bey" : *ḅāy* "share, part".[69]

In the word-initial C_1w- cluster with the labials *b*, *m* or *f* as C_1 an assimilation of C_2 *w* of synchronically medial weak roots to C_1 *b*, *m* or *f* occurs. Subsequently, C_1 is geminated and emphatized and the optional anaptyctic vowel ^{u} is preposed: *bw- > ^{u}ḅḅ-*, *mw- > ^{u}ṃṃ-*, *fw- > ^{u}f̣f̣-*.[70] This phonetic change occurs, inter alia, in the diminutive patterns ^{u}ĊĊ*ayyiC*[71] (< *CwayyiC*) and ^{u}C_1ĊēC (< *CwēC*) as well as the plural patterns ^{u}ĊĊāC (< *CwāC*) and ^{u}ĊĊāCīC (< *CwāCīC*):

- *bw > ^{u}ḅḅ*: *^{u}ḅḅayy*[72] "father^DIM", *^{u}ḅḅayyib* "door^DIM", *^{u}ḅḅādīn*[73] "jerrycans"

- *mw > ^{u}ṃṃ*: *^{u}ṃṃayyis* "jackknife^DIM", *^{u}ṃṃayya* "water^DIM", *^{u}ṃṃēs* "jackknife^DIM", *^{u}ṃṃās* "jackknives", *^{u}ṃṃāli* "owners; relatives"

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66 Cf. Beaussier (1887: 266): زرنيز "Scolymus".

67 This minimal pair is also given by Singer (1984: 50).

68 Walters (1991) examines the realization of *ṣ* as *ṣ/z* as a sociolinguistic variable in North Tunisian Korba Arabic.

69 These minimal pairs are also given for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 16).

70 This phenomenon is also found in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 482) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 20).

71 The diminutive forms *^{u}f̣f̣aiyim* and *^{b}baiyib* are also attested for Tunis Arabic: "Diminutiva mit *w* als zweitem Konsonanten (*KwaiyiK/KwīKa, KwīKik/KwīKKa*), deren erster Radikal einer der Labiale (*b/f/m* oder deren Emphatica) ist, assimilieren meist dieses *w > ^{u}bb-/^{u}ff-/^{u}mm-*" (Singer 1984: 482).

72 Diminutive form of the ^{u}C_1Ċ*ayyiC_3* pattern with a final weak root.

73 The same form is attested in Douz Arabic: *^{u}ḅḅādīn* "Plastik- oder Eisenkanister" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 20).

- *fw* > *ᵘff*: *ᵘffayyim* "mouth^DIM", *ᵘffā̃m* "mouths", *ᵘffẽn* (< *fi* + *wēn*) "where?"

The emphatic sound *ḅ* is also attested in additional words, e.g. when preceding the long vowel *ā*: *ḅāku* "pack", *ḅāḅa* "my father". Moreover, *ṃ* is attested in an emphatic consonant environment: *ẓuṃṃāṛa* "horn (car)".

2.1.1.7. Glides *w* and *y*

The realization of the glides *w* (with its allophones *w* and *u*) and *y* (with its allophones *y* and *i*) is phonologically conditioned. They are realized as consonants (*w/y*) before a vowel and as vowels (*u/i*) before a consonant.[74]

Examples of *w/y* realized as [w] and [y] before a vowel: *waqtā̃š* "when?", *yībis* "it gets dry", *ʕāwin* "he helped".

Examples of *w/y* realized as [u] and [i] before a consonant and in word-final position: *ykammil* [ikammil] "he finishes", *wtīl* [utīl] "hotel", *ḥilw* [ḥilu] "sweet".

2.1.1.8. Marginal phonemes *p* and *v*

The marginal phonemes *p* and *v*, they are found in borrowings only: *puṛṭābil* (< Fr. *portable*) "phone", *pīdza* (< It./Fr. *pizza*) "pizza", *pīsīn* (< Fr. *piscine*) "swimming pool", *pūbāl* (< Fr. *poubelle*) "garbage bin", *mgarrip*[75] (< Fr. *grippe*) "caught a cold", *vēst*[76] (< Fr. *veste*) "jacket", *fivri* (< Fr. *février*) "February", *avrīl* (< Fr. *avril*) "April".

Other borrowings with *p* and *v* in the source language (mostly French and Italian) are phonologically integrated into Arabic:

- *p* > *b*: *bīkīya* (< Fr. *piquet*) "wooden stake", *brīma* (< It. *prima* "first") "excellent; the best one", *blāṣa* (< Sp. *plaza*) "place"
- *v* > *f*: *fītā̃s* (< Fr. *vitesse*) "speed, gear", *fā̃līža* (< Fr. *valise*, It. *valigia*) "suitcase", *žānfi* (< Fr. *janvier*) "January", *tal�ころfza* (< Fr. *télévision*) "television"

As for the age of the speakers, the sounds *p* and *v* are mostly preserved by young and educated speakers, whereas old speakers tend to integrate these sounds: *p* > *b*, *v* > *f*. For instance, the noun "suitcase" exists in two variants: *vālīz* and *fā̃līža*. The first variant is used by some young and urban middle-aged speakers, while the phonologically and morphologically fully integrated variant *fā̃līža* is used by speakers of all ages.

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74 Fischer/Jastrow (1980: 53) point out that the glides *w* and *j* are realized as [u] and [i] between consonants, before consonants in word-initial position and after consonants in word-final position in several Arabic varieties, including Tunisian Muslim varieties. The same phenomenon is attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 61) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 21).

75 Cf. Gibson (2009: 564): *mgarrap* "suffering from influenza".

76 Cf. Singer (1984: 41): *vîsta* (> *fîsta*) "Sakko, Jacke".

2.1.2. Vowels

2.1.2.1. Long vowels

The vowel inventory of NA comprises five long vowel phonemes: *ā, ī, ē, ū*
and *ō*, which is a feature this variety shares with other Tunisian varieties such
as the ones of Takrouna, El Hamma (cf. Singer 1980: 250) and Mahdia (cf.
Yoda 2008: 485). In contrast, Tunis Arabic has three long vowels *ā, ī* and *ū*
(cf. Mion 2008a: 305). As regards the vowel phoneme *ā*, the realization *ǟ*
(which is most probably an allophone of *ā*) is reflected in the transcription as
well, as the raising of OA *ā* is an important and distinguishing feature among
Tunisian Arabic varieties.

Unstressed long vowels have a shorter realization than stressed ones,
however they are noted as long nevertheless.

2.1.2.1.1. Qualitative oppositions

The following minimal pairs are attested in the corpus for the long vowel
phonemes:

ā : ī	*ṭāḥ*	"he fell"	:	*ṭīḥ*	"fall!"
ā : ē	*bǟn*	"he appeared"	:	*bēn*	"between"[77]
ā : ū	*šǟf*	"he saw"	:	*šūf*	"see!"
ā : ō	*dāṛa*	"his house"	:	*dōṛa*	"tour, walk"
	lǟm	"he reprimanded"		*lōm*	"reproach"
ī : ē	*ʕīš*	"live!"	:	*ʕēš*	"couscous"
	žīb	"bring!"		*žēb*	"pocket"[78]
ī : ū	*zīr*	"clay jug"	:	*zūṛ*	"visit!"[79]
ī : ō	*rīḥa*	"smell"	:	*ṛōḥa*	"his soul; himself"
	līn	"until"		*lōn*	"color"
ē : ū	*ṣēf*	"summer"	:	*ṣūf*	"wool"[80]
ē : ō	*ʕēla*	"family; wife"	:	*ʕōla*	"preparation of food stocks"

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77 This minimal pair is also given for El Hamma Arabic (cf. Cantineau 1951: 77) and Douz
    Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 24). In Tunis Arabic it is *bān : bīn* (cf. Mion 2008: 305).

78 This minimal pair is also given for Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 30).

79 The minimal pairs *zīr : zūṛ* and *rīḥa : ṛōḥa* have a different consonant (*r/ṛ*).

80 This minimal pair is also given for Mahdia Arabic (cf. Yoda 2008: 484), Douz Arabic (cf.
    Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 24) and Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 30).

ū : ō	*gūm*	"get up!"	:	*gōm*	"kin, family"
	lūm	"reprimand!"	:	*lōm*	"reproach"

Additionally, my corpus comprises one minimal pair of the opposition *ā* : *ā̈* [æ:]. The minimal pair *hāka* "that[MASC]" : *hā̈ka* "that[FEM]" is confirmed for three speakers (Zaga1/f/83, Zaga2/m/40 and Nefza8/f/19): *f-il-blạ̄ṣa hāka* "in that place", *il-kalb hāka rāgid.* "That dog is sleeping." Beside that minimal pair, there are only partial minimal pairs, which are different in the vowel and the emphasis of the consonant: *žā̈ri* "running" : *žāṛi* "my neighbor", *lā̈m* "he reprimanded" : *ḷām* "razor blade"[81], *bā̈y* "Bey" : *ḅāy* "share, part". In these cases, it is not clear if it is the vowel which has influenced the consonant or the other way around.

With the exception of the minimal pair(s) listed above, *ā̈* is a (free and phonologically conditioned[82]) allophone of *ā* (see 2.1.2.1.3), which is why it is not treated as a phoneme in this study.

For quantitative oppositions between short and long vowels see 2.1.2.2.2.

2.1.2.1.2. Neutralization of oppositions

2.1.2.1.2.1. *ī* : *ā* and *ē* : *ā*

The final *imāla* of -*ā* to -*ē* and -*ī* in monosyllabic words (see 2.1.2.1.3.4) is neutralized to *ā* when a suffix is attached: *žī* "he came" > *žā̈na* "he came to us", *ʕšē* "dinner" > *ʕšā̈ya* "my dinner".[83]

2.1.2.1.2.2. *ī* : *ā* and *ū* : *ō*

The opposition between *ī* : *ā* and *ū* : *ō* is often neutralized when the 3SG.F and (less frequently) 3PL pronominal suffixes -*ha* and -*hum* are added: *taʕ'rfīh* "you[SG.F] know him" vs. *taʕ'rfā̈ha* "you[SG.F] know her", *xūh* "his brother" vs. *xōha* "her brother".

For more details on this morphophonological phenomenon, which is common among Tunisian Arabic varieties, see 2.5.3.

2.1.2.1.2.3. *ē* : *ī*

The phonemes *ē* and *ī* often act as free allophones, for instance as reflexes of the OA diphthong *aw*: *zēt* ~ *zīt* "oil", and in word-final position in words with a final *imāla*: *mē* ~ *mī* "water", *t'šrē* ~ *t'šrī* "it was bought".

A similar phenomenon is attested for Douz Arabic, where final weak verbs with an "*i*-Basis" tend towards a variation of final -*ī* ~ -*ē*:

"Bei der *i*-Basis der defektiven Verben geht in der 3.P.Sg.m. des Perfekts die Tendenz immer mehr Richtung Aufhebung der Opposition

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81 Zarb (2023: 56) also gives the minimal pairs *žā̈ri* : *žāṛi* and *lā̈m* : *ḷām* for the *ā* : *ā̈* opposition. Moreover, she states: "The /ā̈/ can be considered to be an allophone of the /ā/, but since its phonemic status is unclear it is best to classify it as an independent vowel." (Zarb 2023: 49)

82 See 2.1.2.1.3 for the complex distribution of the *imāla* of *ā* to *ā̈*.

83 This is also the case for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 26) and Mahdia Arabic (cf. Yoda 2008: 488).

zwischen *ī* und *ē*: *ᵓġnī ~ ᵓġnē* "reich werden"; *ᵓʕmī ~ ᵓʕmē* "blind werden" […]." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 27)

2.1.2.1.3. *Imāla of ā*

2.1.2.1.3.1. Introductory remarks

In NA there is an initial, medial and final *imāla*, i.e. raising of the long vowel *ā* to *ǟ* and (only in final position) *ē* and *ī*. For the raising of the final short *-a* to [-ɛ] see 2.1.2.2.4.

Generally, the distribution of *ā* : *ǟ* (: *ē* : *ī*) as reflexes of OA *ā* is complex and subject to variation in NA. Ritt-Benmimoun (2021: 38) also indicates the complexity of the *imāla* in Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties: "Another complex issue involving all Tunisian varieties is the *imāla*, the raising of long *ā*."

Initially, it needs to be pointed out that the *imāla* of *ā* to *ǟ* [æ:] is the normal realization of the phoneme *ā* in NA.[84] However, the *imāla* of *ā* to *ǟ* in initial and medial position is less strongly realized by old and most rural speakers.[85]

2.1.2.1.3.2. *Imāla of initial ā-*

In contrast to medial and final *ā*, there are only few examples of initial *ā* in the corpus. Words with an *imāla* and a non-emphatic following consonant are attested: *ǟmis* "yesterday", *ǟlǟf* "thousands". Moreover, the following two lexical items show a variation regarding the initial *imāla* of *ā-*: *āxaṛ ~ āxuṛ ~ ǟxir* "other[SG.M]", *āma ~ ǟma* "but". In both cases, the variant without an *imāla* is more frequently attested in the corpus.

2.1.2.1.3.3. *Imāla of medial -ā-*

The distribution of the allophones *ā* / *ǟ* in medial position is complex in NA, especially after gutturals. The complexity concerning the medial *imāla* of *ā* in Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties is illustrated by Ritt-Benmimoun (2021):

"Our data illustrates that the word-internal *imāla* shows considerable variation within single reference points and within the same consonantal environment, which makes its use highly unpredictable." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 39)

In NA the medial *imāla* is influenced by the preceding consonant, whereas a following emphatic consonant inhibits the *imāla*.

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84 This is also the case in other Tunisian varieties such as Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 170f.) and El Hamma Arabic (cf. Cantineau 1951: 78).

85 I have not found a correspondence of this realization among IPA vowels. The realization of *ā* in a non-emphatic environment by old and rural NA speakers is a vowel between *ā* and *ǟ*, however it is given as *ǟ* in the transcription, as it is clearly not a back *ā* as in *bḷāṣa* "place". This realization is given up by young (especially female) and urban middle-aged NA speakers in favor of the realization of the *imāla* like Tunis Arabic (as *ǟ*).

2.1.2.1.3.3.1. After non-gutturals and non-emphatics

After non-gutturals and non-emphatics, i.e. in an unmarked consonantal environment, *ā* is raised to *ā̆*: *mākla* "food", *bā̆hi* "good". This type of *imāla* is realized to a lesser extent in the speech of old and rural speakers.

There are some lexical exceptions, including borrowings: *fāk* "university", *zāza* "wedding convoy accompanied by music", *akkāka ~ akkā̆ka* "like that".

2.1.2.1.3.3.2. After emphatics

The medial *imāla* is inhibited before and after emphatic consonants: *ḥṣān* "horse", *ḷām* "razor blade", *ʕḍām* "eggs", *gṭānya* "corn", *ḥāṭṭ* "put[AP.SG.M]", *byāḍ* "he/it became white".

In contrast, the final *imāla* of *ā* is not always inhibited by emphatics (see 2.1.2.1.3.4).

2.1.2.1.3.3. After gutturals

The medial *imāla* of *ā* after the gutturals *ḥ*, *ʕ*, *x* and *ġ* is of particular interest, as in Tunisian sedentary and Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties, the medial *imāla* to *ā̆* is generally inhibited after gutturals.[86] In contrast, in Tunisian Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties, *imāla* after *x/ġ* is possible.[87] In Northwest Tunisian Testour Arabic a differentiated distribution of *ā/ā̆* is attested: the medial *imāla* is possible after *ġ* and *x*: *ġā̆di*, *xā̆msa*, but inhibited after *ʕ*: *mā-ʕād-š*, *mʕāk* (cf. Zarb 2023: 51).

Generally speaking, in NA, which is supposed to be a Sulaym-type variety, medial *imāla* after *ḥ*, *ʕ* and *x* is common, which varies from the realization of *ā* after gutturals in hitherto attested Sulaym-type varieties.

The following is a more detailed analysis of the occurrence of the medial *imāla* after gutturals in my corpus, illustrating the striking variation concerning this type of *imāla* in NA.

As Mion (2008a: 308) points out for Tunis Arabic, in NA the medial *imāla* is weaker in a pretonic syllable, and strong in a tonic syllable. For the sake of comparability, all the selected words in the following table have the vowel *ā* in a tonic syllable:

Preceding consonant	*ā*	*ā̆*
ḥā- vs. *ḥā̆-*	150	80
ḥāla vs. *ḥā̆la* "condition"	2	2
ḥāža vs. *ḥā̆ža* "thing"	51	33
ʕā- vs. *ʕā̆-*	401	70
ʕām vs. *ʕā̆m* "year"	22	2

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86 Cf. Singer (1984: 170f.) and Mion (2008a: 308) for Tunis Arabic and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b: 354) for the Sulaym-type Bedouin variety of the Maṛāzīg (Douz).

87 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b: 353) for the Central Tunisian Hilāl-type variety of Magsam Trab (*ġā̆di*, *xā̆li*) and Ph. Marçais (1977: 14): "Dans les parlers bédouins du centre de la Tunisie, on constate une <u>imāla</u> qui est variable mais bien caractérisée, du <u>ā</u> intérieur du mot."

ʕādi vs. *ʕā̱di* "normal"	2	3
xā- vs. **xā̱-**	170	88
xāmsa vs. *xā̱msa* "fifth[SG.F]"	3	4
xāli vs. *xā̱li* "my uncle"	1	13
ġā- vs. **ġā̱-**	103	6
ġādi vs. *ġā̱di* "there"	30	–
ġāli vs. *ġā̱li* "expensive"	6	6

The data presented above indicate that the medial *imāla* after *ḥ* and *ʕ* is common, however not a rule. Taking the word *ʕādi ~ ʕā̱di* "normal" as an example, there is intrapersonal variation of the medial *imāla* attested: the speaker Nefza1/f/50 uses both *ʕādi* and *ʕā̱di*. Thus, the medial *imāla* after *ḥ* and *ʕ* is subject to (sometimes even intrapersonal) variation.

Referring to *ġ*, the adjective *ġā̱li* "expensive" is the only example of a medial *imāla* after the consonant *ġ*. In contrast, the local adverb *ġādi* "there" is attested in the corpus without an *imāla* only. The same distribution of the medial *imāla* after these two words starting in *ġā-* is also described for other Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties investigated in the TUNOCENT project (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 39). As the examples *ġādi* and *ġā̱li* show, it can be said that the medial *imāla* after *ġ* is at least partially lexically conditioned in NA and much less frequently than after the guttural *x*: *ġā̱-* (6x) : *xā̱-* (88x).

The medial *imāla* after gutturals is inhibited if followed by an emphatic: *ʕā̱di* "normal" vs. *ʕāṣi* "bull", *ḥā̱ll* "has opened" vs. *ḥāṭṭ* "has put".

While in Tunis Arabic the medial *imāla* is inhibited after a guttural, it is possible before a guttural (cf. Mion 2008a: 308). Medial *imāla* before gutturals is possible in NA as well: *ḏrā̱ʕ* "arm", *žwā̱ʕa* "hungry[PL]". However, there are some lexical exceptions, such as *ṣbāḥ* "morning".

2.1.2.1.3.4. *Imāla of final -ā*

Final *imāla* of *ā* to *ē* of monosyllabic words is attested for several Tunisian and Libyan[88] varieties. With regard to Tunisian Arabic varieties, the final *imāla* is seen as a remarkable feature of Sahel varieties[89] as well as South Tunisian varieties[90] (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 14f. and Cantineau 1960: 99). Moreover, W. Marçais (1950: 214) lists the final *imāla* as a typical feature of Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties, which the South Tunisian varieties are part of.

In NA the final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī* is possible: *mē ~ mī* "water", *hnē ~ hnī* "here", *nsē ~ nsī* "women". Among Tunisian Arabic varieties, the final *imāla*

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88 For instance, the Arabic varieties of Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 33f.) and Al-Khums (cf. Benmoftah/Pereira 2017: 309).

89 See, for instance, Mahdia Arabic (cf. Yoda 2008: 487f.) and Chebba Arabic (cf. D'Anna 2020: 89).

90 See, for instance, Mahadhba Arabic (cf. Marçais/Viré 1981: 384) and Belkhir Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 297).

to *ī* is attested for Msaken Arabic (Bouhlel 2009: 127) and Zarzis Arabic (cf. Bouaicha 1993: 610). In Douz Arabic monosyllabic nouns have an *imāla* to *ē* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 31). Ritt-Benmimoun (2021: 48) confirms the existence of the final *imāla* to *ē/ī* in the Northwest Tunisian varieties of Nefza and Shikh el-Widyan: "Nefza and Shikh el-Widyan have the same word-final *imāla* of *ā* that is found in the South Tunisian town of Douz: *ġdē* or even *ġdī*."

However, the final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī* is subject to linguistic variation in NA, as some urban young and middle-aged NA speakers prefer the realization of final *imāla* corresponding to the one of Tunis Arabic: -*ā* after emphatics and gutturals and -*ā̆* after other consonants: *mšā̆* "he went", *qrā* "he read/studied". In contrast to the urban population, my data show that the final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī* is retained in the speech of the young rural population.

An aspect worthy of additional attention is the final *imāla* after gutturals and emphatics, which is inhibited in Douz Arabic: *wᵢṭā*, *ʕᵃṣā*, *ṛᵢḥā* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 31f.).

In NA, however, final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī* is possible even after gutturals and emphatics. An exception are many urban speakers, who inhibit the final *imāla* after gutturals and emphatic, whereas the realization with an *imāla* seems to be more original and rural. Examples of the variation: *ṛḥā ~ ṛḥē ~ ṛḥī* "quern stone hand mill", *wṭā ~ wṭē ~ wṭī* "soil, ground", *ʕṭā ~ ʕṭē ~ ʕṭī* "he gave". Moreover, in the following words the emphatic consonant *ṛ* has lost its emphasis before an *imāla*: *mṛā ~ mrē ~ mrī* "woman", *qṛā ~ qrē ~ qrī* "he read/studied". The only exception is the noun *ʕṣā* "stick", which is attested only without an *imāla* in my corpus.[91] In contrast, two examples of the *imāla* after the emphatic consonant *ṭ* are attested (*wṭē*, *ʕṭē*).

According to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, final *imāla* after gutturals and emphatics is also found in other adjacent varieties, e.g. Houaidia Arabic (municipality of Tabarka), located some 20km away from Nefza.

2.1.2.2. Short vowels

The distribution of the three short vowels *a*, *i* and *u*[92] in NA is often phonologically conditioned – depending on the consonant environment.

2.1.2.2.1. Qualitative oppositions

The following minimal pairs are attested in the corpus for the short vowel phonemes:

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91 However, it is only attested for urban speakers, who, as elucidated above, tend to inhibit the final *imāla* after gutturals and emphatics. It cannot be ruled out that rural speakers pronounce this word with a final *imāla*.

92 Ph. Marçais (1977: 13) indicates a relative retention of the short vowel system in Tunisian Arabic varieties: "Il se présente dans un état de relative conservation dans les parlers de Libye et de Tunisie, ainsi que dans les parlers bédouins."

_a : i_	_šadd_	"he grabbed"	:	_šidd_	"grab!"
	fazz	"he got up"	:	_fizz_	"get up!"
	ʕažla	"tire"	:	_ʕižla_	"heifer calf"
_a : u_	_ḥaṭṭ_	"he put"	:	_ḥuṭṭ_	"put!"
	dagg	"he knocked"	:	_dugg_	"knock!"
_i : u_	_ḥibb_	"love!"	:	_ḥubb_	"love"
	ktib	"he wrote"	:	_ktub_	"books"
	gdim	"heel; he bit"	:	_gdum_	"old^PL"

2.1.2.2.2. Quantitative oppositions

_a : ā_	_ḥaṭṭ_	"he put"	:	_ḥāṭṭ_	"put^AP.SG.M"
	ḥall	"he opened"	:	_ḥāll_	"open^AP.SG.M"
	xamsa	"five"	:	_xãmsa_	"fifth^SG.F"
_i : ī_	_kbir_	"he/it became bigger; he grew up; he grew old"	:	_kbīr_	"big; old"
_u : ū_	_šufna_	"we saw"	:	_šūfna_	"see us!"
	ždud	"new^PL"	:	_ždūd_	"grandfathers; ancestors"

2.1.2.2.3. Distribution of the short vowels

2.1.2.2.3.1. Overview

The distribution of the three short vowels in NA is often phonologically conditioned and quite complex. Singer (1984: 142) states that the distribution of short vowels in Tunis Arabic is often inexplicable: "In einer großen Anzahl von Wörtern finden wir /i/ oder /u/ an Stelle von /a/, ohne daß das Warum und Wieso immer ersichtlich wäre […]."

Furthermore, the Northwest Tunisian variety of El Kef has a phonological distribution of the short vowels as it is found in NA as well:

"The distribution of short vowels does not follow the Classical Arabic pattern but is subject to consonantal influence, as seen in the passive participles _mbassis_ 'soaked,' _mzayyin_ 'decorated'; _mṭabbig_ 'folded'; in the perfect forms _fatfitnāh_ 'we crumbled it'; _ṭayyibna_ 'we cooked'; and in the adjective _mālaḥ_ 'salty.'" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339)

2.1.2.2.3.2. Reflexes of OA _a_

OA _a_ is frequently _i_ in a non-emphatic consonant environment (also in Douz Arabic, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 33): OA _kalima_ > _kilma_ "word", OA _ǧabha_ > _žibha_ "forehead", OA _raqaba_ > _rigba_ "neck", OA _taḥt_ > _tiḥt_ "under". By contrast, in an emphatic and labial environment, OA _a_ tends to be realized

as *u*: OA *fam* > *fumm* "mouth", OA *waṣṭ* > *wuṣṭ* "middle".[93] The short vowel *a* is frequently retained in a closed syllable: *kalᵢb* "dog", *ṯalᵢž* "snow", however it tends to shift to *i* in the surrounding of sibilants: OA *naǧma* > *nižma* "star", OA *ǧabha* > *žibha* "forehead", OA *ǧaḥš* > *žiḥᵢš* "donkey foal".

In a posttonic syllable, OA *a* is shifted to *i* and is *a* only if followed by a guttural: *kammil* "he finished", *baddil* "he changed", *msakkir* "closed" vs. *ṛakkaḥ* "he set up", *bazzaʕ* "he poured out", *mgaṭṭaʕ* "torn up".[94]

2.1.2.2.3.3. Distribution of *i/u*

As is the case for Tunisian varieties in general, the opposition *i : u* is fairly weak, as these two short vowel phonemes frequently act as phonologically conditioned allophones.[95] An example of the *i : u* opposition is the partial minimal pair *yimrig* "he makes a sauce (*maṛga*)" : *yumṛug* "he passes by". The short vowel *u* is frequently found in an emphatic/guttural/labial environment, whereas the short vowel *i* tends to be used in all other, i.e. unmarked consonantal environments.[96] Examples of OA *u* > *i*: OA *zubda* > *zibda* "butter", OA *kuswa* > *kiswa* "suit", OA *ybull* > *ybill* "to wet".

The following patterns are examples of the *i/u* distribution according to the consonant environment (*u* around emphatic, guttural and labial consonants vs. *i* in other consonant environments):

- $C_1vC_2C_3ān$: *ʕuṭšān* "thirsty", *ṛumḍān* "Ramadan" vs. *nisžān* "weaving"
- $C_1vC_2C_2āC_3$: *fuxxāṛ* "earthenware" vs. *šibbāk* "window", *tiffāḥ* "apples"
- $mvC_1C_2āC_3$: *muṣwāb* "cucumbers" vs. *miftāḥ* "key"

The value of the *i : u* opposition in the South Tunisian variety of El Hamma is complex as well:

"L'opposition « i-u » est souvent neutralisée, dans des conditions malheureusement peu claires, « i » et « u » étant alors des *variantes combinatoires* d'un même archiphonème : la voyelle « fermée » sans localisation précise, et le vocalisme « u » apparaissant de préférence au voisinage des consonnes emphatiques." (Cantineau 1951: 82)

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93 The same holds true for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 145f.).

94 The same holds true for Tunis Arabic (cf. Mion 2008a: 310).

95 Aguadé (2018: 46) points out that the development of short vowel phonemes in Maghrebi Arabic varieties is complex: some varieties only have *ə* and *u* or *a* and *ə*. He states that in Tunis Arabic all three short vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are preserved.

96 The same distribution of *i/u* is also found in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 74f.) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 32ff.).

2.1.2.2.4. *Imāla* of final *-a*

The raising of the final short vowel *-a* to [-ɛ][97] is an (optional) phenomenon attested for various speakers, however most frequently middle-aged speakers of all origins, e.g. the speakers Nefza1/f/50, Nefza2/m/55, Touila3/f/50, UmmLabid1/f/50, but also some young speakers such as Nefza11/f/10. The *imāla* of the short vowel *a* to [ɛ] in a non-emphatic and non-guttural consonant environment in word-initial and word-medial position is not treated explicitly, as this is a common Tunisian Arabic feature.

The *imāla* of final short *-a* is not limited to the feminine ending *-a* (*tāʔ marbūṭa*), but also affects the ending *-a* of the 3SG.F pronominal suffix *-ha*: *minha* [minhɛ] "from her", *lawwḥitha* [lauħəthɛ] "she threw it/her away". Examples of the raising of the feminine ending *-a*: *miʕza* [miʕzɛ] "goat", *sxāna* [sxa:nɛ] "heat", *sānya* [sæ:nyɛ] "agricultural field", *šwayya* [ʃwayyɛ] "a little". Thus, it appears that the *imāla* of *-a* to [-ɛ] in NA is limited to a non-emphatic and non-guttural consonant environment.

The phonologically conditioned *imāla* of the feminine ending *-a* is attested for several Tunisian Arabic varieties, such as Mateur Arabic (cf. Mion 2014a: 60), Kerkennah Arabic (cf. Herin/Zammit 2017: 145) and Ben Gardane Arabic[98] (cf. Mion 2021: 111). A similar *imāla* of the suffix *-ha* is also attested for Mahdia Arabic: *yišrēhē*, *fēhē*, *bēhē* (cf. Yoda 2008: 487).

In contrast, Gibson (2009: 564) rules out the existence of the *imāla* of final *-a* in Tunis Arabic: "The short vowel /a/ also shows this raising, but to a lesser extent, and this is not apparent word-finally."

2.1.2.3. Anaptyctic vowels

There are three anaptyctic short vowels in NA: *ᵃ*, *ⁱ* and *ᵘ*. They are not phonemic and never stressed. As is the case with the short vowels (see 2.1.2.2), their distribution is often phonologically conditioned. In unmarked consonantal environment the anaptyctic vowel is usually *ⁱ*. By contrast, it is mostly *ᵘ* with the short vowel *u* in the preceding syllable: *šufᵘt* "I saw", *gurᵘṭ* "straw", *uṣᵘḥna* "plates", and *ᵃ* if followed by ʕ and (occasionally) ḥ: *l-ᵃḥṣān* "the horse", *l-ᵃʕnab* "the grapes". Though the anaptyctic vowels *ᵃ* and *ᵘ* generally tend to be used before gutturals, a variation of the distribution is attested in the corpus: *l-ⁱḥṣān ~ l-ᵃḥṣān* "the horse".

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97 The raising of *-a* is not reflected in the transcription, as this is an allophone of the short vowel phoneme *a*.

98 Mion gives the following details: "From a purely phonetic point of view, the final feminine morpheme *-a* is realised as [æ] in unmarked contexts and as [a] when preceded by gutturals. However, in some ancient traditional terms, it is clearly realised by a front realisation [ɛ], like in ʕullāg[ɛ] 'basket [containing fruits and perfumes to be offered during wedding]' and gəzdriyy[ɛ] 'metal bucket'." (Mion 2021: 111)

The function of anaptyctic vowels is the facilitation of the pronunciation, e.g. the splitting of consonant clusters:

- word-initial two consonant cluster: #CC- > ᵛCC-: ⁱktib "he wrote", ⁱxfīf "light", ⁱḥlīb "milk".
- word-internal three consonant cluster: -CCC- > -CᵛCC-: The anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and second consonant of the cluster: uṣᵘḥna "plates", yixⁱdmu "they work", yuxᵘṭfa "he kidnaps him", l-ᵃḥṣunna "the horses", l-ⁱklāb "the dogs", l-ᵃʕṣā "the stick".
- word-final two consonant cluster: -CC# > -CᵛC: guṛᵘṭ "straw", ṭuṛᵘš "deafᴾᴸ", kirⁱš "belly", ṯalⁱǧ "snow", ktibⁱt "I wrote".

The described cases of occurrence of anaptyctic vowels are common in Tunisian varieties, e.g. Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 45ff.).

The anaptyctic vowel, which appears before the word-initial and within the word-final two consonant cluster, is optional. In contrast, the word-internal anaptyctic vowel, which breaks up a three consonant cluster, is obligatory, as three consonant clusters are always broken up (see 2.2 on the syllable structure).

2.1.2.4. Diphthongs

This section treats the reflexes of the OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay*.[99]

2.1.2.4.1. OA *aw*

Generally, the OA diphthong *aw* is monophthongized to *ō*: *lōn* (< OA *lawn*) "color", *lōz* (< OA *lawz*) "almonds", *fōg* (< OA *fawqa*) "on, above", *ṯōṛ* (< OA *ṯawr*) "bull", *šōk* (< OA *šawk*) "thron", *yōm* (< OA *yawm*) "day", *sōda* (< OA *sawdāʔ*) "blackˢᴳ·ᶠ", *zōz* (cf. OA *zawǧ*) "two". Young and urban middle-aged speakers show a commenced shift in the direction of the monophthongization to *ū*, as in *zūz* "two", which corresponds to the prestigious Tunisian sedentary varieties.[100] However, the monophthongization to *ō* is still the widely predominant reflex of OA *aw*.[101]

Exceptions are a limited number of MSA borrowings, in which the diphthong is retained: *nawʕ* "type", *ṯawra* "revolution". Aguadé (2018: 46) remarks that "contact with *ʕ, ḥ, x* and *q* helps to preserve the diphtongs" in Maghrebi Arabic, which could explain the preservation of the diphthong *aw* in the noun *nawʕ*.

The diphthong *aw* in the passive participle forms of initial weak roots of the OA pattern *mawC₂ūC₃* is retained in the speech of young, educated and urban middle-aged speakers, whereas variants with a monophthongization of

99 For the diphthongization of the long vowels *ū* to *ūʷ*, *ī* to *īʸ* and *ā* to *ʸ̄ā* see 2.4.4.2.

100 W. Marçais (1950: 207) states on the reflexes of OA diphthongs in Tunisian sedentary varieties: "Les anciennes diphthongues *ay, aw* y sont respectivement réduites à *î* et *û*."

101 Unlike OA *aw*, where *ō* is the main reflex, the reflex of the OA diphthong *ay* is more complex in NA (see 2.1.3.2).

this diphthong to *ō* and *ī* are used by older and rural speakers: *mawlūd ~ mōlūd ~ mīlūd* "born", *mawžūd ~ mōžūd ~ mīžūd* "existing".[102]

2.1.2.4.2. OA *ay*

The OA diphthong *ay* is monophthongized to *ē* and *ī*. The *ē* vs. *ī* distribution is complex, as will be shown below.[103] In many cases, the variant with a monophthongization to *ē* is more original and rural than the variant with the vowel *ī* (< *ay*). However, this tendency is not confirmed for all words, as rural speakers do use *ī* (< *ay*) in some words: *ʕlīkum* (< *ʕalaykum*) "on you[PL]", *kīf* (< *kayf*) "like".

The monophthongization to *ē* is the most common reflex of OA *ay*: *bēt* (< *bayt*) "room; house", *bēḏ̣a* (< *bayḍāʔ*) "white[SG.F]", *žēb* (< *ǧayb*) "pocket", *xēr* (< *xayr*) "better", *zēt* (< *zayt*) "oil", *lēl* (< *layl*) "night", *xēṭ* (< *xayṭ*) "thread", the dual ending -*ēn* (< -*ayn*): *nhāṛēn* "two days".

In some words, both *ē* and *ī* variants are used. The *ē*-variant is more common in general, while the *ī*-variant tends to be used by (some) young speakers: *bēn ~ bīn* (< *bayn*) "between". This is often the case for perfect forms of final weak verbs: *ḥkēna ~ ḥkīna* (< *ḥakaynā*) "we spoke".

Besides the examples named in the first paragraph (*ʕlā* with suffixes and *kīf*), where the monophthongized vowel is in a stressed syllable, other examples of the monophthongization of *ay* to *ī* have the monophthongized vowel in a pretonic syllable: *šīṭān* (< *šayṭān*) "devil", *ḥīwān* (< *ḥayawān*) "animal", *zītūn* (< *zaytūn*) "olives". This is another possible explanation for some examples of the monophthongization to *ī*. In Douz Arabic the OA diphthongs also show irregular behavior in pretonic syllables: *šāṭān* "devil", *zātūn* "olives" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 26).

Lastly, exceptions are a limited number of MSA borrowings, in which the diphthong is retained: *žayš* "army".

The monophthongization to *ō* and *ē* is found in numerous Tunisian and Libyan Arabic varieties.[104] Singer (1980: 250f.) states that the monophthongization to *ō/ē* is found in Maghrebi rural and Bedouin-type varieties, whereas *ū/ī* are their counterparts in Maghrebi sedentary varieties.

In general, the situation is more complex than described by W. Marçais (1950) and Singer (1980). For instance, in Douz Arabic the OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay* are monophthongized to both *ō/ū* and *ē/ī*. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 25) describes the *ē* vs. *ī* and *ō* vs. *ū* situation in that variety as complex. She lists

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102 According to Singer (1984: 408), the passive participle form *mīC₂ūC₃* of initial weak pattern I verbs is used in Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties.

103 Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 25) states that in Douz Arabic the *ē/ī* situation is complex as well (see 2.1.3.3).

104 See, for instance, in Tunisia: Chebba Arabic (cf. D'Anna 2020: 88), Kerkennah Arabic varieties KD1 [sedentary] and KD3 [Bedouin-type] (cf. Herin/Zammit 2017: 140, 143). In Libya: Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 34f.), Al-Khums Arabic (cf. Benmoftah/Pereira 2017: 306).

the district, the age of the speakers, the position in the word and the consonant environment as possible factors for the respective realization of OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay*.

In the Tunisian varieties of El Kef and Testour OA *aw* is monophthongized to *ō*, whereas OA *ay* is more often realized as *ī* than *ē* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339 and Zarb 2023: 53f.).

2.2. Syllable structure

In NA there are long vowel open syllables as well as closed syllables with short and long vowels. The following are possible syllables in NA (regardless of superscript non-phonemic anaptyctic vowels):

Cv̄	*mā̆|ši* "go^AP.SG.M", *žē* "he came", *bū* "father", *ṛā|žil* "man"
CCv̄	*lḥī* "beards", *dbā̆|biz* "bottles", *bkē* "he cried"
CvC	*kit|bu* "they wrote", *kaʕ|ba* "piece", *miz|wid* "leather provision bag"
CvCC	*waqⁱt* "time", *kirⁱš* "belly", *ḥiss* "noise", *fumm* "mouth"
Cv̄C	*kīm* "traditional hovel", *kāṛ* "bus", *gōt* "food"
Cv̄CC	*ḥāṭṭ* "put^AP.SG.M", *ḥāzz* "take^AP.SG.M"
CCvC	*žbin* "cheese", *bḥaṛ* "sea", *gfuf* "shopping baskets", *ʕmal* "he did", *šil* "he asked"
CCvCC	*tlaff* "it was wrapped", *šrabⁱt* "I drank", *ḥsibⁱt* "I counted"
CCv̄C	*xlāl* "traditional brooch", *nṭīḥ* "I fall", *gdīm* "old"

As is the case for most Maghrebi Arabic varieties (cf. Singer 1980: 249 and Aguadé 2018: 46)[105], in NA short vowels are elided in open syllables: OA *ḥa\|līb* > NA *ḥlīb* "milk". Exceptions are some MSA borrowings: *ša\|māl* "north", *mi\|tāl* "example". Short vowels are also elided in syllables which became open through the attachment of an ending or a suffix, for instance the ending *-u*: *niz\|rib* "I hurry" > **niz\|ri\|bu* > *nizⁱr\|bu* "we hurry". Additionally, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and second consonant of the three consonant cluster (*-zrb-* > *-zⁱrb-*). See 2.1.2.3 on anaptyctic vowels. More examples of the elision of short vowels: *bā̆\|rik* "he congratulated" + *-it* > **bā̆\|ri\|kit* > *bār\|kit* "she congratulated", *msak\|kir* "closed^SG.M" + *-a* > **msak\|ki\|ra* > *msakk\|ra* "closed^SG.F".

See 3.4.1.2 for changes in the syllable structure of nouns in case of an attached pronominal suffix, such as *ṣā\|ḥib* "friend" + *-i* > **ṣā\|ḥi\|bi* > *ṣāḥ\|bi* "my friend".

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105 Douz Arabic is one of the few exceptions among Maghrebi Arabic varieties, in which the syllable Cv exists, i.e. in which short vowels in open syllables are possible (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 48).

The syllables CCv̄C and CCvCC are a result of the elision of the short vowel in an open syllable: OA Cv|Cv̄C > CCv̄C: OA *qadīm* > NA *gdīm* "old", OA Cv|CvC|Cv > CCvCC: NA *šṛabⁱt* "I drank", cf. OA *ša|rib|tu*. Additionally, the syllable CCvC is a result of the elision of the short vowel in the OA CvC(v)C syllable, followed by syllabic restructuring: OA *šahr* > NA *šhaṛ* "month".

With regard to syllables ending in a two consonant cluster (CvCC and CCvCC), only geminated roots ($C_1vC_2C_2$ and $tC_1aC_2C_2$) never need an anaptyctic vowel to split the word-final consonant cluster, while the anaptyctic vowel is optional in words where $C_2 \neq C_3$. Similarly, the pattern Cv̄CC is only possible for SG.M active participles of geminated pattern I verbs.

2.3. Stress

The word stress rules of NA correspond to other Tunisian varieties, such as Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 245f.) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 49). Words consisting of one syllable naturally have the stress on its vowel: *zī́r* "clay jug". As regards words with more than one syllable, the stress is put on the final syllable if it is a Cv̄C or CvCC syllable, otherwise on the penult: *mizyā́n* "beautiful" (final syllable Cv̄C) vs. *mízwid* "leather provision bag" (final syllable CvC, which is why the penult is stressed).

Examples of the stress on the penult are the patterns Cv́CCvC and Cv́CᵛCCv: *ṭáyyiš* "he threw away", *ġáṛbil* "he sifted", *bírⁱšni* "yeanling", *núšᵘṛbu* "we drink".

The stress can be shifted with endings and suffixes attached: *gā́lu* "they said" vs. *gālū́-li* "they told me", *kítbit* "she wrote" vs. *mā-kitbít-š* "she didn't write".

Exceptions to the stress rule are *t*-pattern imperfect verb forms such as *yitⁱšṛáb* "it is drunk", where the final syllable CvC is stressed. The reason for this is the analogy to the stress of the perfect form, e.g. *tⁱšṛab* "it was drunk". Besides, the prefix *yit-* is generally never stressed.

Anaptyctic vowels are never stressed.

2.4. Phonotactics

2.4.1. Metathesis

The following metathesized words are mostly variants of the non-metathesized original form. Exceptions are the forms *bgēla* and *kaṛⁱhba*, which only exist in a methathesized form:

Original form	Metathesized form	
šamⁱs	*samⁱš*	"sun"

buṛᵘdgā̄n	*buṛᵘgdā̄n*	"oranges"
sāšē	*šāsē*	"plastic bag"
mā-bīk-ⁱš?	*mā-bīš-ⁱk?*	"How are you? (lit. 'Is there none in you?')"
*gbēla	*bgēla*	"just now, recently"
*kaḥṛaba	*kaṛⁱhba*	"car"

As regards the metathesized form *samⁱš* "sun", a metathesis of *š - m - s* to *s - m - š* is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 499) and Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 327).[106] The metathesized variant is predominantly used by rural and old NA speakers, whereas the non-metathesized variant *šamⁱs* is preferred by young and urban middle-aged speakers.

With respect to the metathesis of *d* and *g* in the noun *buṛᵘgdā̄n* "oranges", Ritt-Benmimoun (2021) states no metathesis in this word is found in varieties of the Béja governorate in her data:

"The word for 'oranges' is either pronounced *burdgā̄n* or with a metathesis of *d* and *g*: *burgdā̄n*. The 58 occurrences of *burdgā̄n* (with its variants *burdᵘgā̄n* and *buṛᵘdgā̄n*) far outnumbers the other forms. The metathised form *burgdā̄n* occurs 9 times in the texts (scattered over different governorates, but not in Beja) […]." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 45)

However, in NA, which is part of the Béja governorate, the metathesized variant *buṛᵘgdā̄n* is more common than the original form *buṛᵘdgā̄n*.[107] The metathesized form *buṛgdân* is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 200).

Lastly, the metathesized forms *šāsē* "plastic bag" and *mā-bīš-ⁱk* "how are you?" are attested once in the corpus each, while the non-metathesized variants are more commonly used.

2.4.2. Shift of nasals and liquids
The following shifts are often variants, and exist next to the "original" form, e.g. *frižidā̄r ~ frižidā̄n* "fridge". The variants with a shift tend to be used by old and rural middle-aged NA speakers.

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106 By contrast, an assimilation of the sibilant *š* to *s* (*sams ~ samˀs*) has taken place in the South Tunisian varieties of Tozeur (cf. Saada 1984: 129), El Hamma (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1932: 246) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 54).

107 In my corpus the metathesized variant *buṛᵘgdā̄n* is attested for times, while the non-metathesized variant *buṛᵘdgā̄n* is attested once.

- *n > l*: *ġnam > ġlam*[108] "sheep", *bitⁱnžān > bitⁱnžāl* "eggplants", *bū zinzin > bū zinzil*[109] "wasp"
- *l > n*: *žilⁱžlān > žinⁱžlān* "sesame"
- *r > n*: *frižidār > frižidān* "fridge"

Moreover, pan-Tunisian terms such as *ṣbīṭāṛ* (< It. *ospedale*, *l > r*) "hospital" and *buṛᵘdgān* (< OA *burtuqāl*, *l > n*) are also subject to this phonotactic change.[110]

Ph. Marçais (1977: 22) states on this shift: "Les phonèmes "liquids", ḷ et ṇ, sont particulièrement sujets à des mutations, spontanées ou provoquées, qui se manifestent ici et là au Maghreb (et déjà en arabe classique)." For the shift *n > l* he mentions in the words *ġləm* (< *ġnəm*) "moutons" and *bādənjāl* (< *bādənjān*) "aubergine" (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 22). These words are also attested in my corpus as *ġlam* and *bitⁱnžāl*.

2.4.3. Assimilations

This section comprises a list of the most important assimilations in NA. Many of the assimilations of NA resemble assimilations found in other Tunisian varieties, such as Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 187-199) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 50-54).

2.4.3.1. Progressive assimilations

ṭ-t > ṭṭ	*hbaṭt > hbaṭṭ* "I descended"
s-t > ss	*yistⁱḥáqq > yissḥáqq* "he needs; he deserves", *stⁱqall > ssqall* "he gained independence", *yistanna > yissanna*[111] "he waits"
ṣ-ṭ > ṣṣ	*yiṣṭādu > yiṣṣādu* "they hunt"
ṣ-f > ṣṣ	*nuṣf > nuṣṣ* "half"
ḥ-h > ḥḥ	*ṛōḥha > ṛōḥḥa*[112] "herself; her soul", *ṭrakkaḥha > ṭrakkaḥḥa* "she arranges it"

2.4.3.2. Assimilatory sonorization

In the following words the voiceless consonant is assimilated to the subsequent voiced consonant:

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108 Singer (1984: 202) gives both *ġnæm* and *ġlæm* for Tunis Arabic, whereas in NA only the form with a *n > l* shift (*ġlam*) is used.

109 Beaussier (1887: 54) also gives both variants (*l* and *n* as the final consonant) in the same meaning as in NA: بو زنزل / بو زنزن.

110 The terms *ʾṣbīṭāṛ* and *buṛdᵘgān* are also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 55).

111 Cf. *ssənna, yəssənna* "attendre" in Annaba Arabic (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 20).

112 Also attested in the Algerian variety of Dellys: [ṛoḥḥa] "herself" (cf. Souag 2005: 160).

t-g > dg	*yitgā̃tlu > yidgā̃tlu* "they battle", *nitgaṛṛaʕ > nidgaṛṛaʕ* "I belch", *tgūli > dgūli* "you^SG.F say"
t-ž > dž	*tžū > džū* "you^PL come"
t-z > dz	*tzūṛ > dzūṛ* "you^SG.M visit"
s-g > zg	*yisgi > yizgi*[113] "he waters"
ṣ-d > zd	*ṣdir > zdir*[114] "chest", *ṣdāg > zdāg* "marriage contract"

The sonorization of *t* of verb forms is also common in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 106) and Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 51).

2.4.3.3. Regressive assimilations

a) 1SG/1PL imperfect prefix *n-* (not systematically assimilated by all speakers)

n-x > xx	*nxā̃f > xxā̃f* "I am scared"
n-ṭ > ṭṭ	*nṭayybu > ṭṭayybu* "we cook", *nṭaḷḷigha > ṭṭaḷḷigha* "I divorce her"
n-l > ll	*nlabbsūh > llabbsūh* "we dress him"
n-ṛ > ṛṛ	*nṛabbi > ṛṛabbi* "I raise; I breed", *nṛawwḥu > ṛṛawwḥu* "we return home"
n-w > ww	*nwalli > wwalli* "I become"
n-z > zz	*nzīdu > zzīdu* "we add"
n-ž > žž	*nžīb > ⁱžžīb* "I bring"

b) Prefix/suffix *t* of various verb forms

t-ṭ > ṭṭ	*ṭṭayyib > ⁱṭṭayyib* "you^SG.M cook", *yiṭṭawwir > yiṭṭawwir* "he evolves"
t-d > dd	*yitdā̃wa > yiddā̃wa* "he gets (medically) treated", *tdūṛ > ⁱddūṛ* "she strolls around"
t-ḏ > ḏḏ	*tḏūgu > ⁱḏḏūgu* "you^PL taste"
t-ḏ̣ > ḏ̣ḏ̣	*mā-tḏ̣ayyʕī-š > mā-ḏ̣ḏ̣ayyʕī-š* "Don't lose^SG.F!", *yitḏ̣āṛbu > yiḏ̣ḏ̣āṛbu* "they brawl"
t-s > ss	*yitsamma > yissamma* "it is named", *yitsawwig > yissawwig* "to go to a market to buy or sell"
d-t > tt	*rgidt > rgitt* "I slept, I fell asleep", *gʕadt > gʕatt* "I sat down; I stayed", *zidtu > zittu* "you^PL added", *žbidtik > žbittik* "I pulled you"

c) Other regressive assimilations (not systematically assimilated by all speakers)

l-z > zz	*mā-yilzim-ⁱš > mā-yizzim-ⁱš*[115] "he should not"

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[113] Also sonorized in Ouled Brahim Arabic: *zgâ* "irriguer" (cf. W. Marçais 1908: 15), whereas in Douz Arabic C₁ is the original consonant *s*: *sⁱgē / yisgi* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 322).

[114] Cf. *zder* (< *sder*) "poitrine" in Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 108).

[115] Cf. *mä-yizzəm-š* < *-yilzəm* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 197).

d-š > šš	*mā-ʕād-š > mā-ʕāš-š*[116] "not anymore"	
f-š > šš	*mā-naʕrif-š > mā-naʕriš-š* "I don't know"	
š-ž > žž	*ššaṛ > žžaṛ* "trees"	

2.4.3.4. Reciprocal assimilations

The reciprocal assimilation of ʕ and h to ḥḥ is attested in NA and is common among Maghrebi Arabic varieties.

ʕ-h > ḥḥ	*nṛažžaʕha > ᵢṛṛažžaḥḥa* "I return it/her", *mtāʕhum > mtāḥḥum ~ mtaḥḥum*[117] "theirs", *mā-nbīʕhā̆-š > mā-nbīḥḥā̆-š*[118] "I don't sell it/her", *žamʕhum > žamḥḥum* "their plural", *kṛāʕha > kṛaḥḥa*[119] "her leg", *tasmaʕha > tasmaḥḥa* "you^SG.M hear her"

2.4.3.5. Assimilation of sibilants

W. Marçais (1950: 200) names the assimilation of *ž* to *z* in the sequences *z - ž*, *ž - z* and *ž - s*, which is very common in NA, as a typically Tunisian feature.[120] Ph. Marçais (1977: 22) remarks that this assimilation of sibilants is found in the following region: "z̲ə̲z̲z̲ā̲r̲, ʕ̲z̲u̲z̲a̲ ; c'est ce qu'on entend dans l'Est constantinois, en Tunisie, et, partiellement, en Libye."[121]

ž > z

z - ž > z - z	*zōz* "two" (cf. OA *zawǧ*), *zlīz ~ zlēz* "tiles" (cf. OA *zulayǧ*)
ž - z > z - z	*yizzi* "it is enough" (cf. OA *yuǧzī*), *yzizz* "he shears" (cf. OA *yaǧuzzu*), *zazzāṛ* "butcher" (cf. OA *ǧazzār*), *zhā̆z* "dowry" (cf. OA *ǧihāz*), *ʕzūz* "old woman" (cf. OA *ʕaǧūz*)
ž - s > z - s	*izⁱlsi* "Sit down^SG.F!" (cf. OA *ǧ - l - s*)
ž - ṣ > ẓ - ṣ	*anẓāṣ*[122] "pears" (cf. OA *ʔinǧāṣ*)

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116 The assimilation or elision of *d* in *mā-ʕād-š* "not anymore" is also attested for other Tunisian and Libyan varieties such as the one of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 192), Tozeur (cf. Saada 1984: 39), Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 363) and Benghazi (cf. Benkato 2014: 71).

117 The reciprocal assimilation in the genitive marker *mtāʕ* is attested for numerous Maghrebi Arabic varieties, such as Annaba Arabic: *tāḥḥum* (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 17), Tunis Arabic: *mtaḥḥum* (cf. Gibson 2009: 565), Tozeur Arabic: *mtaḥḥum* (cf. Saada 1984: 39) and Tripoli Arabic: [mtaħ:om] (cf. Pereira 2010: 79).

118 Cf. *nbīḥḥa* in Kerkennah KD1 Arabic (cf. Herin/Zammit 2017: 139).

119 Also attested for El Hamma Arabic: *kᵘṛāʕ > kᵘṛâḥḥa* "son pied (à elle)" (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1933: 24).

120 For an overview of phonetic changes of sibilants in Arabic varieties see Taine-Cheikh (1986).

121 Beside Tunisian Arabic varieties (cf. Singer 1984: 123 for Tunis Arabic), this assimilation is also found in East Algerian and Libyan varieties, such as the East Algerian variety of the Edough massif: *zezzâr*, *ʕzûz* (cf. Mangion 1933: 377) and the Libyan varieties of Tripoli: *zōz*, *zəllīz*, *nzāṣ*, *ʕzūz*, *zuzzāṛ* (cf. Pereira 2010: 66f.) and Benghazi: *zəzzār*, *ʕzūz* (cf. Benkato 2014: 70). In contrast, in the South Tunisian Jewish Arabic variety of Gabès *ž - z* and *z - ž* are realized as *ž - ž*: *ʕžūža* "old woman", *žūž* "two" (cf. Yoda 2006: 16). These forms are also attested by Gębski (2023: 171) for the Jewish variety of Gabès: *ʕažūža* "elderly woman", *žūž* "pair".

122 Secondary emphatized *ẓ* due to the emphatic consonant *ṣ*.

š > s

š - s > s - s   *š-ismik > s-ismik*[123] "What is your name?", *mā-ʕannā-š sirqa. > mā-ʕannā-s sirqa.* "We don't have stealing (in our village)." The assimilation in these two examples occurs beyond morpheme boundaries.

2.4.4. Pausal phenomena

2.4.4.1. Glottalization of long vowels

In pausa ʔ is frequently inserted after a long vowel in a word-final closed syllable -v̄C: *bnāt > bnāʔt* "girls; daughters", *fāṛ > fāʔṛ* "mouse", *bakkūš > bakkūʔš* "dumb, mute", *ṛōz > ṛōʔz* "rice", *tmanya snīn > tmanya snīʔn* "eight years", *nhāṛēn > nhāṛēʔn* "two days".

This phenomenon has recently been attested for other Northwest Tunisian varieties as well, such as the one of Testour: *ṣġāʔr* "children" (cf. Zarb 2023: 59), Ouled Slama (Testour): *mā qrītiš xlāʔṣ.* "I was never in school." (cf. Oueslati 2022: 73) and El Kef: "glottal stop between a long vowel and a final consonant, e.g. *gāʔz* (context form: *gāz*); *tirtāʔḥ* (context form: *tirtāḥ*); *zīʔt* (context form: *zīt*)" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339).

Furthermore, this phenomenon is described by Ritt-Benmimoun (2021) for several Tunisian Arabic varieties of the governorates of Kéf and Gafsa as well as Nefza:

> "Our corpus of sample texts shows a very interesting pausal phenomenon: the glottalisation of long vowels in final closed syllables – for instance *šrēʔt, xḏēʔt, alfēʔn, fūʔl, dāʔṛ, lēʔl, ṭōʔm, yōʔm*, and *dinžāʔl*. It occurs in the northern town of Nefza (Beja), in five out of the thirteen reference points in Kef, and in four out of seven in Gafsa." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 41)

As for the sociolinguistic aspect of this phenomenon, Ritt-Benmimoun (2021: 41) states: "With one exception, all of the sample texts showing these pausal forms were spoken by women." Moreover, in Ouled Slama Arabic the pausal form *xlāʔṣ* is attested for a female speaker as well (cf. Oueslati 2022: 73). In the NA corpus the glottalization of long vowels of a final closed syllable is also mostly attested for female speakers. As regards male speakers, this phenomenon is attested for a six-year-old boy: *ḥammāʔm* "hammam", but scarcely for adult male speakers.

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123 Cf. *(ā)s-ísma* in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 54) and *s-ẹ́smək* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 204).

2.4.4.2. Diphthongization of long vowels

In NA there is a tendency towards a diphthongization of the long vowels *ī* and *ū* to *ī^y* and *ū^w*, which is mostly realized in pausa and in a stressed syllable.[124] This feature is reduced in the speech of young and urban middle-aged speakers, but very common among rural speakers of all ages.[125]

2.4.4.2.1. *ī > ī^y*

Examples of the diphthongization of *ī* to *ī^y*: *ḥlī^yb* "milk", *ʕišrī^yn* "twenty", *tlāṯī^yn* "thirty", *inta mā-timšī^y-š* "you^{SG.M} don't go", *nsī^yt* "I forgot", *miskī^yn* "poor", *inta mnī^yn?* "Where are you^{SG.M} from?".

2.4.4.2.2. *ū > ū^w*

Examples of the diphthongization of *ū* to *ū^w*: *in-nās yžū min Tū^wnis.* "The people come (to the festival) from Tunis.", *id-dinya sxū^wna.* "The weather is hot.", *ṣardū^wk* "rooster", *zītū^wn* "olives", *wēnah tālīfū^wni?* "Where is my phone?", *karhabt ⁱškū^wn?* "Whose car?", *xū^wk* "your brother", *wildi masḥū^wṛ.* "My son is bewitched."

The diphthongization of *ū* to *ū^w* is more frequently attested in the corpus than the one of *ī* to *ī^y* (2.4.3.1).

2.4.4.2.3. *ā̆ > ^yā̆*

Next to the more common diphthongization of *ī* to *ī^y* and *ū* to *ū^w*, a marginal phenomenon is the diphthongization of *ā̆* to *^yā̆*, which is attested for the speaker Touila3/f/50: *yaʕṭu n-nās sitt āḷ^yāf, ʕašⁱṛ āḷ^yāf.* "They give the people 6,000, 10,000 (millimes)."

2.4.4.2.4. Comparative remarks

Saada (1984: 33) attests the existence of what she calls "fausses diphtongues" in South Tunisian Tozeur Arabic, as in *žîet* "I came" *nsîet* "I forgot", *ḥûet* "fish". She also states that this phenomenon is found in other varieties such as the one of Jendouba and El Hamma. A diphthongization similar to NA *ī^y* is also found in South Tunisian Mahâdhba Arabic: *ṯníen* (cf. Marçais/Viré 1981: 370). The diphthongue *īe* is attested for Ouled Brahim Arabic:

> "Cette 'fausse diphtongue' est naturellement toujours secondaire; elle apparaît dans un seul cas : pour *ī* classique placé, dans l'intérieur d'une même syllabe, devant une emphatique : *bîeḍ* 'blancs' […] mais l'emphatique n'appartenant plus à la même syllabe, on aura *bîdẹ* 'mes blancs' […]." (W. Marçais 1908: 33)

Singer (1980: 251) remarks that stressed *ē* and *ō* in word-final syllables are diphthongized to *i^ä* and *u^ä* in different Sulaym-type varieties. He names the examples of the South Tunisian variety of El Hamma: *yu^äm* "day", *yūmi^än* "two

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124 The only exception attested in the corpus is the phrase *mā-nmū^wtū-š* "we don't die", where the secondary diphthong is in a pretonic syllable.

125 This phenomenon definitely deserves further investigation.

days", but *yōmi* "my day". Moreover, he notes that every stressed *ē* and *ō* gets diphthongized in the Northwest Tunisian variety of Jendouba. NA examples listed above such as *Tūᵂnis* "Tunis" and *tālīfūᵂni* "my phone" show that in NA the secondary diphthongization is not limited to word-final syllables and is thus closer to the one described by Singer (1980) for Jendouba Arabic.

However, the diphthongization to *īʸ* and *ūᵂ* is not limited to Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties, as stated by Singer (1980). It is, among others, also attested for the Northwest Tunisian Hilāl-type variety of Shmeysiya (Kéf governorate): *mšīʸt* "I went", *kbīʸr* "big", *sūᵂg* "market" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 38).[126]

As regards the marginal phenomenon of the diphthongization of *ā* to *ʸā*, similar developments are found in a Libyan Arabic as well as Maltese variety. In the Libyan variety of the eastern coastal Cyrenaica region a diphthongization of *ā* to *ya* is found:

> "One realization of /ā/, typically rural, is /ya/ [yɛ]; it occurs generally in front, close environments: /fakk il-ḥiǧba l-ula u-t-tyanya u-t-tyalta…/ 'He opened the first veil, then the second, the third…', /myat/ 'he died', /ižbyal/ 'mountains'." (Laria 1995: 126)

Furthermore, in the Maltese variety of Xewkija (Gozo) the diachronically long vowel *ā* is realized "as the rising diphthong *ʸe*" (Klimiuk/Lipnicka 2022: 169): *kʸenu* "they were".

2.4.4.3. Affrication and palatalization of *t*

A phenomenon occasionally attested in the speech of young and urban middle-aged (mainly female) NA speakers is the affrication of *t* to *tˢ* [t͡s] and the palatalization of *t* to *tʸ* [tʲ], which mostly occurs in pausa. Interestingly, in NA this phonetic change is a new feature (not attested for old speakers), whereas it is not attested for Tunis Arabic[127].

tˢ   *waqⁱtˢ* "time", *nhāṛ min ⁱnhāṛātˢ* "one day (in the past)", *mnēn intˢa?* "Where are you^SG.M from?", *intˢim* "you^PL", *xidⁱmtˢi* "my work", *šṛabⁱtˢ* "I drank", *xšūmātˢ* "noses"

tʸ   *rigⁱbtʸi* "my neck", *ʕmūmtʸi* "my (paternal) uncles", *šuftʸi* "you^SG.F saw", *gultʸī-li* "you^SG.F told me"

Additionally, the sound *d* is occasionally desonorized and affricated in pausa: *tlāta ūlātˢ* (< *ūlād*) "three sons/children".

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126 Moreover, an interesting study was conducted by Mion (2008b) on the so-called *pataḥ furtivum* in different Semitic languages and varieties, where mostly *a* is inserted in the environment of gutturals such as *ḥ*, *ʕ* and *h*: *ruḥ > rúaḥ* "esprit", *šomeʕ > šoméaʕ* "écoutant" (cf. Mion 2008b: 204), *lōḥ* [loːᵃħ] 'table' (cf. Mion 2008b: 207),. However, in NA the phenomenon of the diphthongization seems to be present in every consonant environment.

127 At least not in Singer (1984) and the TUNICO corpus (https://tunico.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/corpus.html).

While the affrication to t^s is rather frequent and attested in various phonetic environments, the palatalization to t^y is less frequently attested in the corpus and only occurs before the vowel $i/\bar{\imath}$.

The interchangeability of both variants is evident in the word ġalmāti "my sheep", which is palatalized to ġalmāt^{y}i by the speaker Nefza7/f/50, but affricated to ġalmāt^{s}i by her daughter Nefza8/f/19.

In contrast to NA, in which the affrication and palatalization of t is only a pausal phenomenon, this (unconditioned, i.e. pausal and context forms) realization of t is common among Maghrebi varieties. Cantineau (1960) characterizes the (unconditioned) palatalization and affrication of t to t^y, $t^š$ and t^s as a feature of Moroccan and Algerian sedentary varieties:

> "Dans certaines parties du Maghreb, plus précisément dans les parlers de sédentaires de l'Algérie et du Maroc, le *t* subit de curieuses altérations incoditionnées : probablement sous l'influence du substrat berbère, l'occlusion du *t* devient insuffisamment ferme, et la consonne tend à *se mouiller* en *t^y* ou à *s'affriquer* en *t^š*, *t^s*, ou même à se spirantiser en *ṯ*." (Cantineau 1960: 37)

Similarly, Ph. Marçais (1977: 8) remarks that the affricated variant t^s is found in Moroccan, Algerian and some Libyan varieties. Likewise, Aguadé (2018: 44) indicates that the affrication of t to t^s is very common in Morocco and Algeria. However, none of the mentioned scholars attests the phenomenon of the affrication of t in Tunisian varieties. As regards Tunisian varieties, the unconditioned affrication of t is attested for the North Tunisian variety of Nabeul: t^sashal "she asks", t^saww "now" (cf. Dallaji 2017: 153ff.). Moreover, Saada (1984: 23ff.) lists t^s, $t^š$, $d^š$ and d^s as free variants of t and d in the South Tunisian variety of Tozeur. Cantineau (1938: 856) lists the change of t to t^s, t^y and $t^š$ in Bedouin varieties of the East Algerian Constantinois region as an example of the influence of sedentary varieties of that region on those varieties:

> "Les parlers du département de Constantine, plus que n'importe quels autres parlers algériens, donnent l'impression de parlers nomades vidés d'une partie de leur substance, qui a été remplacée par des apports sédentaires. Citons quelques faits particulièrement frappants: les alteration de *t* en *t^s*, *t^y*, *t^š*, là ont pénétré vers l'Est jusqu'à Bône et jusqu'à Guelma." (Cantineau 1938: 856)

In NA the affrication and palatalization of t in pausa also seems to be a new phenomenon, as it is only attested for young and urban middle-aged (mostly female) speakers. The only exception is the urban middle-aged male speaker Nefza2/m/55, who uses both t^s and t^y.

Another variation-related observation is that the palatalization to t^y is only attested for urban middle-aged speakers and does not occur at all among young speakers, whereas the affrication to t^s is attested for both young and middle-aged speakers (see the example ġalmāt^{y}i ~ ġalmāt^{s}i above).

2.5. Morphophonology

2.5.1. Vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables

The vowel change $a > i/u$ in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables is attested in (mainly perfect) verb forms and (to a lesser extent) nouns in NA: *smaʕ* "he heard" > *simʕit* "she heard". As for verbs, the vowel change $a > i/u$ is found in the OA $C_1aC_2aC_3$ perfect verb pattern, which is $C_1C_2aC_3$ in NA. By adding a vowel-initial ending, the syllable structure changes from $C_1C_2aC_3$ to *$C_1aC_2C_3+v$. With the change in syllable structure, the quality of the vowel *a* is changed to *i* and *u*: $C_1iC_2C_3+v$ and $C_1uC_2C_3+v$. The vowel change is attested for regular pattern I verbs as well as *t*-pattern verbs.

This phenomenon is described by W. Marçais (1950: 214), Singer (1980: 251) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b: 354) as typical for Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties:

> "Dans les formes verbales et nominales, là où les deux premières syllabes d'un vocable avaient une vocalisation *a* (bref) et où la troisième consonne était suivie d'une voyelle, le groupe H maintient le timbre vocalique de la première syllabe ; le groupe S , par contre, le fait passer à *u* ou à *e* suivant le voisinage consonantique." (W. Marçais 1950: 214)

With regard to the distribution of *i* and *u*, *u* tends to be used in an emphatic and guttural consonant environment (see the examples below), however the examples *ʕuṛfit* and *ʕimlit* show that there are exceptions (both verbs have C₁ ʕ).[128] The pattern I verbs below are given in the following perfect forms: 3SG.M > 3SG.F, 3PL.

Examples of the vowel change $a > i$: *gʕad > giʕdit, giʕdu* "to sit down", *smaʕ > simʕit, simʕu* "to hear", *šbaʕ > šibʕit, šibʕu* "to be full (eating)", *ʕmal > ʕimlit, ʕimlu* "to do, to make".

Examples of the vowel change $a > u$: *hbaṭ > hubṭit, hubṭu* "to descend", *ṭlaʕ > ṭulʕut, ṭulʕu* "to ascend", *zṛaʕ > zuṛʕut, zuṛʕu* "to cultivate", *hṛab > huṛbit, huṛbu* "to escape", *ġsal > guslit, guslu* "to wash", *ʕṛaf > ʕuṛfit, ʕuṛfu* "to know, to find out", *xṛaž > xuṛžit, xuṛžu*[129] "to go out, to leave", *šṛab > šuṛbit, šuṛbu* "to drink", *ḍṛab > ḍuṛbit, ḍuṛbu* "to hit", *ḥṛag > ḥuṛgit, ḥuṛgu* "to burn".

As initially mentioned, *t*-pattern verbs are affected by this vowel changed as well: *tᵢḥṛag* "he has burned" > *tḥuṛgit* "she was burned", *titᵢxṭáb* "she gets engaged" > *yitxuṭbu* "they get engaged".

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128 Similarly, different varieties of Djerba have a different vowel (*i* and *u*) in the same verb: *ġislət* and *ġuslət* "she washed" (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 63f.), showing variation and exceptions to the phonological distribution of *i/u* in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables.

129 Interestingly, Mion (2021: 112) gives the 3PL form *xuṛžu* with a vowel change, but the 3SG.F form *xaržət* with no vowel change for the South Tunisian variety of Ben Gardane.

This feature is reduced in the speech of young female NA speakers, who also use forms without a vowel change: *šrab* "he drank" > *šuṛbit ~ šaṛbit* "she drank", *ḥṛab* "he escaped" > *ḥuṛbit ~ ḥaṛbit* "she escaped".

This phenomenon is found only scatteredly in nouns, whereas it is a rule in verbs (see 2.5.1.2). It is attested only in three words in my corpus: *žžaṛ*[130] "trees" > *suẓṛa* "tree", *bgaṛ* "cows" > *bugṛa* "cow" and *rigba* (cf. OA *raqaba*) "neck", i.e. it seems that in NA this phenomenon is lexically conditioned as regards nouns. However, the nouns *suẓṛa* and *bugṛa* are variants (next to the forms *saẓṛa* and *bagṛa* with no vowel change) and are not used by all speakers. The frequency of occurrence of the respective variants in my corpus is *saẓṛa* (9) : *suẓṛa* (6) and *bagṛa* (25) : *bugṛa* (20). The vowel change *a > u* in the form *suẓṛa* is attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 447), while both *šuž^uṛa*[131] and *bug^uṛa* are attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 62).

Examples of $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllable nouns with no vowel change: *žmal* "camel" > *žamli* "my camel", *mrē* "woman" > *maṛti* "my wife".

In Douz Arabic the vowel change in such syllables in nouns is regular and phonologically conditioned, resulting in forms like *mug^uṣi* (NA *maqṣi*) "my scissors", *dibši* (NA *dabši*) "my stuff" and *žim^ili* (NA *žamli*) "my camel" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 61).

2.5.2. Vowel lengthening of the 3SG.F ending

In NA, the 3SG.F perfect form ending *-it* as well as the SG.F active participle ending *-a* are lengthened to *-āt-* before a vowel-initial suffix, i.e. the 2SG suffix *-ik* and 3SG.M suffix *-a(h)*: *hazzit* "she took" > *hazzātah* "she took him/it", *kātba* "write^AP.SG.F" > *kātbātah* "write^AP.SG.F it", *ḍuṛbit* "she hit" > *ḍuṛbātik* "she hit you", *fažžʕit* "she scared" > *fažžʕātik* "she scared you", *bāsit* "she kissed" > *bāsātah* "she kissed him".

W. Marçais (1950) describes the vowel lengthening of the 3SG.F ending as a feature of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties:

"L'adjonction des affixes personnels *ek* et *u* (*ah*) aux troisièmes personnes féminin de l'accompli détermine non le redoublement du *t* final, mais un allongement en *â* de la voyelle brève de la dernière syllabe : *sallmâtu* (*sallmâtah*) « elle l'a abandonné » […]." (W. Marçais 1950: 212)

The lengthening of the 3SG.F ending is also attested for South Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties such as Douz Arabic: *b^iġat* > *b^iġātak* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 72), Belkhir Arabic: *klāta*, *hazzāta* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298) and the Ibadi and Maliki varieties of Djerba: *šāfāta*, (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 64f.).

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130 < *sžaṛ*.

131 Singer (1980: 251) gives the form *siẓṛa* for Maṛāzīg Arabic.

Interestingly, there are no instances of -*āt*- with the (vowel-initial) 3SG.M suffix -*u* attested in my corpus, which is a new and modern suffix in NA, influenced by Tunis Arabic. In Tunis Arabic the 3SG.F ending is geminated before a vowel-initial suffix: *šāfittu* "she saw him" (cf. Gibson 2009: 568), *ḍarbətt-ək* "she hit you" (cf. Mion 2006: 248), and not lengthened as in NA. This could explain why no instances of the 3SG.F lengthening are attested with the suffix -*u* in the corpus. It is worth mentioning that this phenomenon seems not to be subject to sociolinguistic variation in NA, as it is attested for speakers of all ages in the corpus. Only one instance of the -*itt*- gemination (as in Tunis Arabic) is attested for a young female speaker (Nefza8/f/19): *hazzittah* "she took him".

2.5.3. Vowel shifts *ī* > *ā* and *ū* > *ō*

In NA vowel shifts *ī* > *ā* [æ:] and *ū* > *ō* [ɔ:] before the 3SG.F and (less frequently) 3PL[132] pronominal suffixes -*ha* and -*hum* are found. By contrast, no vowel shift is attested before the 3PL suffix variant -*him*: *fi* + -*hum* > *fāhum* vs. *fi* + -*him* > *fīhim* "in them". As for the resulting vowel *ō* [ɔ:] of the vowel shift, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 27) also describes it as "ein sehr offenes *ō* [ɔ] (es entspricht also nicht dem geschlossenen *ō* < *aw*)" in Douz Arabic.

Interestingly, this morphophonological phenomenon is common among NA speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds before the 3SG.F suffix, whereas it is attested in my corpus only for young and urban middle-aged speakers before the 3PL suffix.

The vowel shift only takes place in an open tonic syllable, while the vowels stay *ī* and *ū* in a pretonic syllable: *taʕᵢrfāha* "you^SG.F know her" vs. *mā-taʕᵢrfīhā-š* "you^SG.F don't know her", *nāklōha* "we eat it" vs. *mā-nāklūhā-š* "we don't eat it".

Examples of the shift *ī* > *ā* before the 3SG.F and 3PL suffixes -*ha* and -*hum* from my corpus: *hizzi!* "Take^SG.F!" > *hizzāha!* "Take^SG.F it!", *fhimti* "you^SG.F understood" > *fhimtāha?* "Did you^SG.F understand it/her?", *sāgīn*[133] "legs" > *sāgāhum* "their legs", *aʕṭi!* "Give!" > *aʕṭāha!* "Give her!"

Examples of the shift *ū* > *ō*: *šuftu* "you^PL saw" > *šuftōha?* "Have you^PL seen it/her?", *nirḥu* "we grind" > *nirḥōha* "we grind it", *waṛṛu!* "Show^PL!" > *waṛṛōha!* "Show her!"

This phenomenon is attested for various Tunisian varieties, however only before the 3SG.F pronominal suffix -*ha* and not before the 3PL suffix. W.

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132 Moreover, the corpus comprises one instance of -*ū*- > -*ō*- before the 2SG pronominal suffix: *xū* "brother" > *xōk* "your brother".

133 The usual (pseudo-)dual ending is -*ēn*, however this young speaker uses the ending -*īn*, corresponding to Tunis Arabic. Moreover, the (pseudo-)dual ending -*ēn* ~ -*īn* loses its final consonant -*n* when followed by a pronominal suffix.

Marçais (1950) attests this feature (only before the 3SG.F suffix) in Tunisian "villageois" varieties:

"Ils font passer respectivement aux mêmes sons *î* et *û* devant l'affixe ha de la troisième personne du féminin : *teqlêha* « elle la fait frire » (*teqlî* + *ha*), *DaRbôha* « ils l'ont frappée » (*DaRbû* + *ha*)." (W. Marçais 1950: 211)

Furthermore, the phenomenon described for the Northwest Tunisian variety of El Kef corresponds to NA ("*ā̃* and open *ō*"):

"[…] certain vowel harmony caused by the suffix -*ha*, the long vowels *ī* and *ū* are realised as *ā̃* and open *ō* respectively: *nṭayybōha* (< *nṭayybūha*) 'we cook it'; *nubᵘšṭōha* 'we flatten it'; *fā̃ha* (< *fīha*) 'in it'; *bā̃ha* (< *bīha*) 'with it'." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339)

The shift *ī* > *ā̃* before the suffix -*ha* is attested for numerous Tunisian varieties, among them Douz Arabic (*xalli* + -*ha* > *xallā̃ha*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 29), Belkhir Arabic (*fī* + -*ha* > *fā̃ha*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 297) and Mateur Arabic (*fī* + -*ha* > [ˈfɛːhæ], cf. Mion 2014a: 60f.). Singer (1984: 25) gives the shift *ī* > *ē* (and not *â/ā̂*) for Tunis Arabic: *ṭoqli* + -*ha* > *ṭoqlêhä*. The shift *ū* > *ō* before the suffix -*ha* is also attested for numerous Tunisian varieties, such as Tunis Arabic (*ḍaṛbu* + -*ha* > *ḍaṛbôhä*, cf. Singer 1984: 25), Testour Arabic (*xōha*, cf. Zarb 2023: 49) and Douz Arabic (*ᵊnžībōha*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 27).

The prepositions *b-* "with, by" and *fī* "in" are frequently given as examples of the vowel shift before the suffix -*ha* in other Tunisian varieties. Their frequency of occurrence in my corpus shows that the variant with the vowel shift is more common in NA, but not exclusive: *bīha* (18) : *bā̃ha* (37) "with it", *fīha* (25) : *fā̃ha* (54) "in her".

Regarding the frequency of the vowel shift before the 3PL pronominal suffix -*hum* in the corpus, the shift *ū* > *ō* before the 3PL suffix -*hum* is attested ten times: *nsammu* "we name" > *nsammōhum* "we name them", *dgūlu* "youᴾᴸ say" > *dgūlōhum* "youᴾᴸ say them", *yxayyṭu* > *yxayyṭōhum* "they tailor them". By contrast, the shift *ī* > *ā̃* before the 3PL suffix -*hum* is attested only once in my corpus.

The biliteral nouns *xū* "brother" and *bū* "father" in combination with the 3SG.F and 3PL pronominal suffixes are only attested with the *ū* > *ō* shift: *xōha* (11), *xōhum* (3), *bōha* (7)[134].

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134 The noun *bū* with the 3PL pronominal suffix is not attested in the corpus.

3. Morphology

3.1. Pronouns

3.1.1. Personal pronouns

3.1.1.1. Independent personal pronouns
The independent personal pronouns in NA are the following[135]:

1SG	*nā̆ya ~ ā̆na ~ nī ~ nīya ~ nā̆y*	1PL	*naḥna ~ niḥna ~ iḥna ~ aḥna*
2SG.M	*inta*	2PL	*intum ~ intim ~ intūma*
2SG.F	*inti*		
3SG.M	*hūw ~ hūwa*	3PL	*hum ~ humma ~ hūma*
3SG.F	*hīy ~ hīya*		

A NA feature worth mentioning is the loss of the gender distinction in the plural forms of the independent personal pronoun, which Aguadé (2018: 51) describes as a characteristic feature of Maghrebi sedentary varieties.

3.1.1.1.1 First person singular

The 1SG independent personal pronoun shows a great variation. The frequency of usage of the variants listed above is *nā̆ya* (70%) ~ *ā̆na* (26%) ~

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135 In NA there is a lot of variation concerning the independent personal pronouns. The table comprises the most common variants, whereas additional variants attested only once in the corpus will be listed below, including the identifier of the speaker for whom the form is attested.

nī (3%) ~ *nā̆y* (2%) ~ *nīya* (1%) out of a total of about 150 occurrences of the 1SG personal pronoun in the corpus.[136]

Out of the four variants *nā̆ya* is the most frequently used one and – according to my impression during the field research – serves as a shibboleth for the varieties of the Béja governorate in general (in contrast to *ā̆na* and *ā̆ni* in the sedentary Tunisian varieties, for instance). In rare cases[137] *nā̆ya* can be reduced to *nā̆y* in phrase-internal position: ***nā̆y** muʕallma.* "I[FEM] am a teacher."

The variant *ā̆na* on the other hand is rather modern and urban and probably an influence of the sedentary Tunisian varieties (cf. Singer (1984: 250) for *ā̆na* in Tunis Arabic). This variant is mostly used by young (both rural and urban), middle-aged urban and predominantly female speakers: *ḥatta **ā̆na** ngūl fā̆ha.* "I also say it."

The remaining two variants *nī*[138] and *nīya* are used by old rural speakers only: *isᵢhlīni, taww **nī** nžā̆wbik.* "Ask[SG.F] me (and) I will answer you.", ***nīya** xṭabᵢt mrē.* "I asked for a woman's hand."

The variant *nī* is attested four times by four old rural speakers from four different localities (Hbeba, Zaga, Ouled Bou Ali and Umm Labid,) whereas the variant *nīya* with the suffix *-ya* is attested for two old speakers[139] from Hbeba.

The fact that these forms are attested in several localities all over the Nefza region is a possible indicator for the frequent use of these forms in the past. However, it seems that they have been increasingly replaced by *nā̆ya* (conceivably through leveling with other varieties of the Béja governorate) and the sedentary *ā̆na* over time.

3.1.1.1.2. Second person singular

In NA the gender distinction of second person independent personal pronouns is retained only in the singular (*inta - inti*).[140] This feature, which NA

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136 The personal pronoun forms with the suffix *-ya* (as in *ānāya, əntāya, ḥnāya*) are widespread across Maghrebi varieties of both sedentary and Bedouin type (cf. Vicente 2008: 585). However, in NA such forms are attested only for the 1SG personal pronoun: *nā̆ya, nīya*. This matches Isaksson's (1995: 61) statement that 1SG personal pronoun "variants with an emphatic ending *-yā*" are frequent among Algerian, Tunisian and Northwest Libyan varieties.

Moreover, Rosenhouse (2006: 263) refers to the personal pronoun ending *-ya* in Maghrebi Bedouin varieties as an "influence of local (Berber) languages."

For an overview of the 1SG independent personal pronoun in Arabic varieties see Isaksson (1995: 54-83).

137 The variant *nā̆y* is attested only three times in the corpus, in contrast to *nā̆ya* which is attested ~100 times.

138 1SG independent personal pronoun forms with a final *imāla* of *ā* are also common among South Tunisian varieties, see for instance *anē* in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 66) and *aníᵃ* in El Hamma Arabic (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1931: 209).

139 More precisely, the couple Hbeba2/f/85 and Hbeba3/m/85. Out of the speakers using the variants *nī* and *nīya*, the speaker Hbeba2/f/85 is attested to use both *nī* and *nīya*.

140 An exception to the 2SG gender distinction attested in the corpus is a very young female speaker, who uses *inti* addressing a male interlocutor: ***inti** tʕabt, baṛṛa irtā̆ḥ!* "You[SG.M] got

shares with other Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties[141], differentiates this group of varieties from their sedentary counterparts, where a single gender indifferent form *inti* is found.[142]

A marginal phenomenon in NA is the affrication (t^s) and palatalization (t^y) of the sound *t* of the 2nd person personal pronoun forms. The affricated forms are attested only once respectively and are used by young female speakers: *int^{s}a* (Nefza12/f/10), *int^{s}im* (Touila2/f/18), whereas *int^{y}i* is attested twice by a middle-aged couple (Nefza1/f/50 and Nefza2/m/55).[143]

3.1.1.1.3. Third person singular

The variants without the ending *-a* (*hūw* and *hīy*) are more rural and original, whereas the variants *hūwa* and *hīya* are rather modern and urban[144]. Interestingly, both variants (with and without *-a*) are represented in the corpus to about the same extent. The variation *hū(w) ~ hūwa* and *hī(y) ~ hīya* is also attested for the South Tunisian variety of Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298).

3.1.1.1.4. First person plural

The most frequently used variant is *naḥna* (~ 65%), followed by *niḥna* (~ 30%). Both variants are used by speakers of all ages, origin and both genders. Further attested variants are *iḥna* and *aḥna*, out of which the *i*-initial variant occurs slightly more often than the *a*-initial one[145], which complies with the frequency distribution of the *n*-initial variants *naḥna* and *niḥna*. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that all the four variants *naḥna ~ niḥna ~ aḥna ~ iḥna* are attested to be used by the same speaker (Nefza1/f/50), which indicates the interchangeability of these variants in NA.

3.1.1.1.5. Second person plural

The most frequently used 2PL personal pronoun variant is *intum*, whereas the nearly identical variant *intim* is limited to a few rural speakers. The form *intūma*, on the other hand, is generally speaking used by rather young and urban speakers and represents an import from Tunis Arabic.[146]

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tired, get some rest!" (Nefza11/f/10). This example indicates a high level of influence of the more prestigious sedentary Tunisian varieties on the speech of the youngest speakers of NA. Gibson (1996) describes the tendency of gender-neutralization of the 2SG personal pronoun among young educated Tunisian Bedouin Arabic speakers.

141 For instance, the varieties of El Kef (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339), Tozeur (Saada 1984: 47f.) and Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 72).

142 Cf. Gibson (2009: 566) for Tunis Arabic.

143 For the affrication and palatalization in NA see 2.4.4.3.

144 The variants *hūwa* and *hīya* correspond to the forms used in Tunisian sedentary varieties such as the one of Tunis (cf. Gibson 2009: 566).

145 The variant *iḥna* is attested six times, whereas *aḥna* is attested four times in the corpus. Interestingly, both forms are used by same speakers (Nefza1/f/50 and Nefza2/m/55).

146 Vicente (2008: 584) classifies the form *ntūma* as a form used in Maghrebi sedentary varieties. *intūma* is also the common 2SG pronoun form in Tunisian sedentary varieties, such as the one of Tunis (cf. Gibson 2009: 566).

Further variants attested only once respectively are *untum* (Nefza7/f/50), *intumma* (Nefza5/f/40), *intōma* (Zaga1/f/83) and *ōntum* (Hbeba2/f/85). Thereby, the 2PL personal pronoun is the one with the greatest variety in NA, with seven variants attested. A rather wide variety of 2PL pronoun forms is also attested for the Algerian variety of Annaba: *(ə)ntum ~ ntumma ~ ntūma* (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 15) – forms which are also found in NA (with an additional initial *i*).

3.1.1.1.6. Third person plural

The form *hum* is by far the most commonly used 3PL pronoun variant in NA. Apart from that, variants *humma*, *hūma* and *hōma*[147] are attested. Out of these, *hūma*[148] is the sociolinguistic equivalent of *intūma*: it is used by young and urban speakers.

Putting these forms in a broader context, the variation *hum ~ humma* is also found in the South Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties of Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 66). Moreover, the East Algerian variety of Annaba with its variants *hum ~ humma ~ hūma* (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 15) shows an even greater similarity to NA. W. Marçais (1950: 216) lists the variant *humma* "they" as typical for the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties.

3.1.1.1.7. Combination of two personal pronouns

When two personal pronouns are used in combination, the second one is built with the form *w-yā-* + pronominal suffix, such as in *āna w-yāk* "me and you" and *inti w-yāh* "you^SG.F and him". This construction, which is possible only in second and third persons, is found in many Maghrebi varieties.[149] An example sentence from my corpus is: *kull ḥadd w-zaḥṛa, hīy w-yāh.* "(It depends on) everyone's luck, her and him (= hers and his)."

3.1.1.1.8. Copula

The 3SG personal pronouns[150] can be used as a copula in NA: *wild ʕamm ḫāba hūw l-ᵉkbīr fīhim.* "My father's cousin is the oldest one among them." *iž-žāṛūša hīya l-kaṛṛīṭa.* "The *žāṛūša*[151] (NA term for an agricultural tool) is the *kaṛṛīṭa* (term for the same tool in other Tunsian varieties)."

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147 This variant is attested only once for Nefza1/f/50.

148 Also used in Tunisian sedentary varieties, see Gibson (2009: 566) for Tunis Arabic.

149 Cf. for instance Souag (2005: 160) for the Algerian variety of Dellys and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 67) for the South Tunisian variety of Douz.

150 Singer (1984: 251) notes that both singular and plural third person pronoun forms are used as copulas in Tunis Arabic, however in my corpus I only found examples of the 3SG.M and 3SG.F forms used as copulas.

151 An exact description of this agricultural tool is given by Louis (1961-62: 179) for this term in the Tunisian variety of the Kerkennah Islands: "[…] c'est le traineau-dépiqoir dont le face inférieure est hérissée d'éclats de silex, sur le devant, de morceaux de fer; les premiers ont pour fonction d'écraser les épis, les seconds de couper les pailles."

3.1.1.2. Negative copula

There are two paradigms of the negative copula in use[152]:

I. **_miš-_:**

1SG	*mišni*	1PL	*mišna*
2SG.M	*miššik*	2PL	*miškum ~ miškim*
2SG.F	*miški*		
3SG.M	*miššu*	3PL	*mišhum ~ mišhim*
3SG.F	*mišši*		

II. **_mā-…-š_:**

1SG	*mānīš ~ mānīši*	1PL	*mānā̆š ~ mānīšna*
2SG	*mā̆kš*	2PL	*mākumⁱš*
3SG.M	*māhūš ~ mūš ~ muš*	3PL	*māhumⁱš ~ māhūšim*
3SG.F	*māhīš ~ māhīyā̆š ~ miš*		

It is worth mentioning that in the *miš-* negative copula there is a 2SG gender distinction (*miššik – miški*)[153], whereas in the second paradigm of the negative copula the gender-indifferent 2SG form *mā̆kš* is used, as in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 718).

The *miš-* negative copula is extended by forms described in 3.1.1.4, i.e. the 2SG forms have a gender distinction and in the 3SG forms *miššu* and *mišši* enclitic personal pronouns are used. Moreover, the *š* of *miš* is geminated when a vowel-initial form is attached: *miššik* "you^{SG.M} are not", but *mišna* "we are not".

On the other hand, the second paradigm of the negative copula is a circumfix negation of the same forms which are attached to *miš-*, except for the 2SG form, which is gender-indifferent: *mā-hū-š* "he isn't", *mā-nī-š* "I am not", *mā̆-k-š* "you^{SG} are not". The *ā* of the initial *mā-* is usually subject to medial *imāla* towards *ā̆* only when stressed: *mā̆kš* "you^{SG} are not" vs. *mānā̆š* "we are not", while the anaptyctic vowel in 2PL *mākumⁱš* and 3PL *māhumⁱš* is not always audible in context, but is more used in pausa. In contrast to the 3SG.F form *mā-hīyā̆-š*, where the full pronoun *hīya* is retained, its 3SG.M counterpart **mā-hūwā̆-š* is not attested in my corpus for NA, but is attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 718).

With respect to the functions of the negative copula, it is used to negate nouns: **_mūš kayyās_** "It isn't an (asphalted) road.", adjectives: **_mišna tāʕbīn_** "We are not tired." and participles: **_mišši mawžūda_** "It/She doesn't exist.", **_mišni ʕāṛif ʕlāš._** "I don't know why." Moreover, the negative copulas can be

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152 Two paradigms of the negative copula (nearly identical to the ones used in NA) are found in the Algerian variety of Annaba (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 17): 2SG *məššək ~ māk-š*, 2PL *məškum ~ mākum-š*.

153 In opposition to Mateur Arabic, where the gender-indifferent 2SG form *məšk* is used (cf. Mion 2014a: 67).

used for future tense negation[154]: ***mūš tā-nansāḥ***. "I won't forget it.", ***mānīšna xāṛžīn***. "We won't go out." and as a negative question marker[155]: ***miškum taḏ'bḥu f-id-dāṛ?*** "Don't you[PL] slaughter at home?"

Regarding the sociolinguistic context of the two negative copulas, the *miš-* negative copula is generally considered more rural, whereas the *mā-...-š* negative copula (e.g. *mānīš, māhūš*), which correspond to forms used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 718f.), are rather modern and the preferred forms of young speakers[156]. The forms *mānīši, mānīšna* and *māhūšim*[157], which are not found in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 718f.), are an exception, as they are rather rural.

Examples of the *miš-* negative copula in context are: *inta **miššik** ʾhnā*. "You[SG.M] aren't here.", ***mišna** ḥaddāta yāsir*. "We aren't very talkative.", *kī titlammu l-kull **miškum** tāʕbīn kīma tāʕba nāya*. "When you all come together, you (still) aren't as tired as I[FEM] am.", ***mišni** ʕāṛif*. "I[MASC] don't know."

Examples of the *mā-...-š* negative copula in context are: ***mānīši** min āk in-nawʕ*. "I am not of that kind.", *is-sirqa **māhīš** mawžūda*. "Stealing doesn't exist (in our village).", ***mākš** tūnsīya*. "You aren't Tunisian[SG.F]."

The (full as well as shortened) 3SG.M forms of the negative cupola *māhūš ~ mūš ~ muš* can be used as frozen forms (regardless of the subject): ***māhūš** in-nās il-kull mʕā bʕaḏha*. "Not all people are together.", *nāya **mūš** tāʕba*. "I am not tired[FEM].", ***mūš** tāʕbīn*. "We aren't tired.", *Tūnis **muš** kīf Lībya*. "Tunisia[158] isn't like Libya."

3.1.1.3. Pronominal suffixes
3.1.1.3.1. Overview

Pronominal suffixes (i.e. bound personal pronouns) can be attached to verbs, nouns and prepositions. Possessive suffixes are attached to nouns and prepositions, whereas object suffixes are attached to verbs. The table below represents an overview of the pronominal suffixes used in NA:

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154 For the negation see 3.3.3.

155 For question markers see 3.3.4.

156 Unlike Douz Arabic, where the *mā-...-š* forms are the only negative copula variant used, regardless of the age (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 67).

157 As for the frequency of occurrence of these variants, they are less frequently attested than the variants corresponding to the forms used in Tunis Arabic. The 1PL variant *mānīšna* is attested twice by middle-aged speakers from Umm Labid and Touila, whereas the remaining three (1SG, 1PL and 3PL) variants are attested once each (the speaker's identifier is given in brackets): *mānīši* (Touila1/f/22), *māhāniš* (Touila3/f/50), *māhūšim* (Nefza7/f/50).

158 Geographical terms are feminine.

	Possessive Suffixes	Object Suffixes direct	indirect
1SG	*-i (-ya)*	*-ni*	*-li ~ -illi*
2SG	*-ik (-k)*	*-ik (-k)*	*-lik ~ -illik*
3SG.M	*-ah ~ -a ~ -u (-h)*	*-ah ~ -a ~ -u (-h)*	*-lah ~ -illah ~ -lu*
3SG.F	*-ha*	*-ha*	*-ilha*
1PL	*-na*	*-na*	*-ilna*
2PL	*-kum ~ -kim*	*-kum ~ -kim*	*-ilkum ~ -ilkim*
3PL	*-hum ~ -him*	*-hum ~ -him*	*-ilhum ~ -ilhim*

The 1SG, 2SG and 3SG.M forms in brackets (*-ya*, *-k* and *-h*) are the suffix forms used after a vowel.

As is commonly the case in both MSA and Arabic varieties, the possessive suffixes are identical to the (direct) object suffixes with the exception of the first person singular, where the possessive suffix is *-i / -ya* and the object suffix is *-ni*.

Word-final short vowels are lengthened when a pronominal suffix is added: *ygūlu* "they say" > *ygūlū-lah* "they tell him", *asāmi* "names" > *asāmīkum* "your^PL names".

Moreover, word-final *ū* and *ī* change to *ō* and *ā̄* respectively when a 3SG.F or 3PL suffix is attached[159]: *šāfu* "they saw" > *šāfōha* "they saw her", *uṃṃāli* "relatives" > *uṃṃālāhum* "their relatives".

A marginal phenomenon, which is attested three times in the corpus, is the shift from *u* to *ō* (instead of the usual *ū*) when an object suffix is attached: *naʕimlu* "we do" > *naʕimlō-lha* "we do to/for her", *ygūlu* "they say" > *kīfāš ygūlōh hum?* "How do they say it?".

The 2SG suffix form is the gender-indifferent *-ik*. The loss of the gender distinction in the 2SG pronominal suffix while retaining the gender distinction in the 2SG independent personal pronoun (*inta* vs. *inti*) and verb (*tušṛub* vs. *tušuṛbi*) is a feature NA shares with other Tunisian Bedouin varieties like the one of Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 74) and Tozeur (cf. Saada 1984: 47f.), whereas in the varieties of Douz and Belkhir[160] gender distinction in the 2SG pronominal suffix (*-ak* vs. *-ik*) is retained (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 69 and Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298).[161]

As for form variation, the 3SG.M suffix *-ah* is generally more rural and the most frequently used variant in NA, whereas the variant *-u* is rather new and

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159 See 2.5.3 on the vowel shift *ū* > *ō* and *ī* > *ā*.

160 However, in contrast to Douz Arabic, where the gender distinction exists in plural forms as well, Belkhir Arabic retained the gender distinction in the singular only (*gutt-lak – gutt-lik*), but none in the plural forms (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298).

161 W. Marçais (1950: 215) remarks that many Sulaym-type varieties retain the gender distinction in the 2SG pronominal suffix, which is not the case for NA.

modern and also the form used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 251). Similarly to El Kef Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339), in NA the 3SG.M suffix *-h* which occurs after a vowel is sometimes pronounced weakly when in context, leaving the stress shift to the lengthened final vowel as the only distinguishing feature of the suffix, unlike pausa, in which *-h* is always audible. Furthermore, the *i*-variants of the 2PL and 3PL suffixes (*-kim* and *-him*) tend to be more rural than the *u*-variants.[162]

For achieving additional emphasis and distinction the independent personal pronoun can be added after the pronominal suffix: *ʕurfātik inta.* "She got to know you[SG.M].", *mtāʕkum intum* "yours[PL]", *f-waqti āna* "in my time".

3.1.1.3.2. Object suffixes
3.1.1.3.2.1. Direct object suffixes

The following table shows the direct object suffixes added after a consonant and a vowel:

	after -*C*:		after -*v*:	
		fhim "he understood"		*ysammu* "they name"
1SG	-*ni*	*fhimni*	-*ni*	*ysammūni*
2SG	-*ik*	*fihmik*	-*k*	*ysammūk*
3SG.M	-*ah* ~ -*u*	*fihmah* ~ *fihmu*	-*h*	*ysammūh*
3SG.F	-*ha*	*fhimha*	-*ha*	*ysammōha*
1PL	-*na*	*fhimna*	-*na*	*ysammūna*
2PL	-*kum* ~ -*kim*	*fhimkum* ~ *fhimkim*	-*kum* ~ -*kim*	*ysammūkum* ~ *ysammūkim*
3PL	-*hum* ~ -*him*	*fhimhum* ~ *fhimhim*	-*hum* ~ -*him*	*ysammōhum* ~ *ysammōhim*

Verb forms ending with -*vC* (such as 3SG.M perfect forms of regular pattern I verbs) change the syllable structure due to the emergence of an open syllable in case of the attachment of a vowel-initial suffix: *fhim* > **fhim-ik* > *fihmik* "he understood you". With a consonant suffix, the syllable structure of -*vC#* verbs remains the same: *fhim* > *fhimni* "he understood me".

The final *imāla* of *ā* to *ē* and *ī* (as in *žē* "he came") gets neutralized to *ā* when a suffix is added: *žē* "he came > *žāh* "he came to him".

The 3SG.F perfect and active participle ending -*it*/-*a* gets lengthened to -*āt*- before a vowel direct object suffix[163]: *fažžʕit* "she scared" > *fažžʕātik* "she scared you", *kātba* "write[AP.SG.F]" > *kātbūtah* "write[AP.SG.M] it".

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162 For a more profound analysis of the variation found in 3SG.M and 2PL/3PL pronominal suffixes in NA see Naddari 2024.

163 See 2.5.2 on 3SG.F vowel lengthening.

3.1.1.3.2.2. Indirect object suffixes

The indirect object suffixes consist of the preposition *l-* "for" and the pronominal suffix. The table below offers an overview of the indirect object suffix forms:

	after -*C*:		**after -*v*:**	
		gult "I/you^SG.M said"		*yžību* "they bring"
1SG	*-li ~ -illi*	*gutt-li ~ gult-illi*	*-li*	*yžībū-li*
2SG	*-lik ~ -illik*	*gutt-lik ~ gult-illik*	*-lik*	*yžībū-lik*
3SG.M	*-lah ~ -illah ~ -lu*	*gutt-lah ~ gult-illah ~ gutt-lu*	*-lah ~ -lu*	*yžībū-lah ~ yžībū-lu*
3SG.F	*-ilha*	*gult-ilha*	*-lha*	*yžībū-lha*
1PL	*-ilna*	*gult-ilna*	*-lna*	*yžībū-lna*
2PL	*-ilkum ~ -ilkim*	*gult-ilkum ~ gult-ilkim*	*-lkum ~ -lkim*	*yžībū-lkum ~ yžībū-lkim*
3PL	*-ilhum ~ -ilhim*	*gult-ilhum ~ gult-ilhim*	*-lhum ~ -lhim*	*yžībū-lhum ~ yžībū-lhim*

A remarkable feature of NA are the *il-*variants of the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG.M (*-illi*, *-illik* and *-illah*): *hāni žā̌y, hāni grīb nūṣl-**illik**.* "I^MASC am coming, I am arriving to you soon.", *hāk mā-gutt-**illī**-š!* "You^SG.M didn't tell me!", *yʕayyšik, žīb-**illi** dabbūza mā kbīra!* "Please bring me a big bottle of water!"

The initial *i* of the *i*-variants is stressed[164]: *wā̌š naʕml-illah?* "What (should) I do to him?". In addition, there is one instance of the assimilation of *n* to *l* before an indirect object suffix attested in the corpus: *n* of the plural active participle form ending *-īn* can be assimilated to the *l* of the suffix, even though the two *l*s do not appear successively, as an *il*-suffix is used: *ʕāmlīn* "make^AP.PL" > *ʕāmlīl-illa* "make^AP.PL for him".[165]

The forms *-illi*, *-illik* and *-illah* are not found in Tunis Arabic, where *il*-forms are used only with consonant suffixes (cf. Gibson 2009: 566).[166] On

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[164] Except when the negative suffix *-š* is added. In that case, the stress is shifted to the second syllable of the suffix: *žibt-**i**lli* "you^SG.M brought me" vs. *mā-žibt-ill**ī**-š* "you^SG.M did not bring me".

[165] The phenomenon of the assimilation of the final *n* of the PL active participle form before an indirect object suffix is also attested for the South Tunisian variety of the Zaafrane oasis: *ᵊmġammḏ̣īl-ᵊlhum* "They hold the eyes of the others closed." (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 74).

[166] As for the vowel suffixes, only the forms *-li*, *-lik* and *-lu* are used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Gibson 2009: 566).

the other hand, the forms *-illi*, *-illik* and *-illu* are attested for the Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties of Magsam Trab and Sidi Bouzid (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b: 355f. and Prinoth 2017: 60f.). Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b: 355f.) describes the indirect objects suffix forms *-illi*, *-illik* and *-illu* in Magsam Trab Arabic, as in *gālt-illi* (as opposed to *gāt-li* in Douz Arabic) as very interesting.

The *-illi, -illik* and *-illah* forms are rather rural, and they are attested for Ouled Bou Ali (one speaker), Umm Labid (two speakers), Zaga (one speaker) and Nefza (two speakers), used by speakers of all ages and both genders. In general, these are by far less frequently used than the *l*-variants.[167]

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that even though *-u* is a 3SG.M suffix variant, there is no *il*-variant of the *-u* suffix (which would be *-illu*). This finding can be explained by the fact that the *il*-variant of vowel suffixes are more rural. The fact that (as in Tunis Arabic) only the form *-lu* is used, and not *-illu* indicates that in NA the *-u* suffix is new and perhaps not fully established yet.

The suffix forms listed in the table above are not always in free variation but can depend on the sound(s) preceding it:

a)   After *-CC*: The 1SG, 2SG and 3SG.M suffixes can occur in both variants: *gutt-li ~ gult-illi* "you told me", whereas the remaining suffixes appear only as *il*-suffixes, as otherwise a four consonant cluster would emerge (*-CC-lCv(C)*): only *žibt-ilkum* is possible, and not *žibt-lkum*.

b)   After *-v̄C*: same rules apply as described in a), with the exception that when the last consonant (usually C3) of the verb is *l*, it can be followed by a *l*-suffix, as this represents an exception to the consonant cluster rule: *gāl-ilkum ~ gāl-lkum* "he told you[PL]". Optionally, the long vowel in the 3SG.M perfect forms of medial weak pattern I verbs (*Cv̄C*) can get shortened when a *l*-suffix is attached: *gāl* "he said" > *gal-lah* "he told him".

c)   After *-v̄*: only *l*-suffixes are possible (for all persons): *ynaḥḥū-lu* "they remove for him".

3.1.1.3.2.3. Double suffixation

In NA double suffixation is possible with third person direct suffixes, which are *-hū-*, *-hā-* and *-hum-* in case of double suffixation: *ʕāwditha* "she repeated it" + *ʕāwdit-**lik*** "she repeated for you" > *ʕāwdit**hā̄-lik***. "She repeated it for you." The order in double suffixation is first the direct suffix, followed by the indirect one.

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167 The exact frequency of occurrence of both variants of vowel suffixes in my corpus is: 1SG *-li* (64x) vs. *-illi* (3x), 2SG *-lik* (95x) vs. *-illik* (10x), 3SG.M *-lah* (36x) vs. *-illah* (7x). These results confirm the statement that the *il*-variants of vowel suffixes are by far less frequently used than the *l*-variants.

A noteworthy feature of NA is the direct 3SG.M suffix *-hū-*[168] in double suffixation (followed by an indirect suffix): *ʕṭētah* "I gave it/him" > *ʕṭēthū-lkum* "I gave it to you^PL", *nwaṛṛīh* "I show it/him" > *nwaṛṛīhū-lik.* "I show it/him to you^SG." In contrast to Douz Arabic, where in case of double suffixation the direct suffix is always *-hū-*, "regardless of number and gender" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b: 256), in NA the suffix does not change its number or gender when an indirect suffix is attached to it: *šrīthum* "I bought them" > *šrīthum-ⁱlha.* "I bought them for her."

In case of double suffixation, the direct suffix is always stressed (even if it is followed by an indirect suffix starting in two consonants), whereas the following indirect suffix occurs only as a *l*-suffix (e.g. *-⁽ⁱ⁾lna*, not *-ilna*): *tkammilhúm-ⁱlna.* "She finishes them for us." If two direct suffixes are added, then the second (directed to a person) turns into an indirect suffix and is placed in phrase-final position: *ʕṭēthum* "I gave them" + *ʕṭētik* "I gave to you^SG" > *ʕṭēthum-lik.* "I gave them to you^SG."

3.1.1.3.3. Possessive suffixes

As mentioned above, the possessive suffixes are identical to the (direct) object suffixes, except the 1SG possessive suffix *-i* after a consonant and *-ya* after a vowel. Suffixes can also be attached to prepositions and are identical to the ones added to nouns. See 3.4.1.2 for morphological changes in syllable structure of nouns in the construct state.

3.1.1.3.4. Negation

In NA verbs as well as some prepositions with suffixed pronouns can be negated. The following table offers an insight into changes in the suffix forms in case of negation:

Direct Suffixes	*taʕⁱrfah*	"You^SG.M know him."	*mā-taʕⁱrfū-š*	"You^SG.M don't know him."
	taʕⁱrfīh	"You^SG.F know him."	*mā-taʕⁱrfīhū-š*	"You^SG.F don't know him."
	šāfūna	"They saw us."	*mā-šāfūnā-š*	"They didn't see us."
Indirect Suffixes	*mšēt-lah*	"I/you^SG.M went to him."	*mā-mšēt-lū-š*	"I/you^SG.M didn't go to him."
	gutt-illi	"You^SG.M told me."	*mā-gutt-illī-š*	"You^SG.M didn't tell me."
Double Suffixation	*ʕṭēthū-li*	"You^SG.M gave it/him to me."	*mā-ʕṭēthū-lī-š*	"You^SG.M didn't give it/him to me."

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168 This suffix is used by all the speakers – the ones who use *-ah* as well as *-u*.

Prepositions	ʕindah	"next to him; he has"	mā-ʕindū́-š	"he doesn't have"
	ʕindha	"next to her; she has"	mā-ʕindhā́-š	"she doesn't have"
	fīh	"(there is) in him"	mā-fīhū́-š	"(there is) not in him"

A remarkable feature of NA is the 3SG.M pronominal suffix with the negative circumfix, which is -ū- after a consonant: *mā-nṭayybū́-š.* "I don't cook it.", *mā-ʕindū́-š*[169] "he doesn't have" and -*hū*- after a vowel: *mā-yxallūhū́-š.* "They don't let him.", *mā-fīhū́-š* "(there is) not in him", even when the positive form of the suffix is -*ah*. In contrast to NA, the 3SG.M pronominal suffix in case of negation is expressed with the suffix -*ši* in South Tunisian and Libyan varieties: *mā-yxallī-ši.*[170] "He doesn't let him." and *mā-fī-ši* "not in him" in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 74) and *mā-nsū-š-ši.* "They didn't forget him." in Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 244). Moreover, in the Algerian variety of Jijel the 3SG.M suffix after a vowel and before -*š* is -*h*: *mā-qṛāh-š* "he didn't read it" (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 442).

3.1.1.4. Enclitic personal pronouns

The enclitic personal pronouns are attached to particles, pronouns and presentatives like *ṛā-*, *hā-*, *mā-* and *miš-*. They are partially equivalent to the pronominal suffixes attached to verbs (i.e. object suffixes)[171]:

Enclitic personal pronouns (* = after a vowel)

1SG	-ni
2SG.M	-ik ~ -k*
2SG.F	-ki
3SG.M	-u ~ -hu* ~ -w*
3SG.F	-i ~ -hi* ~ -y*
1PL	-na
2PL	-kum
3PL	-(h)um ~ -(w)m*

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169 In Douz Arabic the form is *mā-ʕandā-š* "he doesn't have" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 69). However, there are no instances of the 3SG.M suffix -*ā*- before the negative suffix -*š* attested for NA.

170 In NA *mā-...-ši* is a variant of the negative circumfix *mā-...-š*.

171 Complete declension tables of these particles, pronouns and presentatives can be found in the respective chapters (3.1.1.2 for *miš-*, 3.3.12 for *mā-*, and 3.3.10 for *ṛā-* and 3.3.11 for *hā-*).

The 1SG and 1PL forms are identical to the forms attached to verbs[172], and the 2PL and 3PL forms are mostly -*kum* and -*hum*, whereas the *i*-variants (-*kim*/-*him*) hardly ever appear.[173] The suffix -*hum* has with an optional elision of the initial *h,* which is -*um* after a consonant: *hānum* "Here they are!" and -*(w)m* ~ *ṛām* "they indeed (are)".

As for special features, which distinguish these forms from the pronominal suffixes, there are two peculiarities, namely the 2SG and 3SG forms. Firstly, in contrast to pronominal suffixes there is a gender distinction in the 2SG form (m. -*(i)k*, f. -*ki*). The 2SG.F suffix -*ki* is scarcely found in attested Tunisian varieties.[174] Gender-specific 2SG forms of the presentative *ṛā-* are attested only for the Arabic variety of the l-ᵉʕWēna district of Douz, where *ṛāki* is a 2SG.F variant of *ṛāk* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 147).[175] Moreover, Ph. Marçais (1977: 194) names the possible 2SG.F variant *ṛāki* for the presentative *ṛā-* in Maghrebi varieties, whereas *mā-* and *hā-* have the gender-indifferent 2SG form -*k* in both aforementioned sources: *māk, hāk*, which differs from the forms attestted for NA (2SG.M *hāk, māk* and 2SG.F *hāki, māki*). Taine-Cheikh (2017: 34) also notes that the 2SG gender distinction in forms attached to *ṛā-*, *hā-* and *mā-* is retained in the Algerian varieties of Larbaa and Ouled Brahim. Lastly, in the Algerian variety of Annaba the 2SG gender distinction is preserved in the presentative *ā-* (< *hā-*): *āki* "Here you^SG.F are!" (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 14).

With regard to the 3SG forms, -*hu* ~ -*w* and -*hi* ~ -*y* are enclitic shortened forms of the 3SG subject pronouns: *māhu* ~ *māw* "he (is)", *ṛāhu* ~ *ṛāw* "he indeed (is), *miššu* "he isn't". The optional elision of *h* in the third persons of the particles *hā-*, *ṛā-* and *mā-* is also attested for the varieties of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 258ff.) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68, 147f.). In Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 445) only the third person forms suffixed to the presentative *hā-* (and not *mā-* and *ṛā-*) are subject to elision of *h*.[176]

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172 When the first person forms -*ni* and -*na* are attached to a word ending with -*n*, the *n* of the suffixed form is dropped: *hāna* (> **hān-na*) "Here we are!".

173 The only exceptions are the 2PL and 3PL forms of *miš-*, where both variants are attested: *miškum* ~ *miškim, mišhum* ~ *mišhim* "they are not". The *i*-variants are probably triggered by the short vowel *i* in *miš-*.

174 For instance, in the varieties of the region – e.g. the varieties of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 444f.), Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 258ff.), Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 147f.) and Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 256f.) – there is the gender-indifferent 2SG form -*k* with particles *ṛā-* and *hā-*: *ṛāk, hāk*. The only exception is the particle *hā-* in Douz Arabic in its function as a "demonstratives Aufforderungspartikel", in which event the 2SG gender-specific forms *hāk* and *hāki* exist (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 148).

175 In addition, according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, the gender-specific 2SG forms -*k* and -*ki* used with the particles and pronouns listed in this subchapter are widespread among the Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties, i.e. this is not a phenomenon limited to NA only.

176 In that variety, *háu, hái* and *hám* are variants of *hâhu, hâhi* and *hâhəm*.

Remarkably, the presentative *hā-* "There … is!" is attested with enclitic pronouns as well as pronominal suffixes: in the 3SG.M form of *hā-* both *hāhu ~ hāw ~ hānu* and *hānah* are attested in the corpus.

In addition, interrogatives like *wēn-* "where?" and *(wi)šbī- ~ waṛṛā-* "why?" and the presentative *hāwēn-* "There … is!" show mixed suffixes. In most persons a pronominal suffix is attached, except for the 3SG.F form of *wēn-* and *hāwēn-* and the 2SG form of *(wi)šbī- ~ waṛṛā-*, where enclitic personal pronouns listed above are attached. The 3SG.M form of *wēn-*[177] is with a pronominal suffix: *wēnah* "Where is he?", whereas its feminine counterpart is attested only with the enclitic pronoun: *wēni ~ wāhi*[178] "Where is she?". Moreover, the 3SG suffixes *-ah* (and in this case *-h*) and *-ha* are attached to the interrogative *(wi)šbī- ~ waṛṛā-* "why?", except for the 2SG form, where gender-specific forms *(wi)šbīk* and *(wi)šbīki* are used.

In Douz Arabic all third person enclitic pronouns can be attached to the interrogative pronouns *min-* "who?" and *(ā)šin-* "what?" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 87)[179], whereas these pronouns are grammaticalized in NA: *minhu* "who?" (formally a 3SG.M enclitic pronoun) and *wišinhi* "what?" (formally a 3SG.F enclitic pronoun) are used regardless of the gender and number of the antecedent.

3.1.2. Demonstratives
Demonstrative forms used in NA are the following:

	Proximal	Distal
SG.M	*hāḏa ~ hāḏāya ~ hāḏa ~ hāḏāya*	*hāḏāka ~ hāḏāka ~ hāka (~ hōḏāka)*
SG.F	*hāḏi ~ hāḏīya*	*hāḏīka ~ hāka*
PL	*hōḏa ~ hāḏūma ~ hāḏumma ~ hāḏōma ~ hōḏūma ~ hōḏum ~ hāḏōna (~ hāḏum ~ hā̄ḏum ~ hāḏim ~ hā̄ḏim ~ hāḏūna ~ hāḏūla ~ hōḏul ~ hōḏōla)*	*hōka ~ hōḏumka ~ ōk* ~ hāḏōkum ~ hāḏūkum (~ hōḏūkum ~ hāḏumka ~ hāḏūka ~ hāḏōka ~ hōkma)*
invariable	*hā**	*hāk**

* = used only as demonstrative adjectives preceding the antecedent
( ) = variants attested only once in the corpus

177 Interestingly, enclitic pronouns and pronominal suffixes are not attested with other variants of this interrogative: the variants *fēn* and ᵘ*ffēn* "where?", which are more common than *wēn*, are only attested alone.

178 The elision of *n* in *wēn-* with the 3SG.F pronominal suffix is attested for Douz Arabic: *wēnha ~ wāha*. However, in contrast to NA, the elision affects 3PL forms as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 11). In NA the form is *wēnhum* "Where are they?".

179 Gender-specific 3SG forms of *(ā)šin-* "what?" are also attested for the South Tunisian variety of Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 299).

NA has a high variety of demonstrative forms[180], which is particularly high in the plural forms (both proximal and distal). The vast majority of above-listed forms can be used as both demonstrative pronouns (preceding the antecedent) and (mostly postpositive) demonstrative adjectives: *hāḏa ṛāžli*. "This is my husband" vs. *iṛ-ṛāžil hāḏa* "this man". The only exceptions are *hā*, *hāk* and *ōk*, which only act as demonstrative adjectives preceding the antecedent: *qbal nōklu f-hāk l-ⁱgṭānya ṣ-ṣḥīḥa*. "Before we (used to) eat the real (uncontaminated) corn."

In all demonstrative forms the initial *h* is optional.[181] Moreover, the vowel after the dropped initial *h* can be shortened: *ā̆ḏīya ~ aḏīya*. The singular proximal forms have variants with the suffix -*ya*. Seldomly, the final -*a* of the suffix -*ya* is dropped: *hā̆ḏāy*, *hā̆ḏīy*. Fischer (1959: 98) states that the demonstrative forms extended with -*ya* hold additional emphasis ("Hervorhebung durch erweiterte Formen"), however in NA the variants *hā̆ḏa ~ hā̆ḏaya*, *hā̆ḏa ~ hā̆ḏāya* and *hā̆ḏi ~ hā̆ḏīya* mostly express an equal degree of emphasis. Another noteworthy suffix is -*ka*, which acts as as an indicator for distance: SG.M *hā̆ḏa* vs. *hā̆ḏāka*, SG.F *hā̆ḏi* vs. *hā̆ḏīka*, PL *hōḏum* vs. *hōḏumka*.

Most SG.M and PL demonstrative forms, such as *hāḏa, hāḏāka, hāḏūma* and *hāḏōkum*, are velarized, with the only exception being forms with a preceding *ā̆*, such as *hā̆ḏa* and *hā̆ḏum*. There are no velarized SG.F forms attested. Regarding their frequency of occurrence, the non-velarized SG.M proximal demonstrative *hā̆ḏa* is more frequently attested in the corpus (34x[182]) than its veralized counterpart *hāḏa* (13x).

As for velarized demonstrative forms in other Arabic varieties of the region, the SG.M proximal demonstrative *hāḏa* is "souvent prononcé avec emphase dans la Tunisie rurale et bédouine, dans le Sud algérien et en Libye" (Ph. Marçais 1977: 198). This statement corresponds to the fact that velarized demonstrative forms are not used in the sedentary variety of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 262). The variation of velarized and non-velarized SG.M *hāḏa ~ hā̆ḏa* is also attested for the Bedouin variety of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 82).

The distal demonstratives *hāka* (SG.M) and *hāka*[183] (SG.F) are rather rural and not as frequently used[184] as *hā̆ḏāka ~ hāḏāka* and *hā̆ḏīka*. Contradictory to

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180 Regarding studies on demonstratives in Tunisian varieties, Khalfaoui (2009) is a comprehensive syntactical analysis of demonstratives in Tunis Arabic.

181 Ph. Marçais (1977: 198) remarks that in Maghrebi Arabic varieties all demonstrative forms preceding the antecedent can occur without the initial *h*, whereas in NA this is the case for demonstratives both preceding and following the antecedent.

182 Out of which 18x used with a FEM noun.

183 The SG.F distal demonstrative *hả̆kah* is also attested for El Hamma Arabic (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1933: 67f.).

184 Most instances of the demonstratives *hāka* and *hāka* attested in the corpus are from speakers from Zaga and Nefza.

my data of NA, Ph. Marçais (1977: 199) mentions *hāka* as a presentative used in Tunisia meaning "c'est lui, c'est celui".[185]

With regard to the plural demonstratives, the variants *hōḏa* and *hōka*[186] are commonly used, however regarded as rural and old variants. As for plural proximal demonstrative variants with C_3 *m*, *n* and *l* (e.g. *hāḏūma*, *hāḏōna*, *hōḏul*), variants with C_3 *m* are by far the most frequently used ones[187], whereas the variants with C_3 *n* and *l* are seldom and attested for rural localities only.

Further demonstrative forms, which deserve special attention, are the forms *hā*, *hāk* and *ōk*, which are used as demonstrative adjectives only and always precede the definite antecedent. All three of them can be used by themselves as well as in combination with a postpositive demonstrative: *dīma **hā**-n-nhāṛ **hāḏāka** naqḏu l-xuḏra.* "We always buy the vegetables on that day.", *mā-tiʕžibnī-š **hā**-l-kaṛⁱhba l-kaḥla **hāḏi**.* "I don't like this black car.", *š-yaʕⁱmlu **ōk** in-nsā **hāḏumka**?* "What are those women doing?" While in Tunis Arabic the construction consisting of both *hā*- before and another proximal demonstrative after the definite noun is the most frequently used construction (cf. Singer 1984: 264), in NA it is not more frequent than the version without the additional *hā*-. Moreover, the invariable distal demonstrative *hāk* can also be used in combination with a postpositioned proximal demonstrative (next to distal ones): *mā-ʕāš-š nōkul **hāk** il-xubz **hāḏāya**.* "I don't eat this bread anymore." Nevertheless, *hāk* is formally a distal demonstrative. The plural distal demonstrative *ōk*[188] can be equated to *(h)āk*[189], though the latter is invariable: *š-yaʕⁱmlu **ōk** in-nsā? ~ š-yaʕⁱmlu **āk** in-nsā?* "What are those women doing?".

The invariable proximal demonstrative *hā*- often has a negative connotation and can express displeasure: *tī wāši **hā**-l-gaṭṭūsa?* "What is this cat (doing here)?", ***hā**-l-gaṭṭūsa **hāḏi** habblitni!* "This cat has driven me crazy!"

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185 Moreover, the demonstrative *hāka* is attested in Douz Arabic, however as an invariable demonstrative only used in the phrases *kān hāka* "wenn das so ist" and *hāka hūw* "das wär's" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 86).

186 The PL demonstratives *hōḏa* (proximal) and *hōka* (distal) are also attested for the South Tunisian variety of Ben Gardane (cf. Mion 2021: 117).

187 This conforms to the fact that in other varieties of the region plural demonstratives with C_3 *m* are found. The following are plural demonstrative forms with C_3 *m*, which resemble C_3 *m* plural forms used in NA: *hāḏum* is attested for Mateur Arabic (cf. Mion 2014a: 68). Similarly, *hâḏum* is used in El Hamma Arabic (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1933: 66) and the forms *(h)ādum* ~ *(h)ādūma* and the distal *(h)ādūmka* are attested for Annaba Arabic (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 16). Lastly, *hōḏum* is used in ʕAbābsa Arabic (Djerba) (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 74).

188 In contrast to NA, *ōk* is a SG.M distal demonstrative in Tozeur Arabic (cf. Saada 1984: 79).

189 The demonstrative *hāk* is also attested by Fischer (1959: 82ff.) and common in Tunisian and Libyan varieties (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 197), such as the one of Mateur (cf. Mion 2014a: 69).

Demonstratives (pronouns as well as adjectives) usually match the gender and number of the noun. However, a remarkable feature regarding the agreement is the optional neutralization of the agreement in the singular demonstrative forms. The SG.M demonstratives *hāḏa ~ hāḏāya* and *hāḏāka* can be used for both masculine and feminine antecedents, i.e. as gender-indifferent singular demonstrative forms[190]: *hāḏa ṯāna ʕāyla waḥḥadha.* "This is also a family by itself.", *hāḏāya Zāga.* "This is Zaga.", *āḏāka karⁱhba.* "That is a car." Interestingly, only the non-velarized SG.M demonstrative forms are used in this case. There are no instances of the velarized SG.M variants *hāḏa* and *hāḏāka* attested with a feminine antecedent.

This irregular agreement is attested for rural speakers of all ages, as well as old urban speakers. Although this irregular agreement is used by many speakers from different localities[191], it does not represent a rule, as the gender-specific forms *(h)āḏi ~ (h)āḏīya* are used as well, even by the same speaker, i.e. the singular agreement with demonstratives is subject to intrapersonal variation in NA.

The following are further examples of demonstratives in context, in both of their functions – as pronouns (P) and adjectives (A). The subcategories with stars (P* and A*) represent a SG.M form used with a SG.F antecedent:

a)   Proximal demonstratives:

SG.M   P   ***hāḏāya** dwā ʕarbi.* "This is traditional medicine.", *ḏāya dahhān.* "This is a (house) painter.", **hāḏāya** *f-āš tiʕžibni.* "This is what I like about her.", **hāḏa** *wišinhi?* "What is this?", **hāḏāya** *nistaʕⁱmlūh kī yabda wāḥid ʕandu sxāna.* "We use this one when someone runs a fever."

           P   ***hāḏa** naḥla, taʕmil l-ᵃʕsal.* "This is a bee, it makes honey."

           *   ***hāḏa** miš min Tūʷnis.* "This (woman) is not from Tunisia."

           A   *ⁱškūn iṛ-ṛāžil **hāḏa**?* "Who is this man?", *iṛ-ṛāžil **hāḏāya** ṣāḥbi.* "This man is my friend.", *yidⁱrsu l-gamⁱḥ **hāḏāya**.* "They thresh this wheat."

           A   *hāk ⁱtrīni f-il-ḥāla **hāḏa**.* "You^{SG.F} see me in this state.",

           *   *dawla*[192] **hāḏa** "this state", *ṛāw bāš nitqāblu f-il-buqʕa **hāḏa**.* "We will meet at this place."

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190 Ph. Marçais (1977: 197) quotes *hāḏ* as an invariable proximal demonstrative for both singular and plural forms in Maghrebi varieties. Accordingly, the invariable demonstrative *hād* in this function is attested for the Algerian variety of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 458). However, in NA the forms *hāḏa ~ hāḏāya* are applicable to singular antecedents only.

191 Attested for the localities Umm Labid, Zaga, Touila and Nefza, showing that this feature is widespread in the whole Nefza region.

192 The antecedent does not necessarily have to be definite, however it mostly is.

SG.F	P	**ā̠ḏīya** mṛā mizyāna. "This is a beautiful woman.", kaṛhabt ⁱškū^wn **hā̠ḏi?** "Whose car is this?", **hā̠ḏīya** kullha ḥāžāt ⁱždīda. "These are all new things.", **hā̠ḏi** bint binti. "This is my daughter's daughter."
	A	iṭ-ṭufla **hā̠ḏi** mʕaṛṛsa. "This girl is married.", il-gaṭṭūsa **hā̠ḏīya** muš ⁱmtāʕi. "This cat isn't mine.", id-dāṛ **hā̠ḏīya** ḏrīfa ʕlēna. "This house is too small for us."
PL	P	gaddāh **hō̠ḏa?** "How much are these (showing three fingers)?", **hā̠ḏōna** qṛū mʕāya. "These (girls) have studied with me.", **hō̠ḏum** mʕā bʕaḏhum ūlād w-**hō̠ḏa** bībīyāt.[193] "These together are children, and these are babies (showing at photos)."
	A	l-ⁱklāb **hō̠ḏa** khul. ~ l-ⁱklāb **hō̠ḏul** sūd. ~ l-ⁱklāb **ā̠ḏumma** kuḥ^ul. "These dogs are black."
invariable	A	šinhi **hā**-r-rwīžil iz-zġayyir? "What is this small^{DIM} man^{DIM}?", **hā**-s-sāraḥ "this shepherd", **hā**-l-gaṭṭūsa "this cat"

b) Distal demonstratives:

SG.M	P	**ā̠ḏāka** ʕlāš nḥibbah. "That's why I love him.", **hāka** gāl. "That one said (it)."
	A	il-kuṛsi **hāka** "that chair", il-kalb **hāka** "that dog"
SG.F	P	**hā̠ḏīka** mā-zālit xaḏra hakkāka. "That one is still green like this.", **hā̠ḏīka** lūġithum. "That is their language.", **hā̠ḏīka** mā-nistaʕⁱmlūhā-š ṭūl. "We don't use that one at all."
	A	f-il-blāṣa **hāka** "in that place", muddit il-ʕirⁱs **hā̠ḏīka** žaww taḥfūn baṛša. "(During) that wedding period, (there is) a very lovely atmosphere.", **hāk** il-gaṭṭūsa **hā̠ḏīka** "that cat", gaʕdit kān il-ḥāža **hāka**. "Only that thing remained.", **āk** is-sažṛa **ā̠ḏīka** "that tree"
PL	P	**hō̠ḏumka** ʕāyla bāhya. "Those (people) are a good family.", **hō̠ḏūkum** byuḏ. "Those are white."
	A	l-ⁱklāb **hōka** bīḏ. "Those dogs are white", yabdu **ōk** l-^aḥṣunna **hā̠ḏōkum** ydūṛu. "Those horses trot around."
invariable	A	žīb **hāk** il-maṭrag! "Bring that (thin) stick!", naḥḥi **āk** il-ʕūd ʕād! "Remove that wooden stick!", ġaṭṭi **āk** il-māʕūn! "Cover those dishes!", ġdit **k** il-ḥāža. "That thing got lost.", **āk** iḏ-ḏrāwīn iṣ-ṣġāṛ "those young children", mānīši min **āk** in-nawʕ. "I am not of that kind."

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[193] This sentence illustrates well the high variation of demonstrative forms used in NA, as two different plural proximal demonstratives are used within one sentence.

3.1.3. Relative pronoun

The invariable relative pronoun *illi*[194] (and its shortened forms *il* and *li*) is used after a definite antecedent: *āk id-dāṛ **illi** baḥḏ̣āna* "that house which is next to us", *l-ᵃʕbād **illi** šufᵗthum* "the people I saw", *škūn iṛ-ṛāžil hāḏ̣āy **il** žā?* "Who is this man who came?", *hōḏ̣ūma l-ḥaywānāt **illi** yṛabbūhum l-ᵃhnā f-iš-šamāl.* "These are the animals we breed here in the north (of Tunisia).", *āk iṣ-ṣāba **illi** yṛawwḥu bāha* "that harvest with which they return home", *is-sarž **illi** yžī fōg l-ᵃḥṣān* "the saddle which is put on the horse".

The pronoun *illi* is mostly shortened to *li* after a vowel: *šnīya **li** ʕinna āxaṛ niḥna?* "What else is it that we have?", *nōklu **li** yžī.* "We eat whatever is available (lit. 'what comes')." Moreover, the variant *il*, which is common in NA, is also attested for the Ġrēb and Ṣābrīya tribes of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 87), whereas Singer (1984: 274f.) states that *il* is very seldom used in Tunis Arabic and according to him is possibly a borrowing from certain Bedouin-type varieties.

Furthermore, the pronoun *illi* can be preceded by prepositions: *yḥussūha lōǧa* agressif *akṯir m-**illi** hīya.* "They feel it is an aggressive language more than it (actually) is." Besides, it forms part of conjunctions: *waqt-**il(li)*** "when".

Additionally, the relative pronoun *illi* can also be nominalized:

a)   Persons: ***illi** yitkallim b-il-gā w-ywalli yiḥki b-il-qā, nitmanᵎyku ʕlīh.* "The one who speaks with *g* and starts speaking with *q* (i.e. as in a sedentary variety), we mock him.", ***illi** ʕandu flūs yimši w-**il** mā-ʕandū{ᵂ}-š yabqa fi-dāṛu.* "The one who has money goes (on a honeymoon) and who does not have (money) stays at his home.", ***li** ʕandah ġlam w-**illi** ʕandah miʕza yaḏbaḥ w-yōkul.* "The one who has sheep and the one who has a goat slaughters (them) and eats (them).", ***li** yṭayyib fi-dāṛa* "the one who cooks at his home".

b)   Things: ***illi** nalgu nōklu.* "We eat what we find.", *mūš **il** naʕᵎmlu bīh is-sḷāṭa* "it is not the one with which we make the salad."

Next to the relative pronoun *illi*, the interrogative pronouns meaning "what?" and "who?"[195] can be used as relative pronouns: *mā-tḥibb-š **škūn** yimši.* "She doesn't want that someones goes (to pay them a visit).", *famma **škūn** ygūl bagṛa, famma **škūn** ygūl bugṛa.* "There are some (people) who say *bagṛa*, (and) there are some (people) who say *bugṛa*.", *mā ḥāštī-š ᵎb-**škūn** yimši mʕāya.* "I don't need someone to go with me.", *mā-lgīt-ᵎš **škūn** yfuḏ̣ḏ̣ā-li.* "I didn't find someone who would solve (the problem) for me.", *yitfāhmu **šnūwa** l-maṭlūb.* "They agree upon what is requested.", *hāḏīka **šnīya** f-il-ḅāku.* "That is what is in the package."

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194 For *illi* as a conjunction see 3.3.8.
195 For the interrogative pronouns see 3.1.4.

3.1.4. Interrogative pronouns

3.1.4.1. "Who?"

The most commonly used forms are variants based on *škūn* (*škūn, ā̆škūn, wiškūn*), with the prefixless variant *škūn* being the most common form: **škūn** *ʕṭāhū-lha?* "Who gave it to her?", **ā̆škūn** *miz-zāl mā-tkallim-ⁱš?* "Who didn't speak yet?", **wiškūn** *tā-yhizz il-qaḍya?* "Who will take the purchase?", *il-kaṛⁱhba hā̆ḍi mtāʕ* **škūʷn**[196]*?* "Whose car is this?". The form *škūn* can also be used with prepositions: *l-škūn žit?* "To whom did she come?". In contrast to Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 269), no forms of *škūn* with pronominal suffixes attached are attested in the corpus.

Moreover, *minhu* is a more seldom attested[197] form: *inta* **minhu***?* "Who are you^SG.M?", **minhu** *ṛ-ṛāžil hā̆ḍa?* "Who is this man?" There are no SG.F or PL forms of minhu such as **minhi* or **minhum* attested in the corpus, thus *minhu* is possibly a grammaticalized form.[198] Moreover, it is a rather rural and old form, in contrast to *škūn*, which is also used in Tunisian sedentary varieties[199].

3.1.4.2. "What?"

There are three types of interrogative pronouns expressing "what": *(w)ā̆š*, *(wi)šnūwa ~ (wi)šnīya* and *wisinhi*:

1) Reflexes of OA *ʔayyu šayʔin*: *(w)ā̆š* and its abbreviated forms *(w)iš* and *š-*. These variants are the preferred forms used in verbal sentences: **ā̆š** *xdim?* "What did he work?", **wā̆š** *hazzīt ⁱmʕāk?* "What did you^SG.M take with you?", *š-yaʕⁱmlū-lha?* "What do they do to her?", **wiš** *klēna?* "What did we eat?". However, the variant *š-* is attested in nominal sentences as well: *š-isⁱmha?* "What is her name?", *š-qawlik?* "What is your opinion?".

Additionally, the form *wā̆ši* is attested twice in the corpus and seems to be used in nominal sentences: *tī* **wā̆ši** *hā-l-gaṭṭūsa?* "What is this cat (doing here)?".

In NA *ā̆š* is the only used variant with preposition as well: *kull ⁱblād w-b-***ā̆š** *mašhūʷra.* "Every country and what it is famous for.", *hā̆ḍāya f-***ā̆š** *tiʕžibni.* "This is what I like about her." and the progressive marker *f-*[200]: *f-***ā̆š** *taʕⁱmli taww?* "What are you^SG.F now?". Lastly, many interrogatives, such as *waqtā̆š*

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196 On the diphthongization of *ū* see 2.4.4.2.2.

197 The form *minhu* is attested six times, while all variants of *škūn* are attested 70 times in the corpus.

198 Taking into consideration the rarity of this form in my corpus, it cannot be stated for sure if *minhu* is grammaticalized in NA. Nevertheless, it seems to be a marginal (and older) form.

199 Cf. Singer (1984: 269) for Tunis Arabic.

200 See 3.3.8.

"when?", *gaddāš* "how much?", *kīfāš* "how?" and *ʕlāš* "why?"[201], are formed in combination with the interrogative pronoun *āš*.

This is in accordance with Tunis Arabic, for which Gibson (2009: 566) states:

> "*Āš* is not used for emphasis, and is used mainly within a verbal sentence (but *āš qawlik* 'what is your opinion?'). It is also the form used when the interrogative is governed by a preposition, e.g. *fāš, bāš* 'in what, with what?'"

2) Reflexes of OA *ʔayyu šayʔin* in combination with 3SG.M and 3SG.F personal pronouns: *(wi)šnūwa* and *(wi)šnīya*. The variant *šnūwa* can be abbreviated to *šnū* in fast speech: **šnū** *maʕnāha?* "What does it mean?". In contrast to Tunis Arabic (cf. Gibson 2009: 566), there is no plural form *šnūma attested for NA.

Though the pronouns *(wi)šnūwa* and *(wi)šnīya* are used in both nominal and verbal sentences, they are the preferred variants in nominal sentences (next to *wišinhi*): **šnīya** *l-lōġa ṣ-ṣḥīḥa?* "What is the correct language?", **wišnūwa** *lli yḥuṭṭōha l-ⁱhnē?* "What is it that they put here?". They often agree in gender with the antecedent: **šnīya** *n-nabta l-uxṛa?* "What is the other plant?", whereas occasionally they are used as a pronoun indifferent to gender and number as well: *aṣⁱlna* **wišnīya***?* "What^FEM is our origin^MASC?", **šnīya** *āxaṛ ṯḥibbi taʕⁱrfi?* "What^FEM else^MASC do you^SG.F want to know?", *id-dīyāna mtāʕkum* **šnūwa** *hīya?* "What^MASC is your religion^FEM?", *tisⁱhli* **wišnūwa** *ʕīšitna.* "You^SG.F ask what^MASC our life^FEM is." As an invariable pronoun, *(wi)šnīya* is more rural than *(wi)šnūwa*.

Lastly, in verbal sentences only the SG.M variant *(wi)šnūwa* is attested: **šnūwa** *ṯḥibbi tušⁱṛbi?* "What do you^SG.F want to drink?", **wišnūwa** *yaʕⁱmlu āk in-nsā?* "What are those women doing?".

3) The invariable[202] interrogative pronoun *wišinhi* (OA *ʔayyu šayʔin hīya*): The invariability of this (originally SG.F) form is illustrated by the following three examples with a MASC antecedent: **wišinhi** *āxuṛ?* "What else?", **wišinhi** *hūw?* "What is it/he?", *hāḏa* **wišinhi***?* "What is this?". This pronoun is attested only alone and in nominal sentences. Unlike other above-mentioned interrogative pronouns which appear in sentence-initial position, *wišinhi* is often used in sentence-final position: *w-mʕāh* **wišinhi***?* "And what is with it?", *crevette b-il-ʕaṛbi* **wišinhi***?* "What is *crevette* (called) in Arabic?".

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201 For the interrogatives see 3.2.4.

202 In contrast to the South Tunisian Bedouin varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 88) and Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 299), where gender-specific forms *(ā)šinhu* and *(ā)šinhi* are used.

Next to the form *wišinhi*, which is attested 23 times, the variant *šinhi* is attested only once: **šinhi hā-r-rwīžil iẓ-ẓġayyir?** "What is this small^DIM man^DIM?".

In its function as an interrogative pronoun, *wišinhi* is also used[203] in sentence-final position, expressing something like "Of course it is/was like that, what else did you think?": *hāna ʕāyšīn tāʕbīn,* **wišinhi?** "We are living a hard life (lit. 'tired').", *kunna fi-ḥāla, hā taww xīr,* **wišinhi?** "We used to live under bad conditions (lit. 'we were in a condition'), now it is better."

Regarding the sociolinguistic aspect, the variants with the *wi-* prefix are more rural: *wiš, wāš, wišnūwa* and *wišnīya* are more rural than *iš, āš, šnūwa* and *šnīya*. The interrogative pronoun *wišinhi* is considered rural by its speakers, even though it is used by speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds (both genders, all ages, both rural and urban). However, it is more frequently used by old rural speakers.

3.1.4.3. "Which?"

The interrogative *āna* "which" can be used as a noun and as an adjective.

As a noun, the enclitic personal pronoun[204] can be attached to *āna*-[205]: **ānāw li**[206] *yžī ṛayīs,* **ānāw li yžī muḥāmi?** "Which one is it who becomes a president, which one is it who becomes a lawyer?", **ānāw li yšidd il-kursi?** "Which one is it who takes power (lit. 'grabs the chair')? or it can stand alone as well: **āna xēr: ʕīšt ⁱqbal willa taww?** "Which one is better: the life of the earlier times or of the present time?".

When used as an adjective, it can also be connected with prepositions: *m-**āna** bḷāṣa žēt?* "From which place did you^SG.M come?", *f-**āna** ḥayy tusᵘkni?* "In which neighborhood do you^SG.F live?", *b-**āna** lōġa tiḥki?* "What (lit. 'in which') language do you speak?"

3.1.5. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is *ṛōḥ-* (PL *ṛwāḥ-*[207]) + pronominal suffix: *naʕrif* **ṛōḥi** *b-il-ⁱgdē.* "I know myself well.", *makⁱyžit* **ṛōḥḥa**[208] *w-baʕd xaṛžit l-il-ʕirⁱs.*

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203 Attested for old rural speakers.

204 In the corpus only examples of *āna* with the abbreviated SG.M enclitic pronoun *-w* (< *-hu*) are attested, however it can be assumed that SG.F and PL forms are used in NA as well.

205 Forms with the enclitic personal pronouns (*ānāhu, ānāhi, ānāhum*) are also used in the varieties of Mellita (Djerba) (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 76), Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 90), Sousse and Takrouna (cf. Singer 1984: 270), whereas in Tunis Arabic the full personal pronouns are used: *ānā-hûwä, ānä-hîyä, ânä-hûmä* (cf. Singer 1984: 270).

206 Abbreviated form of the relative pronoun *illi*.

207 In contrast to Tunis Arabic, where this word has a medial *imāla*: *(a)ṛwâḥnä* "ourselves" (cf. Singer 1984: 256).

208 < *ṛōḥha*. For assimilations see 2.4.3.

"She made herself up and afterwards she left for the wedding.", *ylaḥḥu bīha*[209] ***ṛwāḥḥum***. "They keep themselves busy with it.", *dhin ṛōḥu b-il-abyiḍ*. "He painted himself in white.", *ṯḥissi **ṛōḥik** ᵢrtaḥti*. "You^SG.F feel you recovered yourself (from the illness).", *kull yōm thaḍḍir **ṛōḥḥa** taḥbiṭ l-il-ᵢbḥaṛ*. "Every day she prepares herself to go to the sea."

It can also be attached to prepositions: *nišru ḥāžāt l-ᵢṛwāḥna*. "We buy things for ourselves.", *yilzim ᵢtkūn ʕindik ṯīqa fi-ṛōḥik*. "You must have self-confidence (lit. 'confidence in yourself')."

Beside the reflexive meaning of the pronoun *ṛōḥ-*, the construction *ʕlā ṛōḥ-* followed by a pronominal suffix is used to emphasize an action, especially (but not exclusively) an act of movement, such as with the verbs *yimši ~ ydibb* "to go" and *yitʕadda* "to pass by", and is often used in commands[210]: *baṛṛi **ʕlā ṛōḥik***! "Go^SG.F!", *aqṛu **ʕlā ṛwāḥkum**!* "Study^PL!", *kull wāḥid yimši **ʕlā ṛōḥu**.* "Each one (of them) goes.", *ōka ydibbu msākīn **ʕlā ṛwāḥḥum**.* "Those poor ones go away.", *nimši **ʕaṛ-ṛōḥi**?* "(Should) I go?", *mšā **ʕlā ṛōḥa**.* "He is gone (lit. 'he went').", *w-inti mitʕaddya **ʕlā ṛōḥik*** "when you^SG.F pass by". This construction is also attested for the varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 91) and Tunis: *sket ʕᵃlä-ṛōḥu*. "Er sagte kein Wort!" (cf. Singer 1984: 256).

3.1.6. Indefinite pronouns

3.1.6.1. Persons
- *il-wāḥid ~ il-wāḥid* "one" (Fr. *on*, Ger. *man*): *min kuṭᵘr-ma yitʕib **il-wāḥid*** "from how much one gets tired", *kī ymūt **il-wāḥid*** "when one dies".
- *flān*, FEM *flāna* "Mr. So-and-so": *mšēt l-ᵢflān, w-lgētah mrīḍ.* "I went to Mr. So-and-so and found him sick.", ***flān** yugṛub-li.* "Mr. So-and-so is related to me." The corresponding adjective is *fūlāni,* FEM *fūlānīya*: *baṛṛa imši žīb-li l-kabᵢš il-**fūlāni**!* "Go and bring me that certain ram!", *l-ᵢmṛā f-il-ᵢblād il-**fūlānīya**.* "The woman is in the so-and-so locality."
- *wāḥid ~ wāḥid* "someone"[211]: *iṣ-ṣġāṛ šāfu **wāḥid** ysāsi wṛā d-dāṛ ᵢmtāʕna.* "The children saw someone begging behind our house.", *ṯamma **wāḥid** ḥāšāk kiršah tā-tižri.* "There is someone who, begging your pardon, has diarrhea (lit. 'whose belly will run')." This indefinite pronoun is often used with the verbal copula *yabda*[212]: *kī yabda **wāḥid** mitġaššiš ʕlēha* "when

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209 Usually, this form is *bāha* (due to the vowel harmony). This example is an exception.

210 There are more instances of *ṛōḥ-* in the corpus used in this construction than in its original function as a reflexive pronoun, indicating that this usage is very common in NA.

211 Additionally, *(il-)wāḥid* serves as a filling word such as the English *thingamajig*, the German *Dings* and the Turkish *şey*: *w-il-uxt iz-zġīra txabbit f-il-wāḥid.* "And the younger sister hid in the thingamajig."

212 For the verbal copulas see 3.6.6.

someone is angry at her", *kī yabda* **wāḥid** *ʕandu sxāna* "when someone runs a fever", *yabda* **wāḥid** *yizbid f-il-ⁱbġal* "(when) someone is pulling the mule", *yabda* **wāḥid** *yistanna fi-***wāḥid** "(when) someone is waiting for someone".

- *ḥadd ~ ḥatt(a) ḥadd ~ ḥatta wāḥid ~ ḥatta wāḥid* "no one (at all)": *mā-yšūfha* **ḥadd***. "No one sees her.", *mā-ḥāšti b-***ḥatta ḥadd***. "I don't need anyone." The variants including *ḥatta* imply a further reinforcement ("no one at all") in comparison to *ḥadd* by itself. These pronouns are used in combination with the negation particle *mā-*.

- *kull wāḥid ~ kull wāḥid ~ kull ḥadd* "everyone, each one": *taww baʕⁱd* **kull wāḥid** *yġanni ġunnāya.* "Afterwards each one (of us) will sing a song.", **kull wāḥid** *waḥdah* "each one (celebrates) by himself". The variant *kull ḥadd* is attested by two old rural speakers: *dāṛ ⁱmtāʕ* **kull ḥadd** "everyone's house", **kull ḥadd** *yiḥši fi-žēbah.* "Everyone fills (money) in his pocket."

3.1.6.2. Things

- *ḥāža ~ ḥāža* "something": *yōkul* **ḥāža** *xfīfa.* "He eats something light.", *nāya tā-nišri* **ḥāža** *l-ṛōḥi.* "I will buy something for myself.", *ʕandu* **ḥāža** *uxṛa.* "He has something else.", *kīf ⁱdžī žīb-li mʕāk* **ḥāža***!* "When you come, bring me something with you!"

- *ayy ḥāža ~ ayy ḥāža* "anything": *yfīq ⁱb-***ayy ḥāža***.* "He notices anything.", *nḥillu bīh bībān, ⁱkṛāhib,* **ayy ḥāža***.* "We open doors, cars, anything with it (the key)."

- *šayy ~ ḥatt šayy²¹³ ~ ḥatta ḥāža²¹⁴* "nothing (at all)": *mā-ʕindu* **ḥatt šayy***.* "He doesn't have anything at all.", *mā-nifⁱhmu* **šayy***.* "We don't understand anything." The variants including *ḥatt* imply a further reinforcement ("nothing at all") in comparison to *šayy* by itself.

- *kull šayy ~ kull ḥāža²¹⁵* "everything": **kull šayy** *mbaddil.* "Everything has changed.", *naʕⁱmlu* **kull šayy***.* "We do everything.", **kull šayy** *nazⁱʕu fīh.* "We grow everything."

3.1.6.3. Various

- (Mostly definite) plural antecedent + *il-kull(īka)²¹⁶* "all": *iẓ-ẓġāṛ* **il-kull** "all the children", *yitlammu l-ⁱbnāt* **il-kull** *hakkāya.* "All the girls gather like this.", *l-ᵃʕbād* **il-kullīka** "all the people". Moreover, this pronoun can

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213 In contrast to the forms *ḥatta ḥadd ~ ḥatta wāḥid* "noone", in which final *-a* is retained, in this form it is dropped.

214 Attested only once, by Hbeba3/m/85.

215 In contrast to other constructions with *ḥāža*, such as *ḥatta ḥāža*, there is no variant of this form without the medial *imāla* (*kull ḥāža*) attested in the corpus.

216 The variant *il-kullīka* is attested only by one speaker (Nefza6/f/70).

appear in combination with a pronominal suffix: *miš ⁱl-kullna*[217] *niḥku b-id-dāṛža baṛša ṛāna.* "Not all of us speak a lot in the ('strong') dialect.", **kullha ṯḥibb ṛōḥḥa.** "All of them (the politicians) love themselves.", *ⁱl-kullha malmūma.* "All of them (women) are gathered.", **kullna naʕⁱrfu bʕaḍna, kullna ʕēla waḥda.** "We all know each other, we are all one family.", *il-malya mãš taržaʕ,* **kullu** *mãš yaržaʕ.* "The *malya* (traditional female clothing item) will return (and be fashionable again), all of it will return."

- *kull* + indefinite singular antecedent "every": **kull ⁱblād** "every country/city", **kull yōm** "every day", *f-kull ⁱblāṣa* "at every place".

- (Mostly definite) singular antecedent + *il-kull* "whole": *lēl il-kull ~ il-lēl il-kull* "the whole night", *f-il-ʕālim il-kull* "in the whole world", *l-ūlād in-nhāṛ il-kull šãddīn l-ᵃqhāwi.* "The boys are sitting in the cafés the whole day (instead of working)." It can also appear with a pronominal suffix: *l-ⁱbdan* **kullah** "the whole body".

- *ōxuṛ ~ āxaṛ ~ āxuṛ*[218], SG.F *uxṛa*, PL *uxrīn* "other": *amma l-**ōxuṛ** bāhi.* "But the other one is good.", *w-il-**ōxuṛ** nušⁱⁿṛbu fīh.* "And we drink in the other (jar).", *šaddha l-**āxaṛ**.* "The other one grabbed her/it.", *w-il-**uxrīn** lāzim yitxabbu.* "And the others have to hide." It can be used as an adjective as well: *baʕⁱd nimšu l-iṭ-ṭufla l-**uxṛa**.* "Afterwards we (will) go to the other girl." *tā-ndanni nawʕ **ōxuṛ**?* "Should I make a different type (of food)?", *ʕandah ism **āxaṛ** fi-Bāža.* "It/He has a different name in Béja.", *šnīya **āxaṛ**?* "What else (lit. 'what other')?" The form *ōxuṛ* is the preferred variant by (especially older) rural speakers.

- *bʕaḏ* + pronominal suffix "each other": *yʕayydu ʕlā **bʕaḏhum**.* "They congratulate each other on Eid al-Adha.", *xallīna nimšu mʕā **bʕaḏna**!* "Let's go together ('with each other')!", *aṛⁱbʕa baḥḏa **bʕaḏhum**.* "(There are) four (horses) next to each other.", *mā-dgãblū-š ⁱbʕaḏkim?* "Don't you^PL meet each other?", *yitxaḷḷiṭ mʕā **baʕḏah**.* "It gets mixed with each other."

- *waḥd-* + pronominal suffix (*waḥḥád-* with consonant suffixes): "alone, by oneself": *nabda gãlga **waḥdi** f-id-dāṛ.* "(When) I am bored at home by myself." *gaʕdu **waḥḥadhum**.* "They stayed by themselves.", *nḥaqqⁱqūh* **waḥḥadna.** "We make it come true by ourselves."

- *b-ṛōḥ-* + pronominal suffix: "by oneself (without anyone's help, independently)": *nimši **b-ṛōḥi**. ~ nimši waḥdi.* "I go by myself." This form is

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[217] Similarly, the indefinite pronoun *kull* is attested with pronominal suffixes and the prepositions *l-* and *b-* in Tunis Arabic: *ennās elkulⁱhä* "die Gesamtheit der Leute" (cf. Singer 1984: 289).

[218] The form *âxoṛ* (with an *imāla*), which is used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 295f.), is not attested in my corpus. Drawing a comparison with South Tunisian Bedouin varieties, the form *āxaṛ* is also used in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 93), whereas *ōxuṛ* is found in Tozeur Arabic (cf. Saada 1984: 34).

attested only once in the corpus. It is used in South Tunisian and Libyan varieties as well.[219]

3.2. Adverbs

The adverbs in each subchapter are presented in alphabetic order (according to their etymological roots).

3.2.1. Temporal

- *(il-)bā̆raḥ ~ mbā̆raḥ* "yesterday"[220]:

***bā̆raḥ** lgīt wā̆ḥid yṣaḷḷaḥ f-il-ⁱkṛāhib.* "Yesterday I found someone who was repairing cars.", ***il-bā̆raḥ** šṛabⁱt ⁱḥlīb.* "Yesterday I drank milk.", *šuftah ⁱ**mbā̆raḥ**.* "I saw him yesterday.", ***il-bā̆raḥ** kā̆nit l-ⁱmṭaṛ ⁱtṣubb.* "It was raining yesterday." The variant *mbā̆raḥ* is more seldomly attested.[221]

- *(m)baʕⁱd ~ baʕⁱd tā̆li ~ baʕdā̆š* "afterwards":

*nōklūh **baʕⁱd tā̆li**.* "We eat it afterwards.", *ṣawwrā̆ha **mbaʕⁱd**!* "Take^SG.F a photo of it/her later!", *w-**mbaʕⁱd** l-ᵃʕrīs yaʕmil ḥinntah.* "And afterwards the groom does his henna.", *nduggōha, w-**baʕⁱd** nunᵘšṛōha.* "We knock it and afterwards we spread it." The variant *baʕdā̆š* is only attested for one speaker.[222]

- *bikri* "earlier, in earlier times, in the past":

***bikri** nixⁱdmu kull šayy ʕaṛbi.* "Earlier we (used to) work everything in a traditional way.", ***bikri** tʕarris im-mrē mā-yašbaḥḥā-š iṛ-ṛā̆žil.* "Earlier (when) the woman got married, the man didn't see her (before the wedding)."

- *taww ~ tawwīka* "now":

*bā̆š niḥki **taww** ʕa-l-ʕāyla ā̆d̲īya.* "I will now talk about this family.", ***taww** mā-ʕāš-š naʕⁱmlōha.* "Now we don't do it anymore.", *ʕlā̆š mā-žā̆-š ⁱl-**taww**?* "Why didn't he come yet (lit. ʿuntil now')?", *ā̆ma hā̆w **tawwīka** hā̆y tbaddlit id-dinya.* "But now the life has changed.", ***tawwīka** l-ᵃḥdā̆š w-nuṣṣ.* "Now it is half past eleven." The variant *tawwīka* is used by all speakers, however especially by old rural speakers.[223] According to Fischer (1959: 150), the adverb *taww* originally had a local and not a temporal meaning. For *taww* as a future marker see 3.6.7.4.

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219 *b-ṛūḥ-* "by oneself" is also attested for the varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 91), Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 303ff.) and Benghazi (cf. Benkato 2014: 84).

220 In contrast to NA, in Douz Arabic *il-bāriḥ* means "yesterday evening, last night", i.e. is not for "day" in general (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 119).

221 Attested four times, in contrast to *(il)-bā̆raḥ*, which is attested 35 times in the corpus.

222 Attested for Hbeba3/m/85 only, however he uses the form *baʕdā̆š* three times.

223 The variants *tawwīka ~ taww(a)* are also attested for the South Tunisian variety of Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298). Moreover, in Tunis Arabic the variant *täuwîkä* expresses more insistence than the standard version *täuwä* (cf. Singer 1984: 641). This could not be verified for NA.

- *dīma* "always":

dīma *ykuḥḥ hakkāya.* "He always coughs like this.", *yistaʕⁱmlūh* **dīma**. "They always use it.", *yaʕⁱmlōha* **dīma** *f-il-ˈxrīf.* "They always do it in the autumn."

- *is-snē ~ is-snā* "this year":

wild xūya biš nṭahhrūh **is-snā**. "We will circumcise my nephew this year.", *Tūnis žitha* **s-snā** *ṣāba kbīra yāsir.* "Tunisia had a very big harvest this year."

- *sāʕāt* "sometimes (lit. ˈhoursˀ)":

sāʕāt *l-ⁱʕrīs yabda maġṣūṛ bāha.* "Sometimes the groom is cornered by it (the requirements).

- *(il)-ʕām iž-žᾱy* "next year":

*w-ᵃḥkāyitna ṭāba ṭāba w-***il-ʕām iž-žᾱy** *ⁱdžīna ṣāba.* (a saying, said at the end of a story)

- *ʕām n-awwil ~ ʕām n-ᾱwil ~ (il)ʕām il(li) fᾱt ~ il-ʕām il-fᾱyt ~ (il-)ʕām il(li) tʕadda* "last year":

il-ʕām il fᾱt *kᾱn ʕindna mašᾱkil yāsir.* ~ **ʕām n-ᾱwil** *kᾱn ʕinna baṛša mašᾱkil.* "Last year we had many problems."

- *ġudwa ~ ġudwīka* "tomorrow":

ġudwa *hīy tā-ṭṛawwaḥ?* "Will she return home tomorrow?", *tnažžim ⁱdžī* **ġudwa?** "Can you^{SG.M} come tomorrow?". The variant *ġudwīka*[224] is attested once in the corpus. Additionally, the adverbs *baʕⁱd ġudwa* "the day after tomorrow" and *baʕⁱd ġudⁱwtēn*[225] "the day after the day after tomorrow, three days later" are attested.

- *qbal ~ gbal* "earlier, in earlier times":

ᾱna xēr: ʕⁱšt ⁱqbal willa taww? "Which one is better: the life of the earlier times or of the present time?", **qbal** *kīfᾱš kuntu ʕāyšīn?* "How were you^{PL} living before?", *taww maṭalán wāḥid ⁱqbal ⁱṣġīr yumṛuḍ, yḥuṭṭū-lah kālātūs ʕlā ṛāsah.* "For example, when a child got sick before, they put eucalyptus on his head.", *ⁱgbal kī yuxᵘṭbu im-mrē…* "Earlier when they asked for the woman's hand…", **gbal** *l-ᵘkbᾱṛ yaʕⁱmlūh.* "In the past, the old (people used to) do it."

- *bgēla* "just (now), a short while ago":

bgēla *ḥaṭṭ it-tālīfōn fōg iṭ-ṭāwla.* "He just put the phone on the table." The form *bgēla* has resulted from a metathesis of the consonants *g* and *b* of the diminutive form *gbēla* of the adverb *gbal* "earlier".

- *nhāṛ min nhāṛāt* "one day (in the past)":

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224 The form *ġədwīka* is also attested for Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2008: 31). Moreover, the form *ġudwîkä* is attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 647).

225 The form *baʕʕid ġudᵊwtēn* is also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 125). In contrast to Tunisian varieties, in Annaba Arabic the forms *ġīr ġudwa* and *ġīr ġudwīn* are used (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 19).

nhāṛ min ᶦnhāṛāʔt *mšū l-il-ᶦbḥaṛ.* "One day they went to the sea." ***nhāṛ min nhāṛāt*** *w-humma rāḡdīn šāfu wildhum kī xṛaž ᶦl-baṛṛa.* "One day while they were sleeping, they saw their son as he went out."

- *il-yōm* "today":

iṭ-ṭaqs ᶦsxūn yāsir il-yōm. "The weather is very hot today.", *tixdim il-yōm?* "Do you^SG.M work today?".

- *āmis*[226] "yesterday":

āmis *ṣabbit in-naww.* "It rained yesterday.", *rītah **āmis** f-il-qahwa.* "I saw him yesterday in the café." This form is less frequently attested and more rural than the form *(il)-bāraḥ*[227].

3.2.2. Local

- *l-baṛṛa* "outside":

w-kunᶦt naḥṣid ᶦl-baṛṛa ṛāhu. "And I used to harvest outside (of the village).", *xuṛžit ᶦl-baṛṛa tlawwiž ʕlīh.* "She went out (of the house) to search for him.", *mā-yugʕud-š bārid ᶦl-baṛṛa.* "He/It doesn't stay cold outside."

- *ṯamm* "there":

The local adverb *ṯamm* is a marginal form[228] in NA: *yabqu baḥḏāh ṯamm.* "They stay there at his place.", *maktūb ṯamm.* "It is written there.", *ʕarris w-gʕad ṯamm.* "He got married and stayed there."

- *l-dāxil* "inside":

dāxil ᶦl-dāxil. "He is entering inside."

- *ġādi ~ ġādīka* "there":

The forms *ġādi ~ ġādīka*[229] are the most commonly used forms to express "there": *nʕallgūh ġādi.* "We hang it there.", *ḥatta ġādi nitkallim b-il-gā.* "I speak with g[230] there (in Tunis) as well.", *ġādīka bāš nušᵘrbu qahwa.* "We will drink coffee there.", *kī yitlammu ġādīka* "when they gather there". It can also be combined with the preposition *min*: *ti šidd l-ᶦḥbal min ġādi!* "Grab the rope from there!"

Interestingly, the form *ġādi* is attested only without an *imāla*[231]. The form *ġādîka* is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 656) and *ġādēka* for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 113).

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226 In fast speech occasionally realized as *āms*.

227 The form *āmis* is attested 17 times, whereas *(il)-bāraḥ ~ mbāraḥ* are attested 39 times in the corpus.

228 Attested only three times in the corpus.

229 The forms *ġadi* and *ġadīka* hold identical meaning. As for the (theoretical) difference between the form with and without the suffix *-īka* in Tunis Arabic, Singer (1984: 656) remarks: "Eine noch größere Entfernung vom Sprechenden zeigt – theoretisch wenigstens – die erweiterte Form *ġadîkä* bzw. *mən-ġadîkä* an, indes ist meist kein Unterschied in der Verwendung festzustellen […]."

230 And not with *q* as the sedentary Tunisian varieties.

231 There are no instances of **ġādi* attested in the corpus.

- *(l-)fŏg ~ min fog* "above":

*māw **min fŏg** bēt it̲-t̲alⁱž.* "Above is the freezer compartment."

- *(l-ⁱ)hnī ~ (l-ⁱ)hnē ~ (l-ⁱ)hnā̆ ~ (l-ⁱ)hnā̆ya ~ linna* "here":

The forms *(l-ⁱ)hnī ~ (l-ⁱ)hnē ~ (l- ⁱ)hnā̆* are the most commonly used variants: *nā̆ya mawlūda **hnī** fi-Nifza.* "I was born here in Nefza.", *t̲ā̆na kīf ⁱ**hnī**.* "It is also like here.", *qrīt ⁱ**hnē**.* "I studied here.", *miš min ⁱ**hnā̆** r̲āhi.* "She is not from here.", *naḥna ʕinna t̲manya snīn **l-ⁱhnā̆**.* "We have been here for eight years.", *yžū yitʕaššu baḥd̲ā̆na **l-ⁱhnā̆**.* "They come to have dinner here at our place." The more original forms *(l-ⁱ)hnī ~ (l-ⁱ)hnē* are mostly attested without the definite article, whereas the form *(l- ⁱ)hnā̆* is often attested with the definite article. The form *min hnā̆* "from here" can be abbreviated to *minna*[232], which is a form used by urban young and middle-aged speakers.

Moreover, the form *(l-ⁱ)hnā̆ya*[233] is attested eight times[234] in the corpus and is used by speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds: *nā̆ya **hnā̆ya** ʕindi sitta snīn.* "I have been here for six years.", *bdīt **l-ⁱhnā̆ya**.* "I started here.", *l-ᵃʕbā̆d **l-ⁱhnā̆ya*** "the people here". Beside the suffix *-ya*, there is one instance of this adverb with the suffix *-kīna* attested in the corpus: *ugᵘʕdi baḥd̲ā̆na **hnā̆kīna**!* "Stay^SG.F here at our place!"

Lastly, the variant *linna* is a modern new form, used by young speakers: *ugᵘʕdi **linna** šwayy!* "Stay here for a little while!", *dā̆r̲ ʕammi **linna**.* "My (paternal) uncle's house is here."

- *l-ōṭa ~ m-il-ōṭa* "below":

*il-kaff **m-il-ōṭa*** "foot sole (lit. ˈthe palm/sole from belowˈ)".

3.2.3. Manner

This chapter comprises various adverbs of manner (including adverbs of quantity) used in NA:

- *bar̲ša* "much, many; very":

The most commonly used form meaning "much, many" and "very" is *bar̲ša*. This typical Tunisian[235] adverb is used by speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds. The form *bar̲ša* can be used with verbs, nouns and adjectives.

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232 The form is also attested for Tunis Arabic as *mənnä* (cf. Singer 1984: 654) and for Douz Arabic as *minna* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 112).

233 Regarding this form in other Arabic varieties, Fischer (1959: 98f.) remarks: "Am häufigsten und weitesten verbreitet findet sich *-jā* bei dem lokalen Demonstrativum *hunā*: **hunājā*". Moreover, he states this form is widespread among Maghrebi varieties as well as in Yemen.

234 By comparison, the frequency of occurrence of the variants without the suffix *-ya* is: *(l-ⁱ)hnā̆* (83x), *(l-ⁱ)hnē* (23x) and *(l-ⁱ)hnī* (17x).

235 Cf. Ph. Marçais (1977: 267): "barša (d'origine turque) est le terme tunisien".

When used with verbs, it follows the verb and means "a lot": *taḥrig baṛša.* "It (the stinging nettle) burns a lot.", *yḥibbu bʕaḏhum hum baṛša.* "They love each other a lot.", *kunti tixⁱdmi baṛša qbal.* "YouˢᴳꞏF used to work a lot before."

When used with nouns, *baṛša* is an adjective, which usually precedes the noun and means "many" with an indefinite plural noun or "much" with an indefinite uncountable noun: *ṛudd bā̃lik, ṛām baṛša ʕīnēn yuxᵘzrū-lik.* "Be careful, many (evil) eyes are watching you.", *famma baṛša ʕbād xuṛžu min Tūnis.* "There are many people who left Tunisia.", *baṛša ḏṛāwīn* "many children", *baṛša ḥāžāt* "many things".

When used with adjectives, it usually follows the adjective and means "very": *bāhi baṛša ṛāhu.* "It/He is (indeed) very good.", *l-ⁱḥwā nḏīf w-iṭ-ṭabīʕa taḥfūna baṛša.* "The air is clean and the nature is very nice."

- *baṛⁱk ~ baṛka* "only":

This adverb is used in postpositive position: *yžū ʕāyilt il-ᵃʕrīs w-ʕāyilt il-ᵘʕrūsa baṛⁱk.* "Only the groom's and the bride's families come.", *tlā̃ṭa šhūṛ baṛⁱk* "only three months", *tiḥki b-il-ʕaṛbi? – šwayy baṛk.* "Do you speak Arabic? – Only a little.", *ʕandna džā̃žtīn baṛk.* "We only have two chickens.", *w-humma ʕandhum ōḏumka baṛka.* "And they have only those." The variant *baṛka* is mostly used by young and urban speakers.

- *ʕan bā̃l- ~ fi-bā̃l-* "I think, I thought":

This adverb in this meaning is used only with the 1ꜱᴳ suffix: *ʕan bā̃li ʕṭētik nāya.* "I thought I gave (it) to you.", *ʕan bā̃li mā̃šya l-Almānya.* "I thought she is going to Germany." The variant *ʕan bā̃l-* is rather rural, whereas the form *fi-bā̃l-* is limited to young urban speakers. *fi-bā̃l-* is also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 131). Regarding the form *ʕan* of the adverb *ʕan bā̃l-*, it is probably an abbreviated form of the preposition *ʕand*.[236]

- *ṯāna* "also, too":

The form *ṯāna*[237] is the original and original form for "also, too": *yžībūh ṯāna*… "They also bring it/him…", *hāw baḥḏāh ṯāna.* "Here he is next to him as well.", *hā̃ḏa ṯāna ʕāyla waḥḥádha.* "This is also a family by themselves." However, it is not used by young speakers, who use *zāda* instead.

This adverb is also attested for Annaba Arabic (*tāna*, cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 19) and Mahadhba Arabic (*tána*, cf. Marçais/Viré 1981: 386). Moreover, the form *ṯāni/ṯāni* is attested for the varieties of El Kef (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 131f.).

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236 This assumption is supported by the existence of the form *ʕind⁽ᵃ⁾ bāl-* in Douz Arabic. However, in that variety, *ʕind⁽ᵃ⁾ bāl-* has a different meaning than *fi-bāl-*: "*ʕind⁽ᵃ⁾ bāl* mit Suffixen drückt eine Absicht in der Vergangenheit aus, ein nicht durchgeführtes Vorhaben." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 131).

237 Additionally, there is one instance of the form *ḏāna* attested in the corpus, which seems to have the same meaning as *ṯāna*, which on the other hand is attested 28 times in the corpus. However, it cannot be ruled out that the speaker misspoke this form.

-   *žimla* "not at all":

This adverb is a modern form and is used by young and urban middle-aged speakers. It is the modern equivalent of *xḷāṣ*: *mā-taʕⁱrfī-š iš-šaxⁱṣ hāḏ̣āka* **žimla**. "You don't know that person at all.", *mā-ṣāṛit-ši* **žimla**. "It never happened before (ʾlit. it didn't happen at all')." For the sake of additional reinforcement, *žimla* can be doubled: *mā-yitfāqū-š*[238] **žimla žimla**. "They don't separate at all."

-   *ḥatta* "also, too; even":

In contrast to *t̠āna* and *zāda*, the adverb *ḥatta* precedes the antecedent: **ḥatta** *f-il-ᵃʕṛāṣ wallu yaʕⁱmlu fāha.* "They started doing it at weddings as well.", **ḥatta** *mā-ʕindhā-š, ddanni džāža…* "Even if she doesn't have (money), she cooks a chicken…", *fi-Nifza willa fi-Bāža willa* **ḥatta** *fi-Tūnis.* "In Nefza, in Béja or even in Tunis.", **ḥatta** *Tūnis ṭubbitna bāḥīn.* "(In) Tunisia as well (not only abroad), our doctors are good."

-   *(il-)ḥāṣīlu* "briefly, in short":

ḥāṣīlu *sabʕ ayyām kāmlīʔn.* "In short, (the wedding lasts for) seven full days."

This adverb which originates from OA *al-ḥāṣilu* is also attested for the Tunisian varieties of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 645), Takrouna (cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 836) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 133).

-   *b-il-ḥaqq* "really":

mā-yuḥkum-ⁱš **b-il-ḥaqq**. "He doesn't really rule."

-   *xāṣṣtán* "especially":

xāṣṣtán *l-ⁱbnāwīt hāḏīya* "especially these girls", *naḥna* **xāṣṣtán** *f-iš-šamāl nitšaṛṛfu bāha.* "Especially us in the North, we are honored by it (our Bedouin-type variety)."

-   *xḷāṣ* "not at all; totally":

In combination with a negation *xḷāṣ* means "not at all": *mā-fammā-š ygūlu ġnam ⁱ***xḷāṣ**. "There are no (people here) at all who say *ġnam* (instead, they say *ġlam*)." Without a negation it means "totally", i.e. it is stronger than the adverbs *baṛša* and *yāsir* which mean "very": *hāy sāhla* **xḷāṣ***!* "It is totally easy!". This adverb is a rather rural form and is not used by young speakers, who use *žimla* instead. The adverb *xᵃlāṣ / xlāṣ* is also attested for the Tunisian Bedouin varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 135) and Ouled Slama (Testour) (cf. Oueslati 2022: 68, 71).

-   *dūn* "only":

The form *dūn* is attested four times in the corpus and is used by speakers of various ages (10-70). In contrast to *baṛⁱk ~ baṛka*, it precedes the antecedent: *klāhim il-kull, bqit* **dūn** *waḥda.* "He ate all of them, only one was left.", **dūn** *inti?* "Only you^SG.F?", *naʕⁱrfū-š aṣⁱlhum,* **dūn** *naʕrif žīrān baḥḏa bʕaḏna,*

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238 *< mā-yitfāṛqū-š.*

nusᵘknu baḥḍa bʕaḏna. "We don't know their origin, I only know (that we are) neighbors next to each other, we live next to each other."

The adverb *dūn* (in this meaning) is to my knowledge not attested for other Tunisian varieties, however it is attested in different meanings: in El Hamma Arabic it is a preposition meaning "en deçà de" (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1932: 219) and in Douz Arabic it is attested as both an adverb meaning "doch!" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 136) and a preposition meaning "diesseits von" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 167).

- *b-iḍ-ḏimma* "specifically (designated for sb./sth.), explicitly, intended for sb./sth.":

*hūwa žild iṯ-ṯōṛ kī yabdu ḏābḥīn ṯōr **b-iḍ-ḏimma**, ynaḥḥū-lu ž-žilda.* "The bull's skin, when they have slaughtered a bull especially for the purpose of obtaining leather, they remove his skin."

- *b-zarba* "fast":

*māy tiḥki **b-zarba**.* "(Because) she speaks fast."

- *zāda* "also, too":

The form *zāda* is limited to young and urban middle-aged speakers (old speakers use exclusively *ṯāna*): *famma **zāda** baṛša ʕbād…* "There are also many people…", *taww nwaṛṛihū-lik **zāda** f-it-tṣāwir.* "I will also show it to you in the pictures.", *ʕindik il-ḥuṛṛāga **zāda**.* "You also have the stinging nettle (listing officinal plants)."

In the meaning "also, too", *ḥatta* is occasionally combined with the adverb *ṯāna*: *ḥatta hnā **ṯāna** ygulu…* "Also, here they say…", *ḥatta s-sifsāri māš yaržaʕ **ṯāna**.* "Also, the *sifsāri*[239] will return (and become trendy again)."

- *b-is-sēf* "under constraint; with difficulty":

kīfāš ⁱssammūh[240] *kī yabda wāḥid yitnaffis **b-is-sēf**?* "How do you call it when someone breathes with difficulty?".

- *šwayy* "a little, a bit":

*yṭaḷḷaʕ **šwayy** it-tension.* "It (the rosemary) raises the (blood) pressure a little.", *l-ᵃʕšīya māw tibrid ⁱ**šwayy**.* "Because (the weather) gets a bit colder in the afternoon." *bʕīd ʕlīna **šwayy**.* "It is a little bit far from us.", *qbal ⁱ**šwayy** ḥaṭṭ it-tālīfōn fōg iṭ-ṭāwla.* "A short while ago he put the phone on the table.", *taww nzīd ⁱ**šwayy** w-nnaḥḥāha.* "After a short while (lit. ʾI will go on for a bit') I will remove it."

With nouns, the form *šwayya* is used rather than *šwayy*: *ʕandik-ši yʕayyšik **šwayya** ribⁱḥ?* "Do you (by any chance) have some salt, please?", ***šwayya** ġalla* "some fruit".

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239 Traditional white veil.

240 < *tsammūh*.

- *b-iḍ-ḍabᵢṭ* "exactly":

*āk id-dāṛ illi baḥḍāna **b-iḍ-ḍabᵢṭ** ᵢdgūl xuyya.* "(The people from) that house which is exactly next to us say *xuyya* (and not *xūya*).", *šnūwa ṭhibbi taʕᵢrfi* **b-iḍ-ḍabᵢṭ** *ʕa-l-ᵘʕṛūsāt?* "What do youˢᴳ·ᶠ want to know exactly about the weddings?".

- *ṭūl* "totally; directly; not at all":

The adverb *ṭūl* has several meanings. In combination with a negation, it means "not at all": *mā-ḥabb-š yuṛgud **ṭūl**.* "He didn't want to sleep at all.", *hāḍīka mā-nistaʕᵢmlūhā-š **ṭūl**.* "We don't use that (word) at all." Without a negation it means "totally" and "directly": *ḍuʕt **ṭūl**.* "I totally got lost.", *nžāwib **ṭūl?*** "Should I answer directly (without repeating the question)?", *iḥki **ṭūl**, m-ġīr-ma tugᵘʕdi tfassrī-lha!* "Speak directly, without explaining it (the meaning of the words) to her!"

Moreover, *ṭūl* as a local adverb means "straight ahead": *imši **ṭūl**!* "Go straight ahead!"

- *b-il-ᵢgdī ~ b-il-ᵢgdē ~ b-il-ᵢgdā̄*[241] "well; very much":

*taww baṛka **b-il-ᵢgdē**.* "Only now (we started living) well.", *nāya šrabᵢt ummēha, nalgāha xfīfa **b-il-ᵢgdē**.* "I drank waterᴰᴵᴹ and found it very (delightfully) light.", *xādimha **b-il-ᵢgdā̄**.* "He has worked it well.", *kunna qbal ʕāyšīn **b-il-ᵢgdā̄**.* "Before we were living well."

It is occasionally used in repeated form, which expresses a greater emphasis: *illi yixᵢdmu b-il-ʕarbi tāʕbīn. tāʕbīn **b-il-ᵢgdī b-il-ᵢgdī**.* "The ones who work in the traditional way are exhausted (from the hard work). They are very very tired.", *naʕrif ṛōḥi **b-il-ᵢgdē b-il-ᵢgdē**.* "I know myself very well.", *ynaḍḍif ir-rḥim **b-il-ᵢgdā̄ b-il-ᵢgdā̄**.* "It cleans the uterus very well."

- *taqrīb* "approximately":

*b-alfēn **taqrīb**.* "(It costs) approximately 2000 (millimes)." *hūma xamsa surrāḥ **taqrīb**.* "They are about five shepherds."

- *qlīl ~ glīl* "rarely; a little":

Both variants are attested equally often in the corpus: ***qlīl** talgi…* "Youˢᴳ·ᶠ rarely find…", *ṛāžil āḍāya ṛāw **glīl** il-ḥaṛka.* "This man moves seldomly (because he is lazy)."

- *kaḍā* "and so on":

This adverb is mostly used in combination with the conjunction *w-*: *taww nṣubbu ʕlīkum **w-kaḍā**.* "(They told us) we will pay you (the pensions) and so on.", *yāxḍu min ʕind hāk il-fallāḥ illi žāb il-gamᵢḥ w-iš-šʕīr w-il-fūl w-il-ḥumᵘ*ṣ **w-kaḍā** w-**kaḍā** w-**kaḍā** w-**kaḍā**.* "They take (it) from that farmer which has brought the wheat, the barley, the broad beans, the chickpeas and so on."

Moreover, the adverb *kaḍā* can correspond to the meaning of the adjective *fūlāni*: *ṛāw nhāṛ **kaḍā kaḍā**.* "It is the so-and-so day."

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241 For the final *imāla* of monosyllabic words see 2.1.2.1.3.4.

- *kāmil* "whole, complete":

This adverb agrees with the antecedent in gender and number (FEM *kāmla*, PL *kāmlīn*): *nhāṛ **kāmil*** "the whole day", *sabʕ ayyām **kāmlīʔn*** "seven whole days", *tʕūd il-xidma miz-zālit miš **kāmla*** "when the work is not complete yet".

- *(h)akka ~ (h)akkāka ~ (h)akkāka ~ (h)akkāya* "like this":

*dīma ykuḥḥ **hakkāya**.* "He always coughs like this.", *yʕīš **akkāka**.* "He lives like this.", *gāl-lhum: ṛāw **hakka** w-**hakka** w-**hakka**.* "He told them: It is like this, like this and like this (telling a story)."

Additionally, the adverbs *(h)akka ~ (h)akkāka ~ (h)akkāka ~ (h)akkāya* can be combined with the preposition *kī(f) ~ kīf-in*: *ṣāfi **kī hakkāka*** "pure like this", *sabʕa šbār **kīf-in hakkāya*** "seven spans like this", *ʕāmilha **kī akkāka**.* "He has made it like this.", *w-il-ġāba **kī hakka** baḥḏāna.* "And the forest is next to us like this." This construction, i.e. adverb plus preposition as opposed to the adverb by itself, seems to be mostly used by old speakers.

The variant *(h)akkāka* is limited to old and rural middle-aged speakers and is a distinctive feature of NA. In sedentary Tunisian varieties the equivalent is realized with an *imāla*: *(h)akkāka*. The latter form is used in NA as well, however it is a newer, modern form.

- *yāsir* "much, many; very":

The invariable form *yāsir* is less frequently attested in the corpus[242] than *baṛša*, however it is a common form, especially among rural speakers. The form *yāsir* can be used with verbs, nouns and adjectives.

When used with verbs, it follows the verb and means "a lot": *kī tʕūd titḥaddiṯ **yāsir*** "when she speaks a lot", *galligha **yāsir**.* "He annoyed her a lot."

When used with nouns, *yāsir* is an adjective means "many" with an indefinite plural noun or "much" with an indefinite uncountable noun.[243] However, in contrast to *baṛša*, *yāsir* is attested more often in a postpositive position with nouns: *mā-fīhū-š ʕbād **yāsir**.* "There are not many people in it.", *ʕindna mašākil **yāsir**.* "We have many problems." Moreover, *yāsir* is seldom used with nouns, but rather with verbs and adjectives.

In combination with an adjective, it means "very": *kān ġāli **yāsir**.* "It was very expensive.", *hūw tāʕib **yāsir**.* "He is very tired.", *ṣāba kbīra **yāsir*** "a very big harvest", *žwāʕa **yāsir**.* "They are very stingy (lit. ʾhungryʾ).", *muṛṛ **yāsir**.* "(It is) very bitter." The form *yāsir* shows a tendency of usage with negatively connoted adjectives, in contrast to *baṛša*, which does not show any tendency concerning the type of adjective it is used with.

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242 The adverb *baṛša* is attested 122 times, whereas the adverb *yāsir* is attested 55 times in the corpus.

243 Next to *baṛša* and *yāsir*, in this function (as an adjective meaning "much/many") also the form *kudᵘs* is used: *ʕandi **kudᵘs** ḥwāyž.* "I have many clothes.", *ʕandah **kudᵘs** flūs.* "He has a lot of money."

3.2.4. Interrogatives

- *(w)ʕlāš* "why?":

ʕlāš mā-yidris-ⁱš? "Why doesn't he thresh?", *wʕlāš mā-žāʔ-š?* "Why didn't he come?". In combination with the SG.M distal demonstrative *(h)āḏāka ~ (h)āḏāka* it means "therefore, for this reason": *hāḏāka ʕlāš nḥibbah.* "That's why I love him."

Alternative ways of expressing "why?" are *šbī-* (*šbī- ~ āšbī- ~ wišbī-*) and *waṛṛā-*, both followed by a pronominal suffix[244]: *āšbīk tlūm fīya?* "Why are you^SG.M reprimanding me?", *āšbīh žā?* "Why did he come?", *wišbīk msakkra ʕlā rōḥik il-bāb inti?* "Why have you closed the door?", *waṛṛāk akkāka?*[245] "Why are you like this?" The construction *šbī-* (*< āš + bī*) is very commonly used, whereas *waṛṛā-* on the other hand is limited to old rural speakers and is attested only with 2SG suffixes *waṛṛāk* and *waṛṛāki*.

- *gaddāš ~ gaddāh* "how much, how many?":

gaddāš il-waqⁱt? "What time is it (lit. ʿhow much is the timeʾ)?". In combination with the preposition *b-* it means "how much?" (referring to the price): *ⁱb-gaddāš ṛṭal il-gāṛiṣ?* "How much is half a kilo of lemons?" Moreover, pronominal suffixes can be added to *b-gaddāš*[246]: *b-gaddāšu? b-alfēn taqrīb.* "How much is it? It is about 2000 (millimes)."

With countable nouns the construction *gaddāš min*[247] + SG noun is used: *gaddāš min nhāṛ il-ʕⁱrⁱs?* "How many days (does) the wedding (last for)?", *gaddāš ʕindik min wlayyid? ~ gaddāš min ṣġīr ʕindik?* "How many children do you have?".

Lastly, the variant *gaddāh* is attested for young and middle-aged urban speakers: *gaddāh hōḏa?* "How many are these (showing three fingers)?"

- *kīfāš ~ kīfāh* "how?":

hāḏīya kīfāš ⁱtfūtik? "How could you miss out on this?", *w-il-lḥam kīfāš tišrūh?* "And how do you^PL buy the meat?", *kīfāš yaʕⁱmlūh?* "How do they do it?". The variant *kīfāh* is a marginal form[248] in NA and is used by young speakers only.

- *mnēn ~ mnīn* (*< min + wēn*) "from where?":

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244 As for the peculiarity of 2SG gender distinction (*-k / -ki*), it is attested for some speakers, however it is an option and not a rule, thus *wišbīk* and *wišbīki* referring to a FEM antecedent are both possible.

245 For NA speakers, this sentence represents a shibboleth for their variety, as features like the construction *waṛṛā-* and *akkāka* without an *imāla* are not found in sedentary Tunisian varieties and therefore special.

246 This might be a special feature of NA, as it is not attested for the varieties of Tunis and Douz.

247 The form *gaddāš min* is attested four times, however its abbreviated version **gaddāš-in* is not attested in my corpus, but is common among Tunisian varieties: see *qaddâšen* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 268) and *gaddāš-(m)in* in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 106f.).

248 Attested only three times, as opposed to *kīfāš*, which is attested 72 times in the corpus.

mnīn žīʾt? "Where did you[SG.M] come from?", *inta mnīʾn*[249]*? ~ inta mnēn?* "Where are you[SG.M] from?". The variants *mnēn* and *mnīn* have the same frequency of occurrence in the corpus, however *mnēn* is considered slightly more rural and *mnīn* on the other hand more urban[250].

- *waqtāš*[251] *~ wagtāš* (< *waqt* + *āš*) "when?":

waqtāš rītīh? "When did you[SG.F] see him?". The variant *wagtāš* is only used by middle-aged and old rural speakers[252]: *wagtāš ssqallit*[253] *Tūnis?* "When did Tunisia gain independence?", *yaʕᵢrfu l-ᵃʕšī wagtāš w-il-ᵢfṭūr wagtāš.* "They know when the dinner is and when the lunch is."

- *wimta* "when?":

wimta ʕām n-āwil? "When last year?", *wimta rītīh?* "When did you[SG.F] see him?". The interrogative *wimta* "when?" is attested only twice in the corpus. Similar forms are attested for the varieties of Takrouna (*imta*, cf. Singer 1980: 258), Magsam Trab (*wēmta*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b: 356) and Douz (*yēmat*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 105).

- *wēn ~ wīn ~ fēn ~ ᵘffēn* "where?":

While both *wēn* and *fēn* are frequently used variants[254], pronominal suffixes can only be attached to the variants *wēn ~ wīn*, whereas the variants *fēn ~ ᵘffēn* are only attested alone: *fēn yḥuṭṭōha?* "Where do they put her/it?", *fēn kunti?* "Where have you[SG.F] been?", *dāṛik ᵘffēn?* "Where is your house?", *ᵘffēn il-kaṛᵢhba?* "Where is the car?". Examples of *wēn ~ wīn* with pronominal suffixes: *tālīfōni wēnah?* "Where is my phone?", *wēnhum in-nsāwīn?* "Where are the women?" The 3SG.F forms of *wēn ~ wīn* are the extraordinary *wēni* and *wāhi* (both attested three times each in the corpus): *wēni l-žumla?* "Where is the sentence?", *wāhi l-kaṛᵢhba?* "Where is the car?". The form *wēni* is formed with the 3SG.F enclitic personal pronoun, in contrast to the 3SG.M form *wēnah* which is formed with the pronominal suffix *-ah*. As for the remarkable form *wāhi*, a similar form (*wāha*) is attested for Douz Arabic next to *wēnha* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 103f.). In contrast to NA, both of the forms used in Douz Arabic (*wēnha* and *wāha*) are formed with the pronominal suffix, and not with the enclitic personal pronoun, as it is the case in NA.

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249 On the diphthongization of *ī* see 2.4.4.2.

250 The form *mnīn* is also used in the sedentary variety of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 652f.), whereas the (in NA rather rural) form *mnēn* is attested for the Bedouin variety of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 104f.).

251 Occasionally realized as *wuqtāš*.

252 Attested for Touila and Zaga. This interrogative pronounced with *g* is also attested for South Tunisian varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 105), Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 76) and El Hamma (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1933: 80).

253 < *stqallit*.

254 Regarding the frequency of occurrence of each variant, it is *wēn* (64x), *fēn* (27x), *wīn* (18x) and *ᵘffēn* (3x).

The form *uffēn* (< *fī* + *wēn*) is only attested for Zaga. Moreover, the variant *wīn* is much less frequently used than *wēn* and is often used in the meaning of "where to?": ***wīn** māšya?* "Where are you^SG.F going?".

Regarding other varieties of the region, a variation of forms with initial *w-* and *f-* (*wīn ~ fīn*) is also attested for the variety of the nearby town of Mateur (cf. Mion 2014a: 69).

Lastly, the interrogative *wēn* is also used as a temporal conjunction.[255]

3.3. Particles

3.3.1. Article

The definite[256] article in NA is *il-*, which becomes *l-* after a vowel-final and before a vowel-initial[257] word, as in *žābu l-mē.* "They brought the water.", *l-ōxuṛ* "the other^SG.M one" and *l-ⁱbnāt* "the girls". In a definite attributive phrase, occasionally the antecedent does not have a definite article[258]: *ʕīd l-ⁱkbīr* "Eid al-Adha", *ʕīd iṣ-ṣġīr* "Eid al-Fitr", *ʕām iž-žāy* "next year", *ʕām n-awwil*[259] "last year", *nās il-kull* "all the people", *ḥaywānāt l-uxrīn* "the other animals".

The *l* of the article is subject to assimilation to the following consonant, i.e. the initial consonant of the noun it is attached to, if that consonant is one of the following:

- all coronal ("sun") consonants: In the vast majority of the cases, *il-* is assimilated to coronal consonants: *taww nwaṛṛīk in-nabta.* "I will show you the plant." There are rare cases attested in the corpus where *il-* is not assimilated to such consonants: *waṛṛōha l-sifsāri!* "Show^PL her the *sifsāri*!"

- *ž*: Additionally to the coronal consonants, *il-* is mostly assimilated to *ž* as well: *ʕanna ž-žṛāna.* "We have the frog (listing animals)." The exceptions to this rule seem to be mostly found with OA borrowings: *w-f-il-žanūb yimšu ʕa-ž-žmāl.* "And in the South they go on camels.", *wēni l-žumla?* "Where is the sentence?"

- *m:* As a general rule, *l* of the definite article remains *l* before *m*: *il-minžil* "the sickle", *il-maṛga* "the sauce". However, there are some few examples of the assimilation of *l* to *m*: *bīn im-mdīna w-bīn ir-rīf* "between the city and the countryside", *tnaḥḥi sxānit im-mṣāṛin.* "It removes the fever (i.e.

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255 For *wēn* as a conjunction meaning "when" see 3.3.7.

256 There is no indefinite article used in NA.

257 Including the anaptyctic vowel before a word-initial two consonant cluster.

258 Also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 441f.). Moreover, see Procházka (2022: 543): "Numerous cases of DEF-marking of the adjective are attested throughout the history of the Arabic language. The syntagm NOUN DEF -ADJ is occasionally found even in the Koran […]."

259 In this adverb, *l* of the article became *n*.

the illness) of the intestines." *il-bāraḥ kānt im-mṭaṛ ⁱṭṣubb.* "Yesterday it was raining."

Taking the word *mṛā ~ mrē* "woman" as an example, the form *l-ⁱmṛā* (without an assimilation) is attested 25 times in the corpus, whereas *im-mrē ~ im-mṛā*[260] is attested six times in the corpus, used by old speakers[261]: *nīya ⁱxṭabⁱt ⁱmrē, im-mrē mā-rrīhā-š maṛṛa waḥda.* "I asked for a woman's hand, I did not see the woman (even) once.", *im-mrē mā-yašbaḥḥā-š iṛ-ṛāžil fi-dāṛ ᵘḫḫayyha.* "The man doesn't see the woman in her father's house."

Moreover, the word *mṭaṛ* "rain" is attested twice with the assimilated article and, on the other hand, nine times with no assimilation: *l-ⁱmṭaṛ*.

- *k:* The assimilation of *l* of the definite article to *k* is attested only four times[262] in the corpus, making it a marginal phenomenon in NA: *āma k-klāb hōḏumka byuḏ.* "But those dogs are white.", *titlamm in-nās ik-kullīka.*[263] "All the people gather.", *nzil m-ik-kaṛⁱhba.* "He got off the car."

- *b:* An even less frequently attested[264] phenomenon is the assimilation of *l* to *b: tissamma*[265] *b-Bḥāḥīya, w-baʕⁱd il-Bḥāḥīya titsamma Ngāša.* "It is called Bḥāḥīya and after Bḥāḥīya it is called Ngāša (naming localities near Zaga).", *bāš ib-bnāwīt tixdim* "so that the girls work", *qāḍi b-blād* "judge of the town".

Regarding this phenomenon in Maghrebi varieties, Ph. Marçais (1977: 162) remarks that in Maghrebi Bedouin varieties the article is often assimilated in front of *k: ǝk-kull*, and that in different Maghrebi varieties, especially the ones of "Nord constantinois" (Northeast Algeria) the article can be assimilated to *b*, *m* and *q: ǝb-bḥaṛ, ǝm-mṛa* and *ǝq-qǝlb*. As for NA, there are no instances of assimilation before *q* attested in the corpus. Furthermore, Aguadé (2018: 49) states: "Some dialects go a step further and generalize the assimilation of the definite article to labials, velars, and post-velars."

In conclusion, the assimilation of *l* of the article to *m*, *k* and *b* seems to be a marginal phenomenon in NA. Moreover, it is subject to interspeaker variation.

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260 The assimilation of the definite article in the word *hād-ǝm-mṛá* "this woman" is also attested for the Algerian variety of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 458).

261 Hbeba3/m/85, Zaga1/f/83 and Nefza6/f/70. However, the speaker Hbeba3/m/85 uses both *im-mrē* and *l-ⁱmrē*, indicating that the assimilation to *m* is optional.

262 Versus 210 instances of *l-k* (no assimilation of *l* to *k*).

263 The same speaker (Nefza6/f/70) also uses this form without an assimilation: *l-ᵃʕbād il-kullīka* "all the people", indicating the assimilation of *l* to *k* is optional and is subject to intraspeaker variation. Moreover, the optional assimilation of *l* to *k* in the word *ik-kull ~ il-kull* is also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 150).

264 Attested three times in the corpus, by speakers from Zaga, Umm Labid and Nefza.

265 < *titsamma*.

3.3.2. Genitive marker

The genitive marker in NA is the invariable[266] *mtāʕ ~ mtāʕ*, which is often used with pronominal suffixes. Regarding the sociolinguistic aspect, the variant without an *imāla* tends to be more original than *mtāʕ*, however both variants are found among speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds.

The most frequently attested variant[267] is *mtāʕ*[268]: *id-dīyāna* **mtāʕkum** *šnūwa hīya?* "What is your[PL] religion?", *l-ⁱḥṣunna l-xamsa* **mtāʕ** *žāṛi* "the five horses of my neighbor", *yqaṛṛu f-id-dṛāwīn* ⁱ**mtāʕna.** "They teach our children.", *il-kaṛⁱhba* **mtāʕ** *Aḥmid bēḍa.* "Ahmed's car is white."

The variant *mtāʕ* (with an *imāla*) is rather modern[269]: *mā-tansū-š* ⁱ*thizzu mʕākum it-tīlīfūnāt* ⁱ**mtāʕkum***!* "Don't forget[PL] to take your phones with you!", *iṣ-ṣġāṛ šāfu wāḥid ysāsi wṛā d-dāṛ* ⁱ**mtāʕna.** "The children saw someone begging behind our house.", *il-ʕōla* **mtāʕ** *d-dāṛ* "the *ʕōla*[270] of the house".

An infrequent[271] variant is the abbreviated form *tāʕ*[272]: *iš-šuṛba* **tāʕ** *š-šʕīr* "barley soup", *yuṭlub fi-***tāʕ** *ṛabbi.* "He is begging (lit. ʾhe is begging for (the thing) that belongs to God').", *il-ḥinna* **tāʕ** *l-ᵃʕrīs* "the groom's henna".

Moreover, another marginal[273] form is *ntāʕ*, which is attested for the localities Umm Labid and Hbeba: **ntāʕi**, *miš* ⁱ**ntāʕik.** "It is mine, it isn't yours.", *ṯamma* **ntāʕ** *slāṭa w-ṯamma* **ntāʕ** *maṛga.* "There is (*mlūxīya*) used for a salad and (*mlūxīya*) used for a sauce."

3.3.3. Negation
- *lā*:

When used alone, it means "no": *lā, mā-hazzēt šayy.* "No, I didn't take anything." In this case the variant *lā̈* is used as well: *lā̈, mā-nnažžmū-š.* "No, we can't." Moreover, the form *lāla* is also used: *āw gat-lik* **lā̈la.** "She told you

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266 In contrast to Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 151f.) and, among others, many Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties (according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project), where this particle has FEM and PL forms. However, in Douz Arabic the invariable (originally SG.M) form seems to increasingly prevail as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 151). Furthermore, in El Kef Arabic the invariable form *ntāʕ* is used (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340).

267 The form *mtāʕ* is attested 166 times in the corpus, in contrast to *mtāʕ*, which is attested 49 times.

268 The form *mtāʕ* (without an *imāla*) is also attested for Mateur Arabic (cf. Mion 2014a: 60).

269 It is probably an influence of sedentary Tunisian varieties.

270 Preparation of food stocks.

271 Attested four times in the corpus.

272 This form is also attested for the Algerian varieties of Médéa: *fi waṣṭ əl-wīdān tāʕ ᵃl-ġalla* (cf. Bencheneb 1946: 191), Annaba (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 17) and Oran (cf. Guerrero 2015: 227).

273 Attested four times, versus *mtāʕ ~ mtāʕ*, which are attested 215 times in the corpus.

'no'.", *lāla, mā-ṯammā-š.* "No, there isn't any." The latter form holds stronger emphasis[274] and is slightly more rural than *lā ~ lā.*

In the repeated form *lā … lā* it means "neither … nor": *lā nifhim ʕrūsāt lā nidri ʕlāha.* "I neither understand (about) weddings nor know about them.", *lā nimšu l-iz-zāwya, lā niʕ̒mlu ḥatt šayy.* "We neither go to the saint's funeral monument nor do anything.", *mā-yaʕrifha lā ḥōla w-lā farṭāṣa.* "He neither knows if she is cross-eyed nor if she is bold."

In combination with the swear particle *waḷḷa(h)* it expresses absolute negation: *mā-yʕāwnū-š. waḷḷah lā yʕāwnōha.* "They don't help. They really don't help her."

- *mā-*:

The negation particle *mā-* is used in following combinations:

• *mā-… šayy* "nothing": ***mā-nifhmu šayy.*** "We don't understand anything."

• *mā-… ḥatt šayy* "nothing at all": ***mā-ʕēni fi-ḥatt šayy.*** "I don't want anything." Less frequently, the variant *mā-… ḥatta šayy* is attested as well.

• *mā-… ḥadd* "noone": ***mā-yšūfha ḥadd.*** "Noone sees her."

• *mā-… ḥatta ḥadd* "noone at all": ***mā-ḥāšti b-ḥatta ḥadd.*** "I don't need anyone at all."

- *mā-…-š(i)*:

The negative circumfix *mā-…-š(i)* is the usual negation of verbs. The variant *-ši* is rather rural and less frequently attested in the corpus: ***mā-nfaṛṛaqhum-ši.*** "I don't differentiate them." ***mā-ṛawwaḥt-š l-id-dāṛ.*** "I didn't return home."

Furthermore, this particle negates some prepositions and particles: ***ma-ṯammā-š*** "there is no", ***mā-ʕindnā-ši*** "we don't have", ***mā-fīhū-š baṛša ʕbād.*** "There are not many people in it."

Finally, *mā-*, the first part of the circumfix *mā-… -š(i)*, can be dropped (with no change in meaning): *bāhya āma fīhā-š xidma.* "(Nefza is) good but there is no work in it." *taʕrifhā-š?* "Don't you[SG.M] know her/it?"

- *mūš ~ muš*:

The invariable forms *mūš ~ muš* are shortened versions of the 3SG.M negative copula *māhūš*. They are used for the negation of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, participles and (sometimes) verbs: *nās mūš bāhīn.* "(They are) not good people.", *nāya mūš tāʕba.* "I am not tired[FEM].", *muš ᶦdwā.* "It isn't medicine.", *muš tunṭuq b-il-ᶦgdē.* "She isn't pronouncing (it) well."

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[274] A similar situation is found in the South Tunisian variety of El Hamma: "*lâ-la* ou *la-li* marque une négation plus énergique" (cf. Marçais/Jellôuli 1933: 33).

3.3.4. Polar question markers

The polar question markers attested in the corpus are *yā̆xi*, *-ši*, *willā̆* and the clitic *ⁱ*.

- *yā̆xi…?*:

The particle *yā̆xi* and its shortened forms *xi ~ ixxi ~ axxi ~ uxxi* are commonly used: **xi** *fā̆ha sukkuṛ?* "Is there sugar in it?", **uxxi** *žit baṛša nā̆s?* "Did many people come?", **axxi** *sammēt wildik ʕlī?* "Did youˢᴳ·ᴹ name your son Ali?".

The shortened forms are more common than the longer form *yā̆xi*. Moreover, this particle is more frequently attested for urban speakers.

This particle can be used in combination with interrogatives and interrogative adverbs as well (and not only as a polar question marker): **yā̆xi** *wēn mā̆ši?* "Where are youˢᴳ·ᴹ going?".[275]

Beside its function as a polar question marker, the particle *yā̆xi* (and its shortened forms) can also have a reinforcing function: **xi** *l-brīma mā-ʕandū-š ᵘktāṛ.* "(Even) the richest one (among us) doesn't own a hectare."

- *…-ši?*:

The particle *-ši*, which is attested for old speakers[276], marks a polite question and could be translated as "by any chance" or "perhaps"[277]: *ʕandik-***ši** *yʕayyšik šwayya ribⁱḥ?* "Do you, by any chance, have some salt, please?" Moreover, it is used in rhetorical questions: *ʕindnā̆-***ši** *biš nzayynu naḥna?* "Do we have (the means) to decorate?".[278]

- clitic *ⁱ*:

This question marker, which is realized as [ə] and alternatively can possibly be interpreted as a kind of final intonation, is attested for young and urban middle-aged speakers: *ʕažbātikⁱ?* "Did you like it?", *ʕṭīt l-Aḥmid iž-žwā̆bⁱ?* "Did youˢᴳ·ᴹ give the letter to Ahmed?".

In Tunis Arabic, the "clitic vocalic marker *-ə*" is the most frequently used polar question marker (cf. Procházka/Dallaji 2022: 241), while it is not as frequently attested for NA. Similarly, in the Algerian variety of Annaba the vowel *ᵃ* at the end of the sentence is attested to serve as a question marker: *xrəžtiᵃ?* "Did you go out?", *mən hu? Nawēlᵃ?* "Who is this? Nawēl?" (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 11). Furthermore, Bouchhioua et al. (2019) deal

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275 The same holds true for Tunis Arabic: "Its [the particle *yā-xi ~ ya-xxi*] usage in questions is not restricted to polar questions because it is also attested in questions that contain an interrogative adverb." (Procházka/Dallaji 2022: 240).

276 More precisely, Nefza6/f/70 and Zaga1/f/83.

277 Similarly, in Douz Arabic the question particle *-š(i)* also implies the meaning "perhaps" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 156).

278 This polar question marker is used in Tunis Arabic as well: "The enclitic marker *-ši* mainly expresses contingence or adds a dubitative nuance to the question." (Procházka/Dallaji 2022: 236).

with the variation in prosodic and segmental marking of polar questions in Tunisian Arabic.

Beside the polar question markers *yā̆xi*, *-ši* and the clitic *ⁱ*, the tag question marker *willā̆* is used: *ṯḥibbā̆ha fā̆ha zhaṛ **willā̆**?* "Do you[SG.F] like it (the coffee) with orange flower water in it?", *ṣḥīḥ **willā̆**? ʕandkum **willā̆**? āka hūw ʕād.* "Is it correct? Do you[PL] have (that)? That's it." The form *willā̆* is a merge of *willa* "or" + *lā̆* "not".

3.3.5. Exclamative particles

- *tī*:

The exclamative particle *tī* and its shortened form *ī* are commonly used.[279] This particle can often be left untranslated. It can express insistence and emotional emphasis, however it holds a broad variety of meanings: ***tī** baṛṛa!* "Come on (do it)!", ***tī** sakkir il-bībā̆n!* "Close the doors!", *ī abqa šwayy!* "Come on, stay[SG.M] for a bit!", *ā̆šbīh? – **tī** hā̆w žīʕān aḏ̣āka.* "What is wrong with him? – That (man) is hungry.", *ī āka hūw.* "That's it (then)."

Concerning this particle in other Tunisian varieties, Mion (2014b) treats the exclamative particle *tī* in Tunisian Arabic. Moreover, *ti-* is attested for the varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 156) and Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 728).

- *ṭṛā(h)*:

The particle *ṭṛā(h)* expresses a request: *waṛṛīni **ṭṛā**!* "Come on, show me!" As regards other Tunisian varieties, this particle is attested for the varieties of Tunis (*ṭṛâh*, cf. Singer 1984: 727) and Douz (*ṭṛā(h)*, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 156) as well.

- *yā ~ ā*:

The exclamative particle *yā* and its shortened form *ā* are used to address someone: *ā l-ⁱžmā̆ʕa!* "Guys!", ***yā** ṛāžil!* "Hey, man!", ***yā** ṛabbi!* "Oh, God!", ***yā** l-awlā̆d!* "Boys!", *ā Fāṭma!* "Fatima!".

3.3.6. Prepositions

Prepositions precede a noun or are combined with a pronominal suffix. The pronominal suffixes attached to prepositions equal the ones attached to nouns. Moreover, some prepositions can be negated.

The prepositions are presented in alphabetic order (according to their etymological roots).

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279 Moreover, Singer (1984: 728) and Mion (2014b: 282) list the abbreviated form *t-*, which is not attested for NA. Then again, the form *ī*, which is used in NA, is not attested in these two sources.

-     *b-* "with, by (means of)":

*yšalļṭū-lah **b**-mūs ḷām.* "They incise him with a shaving razor.", *yʕāwnu* ***b**-il-kusⁿksi.* "They help (the family) with couscous.", *nquṣṣha **b**-is-sikkīn.* "I cut it with the knife.", ***b**-āš tāklūh?* "What do youᴾᴸ eat it with?".

With pronominal suffixes the preposition is *bī-*: *w-ⁱšnūwa taʕⁱmlu **bīh** āxaṛ?* "What else do youᴾᴸ do with it?", *uṛbuṭ **bā̄ha**[280] ṭ-ṭīṛān!* "Tie the bulls with it!", *maṛⁱḥbā **bīk**!* "Welcome!"

This preposition is also used when talking about the price: ***b**-gaddāš ⁱṛtal il-gāṛiṣ? – **b**-tlāt ālāf.* "How much is half a kilo of lemons? – It is 3000 (millimes)."

-     *baʕⁱd* "after":

***baʕⁱd** l-ⁱftūṛ* "after lunch", ***baʕⁱd** ġudⁱʷwtēn* "the day after the day after tomorrow", ***baʕⁱd** il-ḥinna* "after the henna", ***baʕⁱdha** rkibⁱt f-it-taksi.* "After it I got in the cab."

-     *blā(š)* "without":

***blāš** zdāgāt* "without marriage contracts", *yʕarrsu **blā** zdāg.* "They marry without a marriage contract."[281] This preposition is not attested with pronominal suffixes in the corpus. In contrast, the synonymous preposition *min ġēr-* (see below) is attested with pronominal suffixes.

-     *(mā-)bēn ~ (mā-)bīnāt-* "between":

***bēn** Nifza w-Bā̄ža* "between Nefza and Béja", *il-musāwāt **bīnāt** iṛ-ṛāžil w-il-ⁱmṛā* "the equality between the man and the woman". The form *mā-bīnāt-* is used only with (plural) pronominal suffixes: ***mā-bīnā̄tna** l-kayyās.* "Between us is the (paved) road.", *xāṭiṛ faṛq **mā-bīnā̄thim**.* "Because (there is) a difference between them."

-     *tāli min* "behind":
tāli m-id-dāṛ "behind the house".

-     *tiḥⁱt*[282] "under":
***tiḥⁱt** iṭ-ṭāwla* "under the table".

-     *ḥattā̄š ~ ḥattā̄n* "until":
***ḥattā̄š** nhāṛ il-faṛga* "until the *faṛga* day[283]", *m-il-bittīx*[284] ***ḥattā̄n** l-ⁱbṣal.* "(We used to grow everything:) from rockmelons to onions."

-     *baḥda ~ ḥḏā* "next to, beside":

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[280] *bī- > bā̄-* due to vowel harmony.

[281] These two examples illustrate the interchangeability of the forms *blā* and *blāš*, as they are used with the same noun.

[282] This preposition is also attested with the vowel change *a > i* for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 163), whereas in Tunis Arabic it remained *taḥt* (cf. Singer 1984: 629).

[283] *nhāṛ il-faṛga* is the third day after a person dies.

[284] Usually, the NA form is *biṭṭīx*, but this speaker realizes it with a non-emphatic *t*.

The variant *baḥḍa* is by far[285] more commonly used than *ḥḍā*, which is attested only in questionnaires, and not in free speech texts: *xāṭir ʕāšu* **baḥḍāna**. "Because they lived next to us.", *yitlammu* **baḥḍa** *l-ᵃʕrūsa*. "They gather next to the bride."

- *ʕlā ~ ʕa-* "on":

nṭull **ʕlā** *bāba.* "I pay a visit to my father." When followed by the definite article *il*, mostly the abbreviated form *ʕa-* is used: **ʕa-ṭ-ṭāwla** "on the table", **ʕa-ž-žmāl** "on camels".

With pronominal suffixes, the preposition is *ʕlī-*: *yḥuṭṭ* **ʕlīh** "he puts on him", *mā-nikḍib-š* **ʕlīk**. "I don't (want to) lie to you."

- *ʕind ~ ʕand* "next to; in possession of":

The variant *ʕind* is more original than *ʕand*, however both are common: **ʕind** *akbir wāḥid f-il-ḥōma* "at (the home of) the eldest one in the neighborhood", *mā-xdimt-ᵢš* **ʕand** *in-nās. "*I didn't work at (the homes of) people."

Concerning the forms of this preposition with pronominal suffixes, they show a great variation, particularly the 1PL forms show the greatest variation: *ʕidna*[286] *~ ʕinna ~ ʕanna ~ ʕindna ~ ʕandna*, with *ʕinna* as the most frequently attested variant.

This preposition can be negated (in the meaning "to have"): **mā-ʕindī-š** *waqᵢt.* "I don't have time." Moreover, with a pronominal suffix, it can also be used in the meaning "since": *naḥna l-ᵢhnā* **ʕindna** *ṯmanya snīn.* "We have been here for eight years."

- *ġādi min*[287] "beyond":

ġādi min *Ṭbāba šwayy.* "(That village is located) a little bit beyond Ṭbāba."

- *ġēr-* "another than":

This preposition is attested only with pronominal suffixes: *wāḥid* **ġērik** "someone other than you", **ġēri** *nāya* "other than me".

- *min ġēr* "without":

min **ġērah** "without him".

- *fōg (min)* "on, above":

nžību l-ᵢḥṭab **fōg** *iḍ-ḍhūrāt.* "We bring the firewood on (our) backs". *baḥḍāh taʕlib w-***fōg minnah** *fāṛ.* "Next to him is a fox and above him is a mouse."

- *f(i)-* "in":

twalli tixdim **f-il-lēl**. "You^(SG.M) start working at night.", *kunna nusᵘknu* **fīh** *niḥna.* "We used to live in it.", *f-wtīl* **fī-***Nifza* "in a hotel in Nefza".

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285 The form *baḥḍa* is attested 37 times and the form *ḥḍā* seven times in the corpus.

286 This preposition with an elision of *n* with the 1PL pronominal suffix is also attested for the Algerian variety of Ouled Brahim: *ʕadna ~ ʕaddna* "chez nous" (cf. W. Marçais 1908: 28).

287 The compound preposition *ġadi-mən* "jenseits" is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 635f.).

The negation of *fi-* with pronominal suffixes is possible: **mā-fīhū-š** *sabʕa šbār.* "There are no seven spans in it."

Beside its original function as a preposition, *fi-* also has other functions such as the one of the progressive marker (see 3.3.8) and expressing the superlative: *nāya t-tāʕba* **fīkum.** "I am the most tired one of (all of) you."

-   *qbal ~ gbal* "before":

The most common variant is *qbal*, whereas *gbal*[288] is limited to old rural speakers: *ayyāmāt* **qbal** *il-bāṛāž* "the days before the dam", **qbal** *il-ʕirᵢs ᵢb-nhāṛēʔn* "two days before the wedding".

-   *guddām* "in front of; before":

kān il-bagṛa **guddāmna.** "Only the cow is in front of us.", **guddām** *būh* "in front of his father". There is one instance in the corpus attested in the temporal meaning "before": **guddām** *il-ʕīd* "before the feast".

-   *kī(f) ~ kīma* "like":

kīma *l-bātinžāl* "like the eggplant", *miš* **kīf** *Almānya.* "It is not like Germany.", **kī** *akkāka* "like this". With pronominal suffixes only the form *kīf* is used: *ʕzūza* **kīfi** *nī* "an old woman like me". Additionally, there is one instance of the construction *b-kīf-* with pronominal suffixes attested in the corpus: **b-kīfi** *nāy* "like me".

When used twice in a sentence, the preposition *kī* can mean "same as": *muš* **kī** *taww* **kī** *bikri.* "Now is not the same as before (the earlier times)."

Moreover, the construction *kīf-in*[289] is used in the phrase *kīf-in hakka* "like this".

-   *l-* "for; to; in possession of":

The preposition *l-* corresponds to OA *li-* and *ʔilā*: *id-dwē* **l-il-miʕda** "the medicine for the stomach", *yahᵢbṭu* **l-is-sūg.** "They go to the market.", *šrēt* **l-umma** *zōz ḅākūwāt ᵢḥlīb.* "I bought two packs of milk for my mother."

In combination with pronominal suffixes the preposition is *lī-*: *il-gaṭṭūsa hāḏi* **līya.** "This cat is mine.", *yaḏᵢbḥu* **līh** *šwāh.* "They slaughter sheep for him."

-   *mʕā* "with":

yitᵢšṛáb **mʕā** *mā dāfi.* "It is drunk with warm water.", *naḥna nuxᵘṛžu* **mʕā** *l-kaššāfa.* "We go out with the scouts." With pronominal suffixes, the preposition *mʕā* is attested both with and without an *imāla*: *nāya nimši* **mʕāk.** "I go with you.", *hāḏōna qṛū* **mʕāya.** "These have studied with me."

-   *min* "of, from; since; than":

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288 Additionally, two speakers have stated that the *fvʕl* form *gabᵢl* was used before, however it is not attested for a speaker nowadays, i.e. it is not used anymore. The form *gabᵢl* is attested for the South Tunisian varieties of Bir Saad and Talah (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 40f.).

289 Singer (1984: 631) remarks that this construction is in the stage of disappearing in the (Muslim) variety of Tunis. In NA this form is attested for middle-aged and old speakers from Hbeba and Nefza.

*nāya **min** Nifza.* "I am from Nefza.", ***min** waqt ⁱFṛānsa mīžūda.* "It has existed since the time of the French colonial period.", *xēr **min** ⁱqbal* "better than before". When followed by the definite article *il*, this preposition appears in its abbreviated form *m-*: *xṛaž **m**-il-ⁱbḥar.* "He got out of the sea.", *nawˤ **m**-il-ᵃˤnib* "type of grapes", *nabdu **m**-il-xuṭba.* "We start (the story) from the engagement."

As regards *min* in combination with suffixes, vowel-initial pronominal suffixes cause the gemination of the last consonant *n*: *minni* "from me", *minnik* "from you", *minna(h)*[290] "from him".

- *b-in-nisba l-* "regarding":
***b-in-nisba līhum** hūma* "regarding them", ***b-in-nisba līna** naḥna* "regarding us", ***b-in-nisba l**-id-dwā* "regarding the medicine".

- *wṛā* "behind":
*iṣ-ṣġāṛ šāfu wāḥid ysāsi **wṛā** d-dāṛ ⁱmtāˤna.* "The children saw someone begging behind our house."

- *f-wuṣṭ* "amid, in the midst of":
*sāknīn **f-wuṣṭ** iž-žbal.* "They live amid the mountain.", *yžū **f-wuṣṭ** il-kīm āḏāka.* "They come in the midst of that *kīm*[291]."

3.3.7. Conjunctions

The prepositions are presented in alphabetic order (according to their etymological roots).

- *āma ~ amma ~ āma* "but":
***āma** baˤˤdīh ˤlā ˤīnēk!* "But keep[SG.F] it away from your eyes!", *ˤindhum baṛša flūs **amma** nās xāybīn.* "They have a lot of money, but they are bad people.", *il-yōm bāš nugᵘˤdu f-id-dāṛ **āma** ġudwa nḥibbu nšūfu aṣḥābna.* "We will stay home today, but tomorrow we want to see our friends."

- *bāš ~ biš ~ miš ~ tā-* "in order to, so (that)":
The most commonly used forms are *bāš ~ biš*[292]: *yitnāqiš ⁱmˤāh **bāš** ynaqqiṣ-lah f-is-sōm.* "He discusses with him, so that he reduces the price for him.", *mšīt l-is-sūg **bāš** nišri l-ᵃˤḏām.* "I went to the market to buy eggs.", *ìžu **biš** ⁱḏḏūgu*[293]! "Come[PL] to taste!"

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290 Additionally, there is one instance of *manna* (instead of *minna(h)*) used by the speaker Zaga1/f/83: *kī tākli **manna** bāhi.* "It is good when you[SG.F] eat (a bit) from it." The vowel change *i > a* in the preposition *min* is also attested for the Algerian variety of Médéa in the form *mannu* "from it": *ˤumṛi mā-klīt mannu* (cf. Bencheneb 1946: 190).

291 Kind of a hovel where the older generations used to live in (to my knowledge, nowadays no one lives in a *kīm* anymore).

292 Etymologically, the forms *bāš ~ biš ~ miš* originate from the active participle *māšī* "going" (cf. Fischer/Jastrow 1980: 252).

293 < *tḏūgu*.

In this meaning[294], the forms *miš* and *tā-* are less frequently attested in the corpus: *mšīt tā-nʕabbi kaṛhabti b-il-māẓūṭ.* "I went to fill my car with fuel," *nirtāḥu miš nuxʷṛžu.* "We get some rest in order to go out (again)."

- *baʕd-ma* "after":

žild il-ʕallūš baʕd-ma yšīḥ m-iš-šamⁱs "the lamb's skin after it gets dry in the sun", *baʕd-ma gaššrōha b-il-misḥa* "after they peeled it with the spade".

- *ʕlā xāṭiṛ ~ ʕa-x-xāṭiṛ ~ xāṭiṛ*[295] "because":

The variant without the preposition *ʕlā ~ ʕa-* is most frequently attested in the corpus, whereas the form *ʕlā xāṭiṛ* usually implies additional emphasis: *xāṭiṛ mā-fammā-š kṛāhib.* "Because there are no cars.", *nimšu nixⁱdmu f-il-līl xāṭiṛ ā-s-sxāna gitlitna.* "We go to work in the night because this heat killed us.", *biš nṭahhrūh is-snā ʕlā xāṭiṛ tawwīka biš yudxul yaqṛa.* "We will circumcise him this year because he will start school now."

Pronominal suffixes can be added to this conjunction: *mā-šrīt-ⁱš iṭ-ṭmāṭim xāṭiṛha kānit ġalya baṛša.* "I didn't buy tomatoes because they were very expensive.", *xāṭṛik inta min Nifza w-xāṭṛik inta m-ir-rīf.* "(They discriminate you) because you are from Nefza and because you are from the countryside."

Lastly, the form *la-xāṭir* is attested once in the corpus.

- *ʕibāṛa* "as if":

This conjunction originates from the OA noun *ʕibāṛa*: *ṛadditha l-kull, ʕībāṛa mā-wakkiltha šayy.* "She (the baby girl) threw it all up, as if I hadn't fed her anything.", *faṛḥānīn, ʕībāṛa ʕīd.* "(The children) are happy, as if it were a feast (Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha).", *ʕībāṛa f-il-frīžīdāṛ.* "(The water is cold) as if it were in the fridge."

- *m-ġēr-ma ~ m-ġīr-ma* "without":

m-ġīr-ma tugʷʕdi tfassrī-lha! "(Tell her a story) without explaining[SG.F] her (the meaning of the words)!", *m-ġēr-ma nʕāwid-lik?* "(Should I answer) without repeating (the question) to you?"

- *qbal-ma*[296] "before":

qbal-ma yudxul sana ūla[297] *maktib.* "(We will circumcise him) before he enters first grade." *qbal-ma yabdu yaḥⁱṣdu š-šʕīr* "before they start harvesting the barley".

- *kī(f)* "when":

As a conjunction, the abbreviated form *kī* is more frequently used than the longer form *kīf*: *kī titlammu l-kull, miškum tāʕbīn kīma tāʕba nāya.* "When all of you gather, you are (still) not tired as I am.", *kī nimši l-Nifza* "when I go to

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295 The variation of the form *xāṭir* without the preposition *ʕlā* is also attested for the Central Tunisian variety of El Kef (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340).

296 No instance of the form **gbal-ma* is attested in the corpus, however its existence in NA cannot be ruled out.

297 The form *sana ūla* is a MSA phrase commonly used in Tunisia.

Nefza", **kīf** ⁱdžī žīb-li mʕāk ḫāža! "When you come, bring^{SG.M} me something with you!", **kīf** yabda yākil "when he eats".

The less frequently used form *kīf* is attested for middle-aged and old speaker, whereas young speakers use exclusively *kī*.

- *(īḏa) kān* "if":

yiḥmid ṛabbi **kān** yabqa ḥayy. "He thanks God if he stays alive.", **īḏa kān** mā-taʕⁱrfū-š "if you^{SG.M} don't know him", gūlū-li **īḏa kān** bāš twaxxṛu f-il-waqⁱt! "Tell^{PL} me if you will be running late!".

- *kayyin-* "as if":

This conjunction is attested only in combination with pronominal suffixes: bārid **kayyinna** fi-frīzīdār. "(The water is) cold, as if it were in the fridge."

Moreover, there is one instance of the form *kān-* in the same meaning: **kānik** miššik inti. "As if it wasn't you."

- *lākin* "but":

lākin b-lahžitna niḥna nsammōha žiḥfa. "But in our variety we call it *žiḥfa* (bridal palanquin).", ʕandhum baṛša flūs **lākin** gaṛnāṭa. "They have a lot of money, but they are stingy."

- *līn ~ ḥatta lēn* "until":

yimši yalʕab šwayya ṛamī **līn** ⁱdžī. "He goes to play some rummy until she comes.", kammil kilⁱmtēn **līn** nḥuṭṭ l-ᵃʕšā! "Finish^{SG.M} two words (i.e. talk instead of me) until I put the dinner (on the stove)!", **ḥatta lēn** tibrid "until (the weather) gets colder".

- *w-* "and":

yaʕⁱmlōha dīma f-il-ⁱxrīf **w-in-nās** yžū min Tūʷnis. "They always do them (the *zardas*²⁹⁸) in autumn and the people come from Tunis.", nžību l-baṭrīya **w-nšaṛžu** bāha t-tlāfiz. "We bring the battery and charge the televisions with it."

- *waqt-il(li)* "when":

The abbreviated form *waqt-il* is more frequently used than the full form *waqt-illi*: **waqt-il** dabb "when he went", **waqt-il** yaḥⁱṣdu "when they harvest", **waqt-illi** ylimmu ṣ-ṣāba "when they collect the harvest".

Moreover, *waqt* alone can be used as well: **waqt** ⁱṛṛawwḥu "when we return home".

- *willa* "or":

hūw **willa** hīy "he or she", tḥibbi kās tāy **willa** qahwa? "Do you^{SG.F} want a glass of tea or coffee?"

Regarding the frequency of occurrence of each of the variants in the corpus, it is *āma* (23x) ~ *amma* (19x) ~ *āma* (18x), i.e. all variants are attested at a

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298 Festivals in honor of saints.

similar frequency. The variant *āma* is rather new and modern[299], and is used by young and urban middle-aged speakers.

- *wēn* "when":

The form *wēn* is originally an interrogative adverb (see 3.2.4). The following are examples of it as a temporal conjunction[300]: **wēn** *dxal* "when he entered", **wēn** *lgāha l-ᵢmṛā tirḥi, gal-lha…* "When he found the woman milling, he told her…", *twalli* **wēn** *ᵢṭṭīb, ᵢdžī mnaffža.* "When it (the bread) is ready, it becomes risen." The conjunction *wēn* is attested for two old speakers only[301].

The transition from the local to the temporal aspect of the form *wēn* is also attested for the South Tunisian Bedouin varieties of Belkhir (*(min) wēn* "when", cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 299) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 209).

- *illi* "that":

w-tšūfi **illi** *ṯamma ḥāža.* "And you^SG.F see that there is something." *biš mā-yḥassūhā-š* **illi** *hīy māšya.* "So they don't make her feel that she is going." For *illi* as a relative pronoun see 3.1.3.

3.3.8. Progressive marker *fi-*

The progressive (direct object) marker *fi-*[302] is widespread among Tunisian varieties and quite some research on this progressive marker in Tunisian varieties has been done.[303]

In NA, the progressive marker *fi-* is attested with nouns, pronominal suffixes and interrogatives: **f**-*āš taꜤᵢmli taww?* "What are you^SG.F doing now?", *yalᵃꜤbu* **fāha**. "They are playing it (the game *xaṛᵢbga*).", *yisᵢmꜤu* **f**-*il-ḥiss.* "They are hearing the noise.", *Ꜥandi žāṛti tuṭlub* **fīya**. "I have a neighbor who is calling me.", *ṛāžil ybīꜤ* **f**-*il-lḥam.* "(That is) a man who is selling meat.", *ysibbu* **fīh**. "They are scolding him.", *nkallim* **fīk**. "I am talking to you."

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[299] Cf. the form *å̄mä* (with an *imāla*) in the sedentary variety of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 677).

[300] *wēn* is not the only form used as the interrogative adverb "where?" (in addition, the forms *wīn*, *fēn* and *ᵘffēn* are used), however the form *wēn* is the only one used as a temporal conjunction.

[301] More precisely, Zaga1/f/83 and OuledBouAli2/f/70.

[302] Lentin (2019: 181-200) offers an overview of *b(i)* / *fi* as an object marker in various Arabic varieties, including Tunisian varieties (pp. 188-190).

[303] McNeil (2017) is a study on *fī* as a progressive aspect marker in Tunis Arabic. Moreover, Ritt-Benmimoun (2017) investigates *fī* as an object and aspect marker in Douz Arabic and additionally gives an overview of the use of *fī-* in other North African Arabic varieties. Finally, Pallottino (2016) analyzes prepositional objects in Tunisian Arabic.

3.3.9. Existential particle

The existential particle in NA is *famma* ~ *ṯamma*[304]. The variant *ṯamma* is rather rural: *ṛāw **ṯamma** ḏibbān!* "There are flies!", ***famma** blāyṣ uxṛa.* "There are other places.", ***ṯamma** qahwa l-ⁱhnā.* "There is a café here."[305]

In case of negation of *ṯamma*, both *mā-ṯammā-š* and *mā-ṯamm-ⁱš* are attested, the latter form being more rual. On the other hand, the negation of *famma* is only *mā-fammā-š*: ***fammā-š**[306] ʕlāš nitšaṛṛtu.* "There is no reason why we should make demands.", ***mā-ṯamm-ⁱš** kayyās kīma hakka.* "There is no paved road like this."

3.3.10. *ṛā-*

The polysemantic particle *ṛā-*[307], which refers to the subject of the utterance and does not have a clear equivalent in English, occurs only in combination with enclitic personal pronouns described in 3.1.1.4, and not alone:

1SG	*ṛāni*		1PL	*ṛāna*
2SG.M	*ṛāk*		2PL	*ṛākum*
2SG.F	*ṛāki*			
3SG.M	*ṛāw*	~	3PL	*ṛām ~ ṛāwm*
	ṛāhu			~ *ṛāhum*
3SG.F	*ṛāy ~ ṛāhi*			

Variants with the etymological *h* of the 3SG enclitic pronouns *-hu* and *-hi* are less frequently attested than variants with the shortened forms *-w* and *-y*.[308] The same holds true for the 3PL suffix: *-wm* and *-m* are more frequently attested than *-hum*.[309] Interestingly, the (seldom used) variant *ṛāhu* is mostly found in the function of a sentence-final emhasizing particle and not in the common function of referring to a 3SG.M subject: *w-kunⁱt naḥṣid il-baṛṛa **ṛāhu**.* "And I used to harvest outside (of the village)."

Ph. Marçais (1977: 194) describes *ṛā-* in the Maghrebi varieties as "série flexionelle (qui se conjugue comme un verbe) marquant la constatation expresse de l'existence : 'je suis, tu es, etc.', ou plus exactement 'me voici, te

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304 Cf. the local adverb *ṯamm* "there" (3.2.2).

305 Additionally, the form *ṯimma* is attested once in the corpus.

306 As is generally the case for the negative circumfix *mā-...-š(i)*, the prefix *mā-* can be left out.

307 According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 194) formally the imperative of the verb "to see".

308 In contrast to Tunis Arabic, for which Procházka/Dallaji (2019: 46) attest *ṛāhu, ṛāhi* and *ṛāhum* as the commonly used forms, whereas the shorter form *ṛāw* is found only once in their corpus. This represents a situation opposite to the one found in NA. The prevalence of variants without *h* is clearest in the 3SG.M form: *ṛāw* is attested 61 times in the corpus, whereas *ṛāhu* is attested only four times. The ratio between the 3SG.F variants *ṛāy* and *ṛāhi* is 10:3.

309 However, the *h*-variants of the third person forms of *ṛā-* (*ṛāhu, ṛāhi* and *ṛāhum*) are used more frequently than their *hā-* counterparts *hāhu, hāhi* and *hāhum* (see 3.1.5.2), which are scarcely attested in the corpus.

voici présentement, etc.'" In NA, the particle *ṛā-* has multiple functions.[310]
Inter alia, it can express emphasis, reasoning, assumption and declaration.

As for its emphasizing function, which is the most common one, *ṛā-* can
stand before or after the predicate and it (usually) matches the subject's gender
and number: *miš min ʲhnā ṛāhi.* "She is not from here.", *miš il-kullna niḥku
b-id-dāṛža baṛša ṛāna.* "Not all of us speak a lot in the ('strong') dialect."
nansa ṛāni. "I forget." On the other hand, another possiblity of expressing
emphasis is the frozen (formally 3SG.M) emphasizing particle *ṛāhu ~ ṛāw*:
bāhya baṛša ṛāhu. "**She** is very good.", *ṛāw biš nōklūh baʕʲd tāli.* "**We** will eat
it afterwards."

Two *ṛā-* representatives can be used in one sentence: *Tūnis ṛāy kānit rīf
ṛāw.* "Tunisia used to be countryside." The second *ṛā-* (3SG.M) in this sentence
clearly holds the above-mentioned function of emphasis.

With respect to its other functions, the sentence *hāk iṛ-ṛāžil billāhi mā-
ttaʕʕbū-š, ṛāw kbayyir šwayy.* "Please don't tire that man, (because) he is a bit
old." holds a reasoning function. Furthermore, *ṛāy lawwḥitha.* "(I guess) she
threw it away." represents an assumption, and the *ṛā-* in *ṛāni ʕṭētah* "I gave
him" underlines a declaration.

3.3.11. Presentatives

3.3.11.1. *hā-*

The proximal presentative *hā-* shows a high level of form variation. The
table below comprises all variants, ordered by their frequency of occurrence:

1SG	*(h)āni*	1PL	*hāna*
2SG.M	*(h)āk*	2PL	*hākum ~ hākim*[311]
2SG.F	*(h)āki*		
3SG.M	*(h)āw ~ hāhu*	3PL	*hām ~ hāhum*[312]
	~ hānu ~ hāna(h)		*~ hāwm ~ (h)ānum*
3SG.F	*hāy ~ hāhi*		*~ (h)ōnum*
	~ hāni ~ (h)ōni[313]		

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310 As for other Eastern and Central Maghrebi varieties, there are studies on the functions of *ṛā-*
in Tunis Arabic (cf. Procházka/Dallaji 2019) and the Libyan variety of Msallata (cf. Klimiuk
2017).

311 Attested only once, by a speaker who generally always uses *-kim* (UmmLabid3/m/51).

312 Moreover, the form *hāhumka* is attested once, however the suffix *-ka* indicates distance, thus
this form is more probably a distal presentative.

313 There are only 3SG.F and 3PL forms of the *(h)ōn-* variants attested, however it can be assumed
that a 3SG.M form exists as well.

Regarding the elision of the etymological *h* in third person forms, same development has taken place as with the particles *ṛā-* and *mā-*[314]: the shorter variants *hāw* and *hāy* are by far more frequently used than *hāhu* and *hāhi*, the latter being attested only once in the corpus, as opposed to 24 instances of *hāy*. Moreover, the realization of *hā-* without the initial *h*, which is an option in NA[315], is the norm in the Algerian variety of Annaba (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 14).

A remarkable feature of NA are the third person variants *(h)ān-* ~ *(h)ōn-* which are not attested for other varieties of the area[316], however – according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project – *(h)ān-* is used in the Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties (next to *hā-*). In the Libyan variety of Msallata only the 1SG and 2SG forms of the presentative *hā-* have *n*: *hāni* ~ *ʔāni*, *hānək* ~ *ʔānək* – analogously to the 2SG form of the presentative *ṛā-* in that variety (*ṛānək*) (cf. Klimiuk 2017: 375). Neither *hānək* nor *ṛānək* are found in NA.

The 3PL form of the *(h)ān-* ~ *(h)ōn-* variants is used only with the suffix *-um*, i.e. without the initial *h*: forms like **(h)ānhum* and **(h)ōnhum* are not attested in the corpus. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the *(h)ōn-* variants are attested only for one speaker (Nefza6/f/70), however she uses these forms often. On the other hand, *(h)ān-* is used by various speakers, regardless of their sociolinguistic background. As regards the 3SG.M *(h)ān-* variants, the variant *(h)ānu* (with an enclitic personal pronoun) is more frequently attested than *(h)ānah*, its counterpart with a pronominal suffix.

With respect to the functions of *hā-*, similarly to the particle *ṛā-*, *hā-* is also attested to have multiple functions in the corpus which go beyond its role as a presentative. The following are example sentences of *hā-* in the presentative function, followed by a local adverb, a local preposition or an antecedent: **hānum** ⁱ*zwayyiz mitʕaddīn!* "Here they are, two^DIM (people) are passing by!" *imši,* **hānu** *guddāmik!* "Get going, here he is, in front of you!", *fēn il-kaṛⁱhba? –* **hāy** *hnē!* "Where is the car? – Here it is!" Furthermore, it can reinforce emotions such as surprise: **hākum** *žētu.* "You^PL came (and I expected you wouldn't)." and displeasure: **hāk** *mā-gutt-illī-š!* "You didn't tell me (and that upsets me)!" Another attested function of *hā-* is reasoning: *fassrī-lha š-maʕnāha,* **hāki** *taqṛi.* "Explain^SG.F her what it means, (because) you^SG.F are

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314 For the particles *ṛā-* and *mā-* see 3.3.10 and 3.3.12.

315 This presentative is realized without the initial *h* in about 30% of the cases.

316 In the varieties of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 445), Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 259), Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 148), Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 73), Zarzis (cf. Bouaicha 1993: 602f.) and Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 256f.) only forms consisting of *hā* + the enclitic personal pronoun (*hāhu, hāhi*) are found, without a trace of *n* (no *hān-* or *hōn-*).

studying (and you should know it)."[317] Moreover, *hā-* can be used to reinforce the progressive aspect[318]: **hāni nasmaʕ fīk**. "I am listening to you.", **hāni žāy!** "I[MASC] am coming!"

Second person forms of the presentative *hā-* can also serve as the less polite equivalent of *tfaḍḍil!* "Here you go!": *yʕayyšik žīb-ílli dabbūza mā kbīra! – hāk!* "Please, bring me a big bottle of water! – Here you go!"[319]

An irregularity regarding the agreement is noticeable among some old speakers of NA, which use the 3SG.F form *hāni* with various antecedents[320]: *ʕišna fīha, taww **hāni** kammilna.* "We lived in it and now <u>we</u> finished.", **hāni** *yugʕud miskīn kī hakkāka.* "Here <u>he</u> is, he stays poor like that.", **hāni** *yaxᵘbzu.* "Here <u>they</u> are, they are baking bread.", **hāni** *nōklu f-il-gōt w-nistannu f-il-mōt.*[321] "Here <u>we</u> are, we are eating the food and waiting for death." Moreover, one old speaker uses the 3SG.M[322] form *hāna* with a 1SG subject: **hāna** *ḥāssa ṛōḥi xēr min qbal.* "<u>I</u> am feeling[FEM] better than before." The five female speakers in whose speech this feature is found[323] are from five different localities, indicating this phenomenon is widespread in the Nefza region.

3.3.11.2. Other presentatives

Two further presentatives are used in NA. Firstly, the proximal presentative *hawwēn-* (< *hā-* "Here it is!" + *wēn* "where"), which is attested in the corpus in its 3SG.M and 3PL forms *hawwēnu ~ hawwēnah* "Here he is!" and *hawwēnum* "Here they are!". Moreover, one instance of *hāwēn-* followed by a noun is found: **hāwēn** *nsāwīn žū.* "There, the women have come." *hawwēn-* is also attested for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 149). Moreover, Fischer (1959: 173) remarks this presentative is found in Tunisian and Libyan varieties.[324]

An alternative way to express the presentative meaning (beside *hā-* and *hawwēn-*) is the proximal *(h)ā-* and the distal *(h)ā-...-ka*, which are attested only in 3SG forms. They are formed by attaching the personal pronoun (with

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317 In this example sentence, *hā-* resembles and is possibly interchangeable with the particle *mā-*, as they both can have the reasoning function.

318 Mostly in combination with the progressive marker *fī-* preceding the object of the sentence (if applicable).

319 *hā-* is attested to serve as "Aufforderungspartikel" (next to the presentative meaning) in Douz Arabic as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 148).

320 Attested for 3SG.M, 1PL and 3PL antecedents in the corpus.

321 A proverb.

322 Even though *hāna* can be both a 3SG.M and 1PL form and *hāni* can be both a 3SG.F and 1SG form, it can be assumed that the third person forms are used in this case, by analogy with the development of the 3SG.M *ṛāhu* as a frozen form (see 3.3.10 for the particle *ṛā-*).

323 OuledBouAli2/f/70, Nefza6/f/70, Zaga1/f/83, Hbeba2/f/85 and Touila4/f/60.

324 Such as the ones of El Hamma and Monastir. Moreover, Ph. Marçais (1977: 199) attests the forms *āwēnhu*, FEM *āwēnhi* "c'est bien lui qui" for Libya.

minor changes) to *(h)ā-*. As for the proximal presentative, the SG.M forms *āhawwa ~ (h)āhūw(a)* are used.[325] Their distal counterparts are SG.M *āhāwka ~ hāhōk* and SG.F *āhā̆yka ~ hāhīka*, whereas the forms *ahāwka* and *ahā̆yka* are the most common ones, whereas the variants *hāhōk* and *hāhīka* are attested once respectively. This presentative is widespread in the region and, in contrast to the above-mentioned *hawwēn-*, attested for Algeria as well.[326]

3.3.12. Emphasizing particle *mā-*

The emphasizing particle *mā-*[327] is used to emphasize the subject of a sentence and cannot stand alone, but is only used with a suffix. The enclitic personal pronouns attached to *mā-* are the ones described in 3.1.1.4:

1SG	*māni*	1PL	*māna*
2SG.M	*māk*	2PL	*mākum*
2SG.F	*māki*		
3SG.M	*māw ~ māhu*	3PL	*māwm ~ māhum*
3SG.F	*māy ~ māhi*		

In most instances *mā-* holds an explanatory meaning: **māna** *faṛḥānīn.* "because we are happy", **māy** *muš tuntuq b-il-ⁱgdē.* "because she doesn't pronounce (the words) well", **māy** *taḥrig.* "because (the stinging nettle) burns", *l-awlā̆d* **māwm** *šā̆fu ṭallāb wṛā d-dāṛ.* "because the children saw a beggar behind the house".

Moreover, it can function as a tag question marker: *tsažžli* **māki** *inti?* You are recording, aren't you?", *inti* **māki** *min Almānya?* "You^SG.F are from Germany, aren't you?", *hakkāka,* **māw?** "(I should speak) like this, right?"

As is the case for the presentatives *ṛā-* and *hā-*, third person forms of *mā-* are more frequently attested without the etymological *h*: *māw, māy, māwm.*[328]

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325 There is no SG.F equivalent attested in the corpus, but only the 3SG.F forms of *hā-* (*hāy, hāhi*) instead.

326 Ph. Marçais (1977: 199) remarks that the distal forms *hāwka*, f. *hāyka* "le voici" are frequent in Algerian varieties. Similarly, Fischer (1959: 171f.) states the distal forms *hahuwak, hāhūka* and *hāuka* are used in some Algerian and Tunisian varieties. Moreover, the proximal forms m. *hahǫ́wa*, f. *hahę́iya*, pl. *hahǫ́uma.* are used in Tunis Arabic as well (cf. Singer 1984: 259f.), however in NA no plural form of this presentative is attested.

327 Also attested for other Tunisian varieties like the one of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 712f.) as "Bekräftigungspartikel" and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68) as "bekräftigendes Personalpronomen."

328 Singer (1980: 253) attests the elision of *h* in the third person forms of the particles *mā-* and *ṛā-* for Tunisian rural varieties. Moreover, this phenomenon is also found in the South Tunisian varieties of El Hamma (cf. Marçais/Jelloûli 1933: 47) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68).

3.4. Nouns

3.4.1. Inflection

3.4.1.1. Gender

There are two genders in NA: the masculine and the feminine. Masculine nouns and adjectives are unmarked, while most feminine nouns and adjectives are marked by the ending *-a*[329]: *xāl* "(maternal) uncle" > *xāla* "(maternal) aunt", *xšīn* "thick[SG.M]" > *xšīna* "thick[SG.F]".

3.4.1.1.1. Unmarked feminine nouns

As regards morphologically unmarked feminine nouns (i.e. without the feminine marker *-a*), they belong to the following categories:

-       some paired body parts: *ʕēn* "eye", *wḏin* "ear", *īd* "hand", *kṛāʕ*[330] "leg", *ržil*[331] "foot; leg", *sāg*[332] "foot; leg"

-       other body parts: *kirⁱš* "belly"

-       female persons: *umm* "mother", *bint* "daughter", *uxt* "sister"

-       female animals: *fṛas* "mare", *ʕanz* "goat" as well as *ʕagrib* "scorpion" and *aṛnib* "rabbit", which are the general names for those animals (of both genders).

-       nature: *samⁱš ~ šamⁱs* "sun", *naww* "rain", *mṭaṛ* "rain", *štā̃ ~ štē* "rain" [333] (but masculine in the meaning "winter"), *wṭā ~ wṭē* "ground", *aṛⁱḏ* "soil, ground", *smā̃ ~ smē* "sky", *nāṛ* "fire"

-       geographical terms: *Tūnis* "Tunisia; Tunis", *l-ⁱMžā̃z ~ Mžā̃z il-Bāb* "Medjez el Bab", *Banzaṛt* "Bizerte", *id-Dzāyr* "Algeria; Algiers"

-       everyday life: *dāṛ* "house", *bēt*[334] "room; house", *rḥā ~ rḥē ~ rḥī* "quern stone hand mill", *ʕṣā*[335] "stick", *sūg* "market"

-       some borrowings: *bisⁱklāt* "bicycle"

On the other hand, some feminine nouns, which are morphologically unmarked in OA, have the female marker *-a* in NA: *kibda* (OA *kabid*) "liver",

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329 With the allophones [a] and [ɛ]. For the *imāla* of final *-a* see 2.1.2.2.4.

330 Guerrero (2015: 229f.) lists *kʷṛāʕ* "foot, leg" (in NA only "leg") as one of the typical lexemes of Maghrebi Bedouin varieties. In NA, *kṛāʕ* (in the meaning of a human leg) is used by rural middle-aged and old speakers only, i.e. it is an old lexeme which is given up by young speakers in favor of *ržil* and – to a lesser extent – *sāg*.

331 Singer (1984: 444) remarks that the lexeme *ržᵉl* is "nicht stadt-tunisisch", i.e. not used in the sedentary variety of Tunis, where *sāq* is used instead.

332 The lexem *sāq* is used in Tunisian sedentary varieties (cf. Procházka 2004: 239). In NA, the form *sāg* is limited to some young urban speakers.

333 The form /šitāʔ/ in the meaning of "rain" is feminine in various Arabic varieties such as the ones of Egypt, Malta and Jijel (cf. Procházka 2004: 243).

334 This lexeme is feminine in the Arabic varieties of "the Central Maghrib (between Tunis and Cherchell, including Sicily, excluding Malta)" (Procházka 2004: 244).

335 While the final *imāla* is possible after the emphatic sound *ṭ* as in *wṭē*, it is not attested after *ṣ*. For the complex *imāla* situation in NA see 2.1.2.1.3.4.

sinna (OA *sinn*) "tooth", *ʕzūza* (OA *ʕağūz*) "old woman", *ʕṛūsa* (OA *ʕarūs*) "bride", *sikkīna* (OA *sikkīn*) "knife".[336]

Lastly, some OA masculine nouns are feminine and are marked with the ending *-a* in NA: *gamṛa* (OA *qamar*) "moon", *ḡāʕa* (OA *qāʕ*) "soil, ground".

3.4.1.1.2. Invariable adjectives

The pan-Tunisian[337] adjectives *ʕaṛbi* "traditional, rural, homemade (food)" and *sūri* "modern, western, French (language)" are gender and number indifferent: *mēda ʕaṛbi* "traditional low round table", *āma bikri nixⁱdmu kull šayy ʕaṛbi, b-ir-ṛḥē l-ʕaṛbi.* "But earlier we produced everything in a traditional way, with the traditional hand mill.", *kānit ʕindna ṯnīya l-ʕaṛbi*.[338] "We used to have the rural (unsealed) road."

Moreover, some color adjectives borrowed from French such as *ṛōz* "pink" and *grī* "grey" are invariable: *maṛti šrit žibba ṛōz.* "My wife bought a pink jibbah (clothing item)." Alternatively, the combination of a noun and an invariable color adjective is often expressed with the addition of *f-il-* preceding the adjective: *maṛti šrit sūrīya f-iṛ-ṛōz.* "My wife bought a pink shirt.", *hīy tilbis sirwāl f-il-grī.* "She wears grey pants.", *yiʕžibni l-maryūl f-il-orangé.* "I like the orange pullover."

3.4.1.2. Construct state

In the construct state the ending *-a* of feminine nouns is *-it*[339] before a consonant-initial pronominal suffix or noun: *ṛabṭa > ṛabṭit maʕⁱdnūs* "a bunch of parsley", and *-t* before a vowel-initial pronominal suffix or noun: *qīma > qīmtah* "his worth".[340]

With regard to morphological changes in syllable structure in the construct state with possessive suffixes, the following are the most common ones attested:

a)   *-v̄C*: The syllable structure of the word does not change regardless of the suffix type (both vowel and consonant suffixes): *dāṛ* "house; family" > *dāṛik* "your house; your family", *dāṛna* "our house; our family"; *ẓuḷḷāṭ* "cane" > *ẓuḷḷāṭi* "my cane", *ẓuḷḷāṭhum* "their cane".

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336   The same holds true for Tunis Arabic, where the forms *kəbdä*, *ʕᵃzûzä* and *ʕᵃṛûsa* are attested (cf. Singer 1984: 446).

337   Attested in various Tunisian varieties, cf. *ʕaṛbi* in the varieties of Tunis ("einheimisch, altertümlich, altmodisch, ländlich", cf. Singer 1984: 56), Sousse (cf. Talmoudi 1981: 125), Takrouna (cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 2508) and Douz ("selbstgemacht; traditionell; einheimisch", cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 212), as well as *sūri* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 475).

338   For the remarkable construction NOUN DEF-ADJ see 3.3.1.

339   Moreover, there is one instance of *-ut* attested in the corpus, evidently influenced by the vowel *u* of the preceding syllable: *buqʕa > buqʕutna* "our place".

340   In contrast, masculine nouns ending in *-a* do not change in the construct state: *mūla > mūla l-ʕirⁱs* "the groom, the wedding host".

b)   -*C*⁽ᵛ⁾*C*: The optional anaptyctic vowel which breaks up the word-final two consonant cluster is mostly retained with consonant suffixes, while being dropped with vowel suffixes: *ux*⁽ᵘ⁾*t* "sister" > *uxti* "my sister", *uxᵘthum* "their sister"; *isⁱm* "name" > *ismah* "his name", *isⁱmha* "her name".

c)   ***CCvC***: This category consists of two subgroups: in singular *CCvC* nouns, the noun pattern becomes *CvCC-* with vowel suffixes and stays the same with consonant suffixes: *žmal* "camel" > *žamli* "my camel", *žmalkum* "your^PL camel"; *ṣḥan* "plate" > *ṣaḥni* "my plate", *ṣḥanha* "her plate", whereas in internal plural patterns *CCvC* a *t* can be inserted between the noun and the suffix (especially before a vowel suffix): *ktub* "books" > *ktubti* "my books", *ktubbitha*[341] ~ *ktubha* "her books".[342]

d)   ***CV̄CvC***: The short vowel of the last syllable is dropped with vowel suffixes: *ṛāžil* "man; husband" > *ṛāžli* "my husband", *ṛāžilha* "her husband"; *ṣāḥib* "friend" > *ṣāḥbi* "my friend".

e)   -*v̄*: In general, nouns ending with a long vowel do not change their structure with a suffix: *xū* "brother" > *xūh* "his brother", *xūna* "our brother"; *bū* "father" > *būk* "your father", *bōha* "her father". However, in both of the mentioned nouns, the attachment of the 1SG suffix can lead to an irregular form: *xuyya* ~ *xūya* "my brother" both exist, but the first variant is considered more rural.[343] Furthermore, *b̭āb̭a* "my father" is attested 18 times in the corpus, whereas the (morphologically regular) form *būya* is attested only once. Finally, with a suffix attached, final *imāla* of -*ā* to *ē* and *ī* in monosyllabic nouns[344] is neutralized to *ā̈*: *ʕšē* "dinner" > *ʕšā̈ya* "my dinner", *ʕšā̈hum* "their dinner".

f)   ***CV̄CCa***: In the construct state the noun pattern becomes *CV̄CiCt-*, whereas it becomes *CV̄CCit-* before a consonant suffix: *mākla* "food" > *mākilti* "my food", *māklitna* "our food", *ʕāyla* > *ʕāyilt-* "family".

g)   ***CvCCa***: *CₗvC₂C₃a* nouns become *CₗvC₂C₃it-* in the construct state. Moreover, in case of a vowel suffix the *i* of the construct state form is dropped, while an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between C₂ and C₃ because of the emerged three consonant cluster: *xidma* "work" > *xidⁱmtik* "your work", *xidmitha* "her work"; *kilma* "word" > *kilⁱmtu* "his word", *kilmitha* "her word". The anaptyctic vowel is not needed if C₂ and C₃ are identical consonants: *ḥinna* "henna" > *ḥinntah* "his henna".

h)   -*īya*: The noun ending -*īya* becomes -*īt*[345]: *ḥuṛṛīya* > *ḥuṛṛītha* "her freedom", *aġlabīya* > *aġlabīt in-nā̈s* "the majority of the people".

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341 In order to break up the three consonant cluster with consonant suffixes (*ktubt-ha), an additional -*bi*- is added between *ktub* and *t*.

342 Cf. *ktúbᵇti* "my books" in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 580f.).

343 According to my informants, the form *xuyya* is widespread in the governorates of Béja and Jendouba.

344 See 2.1.2.1.3 for the *imāla* in NA.

345 There are no examples of the (expected) ending *-*īyit* attested in the corpus.

An exception to the rules described above are five nouns belonging to different patterns ($CC\bar{v}C$, $CvC^{(v)}C$, $CCvC$, $CvCC\bar{v}CvC$ and the plural pattern $CC\bar{v}CvC$), in which an *ī* is added between the noun and the possessive suffix: *klās* "(school) class" > *klāsīya* "my class"; *qisⁱm* "(school) class; section" > *qismīna* "our class"; *mqaṣ* "scissors" > *mqaṣṣīya*[346] "my scissors", *mqaṣṣāha* "her scissors"; *gṭāṭis* "cats" > *gṭāṭsīya* "my cats", and finally, in the French borrowing *puṛṭābil* "cell phone" an additional *-ūw-* is inserted: *puṛṭāblūwīya* "my cell phone". Moreover, the analytic gentive as in *il-qisⁱm mtāʕna* "our class", *mqaṣ ⁱmtāḥḥa*[347] "her scissors" and *il-klās mtāʕna* "our class" is used with these words as well.

As for variation, the words *klāsīya* "my class" and *puṛṭāblūwīya* "my cell phone" are found only in this form (with an extra *ī*), whereas the words *mqaṣṣīya/mqaṣṣāha* "my/her scissors", *qismīna* "our class" and *gṭāṭsīya* "my cats" are variants of *maqṣi/mqaṣha, qisⁱmna* and *gṭāṭīsi*. Regarding the frequency of occurrence[348] of each variant in the corpus, it can be seen that the morphologically regular and forms with an additional *-ī-* show approximately the same frequency: *maqṣi ~ magṣi* (3) vs. *mqaṣṣīya* (3); *gṭāṭīsi*[349] (1) vs. *gṭāṭsīya* (1), *qisⁱmna* (6) vs. *qismīna* (3).

Three out of the five nouns attested end in *-vC*, but beside this tendency there are no other common features these nouns share. All of these irregular forms are attested for young female speakers[350], whereas middle-aged speakers prefer (regular) forms like *qisⁱmna* "our class" or the analytic genitive construction.[351]

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346 In the case of the *CCvC* pattern noun *mqaṣ*, the last consonant is geminated when the suffix *-ī* + *-ya* is added in order to prevent a short vowel in an open syllable (**mqa-ṣī-ya*). In OA *mqaṣ* has the geminate root *q - ṣ - ṣ* (*miqaṣṣ*), which is shortened to *mqaṣ* in NA, and the gemination which occurs when the suffix *-īya* is attached results in a form which corresponds to the OA form with the geminated *ṣ*.

347 In general, in an analytic genitive construction the definite article before the noun is optional and is dropped in this example.

348 The numbers in brackets represent the number of times each variant is attested in the corpus.

349 This variant has the plural pattern $CC\bar{v}C\bar{v}C$, in contrast to the second variant, which is based on the pattern $CC\bar{v}CvC$.

350 Touila1/f/22, Touila2/f/18 and Nefza8/f/19.

351 There is no evidence of these forms used by old speakers in the corpus, as these specific words were elicited in the scope of the Feature List questionnaire, and there were no Feature Lists made with old speakers, as they could not understand the given sentences in MSA (see 1.3.3 on more details on the questionnaires).

Moreover, some kinship terms have the special ending *-āt / -ā* in the construct state: *dāda > dādāti*[352] "my grandmother", *ummēma ~ ummīma > ummīmāti* "my grandmother" [353], *židda > židdāya*[354] "my grandmother".

The construct state form of the noun *mṛā ~ mrē* "woman" is the irregular *maṛt-: maṛtah* "his wife".

The noun *nhāṛ* "day" often has the remarkable form *nhāṛit* in the construct state: *nhāṛt l-iṯnīn* "Monday", *nhāṛt l-wṭīya* "the day of the ceremony of henna application", *nhāṛt il-ʕīd* "day of the feast (Eid al-Adha or Eid al-Fitr)", *nhāṛit sūg* "market day", *nhāṛt il-ᵃʕšā* "the day of the dinner". However, the unchanged form *nhāṛ* is used as well: *nhāṛ is-sūg* "the market day", *nhāṛ il-ʕirⁱs* "the wedding day".[355]

An alternative to the construct state is the invariable genitive marker *mtāʕ ~ mtāʕ: naʕmil zīt **mtāʕ** z-zītūna.* "I make olive oil.", *ṭbīb **mtāʕ** ʕīnēn* "ophthalmologist, eye doctor". However, this construction is not used with family relationships, where only the construct state is used: *wild xūya* "my nephew", *hāḏi bint binti.* "This is my daughter's daughter.", *ᵘḇḇayyah* "his father".

A remarkable construction, which is attested once in the corpus, is the combination of the construct state noun with a definite adjective: *kunna nixⁱdmu **xidmit il-ʕaṛbi**.* "We were working in a traditional way."[356] Procházka (2022: 544f.) states that this construction is "very rare in the whole of North Africa", while "this syntagm is the default case in a few Arabic minority varieties spoken on the northern edge of the Fertile Crescent."

3.4.1.3. Number

In NA singular, dual and plural nouns exist. Moreover, this section includes collective nouns. The singular form is unmarked.[357]

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352 The construct state form *dādāt-* (< *dāda*) is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 439), however with a different meaning ("(schwarze) Kinderfrau").

353 *ummēma ~ ummīma* is the diminutive form of *umm* "mother", however it is used in the meaning "grandmother".

354 Equivalent to the construct state of the noun *žîdda* "grandmère" in Jijel Arabic: *žîddḁna* "notre grand-mère" (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 322).

355 Moreover, the construct state form *nhāṛit* is also attested (by the speaker Hbeba3/m/85) as a conjunction: *nhāṛit ⁱnžī* "(on) the day when I come", *nhāṛit ⁱdžī* "(on) the day when she comes". In Tunis Arabic the forms *nhāṛt-élli* "an dem Tag da" and *nhāṛéthä* "an jenem Tage; neulich, damals" (cf. Singer 1984: 690f., 648), which also have additional *t* in the construct state of the noun *nhāṛ*.

356 Another phenomenon, which is attested once in the corpus (speaker OuledBouAli2/f/70, cf. text 2 "Baking Bread"), is a combination of the construct state and the genitive marker *mtāʕ ~ mtāʕ: kīma mākilt **mtāʕ** ʕbād taww.* "Like the food of people nowadays."

357 Except for the *nomen unitatis* of collective nouns, see 3.4.1.3.4.

3.4.1.3.1. Dual

The dual is formed by adding the suffix *-ēn* to the construct state form of nouns.[358] The suffix *-īn* is limited to some young speakers and represents an influence from Tunisian sedentary varieties.[359]

The dual is mainly limited to units of measurement and time of Arabic origin: *nhāṛēn* "two days", *ʕāmēn* "two years", *žimᵃʕtēn* "two weeks", *alfēn* "two thousand". On the other hand, the dual of measurement units of foreign origin is expressed by the analytic construction with *zōz*: *zōz kīlu* "two kilos", *zōz mītru* "two meters". As for the noun *ītra* "liter", both *ītirtēn* and *zōz ītṛāt* are attested.[360]

Moreover, the dual is (rarely) attested for nouns of some other categories as well: *maṛṛtēn* "twice", *xaṭⁱrtēn* "twice", *il-ʕāyltēn yitfāhmu.* "The two families agree.", *kaʕbtēn ʕḏam* "two (pieces of) eggs", *bagⁱṛtēn ~ bugᵘṛtēn*[361] "two cows", *ʕandna džāžtīn baṛk.* "We only have two chickens.", *il-kilⁱmtēn hāḏūma* "these two words", *nawʕēn* "two kinds", *škāṛtēn kusᵘksi* "two bags of couscous".[362]

An alternative way of expressing the dual is the analytic construction *zōz* + indefinite plural noun: *zōz nsē* "two women", *zōz ixwāt* "two sisters", *zōz zazzāṛa* "two butchers", *zōz dyāṛ* "two houses", *zōz ⁱktub* "two books", *zōz ḫākūwāt* "two packs", *zōz ⁱgṭāṭis* "two cats". This analytic dual construction is more common than the actual dual and is used for most nouns (other than the above-mentioned exceptions).

Ph. Marçais (1977: 115) argues the following on the dual usage in Maghrebi varieties: "Il est courant pour toutes les catégories de noms dans les parlers bédouins. Il n'est possible dans les parlers citadins et ruraux que pour certaines catégories de noms." However, in NA the dual is mainy limited to certain noun categories – a feature which Ph. Marçais attributes to Maghrebi sedentary and rural varieties.

Regarding the usage of the dual in other Tunisian varieties, in the rural variety of Mateur the dual is used only in "parties doubles du corps (*yəddīn* 'mains') et aux expressions de temps (*yūmīn* 'deux jours')" (cf. Mion 2014a: 70). Furthermore, in the conservative variety of Douz the dual is retained, however, according to Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 220) even in that variety the dual seems to be used frequently in units of measurement and time only.

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[358] The dual does not exist in other grammatical categories like verbs and pronouns.

[359] Cf. the dual ending *-īn* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 449f.).

[360] The dual form *ītirtēn* is attested four times, and the form *zōz ītṛāt* is attested three times in the corpus.

[361] However, the analytic construction *zōz bagṛāt ~ zōz bugṛāt* is attested in the corpus as well.

[362] The dual forms *kelmtîn* "zwei Wörter/Worte", *näuʕîn* "zwei Arten, zwei Sorten" and *škāṛtîn* "zwei Säcke" are also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 451f.).

3.4.1.3.2. Pseudo-dual

The pseudo-dual[363] is morphologically identical to the dual (ending *-ēn*), however it is used to express plural forms of some paired body parts: *ʕēnēn* "eyes", *wiḏnēn* "ears", *rižlēn* "feet; legs", *kirʕēn ~ kuṛʕēn*[364] "legs", *sāgēn* "feet; legs", *īdēn* "hands".[365]

With pronominal suffixes, the final *n* of the ending *-ēn* is dropped and the suffixes are added to *-ē*: *rižlēk* "your legs, your feet", *īdēk* "your hands", *wiḏnēk* "your ears", except for the 1SG suffix, which is added to *-ay*: *naʕᵢmla b-īdayya.* "I do it with my hands.", *kirʕayya ~ kuṛʕayya* "my legs".

3.4.1.3.3. Plural

Concerning plural forms, internal plural, external plural as well as a combination of both exist. Internal plural patterns are listed in 3.4.3.

3.4.1.3.3.1. External plural *-īn*

a)   all participles (of all verb patterns and both active and passive participles): *maxdūm* "done, cultivated (farmland)" > *maxdūmīn*, *maḥlūl* "open" > *maḥlūlīn*, *māši* "has gone" > *māšīn*, *šādd* "has held" > *šāddīn*, *msakkir* "has closed; closed[366]" > *msakkrīn*, *mʕabbi* "has filled; filled" > *mʕabbīn*

b)   some nouns of the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2āC_3$ (e.g. professions): *fallāḥ* "farmer" > *fallāḥīn*

c)   some adjectives with the suffix *-ān*[367]: *farḥān* "happy" > *farḥānīn*

d)   *nisba* adjectives with the suffix *-āni* and (sometimes) *-i*: *l-ixrāni* "the last" > *l-ixrānīn ~ l-ixrānīyīn*, *Lībi* "Libyan" > *Lībīyīn*

e)   other adjectives: *qwī* "strong" > *qwīyīn*[368], *sxūn* "hot" > *sxūnīn ~ sxān*

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363 This term was first brought up by Blanc (1970: 45): "This phenomenon, for which I propose the term 'pseudo-dual', occurs in very nearly all the varieties examined, and consists in the use of *-ayn* to denote the plural of a small, closed set of nouns, mostly denoting paired parts of the body."

364 Regarding the variation of the forms with the short vowel *i* vs. *u*, the form *kirʕē-* is attested twelve times, whereas the form *kuṛʕē-* is attested three times in the corpus (both with and without a suffix). Thus, the variant with the short vowel *u* is less common in NA, while it is commonly used in the South Tunisian Bedouin variety of Zarzis (cf. Bouaicha 1993: 522).

365 In the Algerian variety of Jijel the pseudo-dual is formed for other paired body parts as well, e.g. *rekba* "genou" > *rekbīn* (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 347), whereas in NA *ṛukba* "knee" has the internal plural form *rkāyb*. The same holds true for the pseudo-dual *ktəf* "épaule" > *kətfīn* in Jijel Arabic, which is the plural form *ktāf* in NA. Both the above-mentioned pseudo-dual forms and the internal plural forms such as *rkâyəb* and *ktâf* exist in Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 348). Similarly, in Douz Arabic the pseudo-dual and internal plural forms such as *ṛukbīn* and *aṛkāb* "Knie" coexist (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 219). In NA, nouns either have a "normal" plural form or a pseudo-dual form, but not both.

366 Participles of derived verbal patterns hold both active and passive meanings in the same form, see 3.6.3.1.

367 Some exceptions: *ʕaṭšān ~ ʕuṭšān* "thirsty" > *ʕṭāša*, *ḥafyān* "barefoot" > *ḥfāya*, *žīʕān* "hungry" > *žwāʕa ~ žīʕānīn*.

368 With an additional *-y-* before the suffix *-īn* due to the final weak root.

f) diminutive forms of adjectives: *ṣġayyir ~ ẓġayyir* "small[DIM]" > *ṣġayyrīn ~ ẓġayyrīn*

3.4.1.3.3.2. External plural *-a*

a) most nouns of the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$: *ḥažžām* "hairdresser" > *ḥažžāma*, *zazzāṛ* "butcher" > *zazzāṛa*, *ṭabbāl* "drummer" > *ṭabbāla*, *mallāx* "shoe repairer" > *mallāxa*

b) some $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ (nominalized) adjectives[369]: *ḥaddāṯ* "talkative (sb. who likes talking a lot)" > *ḥaddāṯa*, *žarrāy* "sb. who runs a lot" > *žarrāya*, *baṭṭāl* "unemployed" > *baṭṭāla*

Both *-a* and *-īn* plurals are possible for $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ nouns and adjectives, though the *-a* plural form is preferred for most $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ nouns. This variation is also attested for Tunis Arabic: the plural form *ḥažžāma* is more frequently attested in the TUNICO corpus than its counterpart with the ending *-īn* (cf. Dallaji/Gabsi 2016: 189).

3.4.1.3.3.3. External plural *-āt*

a) many singular nouns ending in *-a*: *džāža* "chicken" > *džāžāt*, *ḥāža* "thing" > *ḥāžāt*, *ḥkāya* "story" > *ḥkāyāt*

b) nouns of the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{a} \sim C_1C_2\bar{e}$[370]: with the additional infix *-w-*: *smā ~ smē* "sky" > *smāwāt*, *štā ~ štē* "winter" > *štāwāt*, *ʕšā ~ ʕšē* "dinner" > *ʕšāwāt*

c) some other nouns (both masculine and feminine): *fṭūṛ* "lunch, breakfast" > *fṭūṛāt*, *nhāṛ* "day" > *nhāṛāt*[371], *žwāb* "letter" > *žwābāt*, *zdāg*[372] "marriage contract" > *zdāgāt*, *umm* "mother" > *ummāt*

d) borrowings: *sbīṭāṛ* "hospital" > *sbīṭāṛāt*, *ḅāku* "pack" > *ḅākūwāt*, *kūnži* "vacation" > *kūnžīyāt*, *kayyās* "paved road" > *kayyāsāt*, *bisⁱklāt* "bicycle" > *bisⁱklātāt*

e) diminutive forms of nouns: *ʕṣīfīr* "bird[DIM]" > *ʕṣīfīrāt*, *flīlīs* "chick[DIM]" > *flīlīsāt*

The external plural ending *-āt* is limited to nouns, whereas the external plural of adjectives and participles is only formed with *-īn* / *-a*.

3.4.1.3.3.4. Combined plural

A combined plural form consists of internal and external plural components.

The most frequently attested type of a combined plural is the combination of an internal plural (frequently the internal plural pattern $C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3$) and the

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369 In Tunis Arabic $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ adjectives only form the *-īn* plural, and never *-a* (cf. Singer 1984: 456f., 461), whereas in NA often both are possible.

370 The final *imāla* to *ē* is neutralized to *ā* in case of addition of a suffix. Moreover, *-w-* is inserted before the suffix *-āt*, since the nouns of this pattern end in a vowel.

371 Not used with numerals, only alone: *nhāṛ min ⁱnhāṛāʔⁱᵉ mšū l-il-ⁱbḥaṛ.* "One day they went to the sea." With numerals exclusively *ayyām* is used.

372 < *ṣ - d - q*.

external plural ending *-āt*: *kalsīṭa > klāsiṭ > klāsṭāt* "socks", *ḏhaṛ > *ḏhūṛ > ḏhūṛāt* "backs", *faṛš > *fṛūš > fṛūšāt* "beds", *žbal > *žbūl > žbūlāt* "mountains", *xšam > *xšūm > xšūmāt* "noses"; *zdir*[373] *> zdūṛ > zdūṛāt* "chests", *yōm > ayyām̄ > ayyām̄āt*[374] "(indefinite number of) days". As regards the middle (internal plural) forms, the ones marked with * are hypothetical, whereas others such as *klāsiṭ* and *zdūṛ* are in use, next to their combined plural counterparts.

The combined plural form of some professions ending in *-i* consists of an internal plural and the ending *-a*: *tãrzi > twãrzīya* "(male) tailor".

Dallaji/Gabsi (2016) is a diachronic study on the plural formation in Tunis Arabic. Regarding the plural formation among young speakers of that variety, the authors conclude:

"A shift towards a combination of concatenative and nonconcatenative formation, especially towards attaching the suffix /-āt/ to broken plurals, can be observed. […] the results of this diachroic study lead us to assume that the use of double plurals in Tunis Arabic has become more frequent over the past few decades than it was at the end of the 19th century." (Dallaji/Gabsi 2016: 190)

Combined plural forms are also attested for Jijel Arabic as "pluriels à cumul": "Ce procédé de formation consiste à combiner deux types de pluriel, le pluriel interne et le pluriel externe : à un schème brisé est ajoutée la finale *-īn*, *-āt* ou *-ā*." (Ph. Marçais 1956: 368). Furthermore, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 219) lists *plural pluralis* forms with the ending *-āt* for Douz Arabic.

3.4.1.3.4. Collective nouns

Collective nouns are used for collective groups and uncountable nouns: *žžaṛ*[375] "trees", *ḥlīb* "milk".

A single unit (*nomen unitatis*) of a collective noun is formed by adding the suffix *-a*: *tmaṛ* "dates" *> tamṛa* "date", *nxal* "palm trees" *> naxla* "palm tree", *tiffāḥ* "apples" *> tiffāḥa* "apple, apple tree". An extraordinary singular noun form is attested for the collective noun *xōx* "peaches": *xōxāya* "peach tree".[376]

Uncountable nouns do not form a *nomen unitatis*: *zēt* "oil", *fãrīna* "flour", *duxxān* "tobacco", *ʕsal* "honey".

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[373] *< ṣdir.*

[374] The attested examples are: **ayyām̄āt** *bāhīn* "good days", **ayyām̄āt** *nitlaḥḥfu bīha.* "(Those were) days when we covered ourselves up with them (the blankets).", **ayyām̄āt** *qbal il-bāṛāž naziṛʕu kull šayy.* "In the days before the dam (was built) we (used to) grow everything."

[375] *< šžaṛ.*

[376] Attested once in the corpus, by the speaker Zaga1/f/83. In Douz Arabic the ending *-āya* of a *nomen unitatis* is attested for collective nouns ending in *-a* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 222). However, the collective noun of *xōxāya* is *xōx* in NA.

An alternative way to express a single item of a collective is the construction *kaʕba* "piece" + the indefinite collective noun: *kaʕba xōx* "a peach (lit. 'a piece of peaches')", *kaʕba ʕḏam* "an egg (lit. 'a piece of eggs')".

For expressing a specific amount of a unit to the colelctive noun with the numerals 2-10, the external plural form *-āt* is applied: *bgaṛ* "cows" > *bagṛa ~ bugṛa* "cow" > *zōz bagṛ**āt** ~ zōz bugṛ**āt*** "two cows".

3.4.2. Singular patterns

This section comprises singular patterns of nouns and adjectives.

General remarks:

The following is a list of the most common patterns and is not complete. The lists of nouns and adjectives belonging to each pattern serve as examples.

Nouns and adjectives of weak roots (e.g. final weak, geminated) are explicitly listed only if their pattern is different than the one of regular roots. Otherwise they are part of the main list of that pattern.

In case of form variation such as in *bēt ~ bīt*, the more frequently attested variant is listed, with the other variant given in brackets, e.g. the form *bēt* (~ *bīt*) for the pattern $C_1ēC_3$.

For the sake of simplicity, the phonemes *ā* and *ā̈* are not distinguished in pattern forms, e.g. the pattern $C_1āC_3$ comprises nouns of the patterns $C_1āC_3$ and $C_1ā̈C_3$.

Initial *ʔ* (which is not realized in the transcription) is counted as a consonant, e.g. the noun *aṛnib* is classified under the pattern $C_1aC_2C_3iC_4$.

Etymologies of the patterns are not given consistently.

Comparisons of NA lexical items to other (both Bedouin and sedentary) varieties of the region are made in footnotes, showing similarities and differences in the meaning and – on the other hand – phonological and morphological differences in the forms.

3.4.2.1. Biliteral roots

Only few biliteral nouns are used in NA: *īd* "hand", *xū* "brother", *bū* "father", *mā̈ ~ mē* "water".

Most OA nouns which feature only two consonants on the surface are adjusted to patterns of triliteral nouns by:

a) lengthening of the short vowel: *lōġa* (OA *luġa*) "language", *kōṛa*[377] (OA *kura*) "ball" *ṣīfa* (OA *ṣifa*) "characteristic", *t̲īqa* (OA *t̲iqa*) "trust"

b) gemination of C_2: *fumm*[378] (OA *fam*) "mouth", *damm* (OA *dam*) "blood", *lat̲t̲a* (OA *lit̲a*) "gum", *šiffa* (OA *šifa*) "lip".

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[377] The forms *lōġa* and *kōṛa* are realized with the long vowel *ū* in Tunis Arabic: *lûġa*, *kûra* (cf. Singer 1984: 497), whereas in the Algerian variety of Ouled Brahim they are identical to to NA forms (cf. W. Marçais 1908: 69f.).

[378] Except for a single occurrence of the form *famm* in Zaga.

3.4.2.2. Triliteral roots

3.4.2.2.1 $C_1vC_2C_3(a)$

$C_1vC_2^{(v)}C_3$ forms have an optional anaptyctic vowel between C_2 and C_3[379], except for geminated roots, where C_2 and C_3 are identical ($C_1vC_2C_2$).

W. Marçais (1950: 212f.) describes the nominal pattern $C_1vC_2C_3$ as a feature of Tunisian Bedouin varieties (as opposed to their sedentary counterpart $C_1C_2vC_3$):

> "Moins fréquentes, comme on l'a dit plus haut, dans les parlers citadins de Tunisie qu'an Maghreb occidental, les formes « sursautées » des noms masculins trilitères sont beaucoup plus rares encore dans ceux des bédouins : à *tben*, *qbaR*, *qfel*, *Hlû* cités plus haut y répondent respectivement *teben*, *gabaR*, *gufel*, *Helu* ; et, pour les pluriels des adjectifs désignant des couleurs et des particularités physiques, le maintien du schème ancien *fu'l* est constant : *HumuR*, *'ûR*, *'emi*, *bîD*."

Regarding this feature in NA, the situation is more complex: $C_1vC_2C_3$ forms such as *tib^in*, *gab^iṛ*, *ḥilw*, *ḥum^uṛ* and *bīḏ*, which are said to be Bedouin forms, are seen as old and rural forms by NA speakers, which are nowadays used by some old and rural middle-aged speakers, but totally given up in the speech of the young generation.[380] These forms are increasingly replaced by the typically sedentary pattern $C_1C_2vC_3$. The following are examples of singular nouns and adjectives which are affected by this change (the first variant is the original one): *tib^in* – *tbin* "straw", *ṭuf^ul* – *ṭful* "boy", *gab^iṛ* – *gbaṛ* "grave", *ḥilw* – *ḥlū* "sweet".[381]

Beside these specific forms in which the shift from $C_1vC_2C_3$ to $C_1C_2vC_3$ is taking place, the pattern $C_1vC_2C_3$ is still used in some other forms (see below), which are commonly used in this pattern in Tunisian sedentary varieties as well and therefore do not represent a distinctive Tunisian Bedouin Arabic feature.

$C_1aC_2C_3$:

Mostly < OA $C_1aC_2C_3$: *waq^it* "time", *gam^iḥ* "wheat", *kab^iš* "ram", *faṛ^iš* "bed", *ṣaṛ^if* "change", *gaṛ^in* "pod (pepper)", *ṛand* "laurel", *gal^ib* "heart, inner part", *ṯal^iž* "snow", *sam^iš* (~ *šam^is*) "sun", *xadd* "cheek", *šaṛṛ* "famine", *žadd* "grandfather", *naww* "rain"[382], *ḍaww* "electricity, light". Moreover, the noun

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379 The same holds true for El Kef Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 339): "Epenthetic vowel between two word-final consonants: *xub^uz* 'bread'; *mil^aḥ* 'salt'; *gam^aḥ* 'wheat.'"

380 Several middle-aged speakers stated that their parents use the $C_1vC_2^{(v)}C_3$ pattern in these forms, while they themselves do not.

381 Moreover, this pattern shift takes places in the plural forms of $aC_1C_2iC_3$ adjectives: *ḥum^uṛ* – *ḥmuṛ* "red^PL", *ṣuf^uṛ* – *ṣfuṛ* "yellow^PL", *bīḏ* – *byuḏ* "white^PL". Additionally, the original form *sūd* "black^PL" is replaced by the form *kḥul* in the speech of young and urban middle-aged speakers.

382 Also attested in the meaning "rain" for the Tunisian varieties of Tozeur (cf. Saada 1984: 123) and the Maṛāzīg tribe (cf. Boris 1958: 628) and the Algerian varieties of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais

maṛiḍ "disease" is an exception[383], as OA $C_1aC_2aC_3$ nouns usually have the pattern $C_1C_2aC_3$ in NA (see 3.4.2.2.2).

$C_1aC_2C_3a$:

žaṛda "garden", *xaṭra*[384] "(one) time", *lafʕa* "female snake", *gaṣʕa* "large dish/bowl"[385], *nabta* "plant", *malya* "traditional dress"[386], *galba* "metal grain measure", *ḥafla* "party, celebration", *naqša* "traditional temporary tattoo for women", *zarda* "festival in honor of saints", *qahwa* "coffee; café", *ġalla* "fruit", *ṭabba* "agricultural field", *kaʕba* "piece".

$C_1iC_2^{(v)}C_3$:

kirⁱš "belly", *silⁱg* "chard", *girⁱd* "monkey", *ribⁱḥ*[387] "salt", *milⁱḥ* "salt", *ʕirⁱs* "wedding", *žiḥⁱš* "donkey foal", *ḥiss* "noise".

$C_1iC_2C_3a$:

žilda "skin", *žimʕa* "Friday; week", *gidma* "bite", *ḥilba* "fenugreek", *libsa* "clothes, outfit", *žiḥfa* "bridal palanquin", *zibda* "butter", *tirma* "butt", *kiswa* "suit", *liḥya* "beard, chin", *ḥinna* "henna", *šiffa* "lip", *ḥilla* "stook (wheat)", *sidda* "traditional storage room", *sinna* "tooth".

The following nouns of this pattern originate from OA $C_1aC_2(v)C_3a$: *nifga* (OA *nafaqa*) "charity (religious)", *kilma* (OA *kalima*) "word", *šibka* (OA *šabaka*) "net for transporting straw and crop", *ḥilga* (OA *ḥalqa*) "(mostly women's) tittle-tattle gathering", *žibha* (OA *ǧabha*) "forehead".

$C_1uC_2^{(v)}C_3$:

ḥumᵘṣ "hummus", *guṛᵘṭ* "straw", *ġumᵘṛ* "sheaf (wheat)". Geminated root: *fumm* "mouth", *ḥubb* "love", *muṛṛ* "bitter".

$C_1uC_2C_3a$:

ṛukba "knee", *kuṛba* "hump", *ṣumʕa* "minaret", *buqʕa* "place", *xuḍra* "vegetables", *šuṛba* "soup", *lumža* "snack", *xuṭba* "engagement", *buṛma*

1956: 327) and Oran (cf. Guerrero 2015: 229), whereas *nəww* means "heat" in Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 156).

383 Attested once, by an old rural speaker. There are no instances of *mṛaḍ* attested in the corpus, but it cannot be ruled out that *maṛiḍ* is possibly an original form used by old speakers only.

384 Boris (1958: 148) remarks that the noun *xaṭra* with "combat" as its original meaning, is in addition seldomly used in the meaning "fois".

385 Cf. Boris (1958: 498): "grand plat en bois, écuelle".

386 Also attested for Sidi Bouzid Arabic as "traditionelles Gewand für Frauen" (Prinoth 2017: 90) and Tunis Arabic as "Tunika der Beduininnen" (Singer 1984: 505).

387 Also attested for Annaba Arabic, Guerrero/Abdessemed (2019: 21) explaining the reason for this unusual form as follows: "Parmi nos informateurs, ce sont les plus âgés qui disent *ṛəbḥ* au lieu de *məlḥ* pour éloigner le mauvais œil attribué à ce dernier mot." This corresponds to the explanation given to me by my informants. Moreover, *ribⁱḥ* in the meaning "salt" is only attested for old speakers of NA as well. W. Marçais (1953: 380) gives *rébḥ* as a common euphemism for "salt" in Maghrebi Arabic varieties. Another locality where this lexical item is attested is Ben Gardane: "'salt' is in Tunisian *məlḥ*, but here [in the South Tunisian Bedouin variety of Ben Gardane] it is substituted by *rəbḥ* that literally is 'profit'" (Mion 2021: 122).

"cooking pot", *guffa* "shopping basket", *žuṛṛa*[388] "jar", *mudda* "period (of time)", *gulla* "jug", *fuṛka*[389] "pitchfork".

3.4.2.2.2. $C_1C_2vC_3$

These patterns result from a vowel jump of many OA $C_1vC_2(v)C_3$ forms to $C_1C_2vC_3$.

$C_1C_2aC_3$:

bdan "body", *tˤab* "tiredness", *šqaf* "glass bottle", *šṭaṛ* "half", *ṛṭal* "half a kilo", *ḏkaṛ* "male", *lḥam* "meat", *xšam* "nose", *ḏhaṛ* "back", *ždaˤ* "billy goat", *fṛas* "mare", *žmal* "camel", *gṛaˤ* "pumpkins", *ˤdas* "lentils", *tmaṛ* "dates", *bṣal* "onions", *bġal* "mule", *ḥbal* "rope", *ṣḥan* "plate", *žlam* "sheep shears", *ḥbaq* "basil", *bḥaṛ* "sea", *sṭaḥ* "roof", *wsax* "dirt", *ḏhab* "gold", *mqaṣ ~ mgaṣ*[390] "scissors".

$C_1C_2iC_3$:

žbin "cheese", *šbir* "span (unit)", *ˤnib* "grapes", *ržil* "foot; leg", *gdim* "heel", *rḥim* "uterus", *tfiš* "small particles of soil", *ˤžil* "calf".

$C_1C_2uC_3$:

tful "boy", *ṣbuˤ* "finger", *ˤmuṛ* "age".

3.4.2.2.3. $C_1\bar{v}C_3(a)$

This pattern comprises many nouns with a medial weak root.

$C_1\bar{a}C_3(a)$:

nāṛ "fire", *kās* "glass", *dāṛ* "house; family", *bāb* "door", *tāy* "tea", *wād* "river, riverbed", *bāy*[391] "part", *kāṛ* "bus", *ṣāla* "living room; hall", *ġāba* "forest", *fāza*[392] "thing, trick", *ṣāba* "harvest", *zāza* "wedding convoy accompanied by music", *ˤāda*[393] "habit", *ḥāža ~ ḥǟža* "thing".

$C_1\bar{\imath}C_3(a) \sim C_1\bar{e}C_3(a)$:

kīm "traditional hovel", *zīr* "clay jug", *ṣīd* "lion", *zīna* "decoration".

OA $C_1i\mathcal{P}C_3$ nouns have the pattern $C_1\bar{\imath}C_3$: *bīr* "water well", *ḏīb* "jackal".

The monophthongization of *-ay-* mostly took place to *-ē-* and less frequently to *-ī-*: a) OA C_1ayC_3: *ṣēf* "summer", *zēt (~ zīt)* "oil", *ˤēn (~ ˤīn)* "eye; (water) spring", *ḏīf* "guest", b) OA $C_1\bar{a}\mathcal{P}iC_3$: *ḥēṭ* "wall", c) OA $C_1\bar{a}\mathcal{P}iC_3a$:

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388 See text 3: *w-kull* **žuṛṛa** *mˤallgīn fǟha gǟza*. This lexeme is often realized with short *a* in other Tunisian varieties (*žaṛṛa*), e.g. the varieties of Takrouna (cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 584f.) and Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 504).

389 < Lat. *furca* "pitchfork".

390 This form originates from the OA geminated root *q-ṣ-ṣ* with the prefix *mi-*, however the prefix became C₁ and the gemination is given up, making it pattern $C_1C_2aC_3$. Beside the forms *mqaṣ ~ mgaṣ*, the variant *mqiṣ* is attested once in the corpus.

391 In the construct state *bāyt-*: *bāyti* "my part", *bāytah* "his part".

392 Mostly used by young speakers, also attested in the TUNICO dictionary, which examines the language of the youth of Tunis.

393 Interestingly, this noun is only attested <u>without</u> a medial *imāla* of *ā* (three times), whereas the adjective *ˤādi* of the same root is attested only <u>with</u> a medial *imāla* of *ā* in the corpus (three times).

mēda "low, round table", *ʕela* (~ *ʕayla*) "family; wife"[394], *ʕēša* (~ *ʕīša*) "Aisha; life", *rīḥa* "smell".

$C_1\bar{u}C_3(a)$:

mūs "jackknife", *sūg* "market". Moreover, *mūla* "owner" is the only example of the monophthongization of *-aw-* to *-ū-* instead of the usual *-ō-* (see below).

$C_1\bar{o}C_3(a)$:

Many of these nouns result from the monophthongization of *-aw-* in OA $C_1awC_3(a)$: *lōm* "reproach", *gōm* "kin, family"[395], *lōn* "color", *nōm* "sleep", *dōra* "tour, walk". Moreover, they can origin from OA $C_1\bar{u}C_3$: *t̠ōm* "garlic", *gōt* "food, nourishment". Some other examples of this pattern are *ṛōz* "rice" and *hōš* "livestock", *kōṛa* "ball", *ḥōma* "neighborhood", *ʕōla* "preparation of food stocks" as well as the borrowings *sōm* "price" and *ṛōba* "dress".

3.4.2.2.4. $C_1C_2\bar{a} \sim C_1C_2\bar{e}$

Nouns of this pattern mostly have final weak or originally C3 ʔ roots: *mṛā ~ mṛē* "woman", *hwā ~ hwē* "air", *rḥā ~ rḥē* "quern stone hand mill", *dwā ~ dwē* "medicine", *štā ~ štē* "winter; rain", *snā ~ snē* "year", *xṛā* "shit", *ʕšā ~ ʕšē* "dinner", *wṭā ~ wṭē* "ground", *ʕṣā* "stick". On the final *imāla* of monosyllabic words see 2.1.2.1.3.4.

3.4.2.2.5. $C_1\bar{v}C_2iC_3$

$C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$:

ṛāžil "man", *ṣāḥib* "friend", *sārig* "thief", *ḥāžib* "eyebrow", *šārib* "lip", *tābil* "spice mixture (coriander seeds, caraway seeds etc.)", *gāṛiṣ* "lemons", *ʕālim* "world", *ḥākim* "police; judge; ruler", *māṣiṭ* "tasteless (food), dull (person)", *tāʕib* "tired", *fāṛiġ ~ fāṛiġ* "empty", *kāmil* "whole", *ġāmiq* "dark", *sāhil* "easy". This pattern includes active participle of pattern I verbs: *rāgid* "sleep"[AP.SG.M].

Medial weak roots have the pattern $C_1\bar{a}yC_3$: *šāyb* "old man", *ṛāyb* "curdled milk", *xāyb* "bad; ugly", *xāyf* "scared", *ṣāym* "fasting".

Final weak roots have the pattern $C_1\bar{a}C_2i$: *ʕāṣi* "bull", *hādi* "calm", *dāfi* "warm", *ṣāfi* "pure, clear", *bāhi* "good", *ġāli ~ ġāli* "expensive".

In case C3 is *ḥ* or *ʕ*, the pattern is $C_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$: *žāmaʕ* "mosque", *mālaḥ* "salty".

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394 Also attested in the two meanings "family; wife" for Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2018: 185).

395 This lexeme is attested by Ph. Marçais (1977: 96) in the meaning "troup de gens (à cheval)", which contradicts its present-time meaning in NA. However, Rosenhouse (2006: 267) gives the meanings "group, tribe, enemy" for the lexeme gōm in Bedouin-type Arabic varieties, which matches the meaning in NA. Example of its usage from my corpus: *inta min **gōm** ⁱškūn?* "Which (extended) family do you belong to?", i.e. it is used to express one's origin and belonging. The term *ʕaṛš* "tribe", which is widespread in other Tunisian regions such as Central and South Tunisia, is not common in the Nefza region.

C₁ūC₂iC₃:

Tūnis "Tunisia; Tunis".

3.4.2.2.6. *C₁v̄C₂C₃v*

The patterns below (except for *C₁āC₂C₃a*) are seldom and mostly borrowings.

C₁āC₂C₃a:

ṭāwla "table", *sānya* "agricultural field, kitchen garden", *xābya* "big clay jug for food storage", *g̱āyla* "midday and afternoon heat", *Fāṭma* "Fatima", *zāwṛa* "blanket".

C₁īC₂C₃a:

Attested for the borrowing *fīrma* "farm".

C₁ūC₂C₃v:

lūbya "beans" and the borrowings *kūnži* "vacation, leave" and *nūmṛu* "number".

3.4.2.2.7. *C₁C₂v̄C₃(v)*

C₁C₂āC₃(a):

This is a frequent nominal pattern: *blād* "town; country", *šṛāb* "wine, alcoholic beverage", *ʕḏām* "eggs", *lsān* "tongue", *frāz* "strawberries", *ṭṛāb* "soil, ground", *ktāb* "book", *zdāg* "marriage contract", *gṭāṛ* "hectare", *ʕgāb* "rest, remnant, last part", *xlāl* "traditional brooch", *ḥzām* "belt", *ḥṣān* "horse", *kṛāʕ* "leg", *nhāṛ* "day", *ṣbāḥ*[396] "morning", *ḏṛāʕ* "arm", *bḷāṣa* "place", *škāṛa* "sack, bag", *sḷāṭa* "salad", *sxāna* "heat; fever", *xṛāfa* "story, fairy tale", *žmāʕa* "group (of people)", *ḥkāya* "story".

Many of these nouns are < OA *C₁vC₂āC₃(a)*, by short vowel elision in an open syllable. Exceptions, where the short vowel is retained, are MSA borrowings: *šamāl* "north", *miṯāl* "example".

A phenomenon attested for middle-aged and old rural speakers is the insertion of an optional anaptyctic vowel *ᵘ* between C₁ and C₂ of the pattern *C₁C₂āC₃a* if C₁ is a guttural: *xᵘzāna* "wardrobe", *qᵘṛāya* "school, studies, reading".[397]

C₁C₂īC₃(a):

ḥlīb "milk", *xrīf* "autumn", *rbīʕ* "spring", *ṭbīb* "doctor", *bhīm* "donkey", *smīd* "semolina", *ġsīl* "laundry", *zbīb* "raisins", *ḥšīš* "grass", *zlīz* "tiles", *wtīl*

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396 According to my impression during fieldwork in Northwest Tunisia, the lexeme *ṣbāḥ* seems to be a distinguishing feature between Tunisian sedentary and Bedouin varieties, the variant with an *imāla* (*ṣbǟḥ*) is seen as a feature of Tunisian sedentary varieties. In my corpus the variant *ṣbāḥ* is attested 21 times, whereas *ṣbǟḥ* is attested three times by young female speakers, indicating the influence of Tunisian sedentary varieties on the speech of the young generation in the Nefza region.

397 This phenomenon is also attested for Oran Arabic (cf. Guerrero 2016: 278): *qᵘṛāya* "study". Moreover, according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, the forms *xᵘzāna* and *qᵘṛāya* are widespread in Northwest Tunisian Bedouin varieties investigated in the TUNOCENT project.

"hotel", *xmīra* "yeast", *bsīsa* "mixture of ground cereals", *krīma* "persimmons", *wžīʕa* "pain", *ḥṣīra* "mat", *ʕžīna* "dough", *ftīla* "wick", *ṭbīʕa* "nature, temper", *ʕšīya* "afternoon", *ṯnīya* "path", *mzīya* "favor", *wṭīya* "ceremony of henna application (before the wedding)"[398].

Many adjectives have the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$: *smīn* "fat", *ḍʕīf* "thin; weak", *ḍrīr* "blind", *gdīm* "old", *ždīd* "new", *ṣġīr ~ zġīr* "small; young", *kbīr* "big; old", *wṣīf* "black (skin color)", *mrīḍ* "sick", *xfīf* "light", *rzīn* "heavy", *nḏīf* "clean", *xšīn* "thick; rough", *bnīn* "tasty", *ṭwīl* "long; tall", *ġrīb* "strange, foreign", *rxīṣ* "cheap".

Final weak roots of the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ have the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$: *wlī* "local saint", *qwī* "strong", *ġnī* "rich".

$C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3u$:
Attested for the borrowing *stīlu* "pen".

$C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3a$:
ʕwēna "plums".

$C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3(a)$:
fṭūṛ "lunch, breakfast", *stūš ~ stūž*[399] "wallet", *flūs* "money", *sbūʕ* "gathering on the seventh day of a marriage", *sxūn* "hot", *ʕrūsa* "bride".

3.4.2.2.8. $C_1uC_2C_2uC_3$
The only attested noun for this pattern is *sukkuṛ* "sugar".[400]

3.4.2.2.9. $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{v}C_3(a)$

$C_1vC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3(a)$:
Many of the nouns of the $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3(a)$ pattern belong to the categories of tools, professions and (only without *-a*) collective nouns: *dawwāṛ* "village", *nawwāṛ* "flowers", *ḥammām* "hammam, Turkish bath", *ṣabbāṭ* "pair of shoes", *gammām* "myrtle", *barrād* "teakettle", *dahhān* "painter", *zazzāṛ* "butcher", *ḥažžām* "hairdresser", *ṭabbāl* "drummer", *fallāḥ* "farmer", *ṭaḷḷāb* "beggar", *mallāx* "shoe repairer", *kayyās*[401] "paved road", *žabbāna* "graveyard", *hažžāla* "widow", *sabbāla* "sink", *žarrāya* "mattress".

The short vowel *u* of the OA pattern $C_1uC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ changes to *i* in NA in a non-emphatic environment: *ḏibbān* "flies", *tiffāḥ*[402] "apples", *dillāʕ* "watermelons", *šibbāk* "window".

The $C_1uC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ pattern is attested for nouns with emphatic consonants as C₁ or C₂: *ṛummān* "pomegranates", *buḷḷāṛ* "glass (material)", *ẕuḷḷāṭ* "cane",

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398 Cf. Singer (1984: 529): "Zeremonie der Ḥenna-Applikation".

399 < Sp. *estuche*.

400 Ph. Marçais (1977: 105) also describes the $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ pattern as rare.

401 Attested for Tunis Arabic with a long vowel before C₂ instead of the geminated C₂ *y*: *kāyās* (cf. Singer 1984: 531).

402 Cf. *tuffāḥ* (with short *u*) in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 447) but *təffāḥ* in Jijel Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 275).

duxxān "tobacco", *ẕummāṛa* "horn (car)", *ġunnāya* "song", *ḥurrāga* "stinging nettle".

Adjectives of the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ are derived from verbs: *ḥaddāṯ* "talkative (sb. who likes talking a lot)", *žarrāy* "sb. who runs a lot".

$C_1vC_2C_2\bar{\imath}C_3(a)$:

Most of the nouns and adjectives of the $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ pattern have short *i* in the first syllable: *biṭṭīx*[403] "rockmelons", *giddīd* "dry meat"[404], *ġiššīr* "young child"[405], *qillīl*[406] "poor", *sikkīna* "knife", *kaṛṛīṭa* "barrowcart".

$C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3(a)$:

Many animals have the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3$: *ʕallūš* "lamb", *ḥallūf* "pig", *fallūs*[407] "chick", *baxxūš* "beetles", *babbūš* "snails", *bakkūš* "dumb, mute", while the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3a$ is attested for the borrowing *dabbūza* "bottle".

3.4.2.2.10. $C_1\bar{v}C_2\bar{v}C_3(a)$

$C_1\bar{a}C_2\bar{a}C_3$:

Attested for the borrowing *bāṛāž* "dam".

$C_1\bar{a}C_2\bar{\imath}C_3(a)$:

ṭāzīn "type of bread; a Tunisian dish", the uncountable noun *fārīna* "flour" and the borrowing *fālīža* "suitcase".

$C_1\bar{a}C_2\bar{u}C_3(a)$:

Frequent pattern: *māʕūn* "dishes", *ḥānūt* "shop", *gāzūz* "soft drink", *ḅāḅūṛ* "ship", *kānūn* "clay brazier", *ṣābūn* "soap", *māẕūṭ* "fuel", *lākūn* "sb. who lisps", *ṛāgūba* "hill (summit)"[408], *žāṛūš(a)* "threshing board"[409], *ṭābūna* "traditional outdoor mud oven", *gādūma* "hoe"[410].

$C_1\bar{\imath}C_2\bar{a}C_3$:

zīwān "birdseed"[411], *rīḥān* "myrtle"[412], *dīnāṛ* "dinar", *šīṭān* "devil", *īdām*[413] "salt".

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[403] Cf. *baṭṭîx* (with short *a*) in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 542).

[404] Cf. Boris (1958: 484): "viande découpée en tranches et séchée au soleil".

[405] Cf. Boris (1958: 438): "jeune enfant".

[406] Also attested for Oran Arabic (cf. Guerrero 2016: 275) as *gəllīl* "poor, humble". Moreover, the form *qillīlit rabbī* "very poor" is attested for the Northwest Tunisian variety of Ouled Slama (Testour) (cf. Oueslati 2022: 70).

[407] < Lat. *pullus* "chick".

[408] Cf. Boris (1958: 221): "piton rocheux, observatoire, point de vue".

[409] Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 240): *žāṛōša* "Dreschschlitten; Vielfraß".

[410] Cf. Beaussier (1887: 531): "Binette, outil our biner ‖ Erminette", reflexes of *q - d - m* are common in Maghrebi varieties, e.g. *qādūma* in Takrouna Arabic (cf. Behnstedt/Woidich 2012: 314).

[411] Cf. Beaussier (1887: 278): "alpiste".

[412] Cf. Ph. Marçais (1956: 271): *rīḥân* "myrte".

[413] W. Marçais (1953: 380) gives idậm as a euphemism used in Tunisian varieties in the meanings "salt" and "tar".

$C_1\bar{\imath}C_2\bar{u}C_3$:

gīṭūn "traditional tent"[414], *zītūn* "olives", *bīdūn* "jerrycan".

$C_1\bar{u}C_2\bar{\imath}C_3(a)$:

Mostly attested for borrowings: *kūžīna* "kitchen", *ūgīda* "matchstick", *sūrīya* "shirt".

3.4.2.3. Quadriliteral roots

3.4.2.3.1. $C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$

ṭaʕlib "fox", *zaʕtir* "thyme", *ʕagṛib* "scorpion", *aṛnib* "rabbit", *filfil* "peppers (vegetable), pepper (spice)", *mirmiz* "barley grits; sauce with chickpeas", *gumṛug* "tobacco kiosk".

3.4.2.3.2. $C_1aC_2^{(i)}C_3C_4a$

ganṭra "bridge", *talⁱfza* "television", *kaṛⁱhba* "car", *xaṛⁱbga* "kind of traditional board game[415]", *ṭanⁱžṛa* "pot".

3.4.2.3.3. $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4(v)$

This is a frequent quadriliteral pattern. Quite a few nouns and adjectives of the $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4(v)$ pattern consist of reduplicated C_1 and C_2: *wakwāk, xulxāl, činčīna.*

$C_1vC_2C_3\bar{a}C_4(a)$:

naʕnāʕ "mint", *wakwāk* "stutterer", *kaskās* "couscous sieve", *faṛṭās*[416] "bold", *gaṛnāṭ* "stingy", *sirwāl* "pants", *mišmāš* "apricots", *žirmān* (~ *žuṛmān*) "geese", *kirwān* "type of pan"[417], *kuṛsāʕ* "elbow", *qubṣān* "water jug", *ʕuṣbān*[418] "Tunisian dish with intestines", *xulxāl* "traditional anklet", *ṛumḍān* "Ramadan", *dirbāla* "ragged clothing item; woman[PEJ]"[419], *žilbāna* "peas", *mungāla* "watch", *ġunžāya*[420] "spoon", *xuṛwāṭa* "worn bag".

$C_1iC_2C_3\bar{a}C_4i$:

sifsāri "traditional white veil[421]".

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414 Boris (1958: 517) translates *gāṭūn* as "tente européenne" and Singer (1984: 534) describes *gīṭûn* as "Zelt aus Zeltleinwand".

415 Cf. Beaussier (1887: 161): "Espèce de jeu de dames qui se joue sur un damier creusé en terre avec des cauillaux et des noyaux". A dialectal text about this game is provided by Ritt-Benmimoun (2006-10: 100-104).

416 Also attested for the varieties of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 470) and Annaba (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 21).

417 Cf. Singer (1984: 546): *kẹrwänä* "niedrige Kupferkasserole mit zwei Henkeln".

418 In Tunis Arabic with an *imāla* of *ā*: *ʕoṣbän* "eine Art Würste (Hammeldärme mit Füllung aus gehackter Leber, Milz, Lunge, Nieren)" (Singer 1984: 137).

419 Cf. Singer (1984: 546): *derbälä* "abgerissenes zerlumptes Kleidungsstück". The meaning given by Singer is the original one, however in the NA corpus *dirbāla* is attested in the figurative meaning of "woman[PEJ]", see text 8 "Event of Death".

420 Old, rural lexeme in NA. Also attested by Boris (1958: 446): *ġanžāya* "cuillère".

421 Cf. Singer (1984: 602): *sfāsẹr* "Frauenverhülltücher".

C₁vC₂C₃īC₄(a):

hinšīr "(large) plot of land[422]", *biškīr* "bath robe, towel", *miskīn* "pitiful, poor", *kalṣīṭa* "sock", *činčīna* "riddle", *furšīt(a)* "fork".

C₁aC₂C₃ūC₄(a):

Frequent pattern, often for the category of animals: *ṣaṛdūk* "rooster", *xanfūs* "cockroach", *ʕaṣfūṛ* "bird", *fakṛūn* "turtle", *žaṛbūʕ* "rat", *fantūš* "piglet", *ganfūd* "hedgehog", *kaṛmūṣ* "figs" *kaṛṭūš* "bullet", *kamyūn* "truck", *ʕankūš* "neck"[423], *ʕangūd* "cluster (grapes)", *maryūl* "T-shirt, pullover", *bahlūl* "stupid, retarded", *dagnūna* "chin", *ambūba* "lightbulb", *gaṛžūma* "throat", *šalġūma* "mustache (one side)".

3.4.2.4. Quintliteral roots

All of the attested quintliteral nouns are borrowings and end in *-v̄C*: *ṭraktūṛ*[424] "tractor", *maʕdnūs*[425] "parsley", *kaskrūt* "sandwich", *buṛᵘdgān* ~ *buṛᵘgdān* "oranges".

3.4.2.5. Patterns with prefixes

Nominal and adjective patterns with the prefixes *m-*, *t-* and *a-* are attested in the corpus.

3.4.2.5.1. Prefix *m-*

Nominal patterns with the prefix *m-* are often used for the categories of tools and places.

mvC₁C₂iC₃:

maṛfig "elbow", *maḥbis* "flowerpot", *maṭrig* "thin stick"[426], *minžil* "sickle", *mizwid* "leather provision bag", *muškil* "problem". In case of C₁ ʔ, C₂ is geminated to *miC₂C₂iC₃*: *middib* "Koranic school". The pattern for medial weak roots is *mC₁v̄C₃*: *mṛāḥ* "patio, inner court", *mšūm* "bad" (with C2 ʔ, which acts like a medial weak root).

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422 According to the speakers, *hinšīr* is a plot of land which is larger than 10 hectares. In contrast, a smaller plot of land is called *ṭabba*. Moreover, this lexeme is attested with short *a* (*hänšîr*) in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 547).

423 Mostly a chicken's neck is meant, but it can also mean a human neck – *ʕankūš* in the latter meaning is considered rural and old (and is laughed about). Another word in NA meaning a human neck is *rigba*.

424 With the change of the long vowel to *ō* in the plural form: *ṭraktōṛāt*.

425 < Gr. μαϊντανός "parsley".

426 Also attested for the West Algerian variety of Oran (cf. Guerrero 2016: 275) with the same meaning ("stick"), whereas it is found in the Southwest Algerian Saoura Arabic with a different meaning: "gourdin, baguette" (Grand'Henry 1979: 214).

$mvC_1^iC_2C_3a$:

mad^irsa "school", *man^idra* "threshing floor"[427], C₁ *ʔ*: *mākla* "food". Geminated roots have the pattern $mC_1aC_2C_2a$: *mṛadda* "thick rope for tying bulls", *mḥašša* "scythe".

$mC_1aC_2C_3a$:

mṣalḥa "broom", *mḥaṛma* "handkerchief", *mġaṛfa* "spoon".

$mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$:

Pattern for adjectives which are participle forms of derived verb patterns: *msattik* "stupid".

$maC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3(a)$:

maʕžūn "jam", *maṭmūṛ*[428] "silo", *malṯūṭ* "coarse barley couscous"[429], *maṣṛūf* "pocket money; expenses", *mastūṛa* "corn".

$mvC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$:

miftāḥ "key", *mizyān* "beautiful", *mišḥāḥ* "stingy", *muṣwāb* "cucumbers".

3.4.2.5.2. Prefix *t-*

Nominal patterns with the prefix *t-* are verbal nouns of pattern II verbs: *tišḷīṭ* "incision", also with the suffix *-a*: *taṣwīra* "picture, photo".

3.4.2.5.3. Adjective pattern $aC_1C_2iC_3$

The adjective pattern $aC_1C_2iC_3$ ($aC_1C_2aC_3$ if C₃ *ʕ/ḥ*, aC_1C_2a for final weak roots) is used for elative forms of adjectives (see 3.4.6) as well as colors, physical impairments and some other categories: *aḥriš* "rough", *asmir* "dark (skin tone)", *ašhib* "pale, wan[430]", *aṣḷaʕ* "bald", *aḡṛaʕ* "bald", *aṭṛiš* "deaf", *aswid* "black", *akḥil* "black", *aṣfir* "yellow", *axḍir* "green".

The feminine form of this pattern is $C_1aC_2C_3a$ ($C_1\bar{o}C_3a$ for medial weak roots) and the plural form is $C_1vC_2C_3 \sim C_1C_2vC_3$ ($C_1\bar{v}C_3 \sim C_1C_2vC_3$ for medial weak roots, $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$ for final week roots): *aḥmir*, FEM *ḥamṛa*, PL *hum^uṛ* ~ *ḥmuṛ* "red". Examples of medial weak roots are *abyiḍ*, FEM *bēḍa*, PL *bīḍ* ~ *byuḍ* "white" and *aḥwil*, FEM *ḥōla*, PL *ḥūl* ~ *ḥwil* "cross-eyed". An example of a final weak root is *aʕma*, FEM *ʕamya*, PL *ʕmī*[431] "blind".

The variant $C_1vC_2C_3$ ($C_1\bar{v}C_3$ for medial weak roots) of the plural patterns is more original and is mostly used by old and rural middle-aged speakers. On

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427 Meaning of *man^idra* explained by a NA speaker: *baṭḥa kbīra, misāḥa kbīra yḥuṭṭu fīh il-gam^iḥ w-iš-šʕīr*. As regards the origin of this lexeme, Behnstedt/Woidich (2012: 356) state: "Die Bezeichnung wurde offensichtlich von syrischen Stämmen nach Nordafrika gebracht […]" and "*mandra* findet sich im Raum Libyen-Tunesien".

428 Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 2409) state that the form *maṭmūṛ* is used "dans les parlers des bédouins sédentarisés de l'Enfîda", whereas in Takrouna Arabic the form *maṭmūra* is used.

429 Cf. Boris (1958: 262): "gros couscous".

430 Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 250) gives *ašhab* with the meaning "braungrau".

431 The NA form *ʕmī* corresponds to the sedentary plural pattern $C_1C_2vC_3$ and is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. TUNICO dictionary), whereas *ʕimy* (which corresponds to the Bedouin pattern $C_1vC_2C_3$) is used in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 275).

the other hand, the $C_1C_2vC_3$ variant is preferred by young and urban middle-aged speakers.[432]

3.4.2.6. Patterns with suffixes

Nominal and adjective patterns with the suffixes *-i*, *-īya*, *-ān* and *-āni* are attested in the corpus.

3.4.2.6.1. Suffix *-i*

Attested for nouns as well as *nisba* adjectives: *birⁱšni* "kid, yeanling", *kusᵘksi* "couscous", *ẓawwāli* "pauper, poor man", *gāwri*[433] "Western/European foreigner", *(il-)hindi* "prickly pears", *kuṛsi* "chair", *ġuḏwi* "foal", *Tūnsi* "Tunisian", *rīfi* "rural".

3.4.2.6.2. Suffix *-īya*

Nouns: *zaṛbīya* "carpet", *zaṛzūmīya* "gecko", *mlūxīya* "corchorus", *kakawīya* "peanuts", *kaṛwīya* "caraway".

3.4.2.6.3. Suffix *-ān*

The suffix *-ān* is used for verbal nouns of pattern I verbs: *šaddān* "holding", *ʕūmān* "swimming", adjectives: *faṛḥān* "happy", *ḥafyān* "barefoot", *ʕiryān* "naked", *žīʕān* "hungry" and (seldomly) nouns: *žilⁱžlān* "sesame".

3.4.2.6.4. Suffix *-āni*

The suffix *-āni* is attested for adjectives: *baṛṛāni* "external", *l-ūlāni* "the first one", *l-ixrāni* "the last one".

3.4.3. Internal plural patterns

The following are (the most common) internal plural patterns of nouns and adjectives (for external plural patterns see 3.4.1.3.3).

3.4.3.1. $C_1uC_2{}^uC_3$

$C_1uC_2{}^uC_3$ is the original plural pattern variant of $aC_1C_2vC_3$ adjectives with a regular root: *ṭuṛᵘš* (< *aṭṛiš* "deaf"), *ḥumᵘṛ* (< *aḥmir* "red"), *ṣufᵘṛ* (< *aṣfir* "yellow"). Medial weak roots have the pattern $C_1\bar{v}C_3$: *ḥūl* (< *aḥwil* "cross-eyed"), *sūd* (< *aswid* "black"), *bīḏ* (< *abyiḏ* "white").

The equivalent of the $C_1uC_2{}^uC_3 \sim C_1\bar{v}C_3$ plural pattern used by urban and young speakers is $C_1C_2vC_3$ (see below).

3.4.3.2. $C_1C_2vC_3$

$C_1C_2aC_3$:

The only attested form is *kʕab*, which has the singular pattern $C_1aC_2C_3a$: *kaʕba* "piece". This pattern is rare in Tunis Arabic as well (cf. Singer 1984: 576f.).

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432 See 3.4.2.2.1 on the $C_1vC_2C_3 – C_1C_2vC_3$ variation in nouns.

433 < Tr. *gavur* "infidel".

C₁C₂iC₃:

This plural pattern is often formed from the singular pattern $C_1vC_2C_3a$ ($C_1\bar{v}C_3a$ for medial weak roots), as well as other singular patterns such as $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3a$: *dwil* (< *dawla* "state"), *žbih* (< *žibha* "forehead"), *trim* (< *tirma* "bottom, posterior"), *ḥwim* (< *ḥōma* "neighborhood"), *xyim* (< *xēma* "tent"), *zrid* (< *zarda* "festival in honor of saints"), *ʕyil* (< *ʕāyla ~ ʕēla* "family"), *zwir* (< *zāwṛa* "blanket"), *xdim* (< *xidma* "work"), *grif* (< *girⁱf* "stingy").

Final weak roots have the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$: *lḥī* (< *liḥya* "beard, chin"), *ʕmī* (< *aʕma* "blind").

C₁C₂uC₃:

šhuṛ (~ *šhūṛ*) (< *šhaṛ* "month"), *ktub* (< *ktāb* "book"), *gfuf* (< *guffa* "shopping basket").

This plural pattern is also formed from $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ adjectives: *gdum* (< *gdīm* "old"), *ždud* (< *ždīd* "new").

Moreover, $C_1C_2vC_3$ (mostly $C_1C_2uC_3$) is the modern variant of the plural form of $aC_1C_2vC_3$ adjectives with a regular and medial weak root: *ṭruš* (< *aṭⁱš* "deaf"), *ḥmuṛ* (< *aḥmir* "red"), *ḥwil* (< *aḥwil* "cross-eyed"), *byuḍ* (< *abyiḍ* "white"), *ṣfuṛ* (< *aṣfir* "yellow").

3.4.3.3. $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3(a)$

C₁C₂āC₃(a):

The plural pattern $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ is formed from various singular nominal and adjective patterns, such as $C_1vC_2C_3(a)$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ and $C_1C_2vC_3$: *ḍyāf* (< *ḍīf* "guest"), *dyāṛ* (< *dāṛ* "house"), *ṣḥāb* (~ *aṣḥāb*) (< *ṣāḥib* "friend"), *ʕbād* (< *ʕabⁱd* "person"), *bnāt* (< *bint* "daughter"), *šbāṛ* (< *šbir* "span"), *ṛžāl* (< *ṛāžil* "man"), *ʕwām* (< *ʕām ~ ʕâm* "year"), *klāb* (< *kalb* "dog"), *xwāl* (< *xāl* "maternal uncle"), *ʕmām* (< *ʕamm* "maternal uncle"), *gdām* (< *gdim* "bite"), *kyām* (< *kīm* "hovel"), *glāl* (< *gulla* "jug"). In nouns with a labial as C_1 and C_2 *w* (in the plural pattern), the C_2 *w* is assimilated to C_1: *ᵘmmās* (< *mūs* "jackknife"), *ᵘffām* (< *fumm* "mouth"), which result from **mwās* and **fwām*.

$C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ is a frequent plural pattern for adjectives of the $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$ (mostly $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$) pattern: *kbāṛ* (< *kbīr* "big, old"), *ṣġāṛ ~ zġāṛ* (< *ṣġīr ~ zġīr* "small, young"), *ṣḥāḥ* (< *ṣḥīḥ* "correct, real"), *smān* (< *smīn* "fat"), *sxān* (< *sxūn* "hot"), *xfāf* (< *xfīf* "light").

The plural pattern $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3a$ is mostly used for nouns with final weak roots, *nisba*-nouns, and adjectives of the singular pattern $CvCC\bar{v}C$ (mostly with the suffix -*ān*): *ġḏāwa* (< *ġuḏwi* "foal"), *Nfāza* (< *Nifzi* "inhabitant of Nefza"), *swāra* (< *sūrīya* "shirt"), *žwāʕa* (< *žīʕān* "hungry"), *ʕṭāša* (< *ʕuṭšān ~ ʕaṭšān* "thirsty"), *ḥfāya* (< *ḥafyān* "barefoot"), *qlāla* (< *qillīl* "poor").

C₁C₂ūC₃(a):

The pattern $C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3$ is often formed from singular patterns $C_1vC_2C_3(a)$ and $C_1C_2vC_3$: *ždūd* (< *žadd* "grandfather", *wžūh* (< *wižⁱh* "face"), *xdūd* (< *xadd*

"cheek"), *kṛūš* (< *kirš* "belly"), *kfūf* (< *kaff* "palm"), *glūb* (< *galb* "heart, inner part"), *žlūd* (< *žilda* "skin"), *gbūṛ* (< *gbaṛ* ~ *gabⁱṛ* "grave"), *byūt* (< *bēt* "room; house").

The plural pattern $C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3a$ is mostly attested for animals[434]: *dyūba* (< *dīb* "jackal"), *ṣyūda* (< *ṣīd* "lion"), *grūda* (< *girⁱd* "monkey"), *ʕžūla* (< *ʕžil* "calf"), *žḥūša* (< *žiḥⁱš* "donkey foal"), *zdūṛa* (< *zdir* "back").

3.4.3.4. $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3(a)$
$C_1uC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$:
This pattern is formed from the singular pattern $C_1\bar{a}C_2vC_3$: *surrāg* (< *sārig* "thief"), *ʕuzzāb* (< *ʕāzib* "unmarried young man"), *surrāḥ* (< *sāraḥ* "shepherd").

3.4.3.5. $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3C_4a$
This plural pattern is formed from some *nisba*-nouns and adjectives: *Twānsa* (< *Tūnsi* "Tunisian"), *zwāwla*[435] (< *zawwāli* "poor").

3.4.3.6. $C_1C_2iC_3C_4a$, $C_1C_2uC_3C_4a$
gwirra (< *gāwri* "Western/European foreigner"), *ḥṣunna* (~ *uḥᵘṣna*) (< *ḥṣān* "horse").[436]

3.4.3.7. $C_1iC_2C_3a$, $C_1uC_2C_3a$
Singular pattern $C_1C_2\bar{i}C_3$ ($C_1C_2\bar{i}$ for final weak roots): *ṭubba* (< *ṭbīb* "doctor"), *wilya* (< *wlī* "local saint"), *witla* (< *wtīl* "hotel"), *murḍa* (< *mrīḍ* "sick"), *ġunya* (< *ġnī* "rich").

3.4.3.8. $C_1C_2\bar{a}yC_3$
This plural pattern is often formed from the singular patterns $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3a$ and $C_1vC_2C_3a$: *slāyṭ* (< *slāṭa* "salad"), *škāyr* (< *škāra* "sack, bag"), *blāyṣ* (< *blāṣa* "place"), *bhāym* (< *bhīm* "donkey"), *ḥwāyž* (< *ḥāža* "thing"[437]), *ʕzāyz* (< *ʕzūza* "old woman"), *bqāyʕ* (< *buqʕa* "place"), *xᵘzāyn* (< *xᵘzāna* "wardrobe"), *ṭbāyb* (< *ṭabba* "agricultural field"), *kmāyn* (< *kamyūn* "truck"), *rkāyb* (< *ṛukba* "knee").

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434 This pattern is also attested for animals (among other categories) in Jijel Arabic: *qrûda*, *fḥûla*, *bġûla* (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 361). Moreover, Singer (1984: 586) states that the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{u}C_3a$ is not very frequent anymore in Tunis Arabic. The examples given for this pattern in Tunis Arabic mostly belong to the category of animals as well.

435 In Sousse Arabic the plural form *zwāwlīya* is used (cf. Talmoudi 1980: 135).

436 Moreover, Singer (1984: 580f.) gives the form *ktúbbä* "books", which is used only with pronominal suffixes: *ktúbᵇti* "my books". The forms *ktubti*, *ktubbitha* are also attested in the NA corpus (see 3.4.1.2), however only with suffixes, i.e. without a suffix **ktubba* is not attested in the corpus, but only *ktub*.

437 With the additional meaning "clothes" in the plural form only.

3.4.3.9. $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3i$

This plural pattern is mostly formed from the singular pattern $C_1vC_2C_3v$: *rgā̆bi* (< *rigba* "neck"), *krāsi* (< *kursi* "chair"), *qhāwi* (< *qahwa* "coffee; café"), *šnā̆ti*[438] (< *šinti* "young child"). Moreover, one noun with the singular pattern $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3a$ is attested: *žrā̆ri* (< *žarrā̆ya* "mattress").

With a labial as C_1 and C_2 *w*, C_2 gets assimilated to C_1: *ᵘmmā̆li* (< *mūla* "owner"[439]), which results from **mwā̆li*.

3.4.3.10. $CC\bar{a}CvC$

The plural pattern $CC\bar{a}CvC$[440] ($CC\bar{a}CiC$, and $CC\bar{a}CaC$ if *ḥ/ʕ* in the second syllable) is often the newer variant of the pattern $CC\bar{a}C\bar{i}C$ (see 3.4.3.11). Beside this variation, the pattern $CC\bar{a}CiC$ is the only pattern used for some singular patterns. The most important ones are listed below. Triliteral roots without a prefix ($C_1\bar{v}C_2iC_3$, $C_1\bar{v}C_2C_3v$ and $C_1C_2vC_3$) have C_2 *w* in the plural pattern:

- $mvC_1C_2iC_3$ and $mC_1aC_2C_3a$: *mnā̆žil* (< *minžil* "sickle"), *mṛāfig* (< *maṛfig* "elbow"), *mġā̆rif* (< *mġaṛfa* "spoon").
- $C_1\bar{v}C_2C_3v$: *ṭwāwil* (< *ṭāwla* "table"), *nwāmir* (< *nūmru* "number"), *ṣwā̆rid* (< **ṣūṛdi*[441] "money"). When C_1 is a labial, an assimilation of the C_2 *w* of the plural form to C_1 takes place: *ᵘmmā̆kil* (< *mā̆kla* "food"), which results from **mwā̆kil*. Final weak roots have the plural pattern $C_1w\bar{a}C_2i$: *xwā̆bi* (< *xā̆bya* "big clay jug for food storage"), *swā̆ni* (< *sā̆nya* "agricultural field, kitchen garden").
- $C_1vC_2^iC_3C_4v$: *kṛā̆hib* (< *kaṛⁱhba* "car"), *brā̆šin* (< *birⁱšni* "kid, yeanling"), *tnā̆bir* (< *timbri* "stamp"), *tlā̆fiz* (< *talⁱfza* "television"), *ṭnā̆žir* (< *ṭanⁱžṛa* "pot"), *gnā̆ṭir* (< *ganṭṛa* "bridge").
- $C_1C_2vC_3$: *ṣwā̆baʕ* (< *ṣbuʕ* "finger").
-

3.4.3.11. $CC\bar{a}C\bar{i}C$ vs. $CC\bar{a}CvC$

Nouns and adjectives of the singular pattern $CvCC\bar{v}C$ have the plural pattern $CC\bar{a}CvC$ in Maghrebi sedentary Arabic varieties, whereas its counterpart in Maghrebi Bedouin Arabic varieties is $CC\bar{a}C\bar{i}C$, i.e. with a long vowel between the last two consonants (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 123). In NA, this feature is subject to sociolinguistic variation, as the typically Bedouin form

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438 But *šnāta* in some other Tunisian varieties, e.g. Ouled Slama Arabic (Northwest Tunisia) (cf. Oueslati 2022: 58, 63).

439 With the additional meaning "relatives" in the plural form.

440 In this and the following section (3.4.3.11) the patterns are given without numbers, as they comprise both triliteral and quadriliteral roots, resulting in various combinations ($C_1C_2\bar{a}C_2iC_3$, $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3iC_4$ etc.). For this reason, the patterns are limited to their form: $CC\bar{a}CiC$ and $CC\bar{a}C\bar{i}C$.

441 Only the plural form is attested in my corpus. This lexeme is also used in Annaba Arabic: "it. *soldi* > *ṣōṛdi* pl. *ṣwāṛəd* 'argent'" (Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 21).

CCāCīC is mostly used by (many, but not all) old and rural middle-aged speakers, while (especially female) young and urban middle-aged speakers tend to use its sedentary counterpart *CCāCvC* instead (discussed in 3.4.3.10 above). Moreover, in NA the plural pattern *CCāCīC* is generally used to a lesser extent than in Central and South Tunisian Bedouin varieties.[442] For instance, in Douz Arabic only the pattern *CCāCīC* is used for the singular pattern *CvCCv̄C* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 255).

Surprisingly, in NA the diminutive form of *CvCCv̄C* nouns and adjectives is exclusively *CCīCīC* (see 3.4.5), without the expected variant *CCīCvC*, in analogy with the variation *CCāCīC ~ CCāCvC* of the plural pattern.

The plural pattern *CCāCīC* (and its variant *CCāCvC*) is mostly formed from nouns and adjectives ending in -*v̄C(a)*. Those include, e.g., triliteral nouns with geminated C$_2$ (*C$_1$vC$_2$C$_2$v̄C$_3$(a)*), the prefix *m-* (*mvC$_1$C$_2$v̄C$_3$(a)*) and two long vowels (*C$_1$v̄C$_2$v̄C$_3$(a)*) as well as quadriliteral nouns (*C$_1$vC$_2$C$_3$v̄C$_4$(a)*).

Examples of the *CCāCīC* plural pattern: *dwāwīṛ* (< *dawwāṛ* "village"), *kṛāsīʕ* (< *kuṛsāʕ* "elbow"), *žbābīn* (< *žabbāna* "graveyard"), *gwāṭīn* (< *gīṭūn* "traditional tent"), *bḥālīl* (< *bahlūl* "stupid, simple, retarded"). With a labial as C$_1$ and C$_2$ *w*, the C$_2$ *w* is assimilated to C$_1$, which is emphatized: *ᵘḅḅādīn* (< *bīdūn* "jerrycan"), which results from the form **bwādīn*.

The following nouns and adjectives show a variation of the plural patterns *CCāCīC ~ CCāCvC* in the corpus: *ṣṛādīk ~ ṣṛādik* (< *ṣaṛdūk* "rooster"), *bkākīš ~ bkākiš* (< *bakkūš* "dumb, mute"), *šlāḡīm ~ šlāḡim* (< *šalġūma* "mustache"), *flālīs ~ flālis* (< *fallūs* "chick"), *sṛāwīl ~ sṛāwil* (< *sirwāl* "pants"), *fkāṛīn ~ fkāṛin* (< *fakṛūn* "turtle"), *gṭāṭīs ~ gṭāṭis* (< *gaṭṭūsa* "cat"), *ḥžāžīl ~ ḥžāžil* (< *hažžāla* "widow"), *mnāḡīl ~ mnāḡil* (< *mungāla* "watch"), *ḥwānīt ~ ḥwānit* (< *ḥānūt* "shop").

Contrary to the expected *CCāCīC* pattern, the following *CvCCv̄C(a)* nouns are attested <u>only</u> with the *CCāCvC* plural pattern (also confirmed for rural and old speakers): *dbābiz* (< *dabbūza* "bottle"), *ʕlāliš* (< *ʕallūš* "lamb"), *ḥlālif* (< *ḥallūf* "pig"), *skākin* (< *sikkīn* "knife"), *zmāmir* (< *zummāṛa* "horn"), *ṣbābiṭ* (< *ṣabbāṭ* "pair of shoes").

Lastly, differences in the usage of the *C$_1$C$_2$āC$_3$īC$_4$* pattern for *CvCCv̄C(a)* nouns and adjectives exist between the rural localities of the Nefza region: middle-aged and old female speakers of Touila and Umm Labid use this pattern less frequently (*C$_1$C$_2$āC$_3$vC$_4$* is often used instead), whereas it is more commonly used by speakers of the same age and gender from Hbeba and Zaga, confirming the complexity of this feature in NA. Furthermore, gender-specific differences are observable: male rural speakers (of all ages) use the *C$_1$C$_2$āC$_3$īC$_4$* pattern more frequently than female speakers.

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[442] According to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, based on grammar questionnaires of the varieties of the Central Tunisian governorates of Kasserine and Sidi Bouzid.

3.4.3.12. *$C_1C_2\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}C_3$*

The plural pattern *$C_1C_2\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}C_3$ ($C_1C_2\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}n$ for final weak roots)*, which is commonly characterized as *plural pluralis*[443], is limited to old and rural middle-aged speakers: *bnāwīt* (< *bint* "daughter"[444]), *ržā/wīl*[445] (< *ṛāžil* "man"), *ḥšā/wīš* (< *ḥšīša* "herb"), as well as nouns with no equivalent singular form used in NA: *nsā/wīn* (SG *mṛā* ~ *mrē* "woman"), *ḍṛāwīn* (SG *ṣġīr* ~ *ẓġīr* "child").

Young and urban middle-aged speakers use Tunisian sedentary counterparts instead, such as *nsā, bnāt* and *ržāl*. These forms are used by old and rural middle-aged speakers as well, next to the *$C_1C_2\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}C_3$* forms.

W. Marçais (1950: 213) lists plural forms like *nsâwîn* as typical for Tunisian Bedouin varieties. Furthermore, the plural form *b(a)nāwīt* is also attested for the Bedouin-type Arabic varieties of Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 255) and Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 208).

3.4.3.13. Patterns with prefixes

$aC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$:

This plural pattern corresponds to the homonymic OA pattern *$\hat{?}aC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$*: *alwān* (< *lōn* "color"), *aktāf* (~ *ktāf*) (< *ktif* "shoulder"), *awlād* (< *wlad* "boy"), *anwāʕ* (< *nawʕ* "type"), *ayyām* (< *yōm* "day"). However, the plural pattern *$C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$* (see 3.4.3.3) without initial *a-* is more frequently used as the equivalent of OA *$\hat{?}aC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$*.

In Tunis Arabic the initial *a* of the pattern *$aC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$* is always audible in combination with a definite article, and not always in isolated form (cf. Singer 1984: 581f.). In NA this is only the case for *ktāf* "shoulders", which is *l-aktāf* with an article. The remaining nouns of the *$aC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$* pattern listed above are attested in isolated position.

$uC_1{}^uC_2C_3a$:

uṣ^{u}ḥna (< *ṣḥan* "plate"). Moreover, it is attested for two more nouns as the less frequently used plural form: *uḥ^{u}ṣna* (~ *ḥṣunna*) (< *ḥṣān* "horse"), *uš^{u}ḥṛa*[446] (~ *šhuṛ* ~ *šhūṛ*) (< *šhaṛ* "month").

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443 Cf. Singer (1984: 15): "Plurale von Pluralen" and W. Marçais (1950: 213): "pluriels de pluriels".

444 With the additional meaning "girls" in the plural form only.

445 Alternative plural forms are *ržāl* and *ṛažžāla*. The most frequently attested form is *ržāl* (14x), followed by *ṛažžāla* (5x) and *ržā/wīl* (2x).

446 Only used in isolated position, i.e. not possible with a preceding numeral.

3.4.3.14. Patterns with suffixes

$C_1iC_2C_3\bar{a}n$:

Nouns of this group with a regular root have the singular pattern $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$: *ʕirsān* (< *ʕrīs* "groom"[447]), *wiṣfān* (< *wṣīf* "black[PEJ]"), *šibbān* (< *šbāb* "pretty, nice").

Medial weak roots have the plural pattern $C_1\bar{i}C_3\bar{a}n$, and the singular pattern $C_1\bar{v}C_3$: *žīrān* (< *žāṛ* "neighbor"), *fīrān* (< *fāṛ* "mouse"), *bībān* (< *bāb* "door"), *wīdān*[448] (~*widyān*) (< *wād* "river, riverbed"), *kīsān* (< *kās* "glass"), *ḏīfān*[449] (< *ḏīf* "guest"), *ṭīrān* (< *ṭōṛ* "bull"), *kīrān* (< *kāṛ* "bus"), *šīhān* (< *šāh* "sheep").

3.4.4. Compound nouns

Compound nouns with *bū* "father" and *umm* "mother" as modifiers are attested in the corpus for the following semantic fields[450]:

- Animals[451]: *bū zinzin* ~ *bū zinzil* "wasp", *bū kaššāš*[452] "common wall gecko", *bū ṭūwīr* "bat", *umm il-būya*[453] "chameleon", *umm guṛguṛ*[454] "toad"
- Plants: *bū fūla* "type of large fava beans"
- Place names: *Bū Gaṛnūn* "Bou Garnoun (a locality near Zaga)", *Umm l-ʕBīd* "Umm Labid"
- First names: *Bū Dillāʕ* "Bou Dilaa (a local saint in Zaga)", *B-il-Gāsim*[455] "Belgacem"
- Physical characteristics: *bū kuṛba*[456] "hunchback"

Beside the modifiers *bū* and *umm*, there is one example of a compound noun (from the semantic category of plants) with the modifier *wild* "son" attested in the corpus: *wild il-gamṛa* "cucumber".

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447 With the additional meaning "bridal couple" in the plural form.

448 This plural pattern is also attested for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 591).

449 Next to the plural patterns *ḏyāf* and *ḏyūf*. The plural form variation *ḏēfān* ~ *ḏyāf* is also attested in Maṛāzīg Arabic (cf. Boris 1958: 366).

450 See also Ritt-Benmimoun (2008) for compound nouns with *bū* and *umm* in the South Tunisian variety of the Maṛāzīg tribe in Douz and Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 8-13, 132-134) for the equivalents in Takrouna Arabic.

451 In Douz Arabic compound nouns are used for "numerous birds, beetles, insects and other small animals" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2008: 373), which corresponds to the usage in NA.

452 Cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 11): *bu-kaššâš* "lézard(s) gris" and Ritt-Benmimoun (2008: 373): *bū kiššāš* (with a short *i* instead of *a*).

453 Cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 132): *umm-əlbûia* "le caméléon".

454 Cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 132): *umm-guṛguṛ* "crapaud".

455 < *Bū il-Gāsim*, cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 8): "Quand le second terme du complexe est déterminé par l'article, *bū + l* se réduit à *bəl*."

456 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2008: 367): *bū/umm kuṛba*.

3.4.5. Diminutive

Diminutive forms[457] are attested in the corpus for nouns (incl. proper names), adjectives (only positive, not comparative forms of adjectives), the numeral *zōz* "two" (*zwayyiz*)[458] and the adverb *qbal* ~ *gbal* (*bgēla*[459] "just (now), a short while ago").

Diminutives are formed from singular forms only. The plural of diminutive nouns is formed with the suffix -*āt* (regardless of the gender): *flīlīsāt* "chicks^DIM". On the other hand, the plural of diminutive adjectives is formed by suffixation of -*īn*: *ẓġayyrīn* "small^PL.DIM", see 3.4.1.3.3.2 and 3.4.1.3.3.3.

The most frequently attested diminutive forms are $C_1C_2ayyiC_3$ for triliteral roots and $C_1C_2īC_3īC_4$ ~ $C_1C_2ēC_3īC_4$ for quadriliteral roots. The following is a list of attested diminutive forms:

- $C_1C_2ayyiC_3$:

This pattern is very common and is used for triliteral nouns and adjectives of diverse nominal patterns.[460] The corpus does not provide examples of feminine nouns with this pattern: *klayyib* (< *kalb* "dog"), *nhayyir* (< *nhāṛ* "day"), *wlayyid* (< *wlad* "boy"), *dwayyib* (< *dīb* "jackal"). As regards adjectives, this pattern is frequently attested for adjectives of the pattern $C_1C_2īC_3$: *kbayyir* (< *kbīr* "big; old"), *ṣġayyir* ~ *ẓġayyir* (< *ṣġīr* ~ *ẓġīr* "small; young"), *mṛayyiḍ* (< *mrīḍ* "sick").

Special diminutive forms are formed from nouns with a (synchronically) medial weak root (C_2 *w*) and the labials *m*, *b* or *f* as C_1, where an assimilation of the C_2 *w* to C_1 takes place, with an additional emphatization of C1, making the pattern ^u$C_1C_1ayyiC_3$: ^u*ḅḅayyib* (< *bāb* "door"), ^u*ffayyim* (< *fumm* "mouth"), ^u*mmayyis* (< *mūs* "jackknife").[461] Another form fitting to this group of nouns is the (biliteral root) ^u*ḅḅayy* (< *bū* "father").

Some other lexicalized diminutives of this pattern are *žwayyid* "thin, delicate" and *šwayy* "a little bit".

- $C_1C_2ēC_3(a)$ ~ $C_1C_2īC_3(a)$:

This diminutive pattern is formed from $C_1vC_2C_3$ nouns and is seldomly attested: *klēb*[462] (< *kalb* "dog"), *glīb* (< *galᵢb* "heart") as well as the diminutive

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[457] Quite some research has been done on diminutives in Tunisian varieties, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2018) on diminutives in Douz Arabic and Procházka (2019) on diminutives in Tunis Arabic.

[458] In Douz Arabic diminutive forms are used for the numerals 1-12 (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2018: 190).

[459] Metathesis of *gbēla*.

[460] In Douz Arabic the diminutive pattern ˀ$C_1C_2ayyiC_3$ is used for "nouns and adjectives with a long vowel between C_2 and C_3 ($C_1^{(v)}C_2VC_3$), and of concave roots with $R_2=y$." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2018: 185). In NA this diminutive pattern is used for different nominal patterns, including those listed for Douz.

[461] Cf. Singer (1984: 482): ^u*ffaiyim*, ^b*baiyib*.

[462] There are two diminutive forms of the noun *kalb* "dog" attested: *klayyib* is attested four times, whereas *klēb* is attested only once.

form *uṃṃēs* (originating from *mwēs) of the C_2 *w* noun *mūs* "jackknife". Both $C_1C_2ayyiC_3$ and $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3 \sim C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ diminutive patterns are formed from $C_1vC_2C_3$ nouns, however the latter are not as frequent and only attested for rural middle-aged speakers.

The diminutive pattern $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3a \sim C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3a$ is attested in the nouns *xbēza* (< *xubza* "loaf of bread") and *ᵘmmīma* (< *umm* "mother"[463]). Moreover, the adverb *bgēla* "just (now)" (metathesis of *q - b - l*) follows the diminutive pattern $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3a$.

As regards diminutive forms of triliteral nouns, in Tunis Arabic the diminutive pattern $CC\bar{\imath}Ca$ is formed from feminine nouns, whereas masculine nouns only form the $CCayiC$ diminutive pattern (cf. Singer 1984: 482f.). In contrast, the $CC\bar{e}C$ diminutive form of masculine nouns is used in Libyan, South Tunisian and Algerian Bedouin varieties (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 144).

- $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3iC_4 \sim C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3iC_4$:

This diminutive pattern is attested in the corpus for the $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ noun *ṛāžil* "man": *rwēžil ~ rwīžil*.

- $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4 \sim C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4$:

This diminutive pattern is formed from nouns and adjectives of the pattern $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4$: *ʕṣīfīr* (< *ʕaṣfūṛ* "bird"), *fkīrīn* (< *fakṛūn* "turtle"), *flīlīs* (< *fallūs* "fledgling, chick"), *bkīkīš* (< *bakkūš* "dumb, mute"), *srēwīl ~ srīwīl*[464] (< *sirwāl* "pants").

The variant $C_1C_2\bar{e}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4$, which is the expected form, as *ay* is mostly monophthongized to *ē*, is attested only once (*srēwīl*), while the rest of the examples follow the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4$.

Ritt-Benmimoun (2018: 187) elucidates that this pattern is "typical of Maghrebi Bedouin dialects but not common in sedentary dialects." The diminutive pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4$ is also attested for the Central Tunisian Bedouin variety of Sidi Bouzid (cf. Prinoth 2017: 73f.): *šbībīk, ḥwīnīt, flīlīs*. By contrast, in the sedentary variety of Tunis the form $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3iC_4$ is used (cf. Procházka 2019: 222), i.e. a form with a short vowel between C_3 and C_4.

Furthermore, the diminutive pattern $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4a$, which is formed from nouns of the pattern $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4a$, is the feminine counterpart of $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3\bar{\imath}C_4$: *dbībīza*[465] (< *dabbūza* "bottle"), *dlīlīʕa* (< *dillāʕa* "a watermelon").

- $CaCC\bar{u}C(a)$:

This diminutive pattern, which is inter alia used as a hypocoristic, is attested in three different subgroups: $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3(a)$: *bannūta* (< *bint* "daughter"), $C_1aC_2C_3\bar{u}C_4$: *gaylūla* (< *ḡāyla* "midday/afternoon heat; afternoon

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[463] However, the diminutive form of *umm* means "grandmother" only.

[464] Cf. *srîwəl* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 494), i.e. without the long vowel between C_3 and C_4.

[465] Cf. *dbîbzä* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 493), i.e. without the long vowel between C_3 and C_4.

nap") and $C_1aC_2C_1\bar{u}C_2$, in which the two consonants have been reduplicated: *farfūṛ* (< *fāṛ* "mouse").[466]

With regard to proper names, the diminutive patterns $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3$, $C_1C_2ayyiC_3$ and $C_1aC_2C_3\bar{u}C_4a$ are attested in the corpus: *Xaddūž*[467] (< *Xdīža*), *Xmayyis* (< *(Muḥammid) il-Xāmis*), *Maryūma* (< *Maryim*).

3.4.6. Elative

The elative form is gender and number indifferent and is formed from adjectives with triliteral roots.

Adjectives with regular roots have the elative pattern $aC_1C_2iC_3$ ($aC_1C_2aC_3$ if C_2/C_3 *ḥ/ʕ*): *akbir* "bigger, biggest; elder, eldest", *abʕad* "farer, farest". Moreover, the pattern $uC_1C_2iC_3$ is attested twice[468]: *famma škūn yabqa **ukṯir**.* "There are some who stay more.", *mā-yitšaṛṛiṭ-iš. maʕnāha, **ubsiṭ** ḥāḏa maʕnāha.* "He doesn't make demands. That means (he requests) the simplest thing."

Adjectives with geminated roots have the pattern $aC_1\acute{a}C_2C_2 \sim aC_1\acute{i}C_2C_2$: *ažádd* "newer, newest", *aqáll ~ aqíll*[469] "less, least".

Adjectives with final weak roots form the elative pattern aC_1C_2a: *aġla* "more expensive, most expensive", *aḥla* "sweeter, sweetest; nicer, nicest".

The following elative forms do not have a positive counterpart: *xēr ~ xīr* "better (only comparative)", *aḥsin* "better, best".

The elative form comprises both comparative and superlative meanings. The comparative is expressed with the elative form + preposition *min*: *dāṛi **agdim min** dāṛah.* "My house is older than his house." The comparative form of $aC_1C_2vC_3$ adjectives is formed with the positive form of the adjective + *akṯir* ("more"): *ḥamṛa akṯir* "redder[FEM]".

The superlative is formed by the elative form + indefinite singular, plural or collective noun: ***akbir** iblād fi-Tūnis* "the biggest city in Tunisia". An alternative way of expressing the superlative (in comparison to a group) is a definite positive adjective in combination with the preposition *fī* + plural pronominal suffix: *nāya **t-tāʕba fīkum***. "I am the most tired[FEM] one of (all of) you.", *w-ʕinna wild ʕamm bāba, hūw **l-ikbīr fīhim***. "And we have my father's cousin, he is the eldest one of them."[470]

The construction of a positive adjective + preposition *ʕlā* with a pronominal suffix expresses the English "too much": *id-dāṛ hāḏīya **ḏrīfa ʕlēna***. "This

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[466] The hypocoristics *bannūta* and *dabdūb* are given by Mattiello et al. (2020: 146).

[467] In Tunis Arabic the diminutive *Xdûža* is used (cf. Singer 1984: 495).

[468] By one speaker (Nefza1/f/50), in the text 5 "Wedding".

[469] The variant *aqáll* is attested four times, and the variant *aqíll* is attested once (by the speaker Nefza6/f/70).

[470] This construction is also found in Tunis Arabic: *elʕóṛṣa ḥâḍi ṛâhi ṭṭwîlä fîhum* "diese Stange ist die längste" (Singer 1984: 477).

house is too small for us.", *il-lḥam hāḏa ġāli ʕlīya.* "This meat is too expensive for me."

3.5. Numerals

This chapter comprises numerals attested in the NA corpus.

3.5.1. Cardinal numerals

3.5.1.1. One
This is the only numeral with gender-specific forms: MASC *wāḥid ~ wāḥid*, FEM *waḥda*.[471]

It is used after a noun to emphasize the amount ("<u>one</u>, and not two"): *nḥibb kaʕba waḥda.* "I want <u>one</u> piece." vs. *nḥibb kaʕba.* "I want a piece."

3.5.1.2. Two
The numeral "two" can be expressed with two different forms: *zōz* and *(i)tnīn*[472].

Reflexes of OA *zawǧ* for the numeral "two" are a salient innovation in Maghrebi varieties (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 173). The numeral *zōz* in combination with an indefinite plural noun is an alternative and often the only way of expressing the dual[473]: *ʕindi zōz ⁱbnāt.* "I have two daughters."

Moreover, *zwayyiz* is the diminutive form[474] of the numeral *zōz* (nominalized in this example): *hānum ⁱzwayyiz mitʕaddīn.* "There are two^DIM (people) passing by."

The numeral *(i)tnīn* is mostly used for counting and for complex numbers: *tnīn w-xamsīn* "fifty-two".

Both *zōz* and *(i)tnīn* can be nominalized: *zōz ⁱtʕārku.* "Two (people) argued." Furthermore, both forms can be definite: *iz-zōz, l-itnīn* and mean "both": *l-itnīn bāhīn.* "Both are good."

3.5.1.3. 3-10
The numerals 3-10 are followed by an indefinite plural noun, and are realized without the final *-a* if followed by a noun starting in *-a/-ā*:

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[471] As for the phonological variation, the masculine forms with and without an *imāla* are attested about 40 times in the corpus each. Moreover, the feminine form *waḥda* is realized with a final *imāla* [*waḥde*] by some speakers. For the *imāla* of final *-a* see 2.1.2.2.4.

[472] The variant without initial *i-* is more common: *tnīn*. Moreover, OA *ay* (as in *itnayn*) is usually monophthongized to *ē*, however the form **(i)tnēn* is not attested in the corpus, while the form *(i)tnīn* is attested eight times.

[473] See 3.4.1.3.1 for the dual.

[474] No diminutive forms of other numerals are attested in the corpus.

	isolated	with a noun
3	*tlāṯa ~ ṯlāṯa*	*tlāṯa šhūṛ* "three months", *tlāṯ ayyām* "three days"
4	*arⁱbʕa*	*arⁱbʕa snīn* "four years"
5	*xamsa*	*xamsa surrāḥ* "five shepherds", *xams ālāf* "five thousand"
6	*sitta*	*sitta žimʕāt* "six weeks", *sitt ayyām* "six days"
7	*sabʕa*	*sabʕa šbār* "seven spans"
8	*ṯmanya*	*ṯmanya snīn* "eight years"
9	*tisʕa*	*tisʕa šhūṛ* "nine months"
10	*ʕašṛa*	*ʕašṛa gṯāṛāt* "ten hectares"

Remarks on the forms: For the variation *tlāṯa ~ ṯlāṯa* see 2.1.1.1. In the numeral *ṯmanya* "eight" the long vowel *ā* is shortened to *a*.[475]

3.5.1.4. 11-19

The attested numerals are *ḥdāš* "eleven", *ṯnāš* "twelve", *ṯluṭṭāš ~ ṯlaṭṭāš*[476] "thirteen", *xumᵘṣṭāš ~ xamⁱṣṭāš* "fifteen", *ṣuṭṭāš ~ ṣiṭṭāš* "sixteen" and *ṯmunṭāš ~ ṯmanṭāš* "eighteen". The variants with short *u* in the first syllable are more common.

When used with nouns, the suffix *-in* is attached to the numeral, which is followed by an indefinite singular noun: *ṯnāš-in bugṛa* "twelve cows", *xamⁱṣṭāš-in ⁱgṭāṛ* "fifteen hectares", *ṣuṭṭāš-in ʕanz* "sixteen goats", *ṯmunṭāš-in tilmīḏ* "eighteen students". The suffix *-in* with the numerals 11-19 is used in various varieties of the region.[477]

3.5.1.5. 20-99

Whole tens are formed by the suffix *-īn*: *ʕišrīn* "20", *tlāṯīn ~ ṯlāṯīn* "30", *arⁱbʕīn* "40", *xamsīn* "50", *sabʕīn* "70", *ṯmānīn* "80". The suffix is occasionally realized as *-īʸn* by some rural speakers, due to a diphthongization in a pausa: *tlāṯīʸn* "30", *arⁱbʕīʸn* "40".

The ones and tens are connected by the conjunction *w-*: *sitta w-xamsīn* "56".

These numerals are combined with an indefinite singular noun and do not change their form: *ʕišrīn ⁱšbir* "20 spans", *tlāṯa w-ṯmānīn snē* "83 years".

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[475] Ph. Marçais (1977: 174) remarks that the long vowel *ā* is shortened to *ə* in some Maghrebi sedentary varieties: "ṯmānya (tmānya) ; parfois ṯmənya dans quelques dialectes citadins du Maghreb".

[476] No variants with C₁ *ṯ* (*ṯluṭṭāš* or *ṯlaṭṭāš*) are attested in the corpus.

[477] For instance, the Tunisian varieties of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 612f.) and Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 280), the Algerian varieties of Dellys (cf. Souag 2005: 166) and Sidi Aïssa (cf. Kouici 2004: 106) as well as Fezzan Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 178).

3.5.1.6. 100-999

The attested numerals in isolated position are: *myā̃* "100", *tlā̃ta myā̃* "300", *arⁱbʕa myā̃* "400", *xamsa myā̃* "500", *sitta myā̃* "600".

In the construct state the form *myā̃* "100" is *myā̃t*: *xamsa myā̃t milīm* "500 millimes".

3.5.1.7. 1,000 upwards

The numeral "1,000" is *alf*, with the plural *ā̃lāf ~ ā̃lʲā̃f*. The numeral "1,000,000" is *malyūn* with the plural *mlā̃yn*.

Examples: *fīha*[478] *mtāʕ tlā̃t ā̃lāf willa arⁱbʕ ā̃lāf rōḥ.* "There are about 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants (lit. ʕsouls') in it (in Zaga).", *b-alfēn taqrīb.* "It costs about 2,000 (millimes).", *yaʕṭu n-nā̃s sitt ā̃lʲā̃f, ʕašⁱr ā̃lʲā̃f.* "They give the people 6,000, 10,000 (millimes).", *tlā̃ta w-sabʕīn alf* "73,000", *l-ᵘgṭāṛ ⁱb-malyūn w-myā̃.* "The hectare costs 1,100,100 (millimes)."

3.5.2. Ordinal numerals

All ordinal numerals[479] except "first" have the pattern $C_1āC_2iC_3$, FEM $C_1āC_2C_3a$ (final weak roots: $C_1āC_2i$, FEM $C_1āC_2ya$). The ordinal numeral "the first" has the forms MASC *l-ūl ~ l-ūlāni ~ l-awwil*, FEM *l-ūla ~ l-ūlānīya*, PL *l-wā̃la*[480] *~ l-ūlīn ~ l-ūlā̃nīn*. The form *l-wā̃la* is formed after the plural pattern $C_1C_2āC_3a$, where *l* of the article became C_1. With regard to the phrase "the first one", only the (masculine) form *awwil* is used, analogously to the elative pattern $aC_1C_2iC_3$: *awwil wā̃ḥid* "the first one^{MASC}", *awwil waḥda* "the first one^{FEM}".

Examples: *ⁱstanna l-ʕām il-ūl, ⁱstanna l-ʕām it-tā̃ni.* "He waited the first year, he waited the second year.", *xā̃msa ~ xā̃msa* "fifth^{FEM}", *m-is-sā̃dsa* "since the sixth grade".

By analogy with the numeral *awwil*, the form *l-ixxir ~ l-ixrā̃ni*, FEM *l-ixra ~ l-ixrā̃nīya*, PL *l-ixrā̃nīn ~ l-ixrā̃nīyīn* "the last" exists.

3.5.3. Days of the week

The days of the week are formed with an optional preceding *nhāṛ ~ nhāṛt*[481]. The attested forms are: *nhāṛt l-itnīn* "Monday", *nhāṛ it-tlā̃t ~ nhāṛt*

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478 Mostly, the preposition *fī* with the suffix *-ha* is realized as *fā̃ha*. This speaker (Zaga1/f/83) is an exception.

479 Unfortunately, only ordinal numerals up to six are attested in the corpus, thus it cannot be said if ordinal numerals exist up to 10 (like in Tunis Arabic, cf. Singer 1984: 617) or 12 (like in Douz Arabic, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 283).

480 In Tunis Arabic and Takrouna Arabic only the plural form *(l)ūlîn* is attested (cf. Singer 1984: 617 and Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 173). However, according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, the form *l-wā̃la* is used in many Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties.

481 For more examples of the remarkable construct state form *nhāṛit ~ nhāṛt* see 3.4.1.2.

it-tlā̆ṯ "Tuesday", *nhā̄ṛt l-irbʕa* "Wednesday", *nhā̄ṛt iž-žimʕa* "Friday", *sibⁱt* "Saturday", *aḥádd* "Sunday".

The forms with the preceding remarkable form *nhā̄ṛt* are the most frequently attested variants. The construct state form *nhā̄ṛit ~ nhā̄ṛt* is not attested for Tunis Arabic and Douz Arabic. Moreover, the form *l-irbʕa* "Wednesday" is realized with non-emphatic *r* (in contrast to the numeral *aṛⁱbʕa*).[482]

3.6. Verbs

This chapter comprises pattern I and derived pattern verbs with a triliteral root as well as quadriliteral verbs. Moreover, the formation of the passive of triliteral and quadriliteral verbs is described. The perfect, imperfect and imperative forms are provided for every verb category. Verbs with regular, geminated and weak roots are treated, provided they are attested in the particular verb pattern.

Regarding the participle forms and verbal nouns, they are given in the respective verb subchapter.[483] Participle forms and verbal nouns are commonly found for pattern I verbs, whereas they are less frequently used in derived verb patterns (except pattern II) and are therefore listed for derived patterns only if attested in my corpus.

The verb examples are listed in (Arabic) alphabetic order. Perfect and imperfect forms of verbs are separated by a dash (–). If the verb is used with a preposition, the preposition is listed after the imperfect form, e.g. *tʕadda – yitʕadda ʕlā* "to pass by".

3.6.1. Inflection

The prefixes and suffixes of the perfect, imperfect and imperative verb forms are the following:

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	–	*y-*	
3SG.F	*-it*	*t-*	
2SG.M	*-t*	*t-*	–
2SG.F	*-ti*	*t- … -i*	*-i*
1SG	*-t*	*n-*	
3PL	*-u*	*y- … -u*	
2PL	*-tu*	*t- … -u*	*-u*
1PL	*-na*	*n- … -u*	

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482 Predominant phenomenon in Algerian and Tunisian varieties (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 185).

483 The translation of active participle forms is often tricky, given the fact that they can have several meanings, depending on the kind of verb or context. Therefore, active participle forms are translated as the infinitive of the verb followed by the glossed information about the form, as in *šā̆rib* "drink^AP.SG.M" and *mā̆šya* "go^AP.SG.F".

The 1SG imperfect form has the prefix *n-*, which is a distinctive Maghrebi Arabic feature.

Gender distinction is given up in the 2PL and 3PL verb forms, whereas it is retained in the 2SG person: *klēt* "you^SG.M ate" vs. *klēti* "you^SG.F ate", *tušṛub* "you^SG.M drink" vs. *tušᵘṛbi* "you^SG.F drink". In contrast, in Tunisian sedentary varieties no 2SG gender distinction exists (cf. Gibson 2009: 568 for Tunis Arabic).

The imperative is formed from the respective 2SG imperfect form without the prefix: *tixⁱdmu* "you^PL work" > *ixⁱdmu*! "Work^PL!"

The 1SG/2SG.M perfect form has an optional anaptyctic vowel before the suffix *-t*, which is mostly *ⁱ*: *šṛabt ~ šṛabⁱt* "I/you^SG.M drank", while the anaptyctic vowel *ᵘ* is used after the short vowel *u* in the preceding syllable: *šuft ~ šufᵘt* "I/you^SG.M saw".

The long vowel before the suffix in first and second persons perfect forms of final weak verbs[484] is mostly *ē*, but is occasionally realized as *ī*: *ḥkēna ~ ḥkīna* "we spoke" (see 3.6.2.5 for final weak verbs).

Verbs with the dental *d* as C$_3$ show an assimilation of C$_3$ to *-t-* of the perfect suffixes *-t*, *-ti* and *-tu*: *rgid* "he slept" vs. *rgitti* (< *rgid* + *-ti*) "you^SG.F slept". On the other hand, these *t*-initial suffixes are assimilated to the emphatic C$_3$ *ṭ*: *ʕayyiṭ* "he shouted" vs. *ʕayyiṭṭu* (< *ʕayyiṭ* + *-tu*) "you^PL shouted".

The 3SG.F perfect suffix *-it* is lengthened to *-āt-* if followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix: *hazzit* "she took" > *hazzātah* "she took him". Moreover, it is realized as *-ut* with the vowel *u* in the preceding syllable and C$_3$ *ʕ*: *ṭlaʕ* "he ascended" > *ṭulʕut* "she ascended", *zraʕ* "he cultivated", *zurʕut* "she cultivated".[485]

Due to the emergence of an open syllable, the stem vowel is elided in the imperfect forms with suffixes (2SG.F and all PL forms) and an anptyctic vowel is inserted between C$_1$ and C$_2$: *nizrib* "I hurry" > **nizrib|u* > *nizⁱrbu* "we hurry".

The suffix *-u* (of both perfect and imperfect forms) is usually *-ō-* before 3SG.F and 3PL suffixes: *yxayyṭu* "they tailor" > *yxayyṭōhum* "they tailor them".

For a more comprehensive description of the above-mentioned morphophonological phenomena concerning verb forms see 2.5.

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484 As well as other verb groups which are inflected like final weak verbs in the perfect form, such as geminated verbs and the verbs with the root *ʔ - k - l* and *ʔ - x - ḏ*.

485 The verb stem *C₁C₂aʕ-* is changed to *C₁uC₂ʕ-* due to the vowel change in the *C₁aC₂C₃-v* pattern (see 2.5.1).

3.6.2. Pattern I

3.6.2.1. Regular roots
3.6.2.1.1. Inflection
The most frequent vowel combinations of perfect and imperfect forms are
$C_1C_2iC_3 – yiC_1C_2iC_3$ and $C_1C_2aC_3 – yuC_1C_2uC_3$. The following is a list of all
vowel combinations of pattern I regular verbs:

Perfect pattern	Imperfect pattern	Number of verbs attested in the corpus
$C_1C_2aC_3$	$yaC_1C_2aC_3$	10
$C_1C_2aC_3$	$yaC_1C_2iC_3$	7
$C_1C_2aC_3$	$yuC_1C_2uC_3$	21
$C_1C_2iC_3$	$yiC_1C_2iC_3$	31
$C_1C_2iC_3$	$yuC_1C_2iC_3$	2
$C_1C_2iC_3$	$yuC_1C_2uC_3$	3
$C_1C_2uC_3$	$yuC_1C_2uC_3$	6

In the 3SG.F and 3PL perfect forms there is a vowel change in the
$C_1aC_2C_3$- pattern to $C_1uC_2C_3$- ~ $C_1iC_2C_3$- (see 2.5.1). This is an original
phenomenon which is increasingly given up by young and urban middle-aged
speakers, resulting in a variation of the vowel in the 3SG.F and 3PL forms (*i/u*
and *a*). The 3SG.F perfect form of a verb of the $C_1aC_2C_3$ pattern is given in
brackets if attested in my corpus.

Pattern I is the only verb pattern, in which a distinction between active and
passive participle forms is made. All pattern I verbs with a regular root have
the active participle pattern $C_1āC_2iC_3$ ($C_1āC_2aC_3$ if C₂/C₃ *ḥ/ʕ*): *xāriž*
"leave[AP.SG.M]", and the passive participle pattern $maC_1C_2ūC_3$: *maṛbūṭ* "tied[SG.M]",
makšūf "revealed[SG.M]". The feminine forms of participles have the ending *-a*
and plural forms have (exclusively) *-īn*.

Verbal nouns of most regular pattern I verbs have the pattern $C_1vC_2C_3ān$[486]:
nisžā̈n "weaving". Moreover, other patterns such as $C_1C_2aC_3$ are possible: *tʕab*
"tiredness".

3.6.2.1.2. $C_1C_2aC_3 – yaC_1C_2aC_3$
In NA the pattern $C_1C_2aC_3 – yaC_1C_2aC_3$ is limited to roots with *ḥ/ʕ/h* as C₂
or C₃. This distribution resembles Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a:
293ff.). This pattern corresponds to both $yaC_1C_2aC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2aC_3$ patterns in
Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 331ff.)

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486 This pattern is usually found in Tunisian Arabic varities, see for instance *daxlān* "entrare" and
ḥallān "aprire" in Tunis Arabic (cf. Mion 2006: 246).

zṛaʕ – yazṛaʕ "to cultivate, to grow"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*zṛaʕ*	*yazṛaʕ*	
3SG.F	*zuṛʕut*	*tazṛaʕ*	
2SG.M	*zṛaʕt ~ zṛaʕⁱt*	*tazṛaʕ*	*azṛaʕ*
2SG.F	*zṛaʕti*	*tazⁱṛʕi*	*azⁱṛʕi*
1SG	*zṛaʕt ~ zṛaʕⁱt*	*nazṛaʕ*	
3PL	*zuṛʕu*	*yazⁱṛʕu*	
2PL	*zṛaʕtu*	*tazⁱṛʕu*	*azⁱṛʕu*
1PL	*zṛaʕna*	*nazⁱṛʕu*	

Examples:

bʕaṯ – yabʕaṯ	"to send"
dfaʕ – yadfaʕ	"to pay"
ḏbaḥ – yaḏbaḥ	"to slaughter"
ržaʕ – yaržaʕ	"to return"
sṛaḥ – yasṛaḥ	"to graze animals"
smaʕ – yasmaʕ[487] (*simʕit*)	"to hear"
ṭlaʕ – yaṭlaʕ (*ṭulʕut ~ ṭalʕit*)	"to get on, to climb up, to grow; to turn out"
kṛah – yakṛah	"to hate"
lʕab – yalʕab	"to play"

3.6.2.1.3. $C_1C_2aC_3 – yaC_1C_2iC_3$

Verbs of this pattern have the pharyngeals *ḥ/ʕ*, the velar *ġ* and the glottal *h* as C_1.

ʕmal – yaʕmil "to do, to make"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ʕmal*	*yaʕmil*	
3SG.F	*ʕimlit ~ ʕamlit*	*taʕmil*	
2SG.M	*ʕmalt ~ ʕmalⁱt*	*taʕmil*	*aʕmil*
2SG.F	*ʕmalti*	*taʕⁱmli*	*aʕⁱmli*
1SG	*ʕmalt ~ ʕmalⁱt*	*naʕmil*	
3PL	*ʕimlu ~ ʕamlu*	*yaʕⁱmlu*	
2PL	*ʕmaltu*	*taʕⁱmlu*	*aʕⁱmlu*
1PL	*ʕmalna*	*naʕⁱmlu*	

However, the verbs *yaʕmil* and *yaʕrif*, which have C_1 *ʕ*, are realized as *yiʕmil* and *yiʕrif* by some rural speakers from Hbeba and Touila, indicating that the $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ pattern for verbs with C_1 *ʕ* might have been the original form,

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487 Moreover, the variant *yismaʕ* which corresponds to the form used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 337), is attested for two urban speakers and is clearly an influence from Tunis Arabic.

but is nowadays largely replaced by the $yaC_1C_2iC_3$ imperfect pattern. The latter corresponds to the forms *yaʕməl* and *yaʕref* used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 334), whereas the form *yiʕrif* is used in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 296).

Examples:

ḥbas – yaḥbis	"to stop"
ḥṛag – yaḥrig (ḥuṛgit)	"to burn"
ḥṣad – yaḥṣid	"to harvest"
ʕṛaf – yaʕrif (ʕuṛfit ~ ʕaṛfit)	"to know, to come to know, to find out"
ġsal – yaġsil ~ xsal – yaxsil (ġuslit)	"to wash"
hbaṭ – yahbiṭ (hubṭit)	"to get off, to descend"

3.6.2.1.4. $C_1C_2aC_3 – yuC_1C_2uC_3$

Verbs of this pattern mostly have an emphatic, pharyngeal, uvular or velar C_1 or C_2. The first vowel of the imperfect pattern $yuC_1C_2uC_3$ is aligned to the stem vowel.[488] NA verbs of this pattern have the patterns $yuC_1C_2uC_3$ and $yaC_1C_2aC_3$ in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 338ff., 331ff.).

šṛab – yušṛub "to drink"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*šṛab*	*yušṛub*	
3SG.F	*šuṛbit ~ šaṛbit*	*tušṛub*	
2SG.M	*šṛabt ~ šṛabⁱt*	*tušṛub*	*ušṛub*
2SG.F	*šṛabti*	*tušᵘṛbi*	*ušᵘṛbi*
1SG	*šṛabt ~ šṛabⁱt*	*nušṛub*	
3PL	*šuṛbu ~ šaṛbu*	*yušᵘṛbu*	
2PL	*šṛabtu*	*tušᵘṛbu*	*ušᵘṛbu*
1PL	*šṛabna*	*nušᵘṛbu*	

Examples:

ḥfaṛ – yuḥfuṛ	"to dig"
xṛaž – yuxṛuž (xuṛžit ~ xaṛžit)	"to go out"
xzaṛ – yuxzuṛ l-[489]	"to look at sth./sb."
xṭab – yuxṭub	"to ask for a woman's hand"

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488 The same is the case in Tunis Arabic: "si la deuxième radicale a une voyelle /u/, le préfixe prend lui aussi la voyelle /u/ : *yudxul* 'il entre', *yuqˈud* 'il s'assoit'" (Mion 2008a: 311).

489 The verb *xzaṛ* is common in Tunisia, see for instance Sidi Bouzid Arabic (cf. Prinoth 2017: 88), but also in the East Algerian variety of Annaba: *xzər – yuxzər* (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 20).

xṭaf – yuxṭuf[490]	"to snatch, to kidnap"
dxal – yudxul	"to enter"
šxaṛ – yušxuṛ	"to snore"
ṣbaṛ – yuṣbuṛ	"to be patient"
ḍṛab – yuḍṛub (ḍuṛbit ~ ḍaṛbit)	"to hit"
ṭṛaz – yuṭṛuz	"to embroider"
ṭḷab – yuṭḷub	"to require, to demand, to order; to call (on phone); to beg"
ʕgab – yuʕgub ʕlā	"to pass, to pass by"
fḍal – yufḍul	"to remain, to be left over"
ftaṛ – yuftuṛ	"to have breakfast, to have lunch"
qṣad – yuqṣud	"to mean"
gʕad – yugʕud (giʕdit ~ gaʕdit)	"to sit, to sit down; to stay"
mṛag – yumṛug ʕlā	"to pass, to pass by"
nšaṛ – yunšuṛ	"to spread; to hang to dry"
nṭaq – yunṭuq	"to pronounce"
ḥṛab – yuḥṛub (ḥuṛbit ~ ḥaṛbit)	"to escape"

3.6.2.1.5. *C₁C₂iC₃ – yiC₁C₂iC₃*

This pattern conforms to Tunis Arabic for the most part (cf. Singer 1984: 341ff.).

xdim – yixdim "to work"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*xdim*	*yixdim*	
3SG.F	*xidmit*	*tixdim*	
2SG.M	*xdimt ~ xdimⁱt*	*tixdim*	*ixdim*
2SG.F	*xdimti*	*tixⁱdmi*	*ixⁱdmi*
1SG	*xdimt ~ xdimⁱt*	*nixdim*	
3PL	*xidmu*	*yixⁱdmu*	
2PL	*xdimtu*	*tixⁱdmu*	*ixⁱdmu*
1PL	*xdimna*	*nixⁱdmu*	

Examples:

brid – yibrid	"to become cold"
bzig – yibzig	"to spit"
tfil – yitfil	"to spit"

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490 In Tunis Arabic the verb has another stem vowel in the imperfect: *xṭaf – yaxṭaf* (cf. Singer 1984: 332).

žbid – yižbid	"to pull; to withdraw (cash)"
ḥsib – yiḥsib	"to count"
ḥšim – yiḥšim	"to be shy, to be ashamed"
ḥmil – yiḥmil	"to bear, to endure"
dris – yidris	"to thresh"
dfin – yidfin	"to bury"
dhin – yidhin	"to paint"
rkib – yirkib	"to get in (e.g. a car)"
zrib – yizrib	"to hurry up, to be in a hurry"
srig – yisrig	"to steal"
shil – yishil ~ sʔil – yisʔil	"to ask"
ʕžiz – yiʕžiz	"to be thwarted"
ʕžin – yiʕžin[491]	"to knead"
ġrig – yiġrig	"to drown; to sink"
fhim – yifhim	"to understand"
gdim – yigdim	"to bite"
glig – yiglig	"to be bored"
kbir – yikbir	"to become bigger, to grow up, to grow old"
kbis – yikbis	"to tighten, to tie tightly"
ktib – yiktib	"to write"
kḏib – yikḏib	"to lie"
ksib – yiksib	"to own"
kšif – yikšif	"to reveal"
lbis – yilbis	"to don, to get dressed, to wear"
mrig – yimrig	"to add water to make a sauce (*maṛga*)"
nsiž – yinsiž	"to weave"
hmil – yihmil	"to roam about, to get lost"

3.6.2.1.6. $C_1C_2iC_3 – yuC_1C_2iC_3$

This is a rare pattern. The verbs of this pattern attested in the NA corpus have the same imperfect (but not the same perfect) pattern in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 296f.).

Examples:

gtil – yugtil	"to kill"
ntiž – yuntiž	"to produce"

3.6.2.1.7. $C_1C_2iC_3 – yuC_1C_2uC_3$

This pattern is attested for three verbs. Singer (1984: 344) states that in Tunis Arabic the imperfect vowels *u - u* in the verb form *yuskut* are secondary, and origin from the vowels *i - i*.

Examples:

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491 Cf. Boris (1958: 395): *ʕᵃžán*, 3.pl.f. *yéʕᵉžnen* "pétrir (la pâte)", whereas in Tunis Arabic the first vowel of the imperfect form is *a*: *ʕᵃžan, yaʕžen* (cf. Singer 1984: 334).

rgid – yuṛgud   "to sleep, to fall asleep"
skit – yuskut   "to keep silent, to become silent"
skin – yuskun   "to live, to reside"

3.6.2.1.8. $C_1C_2uC_3 - yuC_1C_2uC_3$

The perfect pattern $C_1C_2uC_3$ is attested only with the imperfect form $yuC_1C_2uC_3$. The OA counterparts have the imperfect vowel *i* or *u*. This pattern is formed from roots with emphatic, pharyngeal, uvular and velar consonants. Semantically, this pattern usually describes having or adopting a state as well as physical features.

Examples:
ḥkum – yuḥkum   "to reign, to rule"
xluṣ – yuxluṣ   "to get paid"
ṭruš – yuṭruš   "to become deaf"
ktuṛ – yuktuṛ   "to rise, to become numerous"
mṛuḏ – yumṛuḏ   "to become sick"
nquṣ – yunquṣ   "to become less"

3.6.2.2. Geminated roots

3.6.2.2.1. Inflection

Verbs of all patterns with a geminated root of all patterns are inflected like final weak verbs in the perfect form (see 3.6.2.5). The active participle pattern of geminated pattern I verbs is $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_2$: *ḥāṭṭ* "put[AP.SG.M]", *ḥāll* "open[AP.SG.M]", *fādd* "be bored[AP.SG.M]", and the passive participle pattern is $maC_1C_2\bar{u}C_2$: *mablūl* "wetted[SG.M], wet[SG.M]". The verbal noun is $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}n$: *šaddān* "holding".

Geminated pattern I verbs are attested with all three short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) in the imperfect form, *a* being the least frequently used imperfect vowel (see below). The perfect form of all geminated pattern I verbs is $C_1aC_2C_2$.

3.6.2.2.2. $C_1aC_2C_2 - yC_1aC_2C_2$

Only two verbs are attested for this pattern.

Examples:
šakk – yšakk[492]   "to thread (e.g. tobacco leaves)"
ʕaḏḏ – yʕaḏḏ   "to bite"

3.6.2.2.3. $C_1aC_2C_2 - yC_1iC_2C_2$

Geminated verbs with the imperfect vowel *i* are the most frequent subgroup. Their root consonants are non-emphatic.

ḥall – yḥill "to open"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ḥall*	*yḥill*	
3SG.F	*ḥallit*	*tḥill*	

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492 Cf. Boris (1958: 317): *šakk*, *yšukk* (with the imperfect vowel *u*) "enfiler plusieurs objets sur un fil, une tige".

2SG.M	ḥallēt	ṭhill	hill[493]
2SG.F	ḥallēti	ṭhilli	hilli
1SG	ḥallēt	nhill	
3PL	ḥallu	yhillu	
2PL	ḥallētu	ṭhillu	hillu
1PL	ḥallēna	nhillu	

A marginal phenomenon, which is attested for two speakers of different sociolinguistic backgrounds[494], is the imperfect vowel *u* in the verbs *yhizz*, *yḥiss* and *yḥibb*: *ṭhubb tūṣil* "she wants to arrive", *yḥussōha* "they feel it/her", *yḥubbu* "they want", *nhuzzu l-iḥwāyž.* "We take the clothes." The vowel shift from *i* to *u* in last three examples seems to be caused by vowel harmony triggered by the short vowel *u* in the next syllable. This phenomenon is marginal because these verbs are much more frequently attested with the imperfect vowel *i*, even with a following *u* in the next syllable.[495] Similarly, according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project, the form *nguddu* (< *ygidd*) "we can" is used in Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties of the Kasserine governorate.

Examples:

ball – ybill	"to wet"
ḥabb – yḥibb	"to love; to want"
ḥass – yḥiss	"to feel"
ḥašš – yḥišš	"to mow down"
dabb – ydibb	"to go"
sabb – ysibb	"to insult, to swear, to scold"
šadd – yšidd	"to hold, to grab, to catch"
šamm – yšimm	"to smell"
fadd – yfidd	"to have enough of sth., to be fed up with sth."
fazz – yfizz[496]	"to get up, to wake up"
lamm – ylimm	"to collect, to gather"
madd – ymidd	"to hand"

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[493] Occasionally doubled, with the function of additional emphasis: *hill hill iš-šubbāk!* "Open[SG.M] the window!"

[494] Nefza45/m/20 and Nefza6/f/70, i.e. a young male and an old female speaker.

[495] The imperfect form -*hizzu* ~ -*hizzō*- + suffix is attested 17 times in the corpus, whereas -*huzzu* is attested once in the phrase above. Similarly, the imperfect form -*hibbu* is attested 16 times, while -*hubb(u)* is attested twice (see the phrases above). Lastly, the imperfect form -*hissu* is attested three times, whereas its counterpart with the imperfect vowel *u* is attested once in the example above.

[496] Also attested for the Northwest Tunisian variety of Ouled Slama (Testour) (cf. Oueslati 2022: 66). According to my impression, this lexeme is mostly used in Northwest Tunisia, whereas in Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties as well as Tunisian sedentary varieties the verb *qām* ~ *gām* is used, see *qâm* in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 357).

mass – ymiss	"to touch"	
ḥabb – yḥibb	"to blow (wind)"	
ḥazz – yḥizz	"to take"	
hamm – yhimm	"to concern"	

3.6.2.2.4. *C₁aC₂C₂ – yC₁uC₂C₂*

Geminated verbs with the imperfect vowel *u* mostly have emphatic, pharyngeal and velar root consonants.

ḥaṭṭ – yḥuṭṭ "to put"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ḥaṭṭ*	*yḥuṭṭ*	
3SG.F	*ḥaṭṭit*	*tḥuṭṭ*	
2SG.M	*ḥaṭṭēt*	*tḥuṭṭ*	*ḥuṭṭ*
2SG.F	*ḥaṭṭēti*	*tḥuṭṭi*	*ḥuṭṭi*
1SG	*ḥaṭṭēt*	*nḥuṭṭ*	
3PL	*ḥaṭṭu*	*yḥuṭṭu*	
2PL	*ḥaṭṭētu*	*tḥuṭṭu*	*ḥuṭṭu*
1PL	*ḥaṭṭēna*	*nḥuṭṭu*	

Examples:

dagg – ydugg	"to hit, to knock"
ṛadd – yṛudd	"to answer (ʕlā); to vomit"
ṣabb – yṣubb	"to pour; to rain (*in-naww*), to snow (*iṯ-ṯalⁱž*)"
ṭaḷḷ – yṭuḷḷ ʕlā	"to come over, to stop by"
faḍḍ – yfuḍḍ	"to solve (a problem); to finish (an issue)"
qaṣṣ – yquṣṣ ~ gaṣṣ – yguṣṣ	"to cut"
kaḥḥ – ykuḥḥ	"to cough"
naṭṭ – ynuṭṭ	"to jump"[497]

3.6.2.3. Initial weak roots
3.6.2.3.1. Inflection

Pattern I verbs with initial weak roots have the peculiarity of a long vowel in the imperfect form (*w > ū, y > ī*): **w - ṣ - l** > *yūṣiḷ* "he arrives", **y - b - s** > *yībis* "he/it gets dry". NA shares this feature with other Tunisian varieties.[498]

The short vowel of the second syllable of the imperfect form is usually *i* (and *a* if C₃ *ḥ/ʕ*). The only exception is the verb *wgif – yūguf ~ yūgif* "to stand, to stop", which is attested with both *i* and *u* in the second syllable.[499] The vowel

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[497] Cf. Boris (1958: 613): "se redresser d'un bond".

[498] For instance, most varieties of Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 70) and Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 354ff.). In Douz Arabic the variation *yūC₂iC₃ ~ yiC₂iC₃* exists for C₁ *w* verbs (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 305ff.).

[499] The variants *-ūguf* and *-ūgif* are attested seven times each in the corpus.

of the perfect form is usually *i* (*a* if C$_3$ *ḥ/ʕ* as in *wžaʕ* and *u* if emphatic C$_2$/C$_3$ as in *wṣuḷ*).

The active participle pattern is *wāC$_2$iC$_3$ ~ yāC$_2$iC$_3$*: *wāgif* "stand[AP.SG.M]", *wāṣil* "arrive[AP.SG.M]", *yābis* "dry".

The diphthong *aw*, which emerges in the OA passive participle form *mawC$_2$ūC$_3$*, is monophthongized to *ō* or stays *aw* (as a MSA borrowing): *mōžūd ~ mawžūd* "existing[SG.M]", *mōlūd ~ mawlūd* "born[SG.M]". Moreover, the monophthongization to *ī* is attested for an old rural speaker[500]: *mīžūd, mīlūd*.[501] Singer (1984: 408) remarks the passive participle form *mīC$_2$ūC$_3$* of initial weak pattern I verbs is used in Tunisian Bedouin varieties.

Only the verbal noun pattern *C$_1$C$_2$īC$_3$a* is attested in my corpus: *wžīʕa* "pain".

3.6.2.3.2. C$_1$ *w*

The pattern is *wC$_2$vC$_3$ – yūC$_2$vC$_3$*.

An example of a paradigm is:

a) *wṣuḷ – yūṣiḷ* "to arrive"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*wṣuḷ*	*yūṣiḷ*	
3SG.F	*wuṣḷit*	*tūṣiḷ*	
2SG.M	*wṣuḷt ~ wṣuḷ^{i}t*	*tūṣiḷ*	*ūṣiḷ*
2SG.F	*wṣuḷti*	*tūṣḷi*	*ūṣḷi*
1SG	*wṣuḷt ~ wṣuḷ^{i}t*	*nūṣiḷ*	
3PL	*wuṣḷu*	*yūṣḷu*	
2PL	*wṣuḷtu*	*tūṣḷu*	*ūṣḷu*
1PL	*wṣuḷna*	*nūṣḷu*	

The short vowel in the perfect form is *u* due to the emphatic surrounding of *ṣ* and velarized *ḷ*. In the imperfect form the short vowel remains *i*.

Examples:

wžaʕ – yūžaʕ	"to hurt"
wṣif – yūṣif	"to describe"
wlid – yūlid	"to give birth"

The following is the paradigm of the verb *wgif – yūguf ~ yūgif*[502] "to stand, to stop":

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*wgif*	*yūguf ~ yūgif*	
3SG.F	*wigfit*	*tūguf ~ tūgif*	*ūguf ~ ūgif*

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500 Zaga1/f/83. An example sentence is: *min waqt ^{i}Fṛānsa mīžūda*. "It (this place) has existed since the time of the French colonial period."

501 In Douz Arabic the passive participle form of C$_1$ *w* verbs is *māC$_2$ūC$_3$*, e.g. *mālūd* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 306ff.).

502 In Tunis Arabic the equivalent form is *yâqef* (cf. Singer 1984: 354).

2SG.M	*wgift ~ wgif'ᵗt*	*tūguf ~ tūgif*	*ūgfi*
2SG.F	*wgifti*	*tūgfi*	
1SG	*wgift ~ wgif'ᵗt*	*nūguf ~ nūgif*	
3PL	*wigfu*	*yūgfu*	
2PL	*wgiftu*	*tūgfu*	*ūgfu*
1PL	*wgifna*	*nūgfu*	

3.6.2.3.3. C₁ *y*

There is only one verb with C₁ *y* attested in the corpus. The pattern is yC_2iC_3 – $y\bar{\imath}C_2iC_3$.

   ybis – yībis "to become dry"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ybis*	*yībis*	
3SG.F	*yibsit*	*tībis*	
2SG.M	*ybist*	*tībis*	*ībis*
2SG.F	*ybisti*	*tībsi*	*ībsi*
1SG	*ybist*	*nībis*	
3PL	*yibsu*	*yībsu*	
2PL	*ybistu*	*tībsu*	*ībsu*
1PL	*ybisna*	*nībsu*	

3.6.2.4. Medial weak roots
3.6.2.4.1. Inflection

The perfect pattern of pattern I verbs with a medial weak root is $C_1\bar{a}C_3$, while the imperfect patterns $yC_1\bar{a}C_3$, $yC_1\bar{\imath}C_3$ and $yC_1\bar{u}C_3$ exist.

The short vowel in the perfect form of persons with a consonant-initial suffix (all first and second persons) is (in a non-emphatic environment) *i* for the $yC_1\bar{\imath}C_3$ and $yC_1\bar{a}C_3$ patterns and *u* for the $yC_1\bar{u}C_3$ pattern. Emphatic and guttural root consonants trigger the short vowel *u* regardless of the imperfect pattern: *yžīb > žibti* "you^SG.F brought" vs. *yḍīʕ > ḍuʕti* "you^SG.F got lost", *ybāt > bitt* "I stayed overnight" vs. *yxāf > xufᵘt* "I was scared".

The 3SG.F perfect suffix *-it* is occasionally reduced to *-t*: *kānt (< kānit) bāhya.* "She was good."

The active participle pattern is $C_1\bar{a}yC_3$: *ʕāyš* "live^AP.SG.M", *zāyd* "add^AP.SG.M" *ṭāyb* "cooked", *xāyf* "scared" [503]. No passive participles of medial weak roots are attested.

The few attested verbal nouns have the pattern $C\bar{v}C\bar{a}n$ (with the vowel of the imperfect pattern): *fīqān* "waking up", *ʕūmān* "swimming".

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503 The translated meaning of *ṭāyb* and *xāyf* in English is passive, however it is an active participle in NA.

3.6.2.4.2. *yC₁āC₃*

Medial weak verbs with the imperfect vowel *ā* are seldom.

xā̆f – yxā̆f "to be scared"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*xā̆f*	*yxā̆f*	
3SG.F	*xā̆fit*	*txā̆f*	
2SG.M	*xufᵘt*[504]	*txā̆f*	*xā̆f*
2SG.F	*xufti*	*txā̆fi*	*xā̆fi*
1SG	*xufᵘt*	*nxā̆f ~ xxā̆f*	
3PL	*xā̆fu*	*yxā̆fu*	
2PL	*xuftu*	*txā̆fu*	*xā̆fu*
1PL	*xufna*	*nxā̆fu ~ xxā̆fu*	

Examples:

bā̆t – ybā̆t	"to stay overnight"
bā̆n – ybā̆n	"to appear"

3.6.2.4.3. *yC₁īC₃*

zā̆d – yzīd "to become more; to add"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*zā̆d*	*yzīd*	
3SG.F	*zā̆dit*	*dzīd*	
2SG.M	*zitt*	*dzīd*	*zīd*
2SG.F	*zitti*	*dzīdi*	*zīdi*
1SG	*zitt*	*nzīd*	
3PL	*zā̆du*	*nzīdu*	
2PL	*zittu*	*dzīdu*	*zīdu*
1PL	*zidna*	*yzīdu*	

The C₃ *d* is assimilated to the *t* of the perfect suffixes: **zid-ti > zitti* "you^SG.F added". In the imperfect forms the prefix *t-* is voiced to *d* before the voiced alveolar *z*: **t-zīdu > dzīdu* "you^PL add".

Examples:

bā̆ʕ – ybīʕ	"to sell"
žā̆b – yžīb	"to bring"
šā̆ḥ – yšīḥ	"to become dry"
šā̆x – yšīx	"to enjoy oneself, to have a good time"
ṭā̆b – yṭīb	"to be cooked"
ṭā̆ḥ – yṭīḥ	"to fall"
ḏā̆ʕ – yḏīʕ	"to get lost"
ʕā̆š – yʕīš	"to live"

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[504] Only attested with an anaptyctic vowel.

nāk – ynīk   "to have sex"

3.6.2.4.4. *yC₁ūC₃*
šā̈f – yšūf "to see"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*šā̈f*	*yšūf*	
3SG.F	*šā̈fit*	*tšūf*	
2SG.M	*šuft ~ šufⁱt*	*tšūf*	*šūf*
2SG.F	*šufti*	*tšūfi*	*šūfi*
1SG	*šuft ~ šufⁱt*	*nšūf*	
3PL	*šā̈fu*	*yšūfu*	
2PL	*šuftu*	*tšūfu*	*šūfu*
1PL	*šufna*	*nšūfu*	

Examples:

bās – ybūs	"to kiss"
ḥāz – yḥūz	"to stop sb./sth."
ḥāf – yḥūf	"to steal"
dāṛ – ydūṛ	"to stroll; to turn"
ḏāg – yḏūg	"to taste"
ʕām – yʕūm	"to swim"
fāt – yfūt	"to pass, to exceed, to overcome"
gāl – ygūl[505]	"to say"
gām – ygūm	"to get up"
kān – ykūn	"to be"[506]
lām – ylūm ʕlā	"to reprimand"
māt – ymūt	"to die"

3.6.2.5. Final weak roots
3.6.2.5.1. Inflection

Final weak verbs are reduced to one type in the perfect form and have the imperfect patterns *yvC₁C₂i* and *yvC₁C₂a*.

The 3SG.M perfect form variation $C_1C_2\bar{a} \sim C_1C_2\bar{\bar{a}} \sim C_1C_2\bar{e} \sim C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$ is due to the final *imāla* (see 2.1.2.1.3.4 for the final *imāla* of monosyllabic words). The variants with a final *imāla* to -*ē* and -*ī* are seen as rural and are largely shifted to -*ā* in the speech of young and urban middle-aged speakers, which

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[505] In the 1SG/2SG.M perfect form *gult* the C₃ *l* is often assimilated to *t* of the perfect suffix if followed by a consonant-initial indirect suffix: *gutt-lah* "I/youˢᴳ·ᴹ told him", whereas it is retained with a vowel-initial suffix: *gult-ilhim* "I/youˢᴳ·ᴹ told them". For a full inflection of the form *gult* with indirect object suffixes see 3.1.1.3.2.2.

[506] The verb *kān, ykūn* in combination with the prepositions *min* or *l-* expresses a family relationship, as in *āš ykūn minnik hāḏāya?* "In which family relationship does this (man) stand to you?" and *āš ykūn līk?* with the same meaning.

corresponds to the forms of Tunis Arabic such as *mšâ̄* and *bdâ̄* (cf. Singer 1984: 360). The variants $C_1C_2\bar{e} \sim C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$ can be formed for almost all verbs listed in this section, whereas the first two variants $C_1C_2\bar{a}$ and $C_1C_2\bar{\bar{a}}$, which are the newer forms, are conditioned by C_2, i.e. $C_1C_2\bar{a}$ after *q/ṛ/ḍ* and $C_1C_2\bar{\bar{a}}$ after all other (attested) consonants as C_2. As regards the final *imāla*, the only verb which is not attested in my corpus with a final *imāla* to $C_1C_2\bar{e}$ or $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$ is *bqā* "to stay", whereas the verbs *qṛā* "to study, to read" and *ʕṭā* "to give", which also have an emphatic C_2, are attested with an *imāla*: *qrē*[507], *ʕṭē*.

In Douz Arabic the 3SG.M perfect form variation *ʾC₁C₂ī ~ ʾC₁C₂ē* exists only for verbs with an "i-Basis": *ʾnsī ~ ʾnsē* "he forgot", whereas final weak verbs with an "a-Basis" only have the form $C_1^VC_2\bar{e}$: *miše* "he went" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 319ff.). In NA all final weak verbs (except *bqā*) can have the final *imāla* $C_1C_2\bar{\imath}$: *mšā̄ ~ mšē ~ mšī* "he went", *nsā̄ ~ nsē ~ nsī* "he forgot".

As for the first and second persons perfect forms of final weak verbs[508], they have *-ē-* before the ending: *ḥkū* "they spoke" > *ḥkēna* "we spoke", *ḥkēti* "you spokeSG.F". Less frequently also *ī* is possible (especially for young speakers): *mšēna ~ mšīna* "we went".

Similarly, in Tozeur Arabic both *-īt* and *-ēt* are used: *hazzêt ~ hazzît* "I carried" (cf. Saada 1984: 52). In Douz Arabic a variation of *ē ~ ī* of the first and second persons perfect forms is found as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 321ff.). In NA the *ē ~ ī* variation is mostly sociolinguistically conditioned, i.e. the *ē* variant is more original, whereas *ī* is the new, modern variant (see *mšīt*, *nsīt* in Tunis Arabic, cf. Gibson 2009: 568).

The inflection of final weak verbs is one of the most remarkable distinguishing features between Tunisian Bedouin and sedentary varieties. More precisely, the 3SG.F and 3PL perfect forms and all the plural imperfect forms are distinctive (the first variant is the Bedouin one, which is also used in NA): *mšit* vs. *mšāt* "she went", *mšū* vs. *mšāw* "they went", *yansu* vs. *yinsāw* "they forget" (cf. W. Marçais 1950: 212 for the Bedouin forms and Gibson 2009: 568 for Tunis Arabic).

NA shares the final weak verb inflection with other Tunisian Bedouin varieties.[509] This Bedouin feature is completely retained in the speech of young and middle-aged urban NA speakers[510], unlike other morphological features

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507 Cf. the variation *mṛā ~ mrē* "woman" (see 2.1.2.1.3.4).

508 As well as other verb groups which are inflected like final weak verbs in the perfect form, such as geminated verbs and the verbs *ʔ - k - l* and *ʔ - x - ḏ*.

509 For instance, the varieties of El Kef (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340), Belkhir (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298) and Djerba (cf. Behnstedt 1998: 70).

510 The only exceptions are the 3PL perfect forms *žāw* "they came" and *lgāw* "they found", attested once each, for two middle-aged urban female speakers (Nefza1/f/50, Nefza10/f/45). These forms are marginal and can be seen as an influence from Tunis Arabic. Furthermore,

like the 1SG personal pronoun and 3SG.M pronominal suffix, which are subject to linguistic variation.

The active and passive participle forms as well as the verbal nouns are identical for all final weak verbs.

The active participle pattern is $C_1āC_2i$: *šāri* "buy[AP.SG.M]", *nāsi* "forget[AP.SG.M]", *qāṛi* "study[AP.SG.M], read[AP.SG.M]", *māši* "go[AP.SG.M]". The feminine forms have the suffix *-ya*: *šārya* "buy[AP.SG.F]", *žārya* "run[AP.SG.F]", *bāqya* "stay[AP.SG.F]", *ḏāwya* "lighten[AP.SG.F], brighten[AP.SG.M]".

The passive participle pattern is miC_1C_2i: *mirḥi* "ground, milled", *mibni* "built", *minsi* "forgotten".

The attested verbal noun patterns are $C_1aC_2yān$: *raḥyān* "grinding", C_1aC_2i: *maši* "walking", *žari* "running" and $C_1C_2āya$: *qṛāya ~ qᵘṛāya* "studying, reading".

Some of NA final weak verbs are historically $C_3 ʔ$ verbs: *b - d - ʔ > bdē* "to start", *q - r - ʔ > qṛā* "to study".

Double (initial and final, medial and final) weak verbs are also part of this group.

The final *imāla* variation is given in the full verb inflections, whereas for the sake of simplicity only the $C_1C_2ē$ variant is given in the verb lists, as it is the most frequent traditional variant.

3.6.2.5.2. yvC_1C_2i

The prefix vowel of the imperfect is mostly *i*, and is *a* if followed by C_1 *ʕ/q*. As for C1 *ḥ* as in *yiḥki ~ yaḥki* "to speak", it is more frequently attested with the prefix vowel *i*.[511]

šrē – yišri "to buy"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*šrā ~ šrē ~ šrī*	*yišri*	
3SG.F	*šrit*	*tišri*	
2SG.M	*šrēt ~ šrīt*	*tišri*	*išri*
2SG.F	*šrēti ~ šrīti*	*tišri*	*išri*
1SG	*šrēt ~ šrīt*	*nišri*	
3PL	*šrū*	*yišru*	
2PL	*šrētu ~ šrītu*	*tišru*	*išru*
1PL	*šrēna ~ šrīna*	*nišru*	

Examples:
bkē – yibki   "to cry"
bnē – yibni   "to build"

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those two forms originate from a questionnaire and not from a free speech text. The same speaker uses the Bedouin counterpart *žū* in a free speech text (see text 5 "Wedding").

511   Imperfect forms of the verb *ḥ - k - y* are attested 51 times with the stem vowel *i*, and only eight times with the stem vowel *a* as in *yaḥki*.

žrē – yižri	"to flow (water); to run; to happen"	
ḥkē – yiḥki	"to speak"	
ḥmē – yiḥmi	"to protect"	
dbē – yidbi	"to crawl"	
drē – yidri	"to know"	
rḥē – yirḥi	"to mill, to grind"	
rmē – yirmi	"to throw"	
zgē – yizgi[512]	"to water"	
ẓwē – yiẓwi	"to chirp"	
škē – yiški	"to complain"	
šwē – yišwi	"to barbecue"	
ḏwē – yiḏwi	"to lighten, to illuminate"	
ṭwē – yiṭwi	"to fold"	
ʕṭē – yaʕṭi	"to give"	
gdē – yigdi[513]	"to light (a fire)"	
kwē – yikwi	"to cauterize, to brand"	
mšē – yimši	"to go"	
hdē – yihdi	"to give sth. as a present"	

3.6.2.5.3. *yvC₁C₂a*

The imperfect pattern is mostly *yaC₁C₂a*. Rarely, the *yiC₁C₂a* variant is attested for some of the verbs: *yansa ~ yinsa* "to forget", *yabqa ~ yibqa* "to stay", *yabda ~ yibda* "to start; to be".

In contrast to NA, in Tunis Arabic the prefix vowel of *yvC₁C₂a* verbs is mostly *i*, and *a* only if C₁ *ʕ/x/ġ/q* (cf. Singer 1984: 362).

nsē – yansa "to forget"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*nsā̈ ~ nsē ~ nsī*	*yansa*	
3SG.F	*nsit*	*tansa*	
2SG.M	*nsēt ~ nsīt*	*tansa*	*ansa*
2SG.F	*nsēti ~ nsīti*	*tansi*	*ansi*
1SG	*nsēt ~ nsīt*	*nansa*	
3PL	*nsū*	*yansu*	
2PL	*nsētu ~ nsītu*	*tansu*	*ansu*
1PL	*nsēna ~ nsīna*	*Nansu*	

Examples:

bdē – yabda	"to start; to be"
bqā – yabqa	"to stay"

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512 < *s - q - y*.

513 Also attested for South Tunisian Bedouin varieties, see Marçais/Jelloûli (1933: 16) and Boris (1958: 486): *gᵉdê, yegdi* "allumer".

$\Omega y\bar{e} - ya\Omega ya$[514]   "to become tired"
$qr\bar{e} - yaqra$ "to study, to read"
$lg\bar{e} - yalga$ "to find"
$wf\tilde{e} - y\bar{u}fa$ "to end"

The imperfect inflection of the initial and final weak verb $wf\tilde{e} - y\bar{u}fa$ "to end" is a combination of an initial weak verb (lengthening of the vowel to $\bar{u}$, see 3.6.2.3) and a final weak verb (ending -a).

3.6.2.6. Ω - k - l and Ω - x - $\underline{d}$

The verbs of the root Ω - k - l "to eat" and Ω - x - $\underline{d}$ "to take, to marry" are inflected like final weak verbs in the perfect form (see 3.6.2.5), while their imperative forms are equivalent to medial weak verbs (see 3.6.2.4).

In the imperfect form they have a variation $y\bar{o}kul \sim y\bar{a}kil$ and $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d} \sim y\bar{a}xi\underline{d}$. While both variants are widespread and frequently used, the variants with the vowel $\bar{o}$ are by far the more frequently used variant by rural speakers. On the other hand, the forms $y\bar{o}kul$ and $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d}$ are less frequently attested by urban speakers, which prefer $y\bar{a}kil$ and $y\bar{a}xi\underline{d}$. In conclusion, $y\bar{o}kul$ and $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d}$ seem to be the original forms which are gradually replaced by $y\bar{a}kil$ and $y\bar{a}xi\underline{d}$ by young and urban speakers.

In Tunis Arabic the forms are $y\hat{a}kul/y\hat{a}xu\underline{d}$[515] (cf. Singer 1984: 353). Similar to NA, in the Algerian variety of Annaba both variants with $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{u}$ are used: $y\bar{a}kul \sim y\bar{u}k\partial l$ (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 13).

W. Marçais (1950: 216) refers to $y\bar{o}kul$ and $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d}$ as typical forms of Tunisian Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties – as opposed to the typical Sulaym-type forms $y\bar{a}xu\underline{d}$ and $y\bar{a}kil$: "parlers H $y\hat{o}khudh$ « il prend », $y\hat{o}kul$ « il mange » ; parlers S $y\hat{a}khudh$, $y\hat{a}kel$". The situation found in NA, which is supposed to be a Sulaym-type variety, contradicts this statement, as $y\bar{o}kul$ and $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d}$ are widespread in NA (especially among rural speakers).

El Kef Arabic, which is supposed to be a Hilāl-type Bedouin variety, conforms to the thesis of W. Marçais (1950), as the forms $y\bar{o}xu\underline{d}$ and $y\bar{o}kul$ are used in that variety (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340).

The active participle has the pattern $m\bar{a}C_2iC_3$: $m\bar{a}kil$, $m\bar{a}xi\underline{d}$. In Tunis Arabic they are also formed with the prefix m-: $m\hat{a}xu\underline{d}$, $m\hat{a}kel$ (cf. Singer 1984: 407), whereas in Tunisian Douz, Djerba, Libyan Tripoli, Algerian Annaba and even in the urban variety of Sousse the active participle has the prefix w-: $w\bar{a}kil \sim w\bar{a}k\partial l$ (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 330, Behnstedt 1998: 70, Pereira 2010: 137, Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 13, Talmoudi 1980: 93).

No passive participles and verbal nouns are attested in my corpus.

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514 This lexeme is limited to old NA speakers. It is also attested by Boris (1958:428): $\Omega ay\acute{e}, y\acute{a}\Omega ya$ "être fatigué, maigrir".

515 And $y\hat{a}kel/y\hat{a}xe\underline{d}$ if the short vowel is stressed, as in $b\bar{a}\check{s}$-$n\bar{a}x\acute{e}\underline{d}h\ddot{a}$ (cf. Singer 1984: 353).

klē – yōkul "to eat"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*klā̆ ~ klē ~ klī*	*yōkul ~ yā̆kil*	
3SG.F	*klit*	*tōkul ~ tā̆kil*	
2SG.M	*klēt ~ klīt*	*tōkul ~ tā̆kil*	*kūl*
2SG.F	*klēti ~ klīti*	*tōkli ~ tā̆kli*	*kūli*[516]
1SG	*klēt ~ klīt*	*nōkul ~ nā̆kil*	
3PL	*klū*	*yōklu ~ yā̆klu*	
2PL	*klētu ~ klītu*	*tōklu ~ tā̆klu*	*kūlu*
1PL	*klēna ~ klīna*	*nōklu ~ nā̆klu*	

xḏē – yōxuḏ "to take"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*xḏā̆ ~ xḏē ~ xḏī*	*yōxuḏ ~ yā̆xiḏ*	
3SG.F	*xḏit*	*tōxuḏ ~ tā̆xiḏ*	
2SG.M	*xḏēt ~ xḏīt*	*tōxuḏ ~ tā̆xiḏ*	*xūḏ*
2SG.F	*xḏēti ~ xḏīti*	*tōxḏi ~ tā̆xḏi*	*xūḏi*
1SG	*xḏēt ~ xḏīt*	*nōxuḏ ~ nā̆xiḏ*	
3PL	*xḏū*	*yōxḏu ~ yā̆xḏu*	
2PL	*xḏētu ~ xḏītu*	*tōxḏu ~ tā̆xḏu*	*xūḏu*
1PL	*xḏēna ~ xḏīna*	*nōxḏu ~ nā̆xḏu*	

3.6.2.7. Irregular verbs

The verbs *rē* "to see" and *žē* "to come" are biliteral final weak verbs. See 3.6.2.5 for peculiarities of the perfect form inflection of final weak verbs such as the final *imāla* variation and *-ē- ~ -ī-* of the first and second persons perfect forms. The imperfect pattern is *yC₁ī*.

3.6.2.7.1. *rē*

rē – yrī "to see"

	PFV	IPFV
3SG.M	*rā̆ ~ rē ~ rī*	*yrī*
3SG.F	*rit*	*trī*
2SG.M	*rēt ~ rīt*	*trī*
2SG.F	*rēti ~ rīti*	*trī*
1SG	*rēt ~ rīt*	*nrī ~ rrī*
3PL	*rū*	*yrū*
2PL	*rētu ~ rītu*	*trū*
1PL	*rēna ~ rīna*	*nrū ~ rrū*

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516 Also attested with a diphthongization: *kūʷli*.

This verb is more frequently attested in the perfect from, while the imperfect form is attested for old and middle-aged rural speakers.[517] The commonly used imperfect form is the synonymous verb *yšūf*.

No imperative forms of this verb are attested, the synonymous forms *šūf* ~ *uxzuṛ* are used instead.[518] Likewise, no participle forms and verbal noun are attested in the corpus.

Unlike NA, in Douz Arabic the verb *rē* is used only in the perfect (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 329). Moreover, the imperfect form in Tunis Arabic is *iṛâ*, i.e. with a different long vowel (cf. Singer 1984: 363).

3.6.2.7.2. *žē*

žē – yžī "to come"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*žā̃ ~ žē ~ žī*	*yžī*	
3SG.F	*žit*	*džī*[519]	
2SG.M	*žēt ~ žīt*	*džī*	*īža ~ aṛṛāḥ*
2SG.F	*žēti ~ žīti*	*džī*	*īži ~ aṛṛāḥi*
1SG	*žēt ~ žīt*	*nžī*	
3PL	*žū*	*yžū*	
2PL	*žētu ~ žītu*	*džū*	*īžu ~ aṛṛāḥu*
1PL	*žēna ~ žīna*	*nžū*	

The active participle is *žā̃y*, FEM *žā̃ya*, PL *žā̃yīn*. No passive participle and verbal noun are attested.

Regarding the imperative forms, the form *aṛṛāḥ* is also common in Central Tunisia (cf. Prinoth 2017: 89 for Sidi Bouzid Arabic), whereas in South Tunisia the form *tᵃʕāla* is widespead (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 328 for Douz Arabic). In NA, the most common imperative form is *īža*, whereas *aṛṛāḥ* is used by rural middle-aged and old speakers (next to *īža*). Moreover, it is noticeable that the form *aṛṛāḥ* is more frequently used by male than female speakers.

3.6.3. Derived patterns

3.6.3.1. General remarks

In NA derived verb patterns II, III, V, VI, VIII, X and XI are found, whereas patterns IV, VII and IX are not in use, which makes NA akin to the urban Tunisian varieties like the one of Tunis and Sousse. As for their frequency in

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517 Imperfect forms of *rē – yrī* are most frequently attested for Hbeba.

518 In Douz Arabic the imperative is not used either (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 329), whereas Singer (1984: 363) gives the imperative forms *ṛâ*, *ṛâu* for Tunis Arabic.

519 < *tžī*.

my corpus, the most productive derived verb pattern is pattern II, whereas pattern VIII is not productive and limited to MSA borrowings.

Pattern IV is replaced by patterns I and II: OA *ʔaʕṭa* > *ʕṭā* "to give", OA *ʔakmala* > *kammil* "to finish". The verbal pattern IV has also vanished in the large majority of Maghrebi Arabic varieties (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 55f.). In Douz Arabic pattern IV verbs also became pattern I and II verbs, with only few remains of the pattern IV in use (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 348).

Furthermore, pattern VII is replaced by the innovative pattern $t^iC_1C_2iC_3$ ~ $t^iC_1C_2aC_3$, which has the same function as pattern VII (passive-reflexive counterpart of pattern I): instead of OA *inkatab* "to be written", *t^iktib* is found (see 3.6.3.10 on the *t*-pattern).

Pattern IX is not in use in NA, however the pattern $C_1C_2āC_3$[520] (see 3.6.3.8) is semantically related to pattern IX, as inter alia it also expresses colors and physical irregularities: in Nefza, OA *iḥmarra* "to become red" is *ḥmāṛ* and OA *ibyaḍḍa* "to whiten (intr.)" is *byāḍ*. Morphologically, this pattern originates from pattern XI (OA $iC_1C_2āC_3C_3a$).

The participle forms of all derived verb patterns have the prefix *m-*. Moreover, as is the case in the vast majority of Maghrebi varieties[521] (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 81), the formal distinction between the active and passive participle forms of derived verb patterns is neutralized in NA. The original active participle form is used in both active and passive functions, which are distinguishable by means of the context only.

As for verbal nouns of derived verb patterns, they are not frequently used in my corpus, except for the pattern II.[522]

3.6.3.2. Pattern II

In pattern II, the medial root consonant is geminated. The first stem vowel is *a*, and the second stem vowel is either *i* or *a*, depending on the consonantal environment. As a general rule it is *i*, whereas it is realized as *a* in two cases: firstly, when C₃ is the pharyngeal ʕ or ḥ or the velar *x*[523]: *bazzaʕ* "to pour out", *ṛakkaḥ* "to set up", *faššax* "to beat up" and secondly, if the combination of C₂ *x* or *h* and C₃ *ṛ* is given: *waxxaṛ* "to be late; to move backwards", *ṭahhaṛ* "to circumcise". However, C₂ *x/h* or C₃ *ṛ* alone do not lead to *a*: *saxxif* "to arouse pity", *ẓammiṛ* "to hoot".[524]

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520 For further information on this pattern see 3.6.3.8.

521 Douz Arabic is one of the few Maghrebi Arabic varieties which retained this distinction (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 332f.).

522 This is also the case for Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 417).

523 As only exceptions which do not correspond to this rule, the verbs *yšayyiḥ* "to dry" and *yṭayyiḥ* "to make sb./sth. fall" are found in my data, see 3.6.3.2.5.

524 In the urban variety of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 369, 372-374) all verbs with back and velarized consonants as C₂ and/or C₃ have *a* as the second stem vowel, however this could not be verified

Moreover, the phenomenon of the second stem vowel *i* becoming *a* when stressed, found in Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 369), is attested for NA only to a limited extend. Mostly it remains *i*: *ygallígna* "he annoys us", *ṭaḷḷígha* "he divorced her", *darrígna* "we hid", *ʕarrísti* "you^SG.F got married", while some speakers alternate between *i* and *a*: the speaker Nefza1/f/50 uses *ṭayyíbna* "we cooked" and *ḥaḍḍírna* "we prepared" but *ammánt* "I believed". Similarly, the speaker Nefza2/m/55 uses *tnaḍḍifhum* "she cleans them" but *ṭaḷḷágⁱt* "I divorced".

In the word-final -*vCC*# cluster of the 1SG/2SG.M perfect form there is an optional anaptyctic vowel *i*: *kammilt ~ kammilⁱt*.

The unified (original active) participle form *mC₁aC₂₂iC₃* (*mC₁aC₂₂aC₃* in the aforementioned case of C₃ ʕ, ḥ or x) is used in both active and passive functions.

The verbal pattern II is the most frequently used derived verbal pattern. It expresses causative, intensive (*gṭaʕ* "to cut" vs. *gaṭṭaʕ* "to cut in many pieces") or frequentative (*ngaṛ* "to peck once" vs. *naggir* "to peck many times") meanings. Many verbs of the CA pattern IV are pattern II in NA, as pattern IV is not in use.

As for the causative function, a transitive verb of pattern II can be formed from numerous verbs of pattern I:

Pattern I			Pattern II	
ḍāʕ – yḍīʕ	"to get lost"		*ḍayyaʕ – yḍayyaʕ*	"to lose; to squander"
fāq – yfīq	"to wake up"		*fayyiq – yfayyiq*	"to wake sb. up"
glig – yiglig	"to be bored, to be annoyed"		*gallig – ygallig*	"to annoy sb., to bore sb."
hbil – yihbil	"to go crazy"		*habbil – yhabbil*	"to drive sb. crazy"
kbir – yikbir	"to become bigger, to grow up, to grow old"		*kabbir – ykabbir*	"to enlarge, to nurture (children)"
kmil – yikmil	"to be finished"		*kammil – ykammil*	"to finish"
lbis – yilbis	"to put on, to wear"		*labbis – ylabbis*	"to dress sb."
nbit – yinbit	"to grow"		*nabbit – ynabbit*	"to make grow"
rkib – yirkib	"to get in (e.g. a car)"		*ṛakkib – yṛakkib*	"to let sb. get in/on (e.g. a car); to assemble"

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for my data. Examples of verbs from the corpus with the second stem vowel *i*, which on the contrary would have *a* in Tunis are *ġammiḍ, dabbir, naḍḍif, sakkir, wakkil, waṣṣil* etc.

ržaʕ – yaržaʕ	"to return, to come back"	*ṛažžaʕ – yṛažžaʕ*	"to return sth., to give sth. back"
ṭlaʕ – yaṭlaʕ	"to climb up, to get on; to turn out"	*ṭaḷḷaʕ – yṭaḷḷaʕ*	"to raise sth., to take sth. up"
xdim – yixdim	"to work"	*xaddim – yxaddim*	"to employ sb., to make sb./sth. work"

Pattern II verbs can also be derived from nouns:

gāyla	"time of midday / afternoon heat"	*gayyil – ygayyil*	"to have an afternoon nap"
ḥṭab	"firewood"	*ḥaṭṭib – yḥaṭṭib*	"to fetch firewood"
kabᵢš	"ram"	*kabbiš – ykabbiš*	"to cling to sth., to hang on to sth."
kōṛa	"ball, football"	*kawwir – ykawwir*	"to play football"
ʕaṛbi	"Arabic (language)"	*ʕaṛṛib – yʕaṛṛib*	"to make Arabic (a foreign word)"
il-ʕīd	"Eid al-Adha"	*ʕayyid – yʕayyid*	"to celebrate Eid al-Adha, to congratulate sb. (ʕla) on Eid al-Adha"
ʕōla	"preparation of food stocks (e.g. couscous, red pepper, spices)"	*ʕawwil – yʕawwil*	"to make ʕōla"

3.6.3.2.1. Regular roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1aC_2C_2iC_3 - yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$, and $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \sim yC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ if C_3 *ḥ/ʕ/x*. The pattern of the participle form is $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3 \sim mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ and examples from my corpus are *mbaddil, mgaṭṭaʕ, mḥažžim, mnaggir, msakkir, mšarrig, mṭaḷḷig, mxaḷḷiṣ, mxaḷḷiṭ, mxaṛṛiž, mʕaddil, mʕarris, mxammil* and *mkabbiš*.

The pattern of the verbal noun is $tiC_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ and examples from my corpus are *tifrīš, tirkīḥ, tišḷīṭ* and *tišrīg*.

An example of a paradigm is:
kammil – ykammil "to finish"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*kammil*	*ykammil*	
3SG.F	*kammlit*	*tkammil*	
2SG.M	*kammilt* ~ *kammil^{i}t*	*tkammil*	*kammil*
2SG.F	*kammilti*	*tkammli*	*kammli*
1SG	*kammilt* ~ *kammil^{i}t*	*nkammil*	
3PL	*kammlu*	*ykammlu*	
2PL	*kammiltu*	*tkammlu*	*kammlu*
1PL	*kammilna*	*nkammlu*	

Examples:

baddil – ybaddil	"to change"
bazzaʕ – ybazzaʕ	"to pour out"
baṭṭil – ybaṭṭil	"to quit, to stop"
žarrib – yžarrib	"to try"
ḥažžim – yḥažžim	"to cut hair, to shave"
ḥaḏḏir – yḥaḏḏir	"to prepare"
xaṛṛiž – yxaṛṛiž	"to get sth. out"
xaṛṛif – yxaṛṛif	"to tell a story"
xazzin – yxazzin	"to store"
xaḷḷiṣ – yxaḷḷiṣ	"to pay"
xaḷḷiṭ – yxaḷḷiṭ	"to mix"
xammil – yxammil	"to keep, to hide"[525]
dabbir – ydabbir	"to find"
daṛṛig – ydaṛṛig	"to hide"
ṛattaḥ – yṛattaḥ	"to give a rest to"
ṛaḏḏaʕ – yṛaḏḏaʕ	"to breastfeed"
ṛakkaḥ – yṛakkaḥ	"to set up, to settle"
zammiṛ – yzammiṛ	"to hoot, to sound the horn"
sažžil – ysažžil	"to record"
saxxif – ysaxxif	"to arouse pity"
sakkir – ysakkir	"to close"
sallim – ysallim ʕlā	"to greet"
šarrig – yšarrig[526]	"to tear apart"
šaʕʕil – yšaʕʕil	"to ignite, to turn on (the light)"
šaḷḷiṭ – yšaḷḷiṭ	"to incise"

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525 Also attested for Takrouna in the meaning "to hide", beside other meanings, cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 1207f.).

526 In Takrouna Arabic *šarreg* is attested as well (cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 2027), whereas in Douz Arabic this verb has C$_3$ *k*: *šaṛṛak, yšarrik* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 334).

ṭaḷḷig – yṭaḷḷig	"to divorce, get divorced"
ʕažžiz – yʕažžiz	"to thwart"
ʕaddil – yʕaddil	"to regulate, to improve"
ʕarris – yʕarris	"to marry"
ʕallig – yʕallig	"to hang; to hang up (phone)"
ʕallif – yʕallif	"to feed (livestock)"
ġaṭṭir – yġaṭṭir	"to make thick (e.g. hair)"
ġaḷḷiṭ – yġaḷḷiṭ	"to make sb. make a mistake"
ġallif – yġallif	"to encase"
ġammiḏ – yġammiḏ	"to close one's eyes"
farriš – yfarriš	"to make the bed"
fassir – yfassir	"to explain"
gaššir – ygaššir[527]	"to peel"
gaṭṭaʕ – ygaṭṭaʕ	"to tear (up); to run away"
gaḷḷaʕ – ygaḷḷaʕ	"to tear out"
gammiṭ – ygammiṭ	"to swaddle"
kaddis – ykaddis	"to heap up, to pile up"
kassir – ykassir	"to break"
kallim – ykallim	"to talk to sb."
laggiṭ – ylaggiṭ	"to collect, to gather up"
nažžim – ynažžim	"to be able"
naḏḏif – ynaḏḏif	"to clean"
naggir – ynaggir	"to peck (a hole), to strike into sth."
naggiz – ynaggiz	"to jump"
naqqiṣ – ynaqqiṣ	"to reduce"
nakkit – ynakkit ʕlā	"to make fun of sb."
harris – yharris	"to grind, to mash"

3.6.3.2.2. Geminated roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1aC_2C_2iC_2 – yC_1aC_2C_2iC_2$, and $C_1aC_2C_2aC_2 \sim yC_1aC_2C_2aC_2$ if C_3 *ḥ*/*ʕ*/*x*. The inflection of geminated pattern II verbs is by and large identical to the regular pattern II verbs, with the exception that the short vowel of the second stem syllable is not dropped with vowel-initial suffixes, as it would normally be the case in pattern II due to the emergence of an open syllable: *nbaddlu* (< *nbaddilu*) "we change". Instead, in post-tonic syllables it is retained for the sake of better pronunciation of the three consecutive identical consonants and is reflected in the transcription as superscript *i*: *nšallⁱlu* "we rinse", *nḥaqqⁱqūh* "we achieve it".

However, when in a pretonic syllable, as is the case with added suffixes and circumfix negation, the anaptyctic vowel is dropped and the three identical

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527 Interestingly, the corresponding noun is realized with a *q* and not with a *g*: *qišra* "peel; dandruff; skin".

consonants (C₂) are reduced to two: *mā-yḥassūhā̄-š* (< **mā-yḥassⁱsūhā̄-š*) "they do not make her feel".

No examples of participle forms and verbal nouns of geminated pattern II verbs are attested in my corpus.

An example of a paradigm is:

xammim – yxammim "to think"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*xammim*	*yxammim*	
3SG.F	*xammⁱmit*	*txammim*	
2SG.M	*xammimⁱt*	*txammim*	*xammim*
2SG.F	*xammimti*	*txammⁱmi*	*xammⁱmi*
1SG	*xammimⁱt*	*nxammim*	
3PL	*xammⁱmu*	*yxammⁱmu*	
2PL	*xammimtu*	*txammⁱmu*	*xammⁱmu*
1PL	*xammimna*	*nxammⁱmu*	

Examples:

ḥassis – yḥassis	"to make sb. feel"
ḥaqqiq – yḥaqqiq	"to achieve, to make come true"
dallil – ydallil	"to spoil, to pamper"
šallil – yšallil	"to rinse (e.g. clothes, wool, dishes)"
ṣaḥḥaḥ – yṣaḥḥaḥ	"to sign"
ġaššiš – yġaššiš	"to make sb. angry"

3.6.3.2.3. C₁ ʔ

There exist three different developments concerning this group of verbs:

- In classicisms the first radical ʔ is retained in the imperfect form[528]: *yʔakkid* "to confirm, to affirm".

- Some of these verbs have developed the ʔ to *w* in both perfect and imperfect forms which makes them classified as primae *w* verbs (cf. 3.6.1.2.1.3).

- As for some other verbs of this group, the C₁ ʔ is dropped in the imperfect form: *yiḏḏin* < *yuʔaḏḏin*.[529]

The perfect and imperfect pattern of verbs of the third group is *aC₂C₂iC₃ – yiC₂C₂iC₃*. The pattern of the participle form is *miC₂C₂iC₃* and an example from my corpus is *mimmin*.

An example of a paradigm is:

ammin – yimmin "to believe"

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528 Same influence of standard Arabic, e.g. *yʔayyis* instead of *yayyas ~ yyayyis* "to despair", is found in the Bedouin variety of the Maṛāzīg (i.e. Douz Arabic). On external linguistic impacts on Maṛāzīg Arabic see Procházka/Ritt-Benmimoun (2008: 83-96).

529 The same development took place in the varieties Douz: *yiḏḏin* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 341), and Tunis: *yaḏḏen* (cf. Singer 1984: 371).

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ammin*	*yimmin*	
3SG.F	*ammnit*	*timmin*	
2SG.M	*ammint*	*timmin*	*immin*
2SG.F	*amminti*	*timmni*	*immni*
1SG	*ammint*	*nimmin*	
3PL	*ammnu*	*yimmnu*	
2PL	*ammintu*	*timmnu*	*immnu*
1PL	*amminna*	*nimmnu*	

Example:
   aḏḏin – yiḏḏin   "to call to prayer (muezzin)"

3.6.3.2.4. Initial weak roots

Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern II verbs. The perfect and imperfect pattern is $waC_2C_2iC_3 – ywaC_2C_2iC_3$, and $waC_2C_2aC_3 \sim ywaC_2C_2aC_3$ if C_3 *ḥ/ʕ/x/ṛ*. No C_1 *y* pattern II verbs are attested in the corpus, thus only C_1 *w* verbs are treated in this section.

The pattern of the participle form is $ṃṃaC_2C_2iC_3 \sim ṃṃaC_2C_2aC_3$. The phonological process underlying this form is the assimilation of C_1 *w* to the prefix *m-* followed by the emphatization and gemination of the latter: *ṃṃaxxaṛ* (< *mwaxxaṛ*) "late". Another example is the participle form of the initial and final weak root *w - l - y*: *ⁱṃṃalli* (< *mwalli*) "going[530]", with the optional anaptyxis *i* preceding the word-initial two consonant cluster. In the South Tunisian varieties of Douz and Tozeur the participle form of this verb is *mwalli*, i.e. no assimilation took place here (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 340 and Saada 1984: 56). However, at pattern III, which has the identical word-initial cluster as pattern II (*mw-*), Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 345) states that the C_1 *w* is sometimes assimilated to the prefix *m-* of the participle form and becomes the emphatic geminate *ṃṃ-*.

Examples:

waddaʕ – ywaddaʕ	"to take farewell"
waṣṣil – ywaṣṣil	"to accompany, to get to, to forward, to make reach"
wallif – ywallif	"to get used to"
w < ʔ:	
waxxaṛ – ywaxxaṛ	"to be late; to move backwards"
wakkil – ywakkil	"to feed"

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530 Interestingly, in NA, the *w - l - y* root in pattern II in the meaning of "to go" is used only in the participle form – in the perfect and imperfect verb forms this verb normally means "to become". In the South Tunisian varieties of Douz and Tozeur, next to the meaning "to become" this verb also means "to return" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 340 and Saada 1984: 56), and not "to go" as in NA.

3.6.3.2.5. Medial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1awwiC_3 – yC_1awwiC_3$ (C_1awwaC_3 ~ yC_1awwaC_3 if C_3 ḥ) for C_2 w verbs and C_1ayyiC_3 ~ yC_1ayyiC_3 for attested C_2 y verbs. Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern II verbs. However, in contrast to the general rule described in 3.6.1.2.1, C_2 y medial weak verbs have i as the second stem vowel when C_3 is ḥ, instead of the expected a. A possible explanation is the preceding geminated C_2 y which could have influenced the vowel. The same influence of C_2 y on the second stem vowel is attested for Sousse Arabic, where that is the only exception where this vowel is i instead of a: *zayyit* vs. *naqqaṣ* (cf. Talmoudi 1980: 98f.).

The pattern of the participle form is mC_1awwiC_3 ~ mC_1awwaC_3 for C_2 w verbs and mC_1ayyiC_3 for C_2 y verbs, examples from my corpus are *mlawwaḥ, mṭayyib, mzayyin*.

The pattern of the verbal noun of verbs with C2 y is $tiC_1yīC_3$, an example from my corpus is *tiṭyīḥ*. Examples C_2 w:

ḥawwis – yḥawwis	"to go for a walk"
dawwiš – ydawwiš[531]	"to take a shower"
ṛawwaḥ – yṛawwaḥ	"to go home"
ṣawwir – yṣawwir	"to take a picture, to draw; to earn (money)"
ṣawwiṭ – yṣawwiṭ	"to whip"
fawwaḥ – yfawwaḥ	"to season"
lawwiž – ylawwiž ʕlā	"to search for sth./sb. "
lawwaḥ – ylawwaḥ	"to throw away"
nawwaḥ – ynawwaḥ ʕlā	"to mourn, to weep for sth./sb."

Examples C_2 y:

bayyit – ybayyit	"to make sb. sleep over"
xayyiṭ – yxayyiṭ	"to tailor"
zayyin – yzayyin	"to adorn, to decorate"
sayyib – ysayyib	"to let go, to leave"
šayyiḥ – yšayyiḥ	"to dry sth."
ḍayyif – yḍayyif	"to host"
ṭayyib – yṭayyib	"to cook"
ṭayyiḥ – yṭayyiḥ	"to make sb./sth. fall, to overturn"
ṭayyiš – yṭayyiš	"to throw, to throw away"
ʕayyiṭ – yʕayyiṭ	"to shout"
qayyid – yqayyid	"to write down, to note, to register"
gayyil – ygayyil	"to have an afternoon nap"
kayyil – ykayyil	"to measure"
layyiq – ylayyiq	"to plaster with mortar"
mayyiz – ymayyiz	"to discriminate; to distinguish"

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531 < Fr. *douche* "shower".

3.6.3.2.6. Final weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1aC_2C_2a - yC_1aC_2C_2i$. As is the case for final weak verbs of all patterns, the C_3 w/y occurs as the long vowel $\bar{e}$[532] in the perfect form of first and second persons, both singular and plural. The 3SG.M perfect form has the ending -*a*, whereas the imperfect form ends in -*i*. The imperfect plural forms have the ending -*u*: *nwaṛṛu*, as opposed to -*īu* in the urban variety of Tunis: *twaṛṛīu* (cf. Singer 1984: 375).

The pattern of the unified active and passive participle form[533] is $mC_1aC_2C_2i$. Examples from my corpus are *mġaṭṭi*[534], *mṛabbi, msammi, mʕabbi*. In the feminine participle form, the ending -*i* becomes -*ya*: *mʕabbya*. In Tunis the feminine form has the ending -*ya* or -*īya* (cf. Singer 1984: 412), the latter not being found in NA.

Double (initial and final) weak verbs are also part of this group.

An example of a paradigm is:

ʕadda – yʕaddi "to spend (time); to take (an exam); to let sth. pass"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ʕadda*	*yʕaddi*	
3SG.F	*ʕaddit*	*tʕaddi*	
2SG.M	*ʕaddēt ~ ʕaddīt*	*tʕaddi*	*ʕaddi*
2SG.F	*ʕaddēti ~ ʕaddīti*	*tʕaddi*	*ʕaddi*
1SG	*ʕaddēt ~ ʕaddīt*	*nʕaddi*	
3PL	*ʕaddu*	*yʕaddu*	
2PL	*ʕaddētu ~ ʕaddītu*	*tʕaddu*	*ʕaddu*
1PL	*ʕaddēna ~ ʕaddīna*	*nʕaddu*	

Examples:

ḥanna – yḥanni	"to apply henna"
xabba – yxabbi	"to hide"
danna – ydanni	"to make, to do"
ḍarra – yḍarri	"to winnow" [535]
ṛabba – yṛabbi	"to raise (children), to breed (animals)"

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532 Less frequently it can also be the long vowel *ī*. For general features of final weak verbs in NA see 3.6.2.5.

533 In Douz Arabic there is a distinction between the active (-*a*) and passive (-*i*) participle forms (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 332f.). W. Marçais (1950: 216) claims this differentiation is typical for Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties. In contrast, in the Hilāl-type variety of Magsam Trab (Kasserine) there is a single unified participle form (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b: 356).

534 In Tunis Arabic the form is *mġuṭṭi*, as the *a* becomes *u* after back consonants in the participle forms of the derived verbal patterns (cf. Singer 1984: 412).

535 Cf. Oueslati (2022: 65): "In this operation the grains are filtered out from the crusts by exposing them to the wind."

ṛaġġa – yṛaġġi	"to cry, to howl"
samma – ysammi	"to name"
ṣaffa – yṣaffi	"to purify, to clarify"
ṣaḷḷa – yṣaḷḷi	"to pray"
ġaṭṭa – yġaṭṭi	"to cover"
ġalla – yġalli	"to boil; to make expensive"
ġanna – yġanni	"to sing"
qaṛṛa – yqaṛṛi	"to teach"
galla – ygalli	"to fry"
qawwa – yqawwi	"to strengthen"
lahha – ylahhi	"to keep busy"
naḥḥa – ynaḥḥi	"to remove"
nagga – ynaggi	"to remove impurities from sth."
hadda – yhaddi	"to calm"
waṛṛa – ywaṛṛi	"to show"
waṣṣa – ywaṣṣi ʕlā	"to recommend; to put in charge of, to ask sb. to take care of sth."
walla – ywalli	"to become"

3.6.3.3. Pattern III

Pattern III is characterized by the long vowel -*ā*- between C_1 and C_2. As in Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 378f.) the second stem vowel of the perfect form is identical to the one of the imperfect form. Furthermore, it remains *i* even under stress: *bārík-lah!* "Congratulate him!"

Pattern III verbs are mostly transitive. They often express the meaning of participation and are frequently directed at a human target: *žāwib* "to answer", *ʕāwin* "to help", *bārik* "to congratulate".

No examples of verbal nouns of pattern III verbs are attested in my corpus.

As is the case in the varieties of Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 379), Douz (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 345) and Tripoli (cf. Pereira 2010: 109), in NA no geminated pattern III verbs are attested.

3.6.3.3.1. Regular roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3 – yC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$. The pattern of the participle form is $mC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$, an example from my corpus is *msāʕid*.

Examples:

bārik – ybārik l-	"to congratulate"
sāʕid – ysāʕid	"to fit, to be convenient"
sāfir – ysāfir	"to travel"

ʕāšir – yʕāšir	"to meet sb. often, to have a close social relationship with sb."[536]
gābil – ygābil	"to meet sb."
nāsib – ynāsib	"to suit, to fit"

3.6.3.3.2. Initial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $wāC_2iC_3 - ywāC_2iC_3$. Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern III verbs. Verbs with C_1 *y* are not attested in the corpus.

Example:

wāfiq – ywāfiq ʕlā	"to agree"

3.6.3.3.3. Medial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1āwiC_3 - yC_1āwiC_3$ for C_2 *w* verbs and $C_1āyiC_3 - yC_1āyiC_3$ for C_2 *y* verbs. Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern III verbs.

Examples C_2 *w*:

žāwib – yžāwib	"to answer"
sāwim – ysāwim	"to bargain"
šāwir – yšāwir	"to ask for advice"
ʕāwid – yʕāwid ~ ʕāwid – yʕāwid	"to repeat"
ʕāwin – yʕāwin ~ ʕāwin – yʕāwin	"to help"

Example C_2 *y*:

ʕāyir – yʕāyir ~ ʕāyir – yʕāyir	"to insult"

3.6.3.3.4. Final weak roots

As for pattern III final weak verbs, their perfect stem ends in *-a* and their imperfect stem with *-I*, and they are inflected like pattern II final weak verbs. The perfect and imperfect pattern is $C_1āC_2a - yC_1āC_2i$.

Double (initial and final or medial and final) weak verbs are also part of this group.

Examples:

ḥāža – yḥāži l-	"to tell a riddle (*ḥižžāya*) to sb."
dāwa – ydāwi	"to cure, to medicate; to get treated"
sāsa – ysāsi	"to beg"
ʕāna – yʕāni	"to suffer, to struggle"
nāda – ynādi l-	"to call sb."
wāta – ywāti	"to fit well"

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536 This verb is attested for Takrouna in the meanings "to have business with sb., to maintain social relations with sb.", "to settle in a country and make a living there" and "to persist in sth." (cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 2563f.).

3.6.3.4. Pattern V

Pattern V has a prefix *t-* (OA *ta-*) and a geminated medial root consonant. For both the perfect and imperfect form, the stem vowels are *a - i*. As is usually the case in pattern II, in pattern V the second stem vowel *i* remains *i* when stressed[537]: *mā-yitšarrít-ⁱš* "he does not make demands", *mā-yitfarríg-ⁱš* "it does not get scattered", *mā-nnažžím-ⁱš* "I cannot", *tfarrízti* "you[SG.F] watched". It does not become *a* as in Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 376).

The pattern of the pattern V participle form is *mitC₁aC₂C₂iC₃* and and an example from my corpus is *mitkayyif*.

In fast speech the prefix *t-* is not always audible in the consonant sequence #*tit-*, i.e. the 3SG.F, 2SG.M, 2SG.F and 2PL imperfect forms may vary: *titḥaddiṯ ~ ṯḥaddiṯ*, *tit ʕaššu ~ t ʕaššu*.

As for its semantic functions, this pattern is often the passive, reflexive or intransitive equivalent of pattern II.

Examples of the passive and reflexive meaning of pattern V:

Pattern II		Pattern V	
ḥaṭṭim – yḥaṭṭim	"to break, to destroy"	*ṯḥaṭṭim – yitḥaṭṭim*	"to be destroyed"
laḥḥif – ylaḥḥif	"to cover"	*tlaḥḥif – yitlaḥḥif*	"to cover oneself"
naḥḥa – ynaḥḥi	"to remove"	*tnaḥḥa – yitnaḥḥa*	"to be removed"
xabba – yxabbi	"to hide"	*txabba – yitxabba*	"to hide oneself"
xaḷḷiṭ – yxaḷḷiṭ	"to mix"	*txaḷḷiṭ – yitxaḷḷiṭ*	"to be mixed"

No examples of verbal nouns of pattern V verbs are attested in my corpus.

3.6.3.4.1. Regular roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is *tC₁aC₂C₂iC₃ – yitC₁aC₂C₂iC₃*, and *tC₁aC₂C₂aC₃ – yitC₁aC₂C₂aC₃* for C₃ *ḥ/ʕ* verbs. No examples of participle forms of regular pattern V verbs are attested in my corpus.

An example of a paradigm is: *ṯḥaddiṯ – yitḥaddiṯ* "to speak"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ṯḥaddiṯ*	*yitḥaddiṯ*	
3SG.F	*ṯḥaddṯit*	*titḥaddiṯ*	
2SG.M	*ṯḥaddiṯⁱt*	*titḥaddiṯ*	*ṯḥaddiṯ*
2SG.F	*ṯḥadditti*	*titḥaddṯi*	*ṯḥaddṯi*
1SG	*ṯḥaddiṯⁱt*	*nitḥaddiṯ*	
3PL	*ṯḥaddtu*	*yitḥaddtu*	
2PL	*ṯḥaddittu*	*titḥaddtu*	*ṯḥaddtu*
1PL	*ṯḥadditna*	*nitḥaddtu*	

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537 Unlike pattern II (see 3.6.3.2), there are no exceptions to this rule attested for pattern V.

Examples:

tbaddil – yitbaddil	"to change (intr.)"
tḥassin – yitḥassin	"to improve oneself"
tṛabbiž – yitṛabbiž b-	"to speak in a caressing and fondling way"[538]
tsallif – yitsallif	"to borrow (money)"
tšaṛṛiṭ – yitšaṛṛiṭ	"to make demands"
tfaṛṛiž – yitfaṛṛiž	"to watch"
dgaṛṛaʕ – yidgaṛṛaʕ	"to belch"
tkallim – yitkallim	"to speak"
tlaffit – yitlaffit	"to turn around, to look around"
tnaffis – yitnaffis	"to breathe"

3.6.3.4.2. Geminated roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $tC_1aC_2C_2iC_2 – yitC_1aC_2C_2iC_2$. The vowel *i* occurs between the second and third of the three consecutive identical consonants.[539] The pattern of the participle form is $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_2$ and an example from my corpus is *mitġaššiš*.

An example of a paradigm is:

tġaššiš – yitġaššiš "to get angry"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tġaššiš*	*yitġaššiš*	
3SG.F	*tġaššᵇšit*	*titġaššiš*	
2SG.M	*tġaššišⁱt*	*titġaššiš*	*tġaššiš*
2SG.F	*tġaššišti*	*titġaššⁱši*	*tġaššⁱši*
1SG	*tġaššišⁱt*	*nitġaššiš*	
3PL	*tġaššišna*	*yitġaššⁱšu*	
2PL	*tġaššištu*	*titġaššⁱšu*	*tġaššⁱšu*
1PL	*tġaššⁱšu*	*nitġaššⁱšu*	

3.6.3.4.3. Initial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $twaC_2C_2iC_3 – yitwaC_2C_2iC_3$. Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern V verbs. Verbs with C_1 *y* are not attested in the corpus.

Example:

twaḥḥiš – yitwaḥḥiš	"to miss sb."

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538 In Boris (1958: 198) this verb is found in the meaning "fredonner en berçant un enfant pour l'endormir", whereas in Annaba Arabic a similar meaning is attested as in NA: "surnommer affectuesement" (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 15).

539 This statement rests upon the only verb from this category attested in the corpus (*yitġaššiš*).

3.6.3.4.4. Medial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $tC_1awwiC_3 – yitC_1awwiC_3$ for C_2 w verbs and $tC_1ayyiC_3 – yitC_1ayyiC_3$ for C_2 y verbs. Their inflection is identical to the regular pattern V verbs. The pattern of the participle form is $mitC_1awwiC_3$ for C_2 w verbs and $mitC_1ayyiC_3$ for C_2 y verbs, an example from my corpus is *mitkayyif*.

Examples C_2 w:

tsawwig – yitsawwig	"to go to a market to buy or sell"
~ *ssawwig – yissawig*	
ṭṭawwir – yiṭṭawwir	"to progress, to evolve"

Example C_2 y:

tkayyif – yitkayyif	"to smoke"

3.6.3.4.5. Final weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $tC_1aC_2C_2a – yitC_1aC_2C_2a$. In both perfect and imperfect stems, the ending is *-a*. The pattern of the participle form is $mitC_1aC_2C_2i$, examples from my corpus are *mitʕašši*, *mitʕaddi* and *mitsammi*.

An example of a paradigm is:

tʕašša – yitʕašša "to have dinner"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tʕašša*	*yitʕašša*	
3SG.F	*tʕaššit*	*titʕašša*	
2SG.M	*tʕaššēt ~ tʕaššīt*	*titʕašša*	*tʕašša*
2SG.F	*tʕaššēti ~ tʕaššīti*	*titʕašši*	*tʕašši*
1SG	*tʕaššēt ~ tʕaššīt*	*nitʕašša*	
3PL	*tʕaššu*	*yitʕaššu*	
2PL	*tʕaššētu ~ tʕaššītu*	*titʕaššu*	*tʕaššu*
1PL	*tʕaššēna*	*nitʕaššu*	
	~ *tʕaššīna*		

Examples:

txabba – yitxabba	"to be hidden"
tsamma – yitsamma	"to be named"
~ *ssamma – yissamma*[540]	
tʕadda – yitʕadda ʕlā	"to pass by"
tġadda – yitġadda	"to have lunch"
tġaṭṭa – yitġaṭṭa	"to be covered, to cover oneself"
tnaḥḥa – yitnaḥḥa	"to be removed"

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[540] This assimilation is also found in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 354) and Mizrāya Arabic (part of Djerba) (cf. Behnstedt 1999: 32).

3.6.3.5. Pattern VI

Pattern VI is the passive and reciprocal counterpart of pattern III, with most pattern VI verbs attested in the corpus having reciprocal meaning. Examples of the meanings of pattern VI verbs are:

Pattern III   Pattern VI

yʕāwid	"to repeat"	→ passive:	*yitʕāwid*	"to be repeated"
yʕāwin	"to help"	→ reciprocal:	*yitʕāwin*	"to help each other"
ysāmaḥ	"to forgive"		*yitsāmaḥ*	"to forgive each other"

Due to their reciprocal meaning, pattern VI verbs are often used in plural forms only.

In fast speech the prefix *t-* is not always audible in the consonant sequence #*tit-*, i.e. the 3SG.F, 2SG.M, 2SG.F and 2PL imperfect forms may vary: *titfāhim ~ tfāhim.* In the word-final *-vCC#* cluster of the 1SG/2SG.M perfect form there is an optional anaptyctic vowel *i*: *kammilt ~ kammilⁱt.*

No examples of verbal nouns of pattern VI verbs are attested in my corpus. Moreover, initial weak and geminated pattern VI verbs are not attested in the corpus either.

3.6.3.5.1. Regular roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is $tC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ – $yitC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ and $tC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$ – $yitC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$ if C$_3$ is *ḥ/ʕ*. The pattern of the participle form is $mitC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ and examples from my corpus are *mitfāhim* and *mitʕāṛik.*

tfāhim – yitfāhim "to come to an agreement, to understand each other"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tfāhim*	*yitfāhim*	
3SG.F	*tfāhmit*	*titfāhim ~ tfāhim*	
2SG.M	*tfāhimt ~ tfāhimⁱt*	*titfāhim ~ tfāhim*	*tfāhim*
2SG.F	*tfāhimti*	*titfāhmi ~ tfāhmi*	*tfāhmi*
1SG	*tfāhimt ~ tfāhimⁱt*	*nitfāhim*	
3PL	*tfāhmu*	*yitfāhmu*	
2PL	*tfāhimtu*	*titfāhmu ~ tfāhmu*	*tfāhmu*
1PL	*tfāhimna*	*Nitfāhmu*	

Examples:

tsā̃maḥ – yitsā̃maḥ	"to forgive each other"
ḍḍā̃rib – yiḍḍā̃rib[541]	"to brawl, to battle"
tʕā̃rik – yitʕā̃rik	"to quarrel with each other, to argue, to fight"
tʕā̃šir – yitʕā̃šir[542]	"to get along with each other"
tfā̃rig – yitfā̃rig ~ tfā̃riq – yitfā̃riq	"to go apart, to separate"
dgā̃til – yidgā̃til[543]	"to brawl, to battle, to fight against each other"
tnā̃qiš – yitnā̃qiš	"to discuss with each other"

3.6.3.5.2. Medial weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is *tC₁ā̃wiC₃ – yitC₁ā̃wiC₃*. Pattern VI verbs with C₂ *y* are not attested in the corpus.

Examples:

tʕā̃wid – yitʕā̃wid	"to be repeated"
tʕā̃win – yitʕā̃win ~ tʕā̃win – yitʕā̃win	"to help each other"

3.6.3.5.3. Final weak roots

The perfect and imperfect pattern is *tC₁āC₂a – yitC₁āC₂a*. In contrast to final weak pattern III verbs where the imperfect stem ending is -*i*, final weak pattern VI verbs have the ending -*a* in both the perfect and the imperfect form.

Double (medial and final) weak verbs are also part of this group.

Example:

ⁱddā̃wa – yiddā̃wa[544]	"to be (medically) treated"

3.6.3.6. Pattern VIII

The verb pattern VIII is not productive in NA and is limited to some MSA borrowings: *yaḥtafíl* "to celebrate", *yaḥtarím* "to respect". The attested participle form *muqtanáʕ* "convinced" is a MSA borrowing as well.

Formally pattern VIII have become other patterns in NA. For instance, final weak formally pattern VIII *ištarā* "to buy" and *ištakā* "to complain" have become pattern I verbs *šrē* and *škē*. Moreover, medial weak pattern VIII verbs

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541 < *tḏā̃rib, yitḏā̃rib*.

542 On the other hand, the pattern III counterpart of this verb is attested in the corpus with an *imāla* after C₂ ʕ: *yʕā̃šir*. This is due to the seemingly optional *imāla* after gutturals. For the *imāla* in NA see 2.1.2.1.3.

543 < *tgā̃til, yitgā̃til*.

544 < *tdā̃wa, yitdā̃wa*.

ṣṭād "to hunt" and *rtāḥ* "to rest" are inflected like pattern XI verbs[545] (see 3.6.3.7 for the inflection of the verb *ṣṭād*).

In contrast to NA and Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 365ff.), in Douz Arabic pattern VIII is productive and inter alia used as the passive and reflexive counterpart of pattern I verbs with C_1 *l*, *r* or *n* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 368).

3.6.3.7. Pattern X

Pattern X is not very frequent in NA. Verbs of this pattern have the prefix *st-*. Pattern X can express one's opinion of something: *yistaḥla* "to consider sth. good".

No examples of verbal nouns of pattern X verbs are attested in my corpus.

3.6.3.7.1. Regular roots

The pattern is $staC_1C_2iC_3 - yistaC_1C_2iC_3$ and $staC_1C_2aC_3 - yistaC_1C_2aC_3$ if C_2 or C_3 *ḥ/ʕ/q*. The participle form is $mistaC_1C_2iC_3 \sim mistaC_1C_2aC_3$: *mistaʕmil* "used[SG.M]", *mistaṣfir*[546] "turned yellow[SG.M], sick color (face)", *mistaʕmir* "colonized[SG.M]".

staʕmil – yistaʕmil "to use"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*staʕmil*	*yistaʕmil*	
3SG.F	*staʕ{i}mlit*	*tistaʕmil*	
2SG.M	*staʕmilt*	*tistaʕmil*	*staʕmil*
	~ staʕmil{i}t		
2SG.F	*staʕmilti*	*tistaʕ{i}mli*	*staʕ{i}mli*
1SG	*staʕmilt*	*nistaʕmil*	
	~ staʕmil{i}t		
3PL	*staʕ{i}mlu*	*yistaʕ{i}mlu*	
2PL	*staʕmiltu*	*tistaʕ{i}mlu*	*staʕ{i}mlu*
1PL	*staʕmilna*	*nistaʕ{i}mlu*	

3.6.3.7.2. Geminated roots

The pattern is $st^iC_1aC_2C_2 - yist^iC_1\acute{a}C_2C_2$. Unlike geminated pattern I verbs, the stem vowel is *a* in both the perfect and imperfect forms. Moreover, an assimilation of *t* of the prefix *st-* to *s* is considerably frequent: $ssC_1aC_2C_2 - yissC_1\acute{a}C_2C_2$.

No participle forms are attested in my corpus.

st{i}ḥaqq – yist{i}ḥáqq ~ sshaqq – yissḥáqq "to need; to deserve"

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545 Likewise, in Tunis Arabic the medial weak verbs *xṭâṛ*, *ṣṭâd*, *rtâḥ*, *ḥtâž* and *ḥṭâṭ* are inflected like pattern XI verbs (cf. Singer 1984: 367).

546 In South Tunisian Mahâdhba Arabic, the form is *mustáṣfaṛ* (cf. Marçais/Viré 1981: 370).

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*stⁱḥaqq ~ ssḥaqq*	*yistⁱḥáqq* *~ yissḥáqq*	
3SG.F	*stⁱḥaqqit* *~ ssḥaqqit*	*tistⁱḥáqq* *~ tissḥáqq*	
2SG.M	*stⁱḥaqqēt* *~ stⁱḥaqqīt* *~ ssḥaqqēt* *~ ssḥaqqīt*	*tistⁱḥáqq* *~ tissḥáqq*	not in use
2SG.F	*stⁱḥaqqēti* *~ stⁱḥaqqīti* *~ ssḥaqqēti* *~ ssḥaqqīti*	*tistⁱḥaqqi* *~ tissḥaqqi*	
1SG	*stⁱḥaqqēt* *~ stⁱḥaqqīt* *~ ssḥaqqēt* *~ ssḥaqqīt*	*nistⁱḥáqq* *~ nissḥáqq*	
3PL	*stⁱḥaqqu* *~ ssḥaqqu*	*yistⁱḥaqqu* *~ yissḥaqqu*	
2PL	*stⁱḥaqqētu* *~ stⁱḥaqqītu* *~ ssḥaqqētu* *~ ssḥaqqītu*	*tistⁱḥaqqu* *~ tissḥaqqu*	
1PL	*stⁱḥaqqēna* *~ stⁱḥaqqīna* *~ ssḥaqqēna* *~ ssḥaqqīna*	*nistⁱḥaqqu* *~ nissḥaqqu*	

The assimilation of *t* of the prefix *st-* is also attested for Oran Arabic: *ssəḥaqq* (cf. Guerrero 2015: 230), while it is dropped in Tozeur Arabic: *yesḥaqqu* (cf. Saada 1984: 39).

Example:

stⁱqall – yistⁱqáll ~ ssqall "to gain independence"
– yissqáll

3.6.3.7.3. Initial weak roots

Initial weak pattern X verbs have a long vowel *ā* after the prefix *st-*: *stāC₂iC₃ – yistāC₂iC₃ ~ stāC₂aC₃ – yistāC₂aC₃*. The pattern of the participle form is *mistāC₂iC₃*: *mistānis* "used[SG.M] to sth.".

stānis – yistānis ʕlā "to get used to sb./sth."

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*stānis*	*yistānis*	
3SG.F	*stānsit*	*tistānis*	

2SG.M	*stǟnist ~ stǟnisⁱt*	*tistǟnis*	*stǟnis*
2SG.F	*stǟnisti*	*tistǟnsi*	*stǟnsi*
1SG	*stǟnist ~ stǟnisⁱt*	*nistǟnis*	
3PL	*stǟnsu*	*yistǟnsu*	
2PL	*stǟnistu*	*tistǟnsu*	*stǟnsu*
1PL	*stǟnisna*	*nistǟnsu*	

Example:
stǟhil – yistǟhil   "to deserve, to merit"

Both of the attested initial weak pattern X verbs originally have a C_1 *ʔ* root (*ʔ - n - s* and *ʔ - h - l*).

3.6.3.7.4. Medial weak roots

The pattern is *stⁱC₁āC₃ – yistⁱC₁āC₃* and the only attested verb is *stⁱfād – yistⁱfād min* "to profit from". The 1SG/2SG.M perfect form ends in *-C₁iC₃t*: *stⁱfitt* (< **stⁱfidt*), comparable with the pattern I medial weak verb *zād > zitt* (< **zidt*) "I added".

No participle forms are attested in the corpus.

3.6.3.7.5. Final weak roots

The verb pattern is *staC₁C₂a – yistaC₁C₂a*. The participle form pattern is *mistaC₁C₂i*: *mistadʕi* "have invited^SG.M". The verbal noun pattern is *istⁱC₁C₂ā*[547]: *istⁱdʕā* "invitation".

stadʕa – yistadʕa "to invite"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*stadʕa*	*yistadʕa*	
3SG.F	*stadʕit*	*tistadʕa*	
2SG.M	*stadʕēt ~ stadʕīt*	*tistadʕa*	*stadʕa*
2SG.F	*stadʕēti ~ stadʕīti*	*tistadʕi*	*stadʕi*
1SG	*stadʕēt ~ stadʕīt*	*nistadʕa*	
3PL	*stadʕu*	*yistadʕu*	*stadʕu*
2PL	*stadʕētu ~ stadʕītu*	*tistadʕu*	
1PL	*stadʕēna ~ stadʕīna*	*nistadʕu*	

Example:
staḥla – yistaḥla   "to consider sth. good"[548]

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547 The final vowel is expected to be variable, dependent on the extent of the final *imāla* (see 2.1.2.1.3 on the *imāla*). However, there is only one example of a verbal pattern attested in the corpus, and its C₂, which precedes the final vowel, is *ʕ*, making it more probable to block a final *imāla* to *ē/ī*.

548 Cf. Marçais/Jelloûli (1932: 206): *staḥla* "trouver doux; trouver agréable; prendre plaisir à".

3.6.3.8. Pattern XI

The pattern is $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3 - yiC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ (OA pattern XI $iC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3C_3a - yaC_1C_2\bar{a}C_3C_3u$). Characteristic for this pattern is the long vowel $\bar{a}$ between C_2 and C_3 in the perfect and imperfect form. This long vowel is shortened to i (and u if emphatic C_2/C_3) with consonant-initial suffixes: *swād* "he became black" > *swidna* "we became black". The prefix vowel of the imperfect form is i.[549] The imperative form is formed without the prefix vowel: *yiḥmāṛ > ḥmāṛ!* "Become red[SG.M]!".

This pattern is used for talking about colors: *byāḏ̣ – yibyāḏ̣* "to whiten" and for taking on a characteristic: *ṭwāl – yiṭwāl* "to become long/tall".

W. Marçais (1950: 198) describes the $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ verbal pattern as typical for Maghrebi Arabic varieties.

Pattern XI verbs with regular and medial weak roots are attested. Both groups have the same inflection.

ḥmāṛ – yiḥmāṛ "to become red"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ḥmāṛ*	*yiḥmāṛ*	
3SG.F	*ḥmāṛit*	*tiḥmāṛ*	
2SG.M	*ḥmuṛt ~ ḥmuṛᵘt*	*tiḥmāṛ*	*ḥmāṛ*
2SG.F	*ḥmuṛti*	*tiḥmāṛi*	*ḥmāṛi*
1SG	*ḥmuṛt ~ ḥmuṛᵘt*	*niḥmāṛ*	
3PL	*ḥmāṛu*	*yiḥmāṛu*	
2PL	*ḥmuṛtu*	*tiḥmāṛu*	*ḥmāṛu*
1PL	*ḥmuṛna*	*niḥmāṛu*	

Examples:

byāḏ̣ – yibyāḏ̣	"to whiten"
swǟd – yiswǟd	"to become black"
ṭwāl – yiṭwāl	"to become tall"
ḏ̣lām – yiḏ̣lām	"to darken"
kḥǟl – yikḥǟl	"to become black"

Originally pattern VIII medial weak verbs (see 3.6.3.6) are inflected like pattern XI verbs. The participle pattern is $miC_1t\bar{a}C_3$: *miṣṭād ~ miṣṣād* "have hunted[SG.M]", *mirtāḥ* "relaxed[SG.M]".

ṣṭād – yiṣṭād "to hunt"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ṣṭād ~ ṣṣād*	*yiṣṭād ~ yiṣṣād*	
3SG.F	*ṣṭādit ~ ṣṣādit*	*tiṣṭād ~ tiṣṣād*	

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549 In Douz Arabic the prefix vowel is normally *i*, and mostly *u* before emphatic consonants (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 383). In the NA corpus, no examples of the prefix *u* are attested.

2SG.M	*ṣṣitt*[550]	*tišṭād ~ tiṣṣād*	*ṣṭād ~ ṣṣād*
2SG.F	*ṣṣitti*	*tišṭād ~ tiṣṣād*	*ṣṭādi*
			~ ṣṣādi
1SG	*ṣṣitt*	*nišṭād ~ niṣṣād*	
3PL	*ṣṭādu ~ ṣṣādu*	*yišṭādu ~ yiṣṣādu*	
2PL	*ṣṣittu*	*tišṭādu ~ tiṣṣādu*	*ṣṭādu*
			~ ṣṣādu
1PL	*ṣṣidna*	*nišṭādu ~ niṣṣādu*	

Often, the infix *t* is assimilated to C$_1$ *ṣ*: *yiṣṣād* (< *yišṭād*). In the first and second persons perfect form the assimilated version is the only possible variant: *ṣṣidna* (< *ṣṭidna*).

Example:

rtāḥ – yirtāḥ   "to rest, to relax"

3.6.3.9. Combined verb patterns

In NA combinations of patterns X and III and patterns X and V are attested. For cross forms of verb patterns in Arabic varieties see Lentin (2022).

3.6.3.9.1. Pattern X + III

The attested medial weak verb of the root *x - y - l* has the pattern *stC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$ – yistC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$*. The participle pattern is *mistC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$*: *mistxāyil ~ missxāyil* "imagining[SG.M]".

stxāyl – yistxāyl ~ ssxāyl – yissxāyl "to think, to imagine"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*stxāyil ~ ssxāyil*	*yistxāyil*	
		~ yissxāyil	
3SG.F	*stxāylit ~ ssxāylit*	*tistxāyil*	
		~ tissxāyil	
2SG.M	*stxāyilⁱt ~ ssxāyilⁱt*	*tistxāyil*	not in use
		~ tissxāyil	
2SG.F	*stxāyilti*	*tistxāyli*	
	~ ssxāyilti	*~ tissxāyli*	
1SG	*stxāyilⁱt ~ ssxāyilⁱt*	*nistxāyil*	
		~ nissxāyil	
3PL	*stxāylu ~ ssxāylu*	*yistxāylu*	
		~ yissxāylu	
2PL	*stxāyiltu*	*tistxāylu*	
	~ ssxāyiltu	*~ tissxāylu*	
1PL	*stxāyilna*	*nistxāylu*	
	~ ssxāyilna	*~ nissxāylu*	

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[550] < *ṣtidt*.

The consonant *t* of the prefix *st-* is often assimilated to *s*: *yissxāyil* (< *yistxāyil*).[551]

3.6.3.9.2. Pattern X + V

The pattern of the attested final weak verb of the root *ʔ - n - y* is *staC₂C₂a* – *yistaC₂C₂a*.[552] The participle form pattern is *mistaC₂C₂i*: *mistanni ~ missanni* "waiting[SG.M]".

stanna – yistanna ~ ssanna – yissanna "to wait"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*stanna ~ ssanna*	*yistanna* *~ yissanna*	
3SG.F	*stannit ~ ssannit*	*tistanna* *~ tissanna*	
2SG.M	*stannēt ~ stannīt* *~ ssannēt* *~ ssannīt*	*tistanna* *~ tissanna*	*stanna ~ ssanna*
2SG.F	*stannēti ~ stannīti* *~ ssannēti* *~ ssannīti*	*tistanni* *~ tissanni*	*stanni ~ ssanni*
1SG	*stannēt ~ stannīt* *~ ssannēt* *~ ssannīt*	*nistanna* *~ nissanna*	
3PL	*stannu ~ ssannu*	*yistannu* *~ yissannu*	
2PL	*stannētu* *~ stannītu* *~ ssannētu* *~ ssannītu*	*tistannu* *~ tissannu*	*stannu ~ ssannu*
1PL	*stannēna* *~ stannīna* *~ ssannēna* *~ ssannīna*	*nistannu* *~ nissannu*	

The forms with an assimilation of *t* to *s* as in *yissanna* (< *yistanna*) are attested for speakers from Zaga.[553]

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[551] Cf. Singer (1984: 398) on the form *sxâyil* in Tunis Arabic: "Die Entwicklung von *st-* > *ss-/ˢs-* ist zwar in T-M [Muslim variety of Tunis] nicht (wie z. B. in Tk [Takrouna] und Tanger) lautgesetzlich, aber in der Gruppierung *stx-* doch wohl als spontane Veränderung denkbar."

[552] Singer (1984: 398) categorizes the verb *stänna – yistännä* as a combination of the patterns X and II, however pattern II final weak verbs have the ending *-i* in the imperfect form, which is why the verb *yistanna* is a combination of patterns X and V.

[553] This verb is attested with a *st > ss* assimilation in the Algerian varieties of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 586) and Oran (cf. Guerrero 2016: 279).

3.6.3.10. *t*-Pattern

The innovative *t*-pattern, which expresses the reflexive-passive voice of pattern I in NA, has replaced OA pattern VII: *šṛab* "he drank" > *tⁱšṛab* "it was drunk". It is formed by prefixing of *t* to the perfect pattern.

3.6.3.10.1. Formation of the reflexive-passive verb in Tunisian varieties

W. Marçais (1950: 215) argues that the *n*-passive (i.e. pattern VII) is used in the majority of Sulaym-type Tunisian Bedouin varieties, whereas their Hilāl-type counterparts and Tunisian sedentary varieties use the *t*-passive:

> "La plupart des parlers S [Sulaym] emploient comme passif réfléchi du premier thème une forme *enf'al* [sic] reportant au prototype classique *infa'al* [sic] ; dans la majorité sinon dans l'ensemble des parlers H [Hilāl], on retrouve la forme dialectale à *t* initial qui est aussi celle des parlers sédentaires."

With regard to Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties and sedentary varieties, they in fact have the *t*-passive, as described by W. Marçais.[554] On the other hand, only the southern group of Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties is hitherto attested and they show a variation of *n*- and *t*-passive forms.[555]

As for the northern group of Sulaym-type varieties, unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project show that the *t*-passive is used all across the region (Northwest Tunisian governorates of Jendouba and Béja), Nefza being part of them. This situation does not conform W. Marçais' statement.

Lastly, Ph. Marçais (1977: 62) remarks that pattern VII (i.e. the *n*-passive) is rare in Tunisia, and that the *t*-pattern "est très employé en Tunisie et au Maroc, et dans les parlers bédouins en général." (Ph. Marçais 1977: 66).

3.6.3.10.2. Regular roots

Regular *t*-pattern verbs have the pattern $tⁱC_1C_2iC_3 – yitⁱC_1C_2íC_3 \sim tⁱC_1C_2aC_3 – yitⁱC_1C_2áC_3$, with the stem vowel *i* for pattern I verbs with the perfect stem vowel *i* and the stem vowel *a* for pattern I verbs with the perfect stem vowels *a* and *u*. A peculiarity of the *t*-pattern is that the stem vowel is identical in the perfect and imperfect form: *šṛab – yušṛub* > *tⁱšṛab – yitⁱšṛáb* "to be drunk", *ktib – yiktib* > *tⁱktib – yitⁱktíb* "to be written", *nṭuq – yunṭuq* > *tⁱnṭaq – yitⁱnṭáq* "to

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554 See, for instance, the Hilāl-type Bedouin variety of El Kef (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340) and the sedentary varieties of Sousse (cf. Talmoudi 1980: 103) and Tunis (cf. Singer 1984: 364f.).

555 Only the *n*-passive (i.e. pattern VII) is used in Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 360f.), whereas in Tozeur Arabic the passive form can be formed with both *n*- and *t*- prefixes (cf. Saada 1984: 59). Moreover, in Belkhir Arabic three kinds of passive forms are used: the internal passive form as well as the *t*-passive and the pattern VII (i.e. *n*-passive) (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298). A variation is found among the different varieties of Djerba as well: "In IA [Ibadi Arabic] und MAH [Maliki Arabic of Houmt Souk] herrscht als Präfix *tə-* vor, in den jüngeren MA [Maliki Arabic]-Dialekten wird dieses von *n-* in MAA [Maliki Arabic of ʕAbābsa] von *n-* und *l-* konkurriert." (Behnstedt 1998: 68).

be pronounced". The stress is – unlike pattern I verbs – on the stem vowel: *yitⁱktíb* "it is written".

Additionally to the 3SG.F and 3PL perfect forms (as is the case for pattern I regular verbs), the vowel change in the $C_1aC_2C_3$- pattern to $C_1uC_2C_3$- ~ $C_1iC_2C_3$- (see 2.5.1) also affects the 3SG.F and all plural imperfect forms in the *t*-pattern, with the same vowel (*u* or *i*) as in the pattern I form: *šuṛbit* "she drank" > *tšuṛbit* "she was drunk", *nitšuṛbu* "we are drunk". The variants without the vowel change (*tšaṛbit*, *nitšaṛbu*) are less frequent and are new variants used by some young and urban middle-aged speakers.

tⁱšṛab – yitⁱšṛáb "to be drunk"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tⁱšṛab*	*yitⁱšṛáb*	
3SG.F	*tšuṛbit ~ tšaṛbit*	*titⁱšṛáb*	
2SG.M	*tⁱšṛabt ~ tⁱšṛabⁱt*	*titⁱšṛáb*	not in use
2SG.F	*tⁱšṛabti*	*titšuṛbi ~ titšaṛbi*	
1SG	*tⁱšṛabt ~ tⁱšṛabⁱt*	*nitⁱšṛáb*	
3PL	*tšuṛbu ~ tšaṛbu*	*yitšuṛbu*	
		~ yitšaṛbu	
2PL	*tⁱšṛabtu*	*titšuṛbu*	
		~ titšaṛbu	
1PL	*tⁱšṛabna*	*nitšuṛbu*	
		~ nitšaṛbu	

Examples:

tⁱḥrag – yitⁱḥrág	"to be burned"
tⁱxṭab – yitⁱxṭab	"to get engaged (woman)"
tⁱzraʕ – yitⁱzráʕ	"to be cultivated"
tⁱġsal – yitⁱġsál ~ tixsál – yitⁱxsál	"to be washed"
tⁱgraṣ – yitⁱgráṣ	"to be stung"
tⁱglib – yitⁱglíb	"to be turned"
tⁱktib – yitⁱktíb	"to be written"
tⁱnsiž – yitⁱnsíž	"to be woven"
tⁱnṭaq – yitⁱnṭáq	"to be pronounced"

3.6.3.10.3 Geminated roots

Verbs with a geminated root have the pattern $tC_1aC_2C_2 – yitC_1áC_2C_2$. The imperfect vowel is always *a*, in accordance with the perfect vowel.

tlamm – yitlámm "to be gathered"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tlamm*	*yitlámm*	
3SG.F	*tlammit*	*titlámm*	

2SG.M	*tlammēt*	*titlámm*	not in use
	~ tlammīt		
2SG.F	*tlammēti*	*titlámmi*	
	~ tlammīti		
1SG	*tlammēt*	*nitlámm*	
	~ tlammīt		
3PL	*tlammu*	*yitlámmu*	
2PL	*tlammētu*	*titlámmu*	
	~ tlammītu		
1PL	*tlammēna*	*nitlámmu*	
	~ tlammīna		

Example:
tlaff – yitláff   "to be wrapped"

3.6.3.10.4. C₁ ʔ

The verbs of the root *ʔ - k - l* and *ʔ - x - ḏ* have a remarkable *t*-pattern form: *ⁱtC₂iC₃ – yitC₂íC₃ ~ yittⁱC₂íC₃*. In both the perfect and imperfect form C₁ ʔ is dropped. The anaptyctic vowel before *t* of the perfect forms is not always realized.

ⁱtkil – yitkíl "to be eaten"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ⁱtkil*	*yitkíl ~ yittⁱkil*	
3SG.F	*ⁱttiklit ~ tiklit*	*titkíl ~ tittⁱkíl*	
2SG.M	*ⁱtkilt ~ ⁱtkilⁱt*	*titkíl ~ tittⁱkíl*	not in use
2SG.F	*ⁱtkilti*	*tittikli*	
1SG	*ⁱtkilt ~ ⁱtkilⁱt*	*nitkíl ~ nittⁱkíl*	
3PL	*ⁱttiklu ~ tiklu*	*yittiklu*	
2PL	*ⁱtkiltu*	*tittiklu*	
1PL	*ⁱtkilna*	*nittiklu*	

Example:
ⁱtxíḏ – yitxíḏ ~ yittⁱxíḏ   "to sustain damage, get in a very bad condition"[556]

The form *yitkíl* is also attested for El Kef Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340), whereas for Tunis Arabic the forms *yitteklâ* (cf. Singer 1984: 365) and *yittākil* (cf. Gibson 2009: 568) are attested.

3.6.3.10.5. Initial weak roots

Only one C₁ *w* verb is attested in the corpus: *tūlíd – yitwlíd* "to be born". C₁ *w* is lengthened to *ū* in the perfect form, except for forms with a vowel-initial ending, where *w* is retained: *tūlíd* "he was born" vs. *twildu* "they

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[556] In this meaning the pattern VIII form *yittâxeḏ* is used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 367).

were born". This verb conforms with the form attested for Tunis Arabic: *tūléd – yituléd* (cf. Singer 1984: 365).

tūlíd – yitwlíd "to be born"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tūlíd*	*yitwlíd*	not in use
3SG.F	*twildit*	*titwlíd*	
2SG.M	*tūlítt*[557]	*titwlíd*	not in use
2SG.F	*tūlítti*	*titwildi*	
1SG	*tūlítt*	*nitwlíd*	
3PL	*twildu*	*yitwildu*	
2PL	*tūlíttu*	*titwildu*	
1PL	*tūlídna*	*nitwildu*	

3.6.3.10.6. Medial weak roots

Medial weak verbs of the *t*-pattern have the pattern *tC₁āC₃ – yitC₁āC₃*. The long vowel of the perfect and imperfect form is identical.

Examples:

tbāʕ – yitbāʕ "to be sold"
dgāl – yidgāl[558] "to be said"

3.6.3.10.7. Final weak roots

Like pattern I final weak verbs (see 3.6.2.5.1), final weak *t*-pattern verbs have the peculiarity of a variation of the final *imāla*. The inflected verb *tⁱšrē* has the variants *tⁱšrā ~ tⁱšrē ~ tⁱšrī*, however, in the verb examples only the *tⁱC₁C₂ē* variant is given (for the sake of simplicity). The pattern is *tⁱC₁C₂ē – yitⁱC₁C₂ē*.

tⁱšrē – yitⁱšrē "to be bought"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tⁱšrā ~ tⁱšrē ~ tⁱšrī*	*yitⁱšrā ~ yitⁱšrē ~ yitⁱšrī*	
3SG.F	*tⁱšrit*	*titⁱšrā ~ titⁱšrē ~ titⁱšrī*	
2SG.M	*tⁱšrēt ~ tⁱšrīt*	*titⁱšrā ~ titⁱšrē ~ titⁱšrī*	not in use
2SG.F	*tⁱšrēti ~ tⁱšrīti*	*titⁱšrī*	
1SG	*tⁱšrēt ~ tⁱšrīt*	*nitⁱšrā ~ nitⁱšrē ~ nitⁱšrī*	
3PL	*tⁱšrū*	*yitⁱšrū*	
2PL	*tⁱšrētu ~ tⁱšrītu*	*titⁱšrū*	
1PL	*tⁱšrēna ~ tⁱšrīna*	*nitⁱšrū*	

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557 < *tūlidt*.

558 < *tgāl – yitgāl*.

Examples:

tⁱrḥē – yitⁱrḥē	"to be ground"
tⁱlḥē – yitⁱlḥē b-	"to take care of sb./sth., to look after sb./sth."
tⁱnsē – yitⁱnsē	"to be forgotten"

3.6.4. Quadriliteral verbs

Two types of quadriliteral verbs exist in NA: verbs with four different consonants ($C_1aC_2C_3iC_4$) and a reduplicated C_1 and C_2 ($C_1aC_2C_1iC_2$). No differences in the inflection exist between these two types.

Quadriliteral verbs have the perfect and imperfect vowels *a - i*.

3.6.4.1. Regular roots

The pattern is $C_1aC_2C_3iC_4 – yC_1aC_2C_3iC_4$. The participle form pattern is $mC_1aC_2C_3iC_4$: *mġaṛbil* "have sifted^SG.M, sifted^SG.M". The verbal noun pattern is $tC_1aC_2C_3īC_4$: *tzaġrīṭ* "utterance of trilling cries of joy", *tġaṛbīl* "sifting".

This pattern includes regular roots as well as C_3 *y* roots.

ġaṛbil – yġaṛbil[559] "to sift"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*ġaṛbil*	*yġaṛbil*	
3SG.F	*ġaṛⁱblit*	*tġaṛbil*	
2SG.M	*ġaṛbilt ~ ġaṛbilⁱt*	*tġaṛbil*	*ġaṛbil*
2SG.F	*ġaṛbilti*	*tġaṛⁱbli*	*ġaṛⁱbli*
1SG	*ġaṛbilt ~ ġaṛbilⁱt*	*nġaṛbil*	
3PL	*ġaṛⁱblu*	*yġaṛⁱblu*	
2PL	*ġaṛbiltu*	*tġaṛⁱblu*	*ġaṛⁱblu*
1PL	*ġaṛbilna*	*nġaṛⁱblu*	

Examples:

barbiš – ybarbiš[560]	"to rummage"[561]
zaġriṭ – yzaġriṭ	"to utter trilling cries of joy"
fadlik – yfadlik	"to joke"
farkis – yfarkis[562]	"to search"
faṛhid – yfaṛhid	"to amuse sb."
makyiž – ymakyiž[563]	"to make sb. up"

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559 < *ġuṛbāl* "sieve".

560 This verb has the sequence $C_1aC_2C_1iC_3$.

561 Cf. Bouaicha (1993: 622): *barbaš* "fouiller". In Sousse Arabic this verb means "to poke" (cf. Talmoudi 1980: 95).

562 Cf. Singer (1984: 400): *färkes* "suchen". In Annaba Arabic this verb has a different C₄: *fəṛkət, yfəṛkət* "chercher" (cf. Guerrero/Abdessemed 2019: 20). In Tripoli Arabic the verb *fəṛkəs* has the meaning "to be confused" (cf. Pereira 2010: 134).

563 < Fr. *maquillage* "make-up".

3.6.4.2. *C₁ōC₃iC₄, C₁ēC₃iC₄*

This pattern is formed in analogy to pattern III (see 3.6.3.3). Singer (1984: 381f.) classifies the *C₁ūC₃iC₄ / C₁īC₃iC₄* pattern among pattern III verbs.

Many verbs of this pattern are verbalized loanwords. The long vowels *ō* and *ē*[564] in the patterns *C₁ōC₃iC₄ – yC₁ōC₃iC₄* and *C₁ēC₃iC₄ – yC₁ēC₃iC₄* mirror the pronunciation of the loanword: Fr. *régler > yrēgil*.

The participle pattern is *mC₁ōC₃iC₄* and *mC₁ēC₃iC₄*: *mrēgil* "set up[SG.M]".

rēgil – yrēgil[565] "to set up, to fix up"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*rēgil*	*yrēgil*	
3SG.F	*rēglit*	*trēgil*	
2SG.M	*rēgilt ~ rēgilⁱt*	*trēgil*	*rēgil*
2SG.F	*rēgilti*	*trēgli*	*rēgli*
1SG	*rēgilt ~ rēgilⁱt*	*nrēgil ~ ⁱrrēgil*	
3PL	*rēglu*	*yrēglu*	
2PL	*rēgiltu*	*trēglu*	*rēglu*
1PL	*rēgilna*	*nrēglu ~ ⁱrrēglu*	

The prefix *n-* of the 1SG and 1PL imperfect forms is often assimilated to C₁ *r*: *ⁱrrēglu* (< *nrēglu*).

Examples[566]:

šōšiṭ – yšōšiṭ	"to singe the fine hair off the carcass of an animal (e.g. cow, sheep) when slaughtering"
ṣōgir – yṣōgir[567]	"to smoke"

3.6.4.3. Final weak roots

The attested final weak quadriliteral verbs are loanwords. Their pattern is *C₁aC₂C₃a – yC₁aC₂C₃i*. The perfect ending *-a* and the imperfect ending *-i* is a feature these verbs share with pattern II and III final weak verbs (see 3.6.1.2.1.5 and 3.6.1.2.2.4).

Example:

šaṛža – yšaṛži[568]   "to charge (battery)"

Moreover, *ṣōna – yṣōni*[569] "to ring" is a double weak verb (C₂ *w* and C₄ *y*) and its inflection is a combination of C₂ *w/y* verbs (see 3.6.4.2) and final weak verbs.

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564 In Tunis Arabic *ū* and *ī* (cf. Singer 1984: 381f.).

565 < Fr. *régler* "to adjust, to settle, to fix".

566 Both attested examples have the pattern *C₁ōC₃iC₄ – yC₁ōC₃iC₄*.

567 < It. *sigaro* "cigar".

568 < Fr. *charger* "to charge".

569 < Fr. *sonner* "to ring".

3.6.4.4. Reduplicated roots

The pattern is $C_1aC_2C_1iC_2 – yC_1aC_2C_1iC_2$. The participle form pattern is $mC_1aC_2C_1iC_2$: *mdagdig* "has destroyed[SG.M], destroyed[SG.M]". The attested verbal nouns have the patterns $tC_1aC_2C_1\bar{\imath}C_2$ and $C_1iC_2C_1\bar{\imath}C_2$, the latter corresponding to the verbal noun pattern of pattern II verbs (see 3.6.2.1.2)[570]: *tkarkīr* "dragging", *digdīg* "destroying".

Many of the verbs with a reduplicated root are onomatopoetic: *dagdig* "to destroy".

karkir – ykarkir "to drag"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*karkir*	*ykarkir*	
3SG.F	*kar^ikrit*	*tkarkir*	
2SG.M	*karkirt ~ karkir^it*	*tkarkir*	*karkir*
2SG.F	*karkirti*	*tkar^ikri*	*kar^ikri*
1SG	*karkirt ~ karkir^it*	*nkarkir*	
3PL	*kar^ikru*	*ykar^ikru*	
2PL	*karkirtu*	*tkar^ikru*	*kar^ikru*
1PL	*karkirna*	*nkar^ikru*	
		~ kkar^ikru	

Examples:

dagdig – ydagdig	"to destroy, to ruin, to break"
kaskis – ykaskis[571]	"to sieve couscous"
maḍmiḍ – ymaḍmiḍ[572]	"to rinse, to gurgle"
wakwik – ywakwik	"to stutter"

3.6.4.5. Reflexive-passive pattern

The reflexive-passive pattern of quadriliteral verbs has the prefix *t-*[573] and the vowels *a - i*, similar to pattern V (see 3.6.1.2.3).

3.6.4.5.1. Regular roots

Quadriliteral roots of the sequences $C_1aC_2C_3iC_4$, $C_1aC_2C_1iC_2$ and $C_1aC_2C_1iC_3$ are part of this group, as their inflection is identical. The pattern is $tCaCCiC – yitCaCCiC$. The pattern of the participle form is $mitCaCCiC$:

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570 The only $C_1iC_2C_1\bar{\imath}C_2$ verbal noun is attested for a C_1 *d* verb, thus this might possibly be the reason why the expected $tC_1aC_2C_1\bar{\imath}C_2$ pattern is reduced to $C_1iC_2C_1\bar{\imath}C_2$.

571 < *kus^uksi* "couscous".

572 In Tunis Arabic with the vowels *a - a*: *maḍmaḍ – imaḍmaḍ* (cf. Singer 1984: 401).

573 See D'Anna (2024) for the origin and spread of passive verb forms with the *t-* prefix in North African and Egyptian Arabic.

mitfaṛhid "amused[SG.M]", *mitsafsir*[574] "wearing[SG.M] *sifsāri*". The pattern of the verbal noun is *tCaCCīC*: *tfaṛhīd* "amusement, fun".

tfaṛhid – yitfaṛhid "to be amused, to have fun"

	PFV	IPFV	IMP
3SG.M	*tfaṛhid*	*yitfaṛhid*	
3SG.F	*tfaṛⁱhdit*	*titfaṛhid*	
2SG.M	*ⁱtfaṛhitt*[575]	*titfaṛhid*	*tfaṛhid*
2SG.F	*tfaṛhitti*	*titfaṛⁱhdi*	*tfaṛⁱhdi*
1SG	*ⁱtfaṛhitt*	*nitfaṛhid*	
3PL	*tfaṛⁱhdu*	*yitfaṛⁱhdu*	
2PL	*tfaṛhittu*	*titfaṛⁱhdu*	*tfaṛⁱhdu*
1PL	*tfaṛhidna*	*nitfaṛⁱhdu*	

Examples:

tsafsir – yitsafsir	"to wear *sifsāri* (traditional white veil)"
tfazʕik – yitfazʕik	"to show off, to boast, to brag"
tmanyik – yitmanyik ʕlā	"to mock sb."[576]

3.6.4.5.2. Final weak roots

The pattern is *tC₁aC₂C₃a – yitC₁aC₂C₃a*. The imperfect ending is *-a*, whereas in Tunis Arabic the imperfect pattern ends in *-i* (cf. Singer 1984: 403f.). In analogy to active quadriliteral final weak verbs (see 3.6.4.3), their passive counterparts are formed from foreign terms as well.

Examples:

tšaṛža – yitšaṛža[577]	"to get charged (battery)"
tlanṣa – yitlanṣa	"to become famous; to become good at sth.; to become ʿrefinedʾ after moving from the countryside to the city"[578]

3.6.5. Auxiliary verbs

3.6.5.1. *miz-zāl*

The auxiliary verb *miz-zāl* (< *mā-zāl*) means "still", and is fully inflected, in agreement with its antecedent: **miz-zālit** *žīʕāna.* "She is still hungry.", **miz-zilna** *tāʕbīn.* "We are still tired."

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574 De facto only used in the female form (*mitsafⁱsra*), as the *sifsāri* is a female clothing item.

575 < *tfaṛhidt*.

576 Also attested for Tripoli Arabic (cf. Pereira 2010: 135f.).

577 < Fr. *charger* "to charge".

578 Also attested for Tunis Arabic: *tḷanṣa – yitḷanṣi* "sich lanzieren, führend werden" (cf. Singer 1984: 403f.).

When used in a negative sentence, *miz-zāl* means "not yet": **miz-zilt** *mā-nidrī-š.* "I don't know yet.", **miz-zālu** *mā-žū-š.* "They haven't come yet."

In combination with the conjunction *kī* "when" and a verb in the perfect form, it means "just now": **miz-zilt kī** *fiqt m-in-nōm.* "I have just woken up now."

Fischer et al. (2023: 13-22, 38-41) analyze the expression *māzāl* in Tunisian Arabic.

3.6.5.2. *mā-ʕād-š*

The auxiliary verb *mā-ʕād-š*[579] ~ *mā-ʕāš-š* means "not anymore" and is often used invariably: *gālu* **mā-ʕāš-š** *tuxṛuž!* "They said: ʾDon't go out[SG.M] anymore!ʾ", **mā-ʕāš-š** *naʕᵢmlōha.* "We don't do it anymore." In Tunis Arabic the invariable form *mā-ʕād-š* is mostly used as well:

> "La négation *mā-εād-š* semble semi-grammaticalisée, puisque le verb ne connaît d'autres voix conjuguées qu'à la troisième féminine du singulier et à la troisième plurielle […]." (Mion 2013: 62)

Its inflected forms are used as well, however mostly by rural and old speakers: *mā-gutt-lik-š* **mā-ʕuttī-š** *ṭhuṭṭāha.* "I didn't tell you[SG.F] not to put it anymore." Out of all the inflected forms, the 3SG.F form *mā-ʕādit-š* is the most frequently used one: **mā-ʕād-š** *žīʕāna.* ~ **mā-ʕādit-š** *žīʕāna.* "She isn't hungry anymore."

As regards the ratio of inflected and invariable forms of *mā-ʕād-š* in Douz Arabic, Fischer et al. (2023: 46) state:

> "In quantitative terms, petrified and agreeing forms are essentially on a par: of the 55 tokens for which a subject other than 3SG.M can be clearly established in the southern Bedouin corpus, 27 (49.1%) feature person-number-gender indexes, and 28 (50.9%) do not."

Among attested constructions with *mā-ʕād-š*, it is used in combination with the preposition *ʕlā* with a pronominal suffix to express lack of time: **mā-ʕāš-š** **ʕlīya** *bikri.* "I don't have time anymore (lit. ʾIt isn't early for me anymore.ʾ).", **mā-ʕāš-š ʕlīya** *waqᵢt.* "I don't have time anymore."

Next to *mā-ʕād-š*, the synonymous forms *mā-gʕad-š* and *mā-bqā-š*[580] are attested for speakers from Zaga. The form *mā-ʕād-š* ~ *mā-ʕāš-š* is most commonly used to express the meaning "not anymore"[581], while the other two

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[579] Next to the 35 instances of the form *mā-ʕād-š* in the corpus, the variant *mā-ʕā̈d-š* (with a medial *imāla*) is attested once in the corpus.

[580] The form *mā-bqā-š(i)* ~ *mā-bāqȩ̄-š(i)* is predominantly used in Moroccan Arabic (cf. Ph. Marçais 1977: 263).

[581] The form *mā-ʕād-š* and its inflected forms (*mā-ʕādit-š, mā-ʕuttī-š* etc.) are attested 46 times in the corpus.

alternative forms *mā-gʕad-š* and *mā-bqā-š* seem to be marginal due to their rare occurrence in the corpus.[582]

Fischer et al. (2023: 43-48) analyze the expression *māʕād(š)* in Tunisian Arabic.

3.6.6. Copula

3.6.6.1. *yʕūd*

The most common copula in NA is *yʕūd*, which to the best of my knowledge is hitherto undocumented for Tunisian Arabic varieties: *ngūlu l-aktāf kī **tʕūd** ʕindna l-ⁱmʕārif.* "We say ʿshoulders' (i.e. connections) when we have acquaintances.", *kī **tʕūd** titḥaddiṯ yāsir* "when she speaks a lot", ***tʕūd** il-xidma miz-zālit miš kāmla w-hūw miz-zāl gāʕid: baṛṛa imši kammil xidⁱmtik!* "When the work is not complete yet and he is still sitting (I tell him): ʿGo finish your work!'", *wāḥid **yʕūd** ʕindu* angine "when someone has angina", *w-il-miṭṭahhir **yʕūd** ʕindah il-kabbūs mtāʕu.* "And the circumcised (boy) has his *kabbūs* (hat)."

The imperfect prefix *y-* of the form *yʕūd* can be dropped after *-ī* of the preceding word: *iš-šqaf kī **ʕūd** buḷḷāṛ. kī **ʕūd** plāstīk ngūlū-lah dabbūza.* "(We call it) *šqaf* when it is glass (bottle). When it is plastic (bottle), we call it *dabbūza*."

In Jijel Arabic *ʕâd* is used as an auxiliary verb meaning "to start doing sth.": *ʕâd išîr f-əl-ʕâṛ* "il commença à se répandre en propos désobligeants" (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 153f.), but not as a copula.

3.6.6.2. *yabda*

The verb *yabda* (originally meaning "to start") used as a copula is mostly attested for young and urban middle-aged speakers. Thus, it is probably an influence of Tunis Arabic, where the copula *yibdä* is used (cf. Singer 1984: 317). Examples are: *hāḏāya nistaʕⁱmlūh kī **yabda** wāḥid ʕandu sxāna.* "We use this (traditional medicine) when someone has fever.", *yilzimna ẓ-ẓġāṛ il-kull **nabdu** lābsīn ṛwib ⁱždīda.* "All of us children have to be wearing new dresses.", *nṣubbu minnah kī **nabdu** miz-zilna ṣāhrīn.* "We poor from it when we still stay up late and hang out."

The copulas *yʕūd* (see 3.6.6.1) and *yabda* are also both attested within a single sentence: *kī **yʕūdu** guddāmi, **nabda** ḥāfḏithum.* "When they are in front of me, I (can) recollect them."

For the copula *yabda* in Tunisian and Northwest Libyan Arabic varieties see Benkato/Pereira (2021).

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[582] The form *mā-gʕad-š* is attested four times and the form *mā-bqā-š* three times in my corpus.

3.6.7. Future markers

In NA a variation of future markers is used: *tā-*, *bāš*, *māš* and *taww*.[583]

3.6.7.1. *tā-*

In NA *tā-* is the more local future marker[584], which is used by all speakers, however mostly by rural and old speakers: *wiškūn **tā**-yhizz il-qaḍya?* "Who will take the purchase?", ***tā**-nžīb zōz bayyāḍa.* "I will bring two painters.", *il-ʕaṛka **tā**-tit'nsē.* "The quarrel will be forgotten."

The form *tā* is also the most frequent future marker in Douz Arabic, next to the less frequently used form *bāš* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 400). In Morocco, *tā-* is a durative verbal marker (cf. Aguadé 2018: 58).

3.6.7.2. *bāš*

The future marker *bāš ~ biš* (< *māši*[585] "going") is predominantly used by urban and young NA speakers and is a newer form: ***bāš** nžū.* "We will come.", ***biš** nimšū-lha ġudwa.* "We will go to her tomorrow.", *iš **biš** yaʕmlū-lu?* "What will they do to him?".

The abbreviated form *š* is attested for a young urban speaker: *ʕandi ḥāžāt **š** ngūlhum-lik.* "I have things that I will tell you." Moreover, the form *buš* is attested once: ***buš** txalli dāṛ bōha.* "She (the bride) will leave her father's house."

The future marker *bāš ~ biš* is widespread among Tunisian varieties, see e.g. Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 310) and El Kef Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 340).

In South Tunisian Belkhir Arabic a variation of the forms *tā ~ bāš* is attested as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 299). Furthermore, in the variety of Tbainia, which is located some 55km from Nefza, a situation similar to the one in NA is found: "*tā-* in Tbainia was characterised as used by the elderly, whereas nowadays *bāš* or *biš* are preferred." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 42).

The form *bāš ~ biš* is also used as a conjunction meaning "in order to" (see 3.3.7).

3.6.7.3. *māš*

The future marker *māš ~ miš* is the least frequently attested future marker in the corpus[586] and mostly used by rural middle-aged and old speakers: ***māš***

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583 Mion (2017) analyzes the typology of the future markers in Tunis Arabic, including *bāš*, *māš(i)*, *taw* and *qrīb*.

584 In contrast to *bāš ~ biš* (see 3.6.7.2), which is a more modern form.

585 With a shift of *m* to *b* (cf. Singer 1980: 252).

586 The future marker *māš ~ miš* is attested 13 times in the corpus, whereas the future marker *bāš ~ biš* is attested 65 times and the future marker *tā-* 33 times.

taržaʕ. "She will return.", ***mā̆š** nimši nžību.* "I will go and bring it/him.", ***mā̆š**
ᵗṭṣubb in-naww.* "It will rain.", *iš **miš** yṭayyib?* "What will he cook?".

It is interesting that the future marker *mā̆š ~ miš*, which has the same
etymology as *bā̆š ~ biš* (3.6.7.2), is seldomly attested in the corpus and rather
rural, whereas *bā̆š ~ biš* is frequently used and rather modern.

As regards a wider geographical context, the future marker *miš* is used in
the Northwest Tunisian variety of Ouled Slama (Testour) (cf. Oueslati 2022:
75). Moreover, the use of the future marker *mā̆š ~ miš* is confirmed for the
following Northwest Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties examined in the
TUNOCENT project:

> "In the governorate of Kef we find *mā̆š* (with its only occurrence in
> the whole corpus in Ain Ksiba) and *miš* in Shmeysiya and Sers. We also
> have scattered use of miš in the governorate of Beja, but most frequently
> in the governorate of Siliana." (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 42f.)

3.6.7.4. *(hā)taww*

The future marker *taww ~ (h)ātaww* indicates the speaker's intention in the
near future: ***taww** nwaṛṛīk it-tṣāwir.* "I will show you the photos.", ***taww** ngūl
fi-bḷāṣtik.* "I will say instead of you.", ***taww** tiḥkī-lik hīya waḥḥadha.* "She will
tell you by herself.", ***hātaww** džīb xōha.* "She will bring her brother."

The form *täuwä* (*täu* in pausa) is used in Tunis Arabic "wenn sich die
Aussage in der Zeitstufe der Zukunft bewegt oder ganz allgemein in die Ferne
weist" (cf. Singer 1984: 640f.), among other functions.

Regarding the prefix *(h)ā-*, the form variation *taww ~ hattāw ~ hattā* is
attested for Douz Arabic as well (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 400f.).

4. Conclusion

After the detailed grammar description of NA, in the concluding part of this study, the research questions raised in the introductory part shall be answered:

1. Is the classification of NA as a Tunisian Bedouin-type variety valid (see W. Marçais 1950)? To what extent does NA contain linguistic features described by W. Marçais (1950) as typical of the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties?

2. To what extent does NA differ from the South Tunisian Arabic variety of the Maṛāzīg tribe in Douz (as a representative of the southern group of Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties)? Which features do they have in common? Can NA be considered equally conservative as the southern Sulaym-type varieties?

3. Does the examined variety contain any of the features typical of Tunisian Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties (listed by W. Marçais 1950)? If so, to which category of linguistic features do these belong (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical)?

4. Is the Arabic variety spoken in the town of Nefza different from the varieties of its rural surroundings (variation regarding rural and urban distribution)? If so, what kind of features does it mainly affect (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical)? What are the linguistic features all these varieties have in common?

5. Are there linguistic features in the speech of the middle-aged and older NA speakers which are given up in the speech of young NA speakers? If so, to which category of linguistic features do these belong (phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical), and from which variety are these counterparts adopted (urban Tunisian varieties, Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties, Standard Arabic, etc.)?

The above-mentioned research questions can be divided into two large topics: classification of NA as a Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin-type variety and the linguistic variation found in NA.

4.1. Classification of NA as a Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin-type Arabic variety

According to the classification of Tunisian Arabic varieties made by W. Marçais (1950), the Arabic variety spoken in the Northwest Tunisian Nefza region is supposed to be part of the northern group of the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic varieties: "[…] il [the Sulaym group] réapparaît dans les massifs montagneux limités, par la vallée de la Méjerda au Sud, et au Nord par la mer." (W. Marçais 1950: 214)

4.1.1. NA as a Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic variety?

The following table outlines the degree of congruence between the linguistic features listed by W. Marçais (1950: 212f.) as typical of Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic varieties (of both the Sulaym and Hilāl group, as opposed to their sedentary counterparts) and actual Nefza Arabic features, including examples from my corpus:

Features typical of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties listed by W. Marçais (1950: 212f.)	Nefza Arabic	See chapter for more details:
Realization of OA *q* as *g*	congruent (except for lexically conditioned exceptions)	2.1.1.3
2SG gender distinction in verbs and independent personal pronouns	congruent (*zīd* "Continue[SG.M]!" vs. *zīdi* "Continue[SG.F]!")	3.6.1, 3.1.1.1
Conjugation of final-weak verbs:	congruent (*mšit* "she went", *žū* "they came", *tansu* "you[PL] forget")	3.6.2.5
Vowel lengthening of the 3SG.F ending to -*ā*- (preceding a vowel-initial suffix)	congruent (*žābātik* "she brought you")	2.5.2
CvCC noun and adjective pattern:	to a limited extent (only by rural middle-aged and old NA speakers)	3.4.2.2.1

	(*gabⁱṛ* "grave", *tibⁱn* "straw", *ḥilw* "sweet", *ḥumᵘṛ* "red^PL")	
Plural patterns $C_1uC_2C_2iC_3$, $C_1iC_2C_2iC_3$, $mC_1aC_2C_2C_3a$, $C_1C_2iC_3C_3a$, $C_1aC_2C_3āwa$, $C_1aC_2C_3āwāt$, "pluriel de pluriels" $CCāwīC$	out of these plural patterns, only the "pluriel de pluriels" pattern is attested in my NA corpus (*nsāwīn* "women", *ḏṛāwīn* "children", *bnāwīt* "girls")	3.4.3.12
Diminutive patterns $C_1C_2ēC_3$ and $C_1C_2ēC_3īC_4$	the $C_1C_2ēC_3$ pattern is rarely attested, whereas the $C_1C_2ēC_3īC_4$ pattern, realized as $C_1C_2īC_3īC_4$ in NA, is common	3.4.5
Long *ī* in the final syllable of the plural pattern $C_1C_2āC_3īC_4$: *mfātīḥ* "keys"	congruent, but reduced in the speech of young and urban middle-aged female NA speakers	3.4.3.11
Typical vocabulary	only some of the list given by W. Marçais, such as *danna* "to do", *naww* "rain" and *kṛāʕ* "leg"	

The table above illustrates complete or a high level of congruence between four out of nine features mentioned by W. Marçais and NA: the realization of *q* as *g*, the 2SG gender distinction, the conjugation of final-weak verbs and the vowel lengthening of the 3SG.F ending. On the other hand, the remaining five features are found in NA in a reduced or very limited form. In all reduced features, the typical Bedouin features are replaced by forms W. Marçais describes as typical for Tunisian sedentary varieties and which are found in Tunis Arabic, indicating the leveling among (especially young) NA speakers towards prestigious Tunis Arabic (see 4.2).

4.1.2. NA as a Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic variety of the Sulaym group?
As initially mentioned, according to W Marçais' (1950) classification of Tunisian varieties, the Arabic variety spoken in the Northwest Tunisian Nefza region is supposed to belong to the northern group of the Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin Arabic varieties. The table below offers an overview of linguistic features described by W. Marçais (1950: 214f.) as typical of the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties as opposed to the Hilāl group. These

features are compared with the well-documented South Tunisian[587] Douz Arabic (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a) as a representative of the southern group of Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin Arabic varieties on one hand and NA as a presumed representative of the northern Sulaym group on the other hand.

Features typical of the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties listed by W. Marçais (1950: 214-216)	Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a)	Nefza Arabic	See chapter for more details:
Less clear articulation of emphatic sounds than the Hilāl group	not attested	not attested	/
Final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī*[a]	congruent (to *ē*)[588]	congruent (to *ē* and *ī* as free variants)	2.1.2.1.3.4
3SG.M pronominal suffix -*a(h)*	congruent (-*a*)[589]	congruent (reduced by young and urban middle-aged female speakers)	3.1.1.3
Vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables	congruent (in both verbs and nouns)[590]	congruent in verbs, and rare (lexically conditioned) in nouns	2.5.1
Passive-reflexive pattern *infʕal* (in	congruent (ʔ*nfʕal*)[592]	not attested (*t*-pattern is used)	3.6.3.10

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587 Due to the fact that there are hitherto no grammar descriptions of a northern Sulaym-type variety, a comparison with a southern Sulaym-type Arabic variety shall be drawn in this section.

588 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 31).

589 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 69).

590 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 60ff.).

592 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 360ff.).

most Sulaym varieties[591])			
2SG gender distinction in the pronominal suffix: -ak vs. -ik (in many Sulaym varieties)	congruent[593]	not attested (gender-indifferent suffix -ik)	3.1.1.3
2PL/3PL gender distinction in verbs and personal pronouns	congruent[594]	not attested (gender-indifferent forms)	3.6.1, 3.1.1.1
Retention of OA -ā as in xaḍrā "green^SG.F"	not attested (shortened to -a)[595]	not attested (shortened to -a)	
Feminine plural adjective forms as in smīnāt "fat^PL.F"	congruent[596]	not attested	
Distinction between the active and passive participle: mṛabbi "raise^AP.SG.M" vs. mṛabba "raise^PP.SG.M"	congruent[597]	not attested (no formal distinction)	3.6.3.1

As the table shows, only three out of the ten listed features supposedly typical of the Sulaym group are found in NA: the final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī*, the 3SG.M pronominal suffix *-a(h)* and the vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables.

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591 W. Marçais (1950: 215) argues that the *inf'al* pattern is found in most Sulaym varieties, however he does not specify which varieties are the exception: "La plupart des parlers S emploient comme passif réfléchi du premier thème une forme *enf'al* [sic] […]."

593 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 69).

594 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 286ff., 66).

595 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 275). However, this feature is found in the South Tunisian Bedouin-type variety of Belkhir: *ḍalmā* (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298).

596 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 216f.).

597 Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 332f.).

However, these three features are subject to leveling among young NA speakers who show an increasing tendency towards forms used in Tunis Arabic, i.e. *imāla* to *ā*, 3SG.M suffix *-u* and no vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables. With regard to the remaining seven features, they are not found in NA at all.

In contrast to NA, most of the features supposedly typical of the Sulaym group listed above are attested for the South Tunisian Bedouin variety of Douz, as shown in the table above. W. Marçais (1950: 215) states that the conservative features of Sulaym-type varieties seem to be more frequent in the southern than in the northern group: "Divers traits de conservatisme caractérisent les parlers du groupe S. Il semble qu'ils soient plus fréquents dans ceux du Sud que dans ceux du Nord de la Régence." This is in accordance with my data for NA, where not all features described by W. Marçais (1950) are found. The same holds true for other adjacent Arabic varieties of the governorates of Béja and Jendouba (according to unpublished data of the TUNOCENT project), in which the same typical Sulaym features seem to be absent like in NA.

4.1.3. Tunisian Hilāl-type Bedouin Arabic features in NA?

After recognizing that most (7/10) of the supposedly typical Sulaym features do not correspond to NA features, it is well worth taking a look at possible similarities between the features listed by W. Marçais (1950: 216) as typical of the Hilāl group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties and NA features. Regarding the listing of typical linguistic features of the Hilāl group made by W. Marçais (1950: 216), it is sparse and even shorter than the one of the Sulaym group (half a page versus one and a half page).

The most remarkable feature, which is common to the Hilāl group and NA, but is supposed to be a distinguishing feature between the Hilāl and Sulaym group, is the imperfect conjugation of the verbs *ʔ-k-l* "to eat" and *ʔ-x-ḏ* "to take" as well as the pronoun "other". According to W. Marçais (1950: 216), these three lexemes have *-ō-* in the Hilāl group and *-ā-* in the Sulaym group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties: *yōkul*, *yōxuḏ* and *ōxuṛ* as opposed to the forms *yākil*, *yāxuḏ* and *āxir* in the Sulaym group.

However, contradictory to W. Marçais' classification, a variation of the forms *yōkul ~ yākil*, *yōxuḏ ~ yāxiḏ* and *ōxuṛ ~ āxaṛ* is attested in my NA corpus. Interestingly, the *ō*-variants –supposedly typical of the Hilāl group – seem to be more original in NA than the *ā*-variants, as they are the predominantly used forms by rural NA speakers (see 3.6.2.6 and 3.1.6.3). On the other hand, urban – and especially young – NA speakers vary between both forms and show a tendency towards the *ā*-variants, which are also found in Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984: 353).

The lengthening of the pronoun *baʕḏ-* "each other" to *baʕḏā-* is another linguistic feature, which is described by W. Marçais (1950: 216) as typical for the Hilāl group and as not found in the Sulaym group. However, one instance of the lengthened form (*ʕlā baʕḏāha)* is attested in the NA corpus.

Besides the features listed by W. Marçais (1950), Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b: 355f.) quotes the indirect personal pronoun augmented with *-il* "used for suffixes starting with a consonant that is followed by a vowel, resulting in forms *-illi*, *-illik* and *-illu*" as a remarkable feature of the Hilāl-type Bedouin variety of Magsam Trab (Kasserine) and states that this feature is not found in the South Tunisian ("Sulaym") variety of Douz. Such forms are not attested for Tunis Arabic either (cf. Gibson 2009: 566), but they are found in NA, and are attested for NA speakers of all ages, but mostly rural speakers: *-illi*, *-illik*, *-illah* (see 3.1.1.3.2.2). This feature, which is to the best of my knowledge hitherto only attested for Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties within Tunisia, is commonly used in the supposedly Sulaym-type variety of the Nefza region, showing that W. Marçais' Sulaym – Hilāl classification is only restrictedly applicable to NA, which shows both typical Sulaym and Hilāl features.

4.2. Sociolinguistic variation

This section aims at outlining my observations concerning the sociolinguistic variation in Nefza Arabic, although the present study has a clear descriptive focus. Thus, the sociolinguistic variation in NA undoubtedly needs further investigation, taking into account both historical and current migration movements.

The data from my corpus indicate that young (both rural and urban) and urban middle-aged NA speakers partially use different forms than old and rural middle-aged NA speakers.[598] This holds true especially for young female NA speakers. The following subsections treat the direction and possible reasons for the language leveling among those speakers and summarize the linguistic categories affected by the leveling.[599] Moreover, I touch upon diatopic, age-related and gender-related variation found in my corpus of Nefza Arabic.

4.2.1. Direction of the leveling

Regarding the direction of the leveling I observed among young and urban middle-aged NA speakers, it happens towards the prestigious Tunis Arabic, and not towards another Bedouin-type variety or MSA. This represents a

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598 For the definition of the terms "leveling" as well as "young", "middle-aged", "old", "urban" and "rural" speakers as used in this thesis, see 1.5.

599 This topic was presented as a talk with the title "Language variation in the Arabic variety of Nefza (Northwest Tunisia)" at the conference "Arabic in Africa: Historical and Sociolinguistic Perspectives" on April 12th, 2023, in Bayreuth, Germany.

common development among Tunisian Arabic varieties, which is not limited to Tunisian varieties, but is found across the Arab World.

The leveling towards Tunis Arabic is attested for several Tunisian varieties (cf. Gibson (1998, 2002), Procházka/Ritt-Benmimoun (2008), Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022), Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) and others) and was already observable two decades ago, as Gibson (2002: 30) confirms: "So we can say that the dialect of Tunis is the de facto spoken standard or model for other speakers, at least in the domains of phonology and morphology." Moreover, Gibson (2002: 32) quotes a young man from South Tunisian Sfax who states: "May be [*sic*] the dialect of the capital Tunis is the one which has become the standard Tunisian dialect."

Similarly, Sayahi (2014: 32) elaborates: "The Tunisois dialect is spreading as the city expands and it is starting to be perceived as the supralocal variety even beyond Tunis […]." Furthermore, this trend is confirmed by a recent study by Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022), which is based on data from the TUNOCENT project: "[…] the direction of the levelling is quite clear – accommodation happens mainly towards the dialect spoken in Tunis […]" (Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 265).

With regard to the degree of accommodation towards the urban variety of Tunis among different Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties (based on the data from the TUNOCENT project), Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) observes a high degree in the Northwest Tunisian governorates of Siliana, Béja and Jendouba, whereas the Bedouin varieties spoken in the governorates of Kéf and Kasserine show almost no accommodation. Additionally, Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) gives the following ranking concerning their urbanization tendencies: "Kasserine < Sidi Bouzid < Kef < Gafsa < Jendouba < Beja < Siliana", meaning it seems to be the lowest in the Central Tunisian governorate of Kasserine and the highest in Siliana, followed by Béja, to which also the Nefza region belongs.

Concerning the broader context of Arabic varieties in general, Miller/Falchetta (2021) point out that the horizontal direction (i.e. towards another Arabic variety and not towards MSA) of leveling caused by urbanization is found in the majority of Arabic varieties:

> "In most contexts of dialect contact following urbanization and migration, processes of accommodation or dialect shifting were said to derive from horizontal (between dialects) rather than vertical levelling, and the most prestigious urban variety was usually found to be the dominant and converged-to variety." (Miller/Falchetta 2021: 725)

4.2.2. Possible reasons for the leveling

Bassiouney (2008: 10-12) lists the following factors which influence leveling among Arabic varieties: stigmatization, political and social issues,

identity, markedness and simplification, context as well as media and education. According to my preliminary observations, the first and last factor listed by Bassiouney – stigmatization (of Bedouin-type varieties within Tunisia) and media and education – seem relevant for explaining the leveling in Nefza Arabic. Moreover, the factors mobility, urbanization and geographical closeness play a role for the leveling in the speech of young and urban middle-aged NA speakers.

It is confirmed by numerous scholars that Tunis Arabic is the most prestigious variety of the country.[600] A quarter of a century ago, Gibson described the prestigious status of the Arabic variety spoken in the capital Tunis as follows:

> "[…] the dialect of the capital city Tunis is deemed to be the 'refined' or 'educated' variety by the local population, and it seems that choice of its forms reflects a move to a higher prestige form […]." (Gibson 1998: 31)

Likewise, Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun remark the following on the perception of Tunis Arabic by Northwest Tunisian speakers:

> "The dialect of Tunis, an urban variety, is without doubt Tunisia's most prestigious variety, and the lifestyle in Tunis and other major cities on the Eastern coast is perceived as urban and advanced." (Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 260)

In contrast to Tunis and the Eastern coast (Sahel region), Nefza – as well as the whole of Northwest Tunisia – is a socio-economically disadvantaged region with high unemployment rates (see 1.2.3) and its Bedouin-type varieties are stigmatized in parts of the country, where sedentary varieties are spoken. As for the perception of speakers of the Northwest Tunisian governorates Siliana and Jendouba of their own region, Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022: 260) state that – in contrast to the prestigious capital Tunis – Central and Northwest Tunisia is "considered as rural, culturally backward and economically, socially, and politically disadvantaged". This perception can be confirmed for young female NA speakers.

Resulting from this attitude, Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022: 279) conclude: "The orientation of young speakers towards the dialect of Tunis is also an orientation towards the privileged economic and social position of its speakers." Regarding stigmatization, Bassiouney (2008: 11) states: "When there is interaction among different groups and one group's variety is

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[600] Cf. for instance Gibson (1998), Sayahi (2014), Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022) and Ritt-Benmimoun (in print). Accordingly, Sayahi (2014: 32) remarks: "Its [= Tunis Arabic] prestige is clearly reflected in the perception by the speakers themselves that it is the more valued dialect in the Tunis [sic] linguistic market."

stigmatized, *leveling* will take elements from the nonstigmatized variety.", and this is exactly what happens in Nefza and will be shown in 4.2.3.

As regards urbanization as a factor influencing language leveling, Abd-El-Jawad's statement about Jordanian Arabic corresponds to the situation in Nefza: "Urbanization for the younger rural and Bedouin speakers means the elimination of stigmatized local variants and the adoption of locally and socially prestigious ones." (Abd-El-Jawad 1986: 58).

In addition, Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun point out regarding migration as a leveling factor in Tunisia:

> "In the last decades the mingling of families and individuals of different tribal origins in new neighbourhoods, universities and student residences has thus naturally led to levelling and linguistic accommodation." (Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 277)

The factors mobility, media (especially the internet and social media) and education have a stronger impact on young NA speakers than it has on middle-aged and old ones.

Lastly, Nefza's geographical closeness to the capital Tunis (a distance of 150km) is surely another factor influencing the leveling towards Tunis Arabic. Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) stresses that "geographical closeness to the urban centers is an important factor to consider." when looking at the relatively high degree of leveling found in the governorates of Siliana, Béja and Jendouba.

4.2.3. Linguistic categories affected

This section aims at summarizing and giving an overview of the linguistic categories affected by the leveling towards Tunis Arabic, which is a topic already mentioned in the respective chapters treating those features, where both the more distinct and original NA form and the newer form influenced by Tunis Arabic are listed as variants. Many other linguistic features are completely retained in the speech of young and urban middle-aged NA speakers (according to data from my corpus).

4.2.3.1. Previously examined variables

Concerning previous studies on linguistic variation and leveling in Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic varieties, they mainly examine the following three variables: the realization of OA *q*, the conjugation of final-weak verbs and the 2SG gender distinction in verbs and personal pronouns. These three variables are generally considered as distinguishing features between Bedouin-type and sedentary Arabic varieties, i.e. the "nomadic-sedentary split" (cf. Gibson 1998) within Tunisia.

While Gibson (1998, 2002), Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022) and Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) find a tendency of leveling towards sedentary forms in these three features among (young) speakers of Tunisian Bedouin-type

varieties, my corpus shows that in NA these three features show no or barely any variation. They are retained even in the speech of young female NA speakers, who are most prone to leveling towards Tunis Arabic (as shown in other linguistic variables above). Nevertheless, it can be expected that the impact of Tunis Arabic in NA will eventually reach these features as well.

4.2.3.2. Overview

The table below represents a simplified[601] list of examples of the linguistic categories affected by the leveling towards Tunis Arabic, i.e. original and distinct NA features which are reduced or given up in the speech of (mostly female) young and urban middle-aged NA speakers.

Category	Original/ Distinctive variant	New variant		Tunis Arabic (cf. Singer 1984)	See chapter for more details:
Phonology					
OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay*	*bēn*	*bīn*	"between"	*bîn*	2.1.2.4.2
	ḥkētu	*ḥkītu*	"youᴾᴸ spoke"	*ḥkîtu*	
Imāla of final *ā*	*mšī*	*mšā̃*	"he went"	*mšẫ*	2.1.2.1.3.4
	b-il-ⁱgdī	*b-il-ⁱgdā̃*	"well"	*b-əlgdẫ*	
Vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables	*šuṛbit*	*šaṛbit*	"she drank"	*šaṛbət*	2.5.1
	ḍuṛbit	*ḍaṛbit*	"she hit"	*ḍaṛbət*	
Pronouns					
Independent personal pronouns	*nā̃ya*	*ā̃na*	"I"	*ẫnä*	3.1.1.1
	hūw	*hūwa*	"he"	*hûwæ*	
	hīy	*hīya*	"she"	*hîyä*	
	intim	*intūma*	"youᴾᴸ"	*(e)ntûmæ*	
	hum	*hūma*	"they"	*hûmæ*	

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[601] In this simplified outline, only one (the most common) form is given as the "original/distinctive variant", though often several original forms exist, e.g. the 1SG personal pronoun is originally *nā̃ya ~ nā̃y ~ nī ~ nīya*, whereas *ā̃na* is the newer variant and most probably influenced by Tunis Arabic.

3SG.M pronominal suffix	*-ah*	*-u*	"his"	*-u*	3.1.1.4
Negative copula	*mišni* / *mišna*	*mānīš* / *mānāš*	"I am not" / "we are not"	*mānîš* / *mānâš*	3.1.1.2
Demonstratives	*hōḏa* / *hōka*	*hāḏūma* / *hāḏōkum*	"these" / "those"	*hāḏûmä* / *hāḏûkum*	3.1.2
Interrogative pronouns	*wišinhi*	*šnūwa*	"what?"	*šnûwä*	3.1.4
Nouns					
Singular pattern $C_IvC_2C_3$	*gabⁱṛ* / *ṭufⁱⁱl* / *tibⁱn*	*gbaṛ* / *ṭful* / *tbin*	"grave" / "boy" / "straw"	*qbaṛ* / *ṭful* / *tbin*	3.4.2.2.1
Plural pattern *CCāCīC*	*fkāṛīn* / *ḥwānīt*	*fkāṛin* / *ḥwānit*	"turtles" / "shops"	*fkāṛin*[602] / *ḥwânet*	3.4.3.11
Plural pattern *CCāwīC*	*ḏṛāwīn* / *nsāwīn* / *bnāwīt*	*zġāṛ* / *nsā* / *bnāt*	"children" / "women" / "girls"	*zġâṛ* / *nsâ* / *bnât*	3.4.3.12
Verbs					
Imperfect forms of *ʔ-k-l* and *ʔ-x-ḏ*	*yōkul* / *yōxuḏ*	*yākil* / *yāxiḏ*	"he eats" / "he takes"	*yâkul ~ yâkel* / *yâxuḏ ~ yâxu ~ yâxeḏ*	3.6.2.6
Future marker	*tā-*	*bāš*	"will (future marker)"	*bâš*	3.6.7

In the following subchapters a selection of the linguistic variables mentioned in the list above are elaborated on, in consideration of previous studies on these variables in Tunisian Arabic varieties.

4.2.3.3. Pronouns

With regard to the morphological category of pronouns, sociolinguistic variation is visible in the categories of independent personal pronouns, the 3SG.M pronominal suffix, as well as the negative copula, demonstratives and interrogative pronouns.

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602 Cf. TUNICO dictionary.

The leveling in the 1SG independent personal pronoun towards the Tunis Arabic form *āna* is attested for several Tunisian varieties. For instance, Gibson (2002: 29) finds the trend towards the "Tunisois" form *āna* in Tunisian varieties of the Sahel region. Ritt-Benmimoun (in print) analyzes the first person singular personal pronoun as a variable for the urbanization trend in Northwest and Central Tunisia, where she confirms that the form *āna* is common in the Béja governorate (to which Nefza belongs). Moreover, Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022: 274f.) show that in 2/3 of the sample texts from the Siliana Governorate the "urban tunisois variant *āna*" is used. In their data the usage of the sedentary form *āna* "is used by both men and women and is not limited to a certain age group", but mostly by young women.

In Nefza Arabic the usage of *āna* is limited to (mostly female) young and urban middle-aged speakers, who use the local form *nāya* as well. In conclusion, the leveling towards the form *āna* seems to be stronger in the Bedouin-type varieties of the Northwest Tunisian governorate of Siliana than in NA.[603]

A second, quite striking variable in the category of pronouns is the 3SG.M pronominal suffix, which is originally *-ah* in NA, but (mostly female) young and urban middle-aged speakers vary between *-ah* and *-u*. The latter form is also found in Tunisian sedentary varieties as well as the Hilāl group of Bedouin-type varieties. While in the non-negated form *-u* is a new variant next to the more common *-ah*, in the negated form *-ū-* is the only 3SG.M pronominal suffix attested in the NA corpus: *ʕindah* "he has" vs. *mā-ʕindū-š* "he doesn't have".[604]

4.2.3.4. Nouns

The singular pattern $C_1vC_2C_3$, as in *ṭufᵘl* "boy", which is typical for Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties (cf. W. Marçais 1950: 212f.), is marginal in NA. In my corpus, it is attested for some old and rural middle-aged speakers, but totally given up in the speech of the young generation, who uses the equivalent $C_1C_2vC_3$ instead, which is typical of Tunisian sedentary varieties, such as Tunis Arabic.

The phenomenon of replacing the *CCāCīC* plural pattern by the sedentary *CCāCvC*, as in *ḥwānīt* vs. *ḥwānit* "shops", is attested only for female (young and urban middle-aged) NA speakers in my corpus. On the other hand, the original *CCāCīC* pattern is attested even for young male NA speakers.

The plural pattern *CCāwīC*, as in *bnāwīt* "girls" and *nsāwīn* "women", is only attested for old and rural middle-aged NA speakers in my corpus. In the

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603 At least according to data collected through sample text templates, which – like every type of questionnaire – do not always reflect completely authentic speech.

604 For a more profound analysis of the variation found in 3SG.M and 2PL/3PL pronominal suffixes in NA see Naddari 2024.

speech of young and urban middle-aged (especially female) NA speakers sedentary counterparts like *bnāt* and *nsā* are used instead.

4.2.3.5. Verbs

As already elaborated in 3.6.2.6 and 4.1.3, the imperfect verb forms *yōxuḏ* "to take" and *yōkul* "to eat" are supposed to be typical of the Hilāl group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties (cf. W. Marçais 1950: 216). However, in NA these forms are original and attested for most rural and some urban NA speakers in the corpus. On the other hand, the variants *yāxiḏ* and *yākil*, which are also used in Tunis Arabic, seem to be relatively new in NA, as they are more frequently used by young urban NA speakers than by rural NA speakers (of all ages).

In reference to the future marker, in NA the more local and distinct forms are *tā-* and *miš*, whereas the form *bāš*, which is probably an influence from Tunis Arabic, is only attested for young and urban middle-aged NA speakers in my corpus. Ritt-Benmimoun (2021: 42) describes a comparable development concerning the future marker in the Northwest Tunisian Bedouin-type variety of Tbainia (see 3.6.7.2).

4.2.3.6. Phonology

The leveling towards forms used in Tunis Arabic is generally speaking less strong in phonological categories, such as the reflexes of OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, the *imāla* of final *ā* and the vowel change in $C_1vC_2C_3+v$ syllables, than it is in the above-mentioned morphological categories. In the case of these three phonological variables the original NA form is used by young female NA speakers as well. Nevertheless, their speech shows a variation of original NA forms and Tunis Arabic forms.

In contrast to these phonological variables, as concerns the above-mentioned morphological variables, many of the original NA variants are not in use by young and urban middle-aged NA speakers and are already completely replaced by forms from Tunis Arabic.

These observations allow the tentative conclusion that, according to my data, the leveling in NA seems to be stronger in morphological categories than in phonological ones.

4.2.3.7. Lexis

Additionally to morphological and phonological features, whose description represents the focus of this study, my corpus contains many examples of the influence of Tunis Arabic on the lexical level as well. The table below offers an insight into some of the local lexemes, which are replaced

by forms well-known from Tunisian sedentary varieties in the speech of young (and some middle-aged) NA speakers[605]:

	Original, older form	Newer form	
Nouns	*kṛāʕ*	*ṛžil, sāg*	"leg"
	ribⁱḥ	*milⁱḥ*	"salt"
	ġunžǟya	*mġaṛfa*	"spoon"
	naww	*mṭaṛ*	"rain"
Verbs	*dabb – ydibb*	*mšē – yimši*	"to go"
	mṛag – yumṛug	*tʕadda – yitʕadda*	"to pass by"
	šbaḥ – yišbaḥ	*šǟf – yšūf*	"to see"
Adverbs	*xḻāṣ*	*žimla*	"not at all"
	ṯǟna	*zāda*	"also, too"
	hnī, hnāya	*linna*	"here"

4.2.4. Diatopic, age-related and gender-related variation

With reference to research questions posed in the introductory part concerning diatopic, age-related and gender-related variation in NA, this section summarizes my variation-related preliminary results based on my corpus.

A hardly surprising result is that, as regards diatopic variation, the speech of urban NA speakers shows a stronger leveling towards Tunis Arabic than the speech of rural NA speakers (when comparing speakers of the same age and gender). The reason for this is undoubtedly the stronger urbanization process in the (small) town of Nefza than in its rural surroundings. The linguistic features, in which this leveling is observable, are listed in 4.2.3.

Regarding diatopic variation in the speech of speakers from the five examined rural localities of the Nefza region[606], my data suggest that the Arabic variety spoken in Touila is most similar to the town of Nefza, whereas the variety of Zaga shows most distinct forms, which are only attested for Zaga in my corpus. This could be explained by its geographical distance from the other localities: Zaga is located 12km away from the town of Nefza, whereas the other four villages have a distance of 5km to Nefza at most.

Age-related variation in NA affects similar linguistic features as the rural/urban differences in NA. In other words, young (as opposed to middle-aged and old) and urban (as opposed to rural) NA speakers show a higher usage of the same new features listed in 4.2.3.

Lastly, gender-related variation in NA is a relevant topic, however, given the fact that approximately 80% of the data was collected from female NA

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605 A further in-depth study on the lexical categories affected by the leveling in NA is worthwhile.
606 See 1.3.2 for a list and location of the examined localities.

speakers, it is only possible to make gender-specific statements to a very limited extent. For a sound sociolinguistic study, which considers gender-related variation and gender-specific phenomena a higher percentage of male NA speakers would be necessary.

From the data available in my corpus, an obvious gender-related difference in the degree of leveling is noticeable between young NA speakers, while at the same time I could not observe any gender-related differences in the used phonological and morphological features among old NA speakers. Young female (both rural and urban) NA speakers show a much higher degree of leveling towards forms from Tunis Arabic than it is the case for their male counterparts. Examples[607] are the usage of the plural pattern *CCāCvC* vs. *CCāCīC* as well as the reflexes of OA diphthongs *aw* and *ay* ($ū/ī$ vs. $ē/ō$).

This gender-specific tendency found in NA is confirmed by Miller (2004: 196) for Arabic varieties in general: "[…] in contexts of dialectal contact and change, young women tend to acquire the urban variables faster than their male counterparts."

Furthermore, the following statement made by Vicente (2009) entirely applies to the gender-specific sociolinguistic situation found in NA, where young female speakers show the highest degree of leveling, whereas old (often illiterate) female NA speakers preserve the most original and stigmatized forms:

"[…] it has been established that young, educated and urban women take a more active part in linguistic change and collaborate in the spread of new variations more often than men of any age, while older and illiterate or semi-illiterate women from rural areas preserve the most ancient features which in many cases are actually in danger of becoming extinct and are usually avoided by the rest of the language community because they are stigmatized." (Vicente 2009: 15)

Finally, concerning the investigation of gender-based linguistic variation in Arabic varieties, Vicente (2009: 25) stresses: "We can thus see that gender-based linguistic variation is context-sensitive, because the context where linguistic practices take place is extremely important." Thus, a further differentiation in the investigation of gender-specific NA phenomena and variation would be necessary in terms of the context in which the respective forms are used.

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[607] The new form which is influenced by Tunis Arabic is listed first, followed by the more original NA form.

4.3. Closing remarks

As shown in 4.1.1, characteristic linguistic features of a Tunisian Bedouin-type variety described by W. Marçais (1950) apply to NA to a great extent. Thus, NA can clearly be classified as a Bedouin-type variety in the context of Tunisian Arabic varieties. On the other side, less than a third of the supposedly typical features of the Sulaym group of Bedouin-type varieties are found in NA, albeit very remarkable ones: 3SG.M pronominal suffix -*ah*, vowel change as in *giʕdit* "she sat down" and *ʕurfit* "she found out" and final *imāla* to *ē* and *ī*. On the other side, NA shows features found in Tunisian sedentary varieties (see 4.2.3) and even in the Hilāl-type Bedouin varieties (see 4.1.3). These results suggest that NA cannot be classified as fully belonging to the Sulaym or Hilāl group of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties.[608]

In conclusion, the variety spoken in the Nefza region nowadays can be classified as a Bedouin-type variety with an increasing influence of Tunisian sedentary varieties. Aguadé (2018: 33) labels Maghrebi Bedouin-type Arabic varieties which show a contact-induced loss of some of their characteristic features as "mixed dialects":

"In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia there exists a third group, the 'mixed dialects', i.e. dialects of the Hilālī [= Bedouin-type] origin, which have lost several of their characteristic features because of contact with 'sedentary' dialects. Population shifts, the establishment of new towns, as well as immigration, are salient factors that have caused these mixed dialects to emerge." (Aguadé (2018: 33)

Due to the rapid socio-economic changes, it can be expected that this definition of a "mixed dialect" will hold true for NA even more in the future, as the typical Bedouin features – especially the ones typical of the Sulaym group – might be reduced even more, in favor of forms used in Tunisian sedentary varieties (see 4.2 on the leveling and sociolinguistic variation).

4.4 Outlook

The present study represents the first comprehensive linguistic description of a Northwest Tunisian Bedouin-type Arabic variety. With regard to topics which require further investigation concerning the Arabic variety spoken in the Nefza region, syntactic, lexical and sociolinguistic aspects seem important to me.

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608 Due to lack of older NA texts no statements can be made regarding NA features a century ago, for instance whether NA included more Sulaym features back then, which were reduced in the leveling process with other adjacent varieties over time.

In the field of syntax, the following topics need further investigation[609]:

- Agreement: Some (hitherto undocumented for Tunisia[610]) agreement patterns seem to exist in NA, such as in *ṯmunṭāš-in tilmīḏ ǐždud* "eighteen new students", where the noun is used in the singular form, whereas the corresponding adjective is used in the plural form.

- Copula usage: The copula *yʕūd* is to the best of my knowledge hitherto undocumented for Tunisian Arabic varieties. A further investigation of the interchangeability of *yʕūd* and *yabda* and the potential differentiation in the usage of both copulas is desirable (see 3.6.6 for the copula).

As for the lexis, in my data I came across several interesting lexical items from the field of agriculture. More specifically, some terms for agricultural tools, plants, animals and fruits and vegetables seem remarkable to me. The NA terms shall be compared with data of other Arabic varieties from the *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte.*

Lastly, a topic of high importance for all Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties nowadays is the leveling towards Tunis Arabic, which is observable among young and urban middle-aged NA speakers, and especially female speakers (see 4.2 for the sociolinguistic variation). In order to examine the possible gender-specific variation and the difference in the degree of leveling among young urban vs. rural NA speakers, more linguistic data from young male and young rural speakers in general shall be collected.

Furthermore, another topic concerning sociolinguistic variation worth further investigation is the speech of youngest NA speakers (up to 10 years), who according to my data show slightly different language patterns than young (18-30 y.o.) speakers.

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[609] Bearing in mind that a syntactical study requires a large text corpus.

[610] However, this agreement pattern is found in the feature list templates from several other Northwest Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties investigated in the TUNOCENT project besides NA as well.

5. Texts

This selection from my text corpus comprises ethnographic texts from all investigated localities (Nefza, Touila, Umm Labid, Zaga, Hbeba and Ouled Bou Ali), including ten speakers in the age range of 40 to 85 years and of both sexes. For a description of the whole corpus, see 1.3.3 and 1.3.4.

Utterances made by the interviewers (abbreviated as AN and NA) do not represent the target variety.

The following symbols and abbreviations have been used:

[…]	part of the recording that has been left out due to incomprehensibility or insignificance
(=)	intended meaning which is different from the literal translation of a word or a phrase
( )	complement of the translation for the purpose of better comprehension
(?)	unknown meaning
AN	Aleksandra Naddari (the author)
NA	Nidhal Aloui (the assistant field researcher)

5.1. "Agricultural Work in the Past"

Place: Touila
Speaker: Touila3/f/50 (T3)

1. T3: *wāš naḥkī-lik uxti?*   What should I tell you, my dear[611]?

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611 Form of address, lit. "my sister", cf. Singer (1984: 725).

2.	AN:	*ʕan il-ʕādāt w-taqālīd w-il-ʕṛūsāt kīfāš.*	About the customs and traditions and how the weddings are.
3.	T3:	*ʕlā bikri kī kunna… kīfāš kunna nixⁱdmu xidmit il-ʕaṛbi, kunna nixⁱdmu, kīfāš iṭ-ṭābūna⁶¹².*	About earlier when we were… how we were working traditional work, we were working, (about) how the *ṭābūna* (is made).
4.	T3:	*naʕⁱmlu… āk iṭ-ṭābūna nmallsōha⁶¹³ w-naʕⁱmlu ž-žrādig⁶¹⁴, naʕⁱmlu ṭ-ṭāžīn⁶¹⁵ w-nfaṭṭru l-ⁱfṭīr⁶¹⁶.*	We make… we smooth and seal the wall of the *ṭābūna* with clay and we make *žrādig*, we make *ṭāžīn* and we flatten out the *fṭīr*.
5.	T3:	*naʕⁱmlu bikri… naḥⁱlbu l-bagṛa w-ḥlīb w-numⁿxḍūh bikri fi…*	Earlier we make… we used to milk the cow and earlier we churn the milk in…
6.	T3:	*naʕⁱmlu āk il-mizwid⁶¹⁷ mtāʕ iš-šikwa⁶¹⁸ āḏīya l-ʕaṛbi, nixⁱdmu… ṭṭayybu⁶¹⁹, naʕⁱmlu, nxaṛṛžu minha z-zibda.*	We make that *mizwid* of this traditional *šikwa*, we work… we cook, we make, we get butter out of it.
7.	T3:	*nmallsu… ṭīn⁶²⁰ il-ʕaṛbi, naʕⁱmlu l-kānūn⁶²¹ w-naʕⁱmlu bīh biš… kānun ⁱfḥim, naʕⁱmlu fīh l-bxūʷṛ.*	We smooth and seal the sides of… the traditional clay, we make the *kānūn* (with the clay) and we make *kānūn* with coals with it, we put incense in it.
8.	T3:	*nixⁱdmu baṛša ḥāžāt. it-tuṛāṭ mtāʕna ʕaṛbi.*	We work many things. Our heritage is traditional.

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612 Traditional outdoor mud oven for baking bread, cf. also Boris (1958: 369), Beaussier (1887: 392), Singer (1984: 534) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 52f.).

613 The verb *ymallis* is mainly used in the context of building and construction, cf. also Boris (1958: 589) and Beaussier (1887: 645f).

614 A type of bread, called *ṭābūna* in some other parts of Tunisia (identical to the name of the traditional oven in which it is baked).

615 A type of bread with yeast, cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 54).

616 A type of bread, thicker and wider than *žrādig*.

617 Leather provision bag, cf. also Boris (1958: 257) (as *mézwad*) and Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 1707).

618 Instrument made out of hairless goatskin used for butter production, cf. also Boris (1958: 318) (as *šakwa*), Cherni (2006: 16) and Beaussier (1887: 343).

619 < *nṭayybu*

620 Without an article. For the remarkable construction NOUN DEF-ADJ see 3.3.1.

621 Small clay oven brazier with coals in it, used for cooking or grilling.

9.	AN:	*w-kīfāš il-ḥayā qbal?*	And how was life before?
10.	T3:	*ḥayāt ⁱqbal: kunna nixⁱdmu b-il-ʕaṛbi. naḥⁱṣdu, nžanžu, nixⁱdmu maʕnāha xidma ʕaṛbi, māhāniš nixⁱdmu kī taww.*	Life before: we were working in a traditional way. We were harvesting, we (?), that means we were working traditional work, we were not working like now.
11.	T3:	*nisⁱṛḥu b-il-ḥīwān[622] w-nimšu nžību fōgna l-ⁱḥṭab, il-girba[623] hakka w-nṭayybu xubᵘz il-ʕaṛbi, niṛḥu f-il... ṛḥē[624] l-ʕaṛbi. mānīšna...*	We graze the animals, and we go bring the firewood on our backs, the *girba* is like this and we bake the traditional bread, we mill in the... traditional quern stone hand mill. We are not...
12.	T3:	*taww hāy ṭṭawwrit id-dinya, wallīna nixⁱdmu... nhizzu l-gamⁱḥ l-il...*	Now life has progressed, we started working... we take the wheat to the...
13.	T3:	*nixⁱdmu taww il-gamⁱḥ, nhizzūh l-iṭ-ṭāḥūna, āma bikri nixⁱdmu kull šayy ʕaṛbi, b-ir-ṛḥē l-ʕaṛbi.*	Now we work the wheat, we take it to the mill, but before we produced everything in a traditional way, with the traditional hand mill.
14.	T3:	*lⁱ-ḥlīb, numᵘxḏu b-iš-šikwa l-ʕaṛbi, kull šayy nixⁱdmu fīh b-il-ʕaṛbi.*	The milk, we churn (it) with the traditional *šikwa*, we work everything in a traditional way.

5.2. "Baking Bread"

Place: Ouled Bou Ali
Speakers: OuledBouAli2/f/70 (B2), Nefza4/f/21 (N4)

1.	N4:	*wiš kunti ⁱṭṭayybi qbal?*	What did you use to cook before?
2.	B2:	*qbal? wāš wāš kunt ⁱnṭayyib? kīma mākilt mtāʕ ʕbād taww. wišinhi? tā-ndanni nawʕ ōxuṛ?*	Before? What (do you mean) what did I use to cook before? Like the food of people now. What? Should I make a different type (of food)?
3.	N4:	*kunti tixⁱdmi baṛša qbal.*	You used to work a lot before.

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[622] Cf. OA *ḥayawān*.

[623] Leather water bag, cf. also Boris (1958: 487), Beaussier (1887: 534), Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 3155) and Singer (1984: 126).

[624] Traditional hand mill out of stone, used for grains and olive oil extraction.

4.	B2:	*nḥibb naʕmil ʕžīna, niʕžin, ndanni*[625] *l-ᵢfṭīr, nṭayyib ᵢfṭīr, rhayyif fōg baʕḍah.*	I like making dough, I knead, I make *fṭīr* (type of bread), I cook *fṭīr*, thin, one above the other.
5.	B2:	*ndanni ᵢmlāwi, niṭwīhum, nṭabbighum, w-ndannī-lha zēt bāš dzī*[626] *bāhya, brīma*[627].	I make *mlāwi* (type of bread), I fold them, I fold them together, and I put oil on it, so that it gets good, excellent.
6.	B2:	*w-baʕᵢd naʕmil b-il-xmīra. taʕᵢrfī l-ᵢxmīra?*	And afterwards I do (it) with yeast. Do you know the yeast?
7.	AN:	*āy.*	Yes.
8.	B2:	*ᵢnbillu bāha. twalli wēn ᵢṭṭīb ᵢdžī mnaffža, tbārik aḷḷa.*	We wet with it. When it is ready it becomes wonderfully[628] risen.
9.	B2:	*ndanni kull šayy, nixdim fīh. mā-nxalli mā nṭayyib. nixdim kull ḥāža nixdimha.*	I make everything. I do not let anything out what to cook (= I cook everything). I work everything.

5.3. "Electricity and Water-Cooling in the Past"

Place: Nefza
Speaker: Nefza6/f/70 (N6)

1.	N6:	*qbal mā-ṯammā-ši mā w-ḍaww.*	Before there was no water and electricity.
2.	N6:	*qbal… illi ʕinda talᵢfza, b-il-baṭrī.*	Before… the one who has a television, (the television works) with a battery.
3.	N6:	*ybīʕu l-baṭrīyāt*[629], *nžību l-baṭrīya w-nšaṛžu bāha t-tlāfiz.*	They sold batteries, we used to bring the battery and charge the televisions with it.
4.	N6:	*w-ʕinna l-gāzāt. il-gāza hakka, nʕammṛōha b-il-gāz, w-nsimmha āḍi l-ᵢftīla*	And we had kerosene lamps. The kerosene lamp is like this, we fill it with kerosene, and I

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625 The verb *ydanni* is mostly used in the context of cooking and food preparation.

626 The expected form would be *džī*, which is found in sentence 8. Within my corpus the form *dzī* is unique, therefore in this case this form is probably mispronounced.

627 < It. *prima* "first", cf. also Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 301) "de première qualité; de premier orde; excellent".

628 Lit. "Blessed be God!". In this text selection, this expression is translated in accordance with the context.

629 < It. *batteria* "battery".

		hakkāya, nḥuṭṭōha w-nšaʕʕlu bāha.	(?) this wick like this, we put it and we light with it.
5.	N6:	*ḥatta f-il-ᵘʕrūsāt talgāha… iž-žuṛṛ kī hakkāka w-kull žuṛṛa*[630] *mʕallgīn fāha gāza, l-ᶦftāyl.*	Even at weddings you found it… the clay jugs were like this and they have hung a kerosene lamp in every clay jug, the wicks.
6.	N6:	*talgāha d-dinya ḏāwya tbāṛik aḷḷa, xēr m-iḏ-ḍaww mtāʕ taww.* […]	You found the place lighten up wonderfully, better than the electricity of the present time. […]
7.	N6:	*il-mā… ʕinna ʕyūn, ʕinna l-bīr, ʕinna l-mā k-il-wād, ᶦnsammūh wād mtāʕ mā.*	The water… We had springs, we have the well, we have water like the river, we call it river of water.
8.	N6:	*w-nḏīf… nhuzzu*[631] *l-ᶦḥwāyž w-nahᶦbṭu nuġᶦslu f-āk il-wād.*	And it is clean… We take the clothes and we go down and wash (the clothes) in that river.
9.	N6:	*w-il-ġāba kī hakka baḥḏāna, naġᶦslu*[632] *w-nšallᶦlu w-ninᶦšru.* […]	And the forest like this is next to us, we wash, we rinse and we hang (the clothes) to dry. […]
10.	N6:	*gulla*[633] *l-ʕaṛbi, nsammūh zīr*[634] *ᶦqbal, zīr il-ʕaṛbi hakka… nimšu nžību l-mā.*	The traditional clay water jug, we used to call it *zīr* before, the traditional *zīr* like this… we go and bring the water (in it).
11.	N6:	*il-mā yabda bʕīd ʕlīna šwayy. miššu f-id-dāṛ.*	The water used to be a bit far away from us. It is not at home.
12.	N6:	*mā-ʕannā-š mā f-id-dāṛ, mā-ṯammā-š. nimšu nžību l-mā.* […]	We did not have water at home, there was not any. We go and bring the water. […]

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[630] Found in other Tunisian varieties as *žaṛṛa*, cf. Singer (1984: 504) and Boris (1958: 79).

[631] This form is unique in my corpus, the expected form would be *nhizzu* (found 47 times with the stem vowel *i* in the corpus).

[632] The speaker alternates between the forms *nuġᵘslu* (sentence 8) and *naġᶦslu*.

[633] Cf. also Singer (1984: 67) (as *qulla*) and Boris (1958: 505).

[634] Singer (1984: 49) translates *zīr* as a pointed clay jug, while Boris (1958: 258) describes it as a large earthenware jug with two or four handles which is bigger than *gulla* and smaller than *xābya* (sentence 13).

13. N6: *kānt il-xābya*[635] *l-fuxxāṛ, mā-ṯammā-ši l-blaṣṭīk nḥuṭṭu fīh willa ḥāža.* — The fictile *xābya* existed, there was not any plastic in which we put (the water) or something (like that).

14. N6: *l-ᶦxwābi ōk il-fuxxāṛ, nḥuṭṭu fāha l-ʕōla*[636]. — Those fictile *xābya*s, we put the *ʕōla* in them.

15. N6: *ninᶦšru l-ʕōla, w-[…] il-ʕōla w-nṣaffōha w-nḥuṭṭōha f-il-xwābi. […] il-ᵘglāl, il-barrāda fuxxāṛ il-barrāda.* — We spread the *ʕōla*, and we […] the *ʕōla* and we filter (= sift) it and put in the *xābya*s. […] The *gulla*s (clay water jugs), the cooling jug is earthenware.

16. N6: *nḥuṭṭu fīh il-mē w-nḥuṭṭūh ḥatta sxūn ᶦšwayy, nžū nalgūh bārid ᶦtbāṛik aḷḷa, bārid kayyinni*[637] *fi-frīžīdāṛ.* — We put the water in it and we put it even a little bit warm, we come and find it enjoyably cold, cold as if it were in the fridge.

17. N6: *w-bbayytūh*[638], *nġaṭṭu z-zīr mtāʕ il-mā, nžību l-mā w-nġaṭṭūh, nbayytūh l-baṛṛa fi-waṣṭ id-dāṛ.* — We leave it overnight, we cover (the mouth of) the water *zīr*, we bring the water and we cover it, we leave it outside overnight, in the middle of the house[639].

18. N6: *hakkāy l-baṛṛa. mġaṭṭi, nbayytūh w-nṣubbu minnah kī nabdu miz-zilna sāhrīn.* — (We leave it) like this outside. Covered, we leave it overnight and we poor from it when we are still awake late at night.

19. N6: *nṣubbu, nalgūh bārid. w-iṣ-ṣbāḥ nalgūh il-mā bārid kayyinna… ʕibāṛa f-il-frīžīdāṛ.* — We poor (from it) and find it cold. And in the morning, we find the water cold as if it were… as if it were in the fridge.

20. N6: *bārid… nḥuṭṭu mḥaṛma biš nṣaffu l-mē, nžību m-il-ʕēn.* — It is cold… We put a handkerchief to purify the

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635 Big clay jug for food storage, cf. also Singer (1984: 172), Beaussier (1887: 157) and Boris (1958: 139).

636 Preparation of food stocks, cf. also Boris (1958: 425), Singer (1984: 420) and Beaussier (1887: 461).

637 The expected form is *kayyinna(h)*, as it refers to a masculine noun (*mā*), in sentence 19 the speaker uses *kayyinna*, referring to the same word.

638 < *nbayytūh*.

639 In the traditional houses the middle of the house, i.e. the inner courtyard is not roofed over.

water, we bring (the water) from the spring.

21. N6:	*nḥuṭṭu mḥaṛma ʕlā il… zīr hakka w-nṣaffu l-mē.*	We put a handkerchief on the… *zīr* like this and we purify the water.
22. N6:	*bāš nṣaffu mā-yitʕaddā-š ǟk it-tfiš w-ǟk il-wṣax. ṣāfi kī hakkāka nḥuṭṭūh.*	So that we purify it and that small particles of soil and that dirt do not pass through. It (= the water) is pure like this and we put it (in a jug).
23. N6:	*w-nbayytūh nġaṭṭūh w-nbayytūh l-baṛṛa.*	And we leave it overnight and cover it, and we leave it outside overnight.
24. N6:	*hānu*[640] *f-iṣ-ṣahrīya nuš*ᵘ*rbu w-bqīya nʕabbūh* ⁱ*nbayytūh l-baṛṛa.*	In the evening gathering we drink (from it) and we fill the rest and leave it outside overnight.
25. N6:	*w-iṣ-ṣbāḥ hāna… w-iṣ-ṣbāḥ ndaxxlu ṛṛawwḥu*[641] *bīh. yibqa*[642] *bǟrid nhāṛ kǟmil.*	In the morning we… In the morning we bring it in and return home with it. It stays cold for the whole day.

5.4. "Life before and after the Dam"

Place: Umm Labid
Speaker: UmmLabid3/m/51 (L3)

| 1. L3: | *kunna qbal ʕāyšīn b-il-*ⁱ*gdā*[643]*. ayyāmǟt qbal il-bāṛāž*[644] *naz*ⁱ*rʕu kull šayy.* | Before we were living well. In the days before the dam[645] (was built) we (used to) grow everything. |
| 2. NA: | *ǟy, aḥkī-li ayyām qbal il-bāṛāž. aḥkī-li qbal il-bāṛāž kīfǟš tʕīšu maṯalán.* | Yes, tell me (how it was) in the days before the dam. Tell me how you (used to) live before the dam. |

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640 3SG.M presentative, used in a general, impersonal way.

641 < *nṛawwḥu*.

642 This form is unique in my corpus, the expected form is *yabqa* which is found 31 times in the corpus.

643 Cf. Boris (1958: 486) *gᵊdé* "bon ordre, alignement".

644 < Fr. *barrage* "dam".

645 The Sidi el Barrak Dam is meant. It is located in the northwest outskirts of the town of Nefza and ranks among the most important dams and reservoirs in Tunisia.

3.	L3:	*qbal il-bāṛāž: rēt ḥāža? il-xuḏra mā-nišrūhā-š.* […]	Before the dam: do you know something? (lit. "Did you see something?") We did not buy vegetables.
4.	L3:	*qbal kunna nʕīšu ʕīša ʕaṛbi, kull šayy nazʲṛʕu fīh f-is-sānya.*	Before we were living a traditional life, we used to grow everything in the orchard.
5.	L3:	*kull šayy nazʲṛʕu fīh: m-il-bittīx[646] ḥattān l-ʲbṣal.*	We used to grow everything: from the honeydew melon to the onions.
6.	NA:	*w-il-mā mnīn?*	And where is the water from (= where does it come from)?
7.	L3:	*il-mā m-il-wād. ʕinna byāṛ. ʲkṛam, kaṛmūʷṣ, ʕwēna, hindi, mā-nišrū-š.*	The water was from the river. We had wells. Fig trees, figs, plums, prickly pears, we did not buy (fruits).
8.	NA:	*il-wād dīma yižri?*	Does the river always flow (= is there always water in it)?
9.	L3:	*il-wād dīma yižri ʕām aṭnāš. nšaṛṛbu minum[647] l-ʲbgaṛ w-il-ʲġlam.*	The river always flows since years[648]. We let the cows and sheep to drink from it.
10.	NA:	*w-tušʲṛbu… intum mnīn tušʲṛbu?*	And you drink… where do you drink from?
11.	L3:	*w-nušʲṛbu m-il-ᵃʕyūn niḥna.*	And we drink from the springs.
12.	NA:	*ṯamma ʕyūn ʲhnā?*	Are there springs here?
13.	L3:	*ā, ʕāmlīn ʕēn. žaddi ʕāmil ʕēn.*	Yes, we have made a spring. My grandfather has made a spring.
14.	NA:	*kīfāš ʕāmil ʕēn?*	How (= what do you mean) he has made a spring?
15.	L3:	*bīr!*	A well!
16.	NA:	*āh, bīr tsammūh ʕīn.*	Hmm, you call the well spring.
17.	L3:	*bīr, nsammūh ʕēn, fhimt? w-ʕinna ʕēn f-iž-žbal l-taww gāʕda. il-mī yižri m-il-ḥažṛa.*	We call the well spring, do you understand? And we have a spring in the mountain that is

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646 The expected form would be *biṭṭīx*, which is found in my corpus. The form with the de-emphatization of *ṭ* is unique.

647 < *minhum*, the *h* of the suffix *-hum* is not audible. It is not clear to what the 3PL suffix refers, it possibly refers to rivers in plural.

648 Lit. "since the year twelve". According to an informant, *ʕām aṭnaš* is used to express that something has existed since a long time.

18.	NA:	*wāḏaḥ.*	still there. The water flows out of the stone. I get it (lit. "clear").
19.	L3:	*m-il-ḥažṛa. nimšu nˁabbu ᵘḅḅādīn*[649]*, xamsa ᵘḅḅādīn, sitta ᵘḅḅādīn. w-ˁinna byār ḏalli*[650] *maṛṛāt mālaḥ ⁱšwayy.*	From the stone. We go and fill up jerrycans, five jerrycans, six jerrycans. And we have wells that are a little bit salty sometimes.
20.	L3:	*hāḏāka naġⁱslu bīh l-ⁱġsīl il… wāḥid, w-il-ōxuṛ nušᵘṛbu fīh. wāḏḥīn.*	We wash the laundry with that one, and we drink the other one. We are clear (= you get my point).
21.	L3:	*žē il-bāṛāž, dagdigna*[651] *digdīg*[652]*.*	The dam came and destroyed us completely.
22.	NA:	*ˁām giddāš bi-llāhi l-bāṛāž?*	In which year (was) the dam (built)?
23.	L3:	*il-bāṛāž mā yuqāṛib*[653] *tlā̠ta w-ˁišrīn snā, xamsa w-ˁišrīn snā… taww il-bāṛāž.*	The dam is around 23 years, 25 years (since it was built)… now the dam.
24.	L3:	*kī žā̠ l-bāṛāž… mā-nikḏib-š ˁlīk. ⁱtṣawwir inta s-saqwi l-ᵘgṭāṛ ⁱb-malyūn w-myā̠.*	When the dam came… I do not (want to) lie to you. Imagine, the hectare of irrigable acreage is 1,100,000 (= 1,100 Tunisian Dinars).
25.	L3:	*saqwi, tlā̠ta šhūṛ baṛⁱk.*	Irrigable acreage, (for) only three months.
26.	NA:	*tidfaˁ malyūn w-myā̠ w-tizgi gidd-ma ṭḥibb?*	You pay 1,100,000 and you irrigate as much as you want?
27.	L3:	*wā̠š tā-tizgi*[654]*? xi l-brīma mā-ˁandū-š ᵘgṭāṛ.*	What are you going to irrigate? Even the richest one (among us) does not own a hectare.
28.	L3:	*taww ⁱhnā̠ l-brīma mā-ˁandū-š ᵘgṭāṛ.*	Here the richest one does not own a hectare (nowadays).

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[649] SG *bīdūn* < Fr. *bidon* "jerrycan".

[650] This word is unique in my corpus. It is possibly an auxiliary verb (like *yabda* and *yˁūd*).

[651] Also attested for Tunis "to break, to destroy, to ruin, to demolish" (cf. TUNICO dictionary) and for Takrouna in the meaning "to break sth. into small pieces" (cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 1299).

[652] The postpositive verbal noun has the function of reinforcing the statement.

[653] MSA loan.

[654] Assimilated, cf. OA *saqā*.

29. L3:	*arⁱḏna* *ʕāṭīnhā-lna f-is-Sxūʷna, f-il-Munšāṛ, fī-Bāža, f-il-Maʕgūʷla.*	They have given us our land (as a compensation for the land they took from us to build the dam) in Skhouna, in Munshar, in Béja, in Maagoula.
30. L3:	*ṭamma nãs hižrit w-mãtit[655], ḥassit… m-il-ihãna w-il-wāḥid.*	There are people who left their land and died, they felt (bad)… from the humiliation and the like.
31. L3:	*waḷḷah! l-ᵘkbāṛ il-kull ḥassu.*	Really! All the old ones felt (it).
32. NA:	*iz-zaḥḥ[656]!*	Really?
33. L3:	*waḷḷah!*	Really!
34. NA:	*maʕnãha mā-ḥmilhã-š?*	That means he did not (= could not) bear it?
35. L3:	*mā-ḥmilhã-š, ṛāha ihãna.*	He did not (= could not) bear it, he saw it as a humiliation.

5.5. "Wedding"[657]

Place: Nefza
Speaker: Nefza1/f/50 (N1)

1. N1:	*šnūwa ṭhibbi taʕⁱrfi b-iḏ-ḏabⁱṭ ʕa-l-ᵘʕṛūsāt? il-ʕādāt w-taqālīd? il-ʕādāt w-taqālīd[658]? nabdu m-il-xuṭba, nabdu m-il-ʕirⁱs, kīfãš?*	What do you want to know exactly about the weddings? The customs and traditions? The customs and traditions? (Shall) we start from the engagement, (shall) we start from the wedding, how (do you want it)?
2. AN:	*ãy, nabdu m-il-xuṭba.*	Yes, we start from the engagement.
3. N1:	*bãh[659]. il-xuṭba: zōz yaʕrfu bʕaḏhum, yitfãhmu, timši*	All right. The engagement: two people that know each other agree, she goes to the family

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655 Emphatization of *m* to *ṃ* due to the prepended *w*.

656 Exclamation of surprise, cf. Singer (1984: 730).

657 For wedding-related vocabulary and wedding traditions in Nabeul, Tunisia, see Dallaji-Hichri (2010).

658 The speakers pronounce the word *taqālīd* twice without an article, though an article would be expected here, as the preceded word (*il-ʕādāt*) has one as well.

659 Abbreviated form of *bãhi* "all right", lit. "good".

		l-ʕāyilt il… yitfẫhmu biš yitxuṭbu l-ⁱbʕaḏhum.	of… they agree to get engaged to each other.
4.	N1:	*ʕāyilt il-ᵃʕrīs, naḥna nsammūh l-ᵃʕrīs, ʕāyilt iṭ-ṭful, yitsammu l-ᵃʕrīs, yžū l-ʕāyilt il-ᵃʕrūsa w-…*	The groom's family, we call him the groom, the guy's family, they are called the groom (*ʕrīs*), they come to the bride's family and…
5.	N1:	*maʕnẫha niḥna il-… tⁱʕāruf m-il-ūl nsammūh… nsammōha xuṭbit iṛ-ṛḍāʔ.*	That means we… the getting to know each other in the beginning, we call it… We call it "engagement of the willingness".
6.	N1:	*xuṭbit ⁱṛḍā… maʕnẫha yžū ʕāyilt il-ᵃʕrīs w-ʕāyilt il-ᵘʕrūsa⁶⁶⁰ baṛᵏ w-yitlammu w-nṭayybu niḥna, dāṛ il-ᵘʕrūsa yṭayybu l-ᵃʕšẫ taḥfūn.*	Engagement of the willingness… Only the groom's and the bride's families come and they gather and we cook, the bride's family cooks a nice dinner.
7.	N1:	*taww baʕⁱd ⁱnwaṛṛīk ⁱtṣāwir kīfẫš… ʕindi f-il-pīsē⁶⁶¹. ʕind U.⁶⁶² il-pīsē, kīf žū l-U.*	I will show you later how the pictures are. I have (them) on the computer. The computer is at U.'s place, (the pictures of) when they came to U.
8.	N1:	*ṭayyibna fṭūṛ w-ḥaḏḏirna ṭ-ṭāwla w-ḏayyifnẫhum w-fraḥna bīhum w-tfẫhamna w-kull šayy. maʕnẫha… it-tʕāṛuf.*	We cooked lunch, prepared the table, hosted them, were very hospitable towards them and came to an agreement and everything. That means… the getting to know each other.
9.	N1:	*baʕⁱd mudda kīf… maʕnẫha l-ʕāyiltēn yitfẫhmu w-kull šayy w-wẫfqu ʕlā bʕaḏhum, naʕⁱmlu xuṭba rasmīya.*	After a while when… the two families come to terms and everything and agree upon each other (= accept each other), we make an official engagement.

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660 In this text the speaker alternates between the preposed anaptyctic vowel ᵘ and ᵃ before the word *ʕrūsa*.

661 < Eng. *PC (personal computer)*.

662 The speaker's daughter.

10.	N1:	*ɡāṭō*[663] *w-ⁱtṣāwir w… ʕrūsa timši l-il-ḥažžāma w-naʕⁱmlu žaww.*	Cake and pictures and… (the) bride goes to the hairdresser and we have fun.
11.	N1:	*taww nwarrīhum-lik il-kull, titfarržⁱ ʕlīhim.*	I will show them all to you, (so) you watch them.
12.	N1:	*bāhi… tabqa… famma škūn yabqa ʕām, famma škūn yabqa ʕāmēn, famma škūn yabqa ukṯir biš yaʕⁱmlu l-ʕirⁱs, fhimti?*	Ok… She stays… there are some who stay (engaged) a year, there are some who stay two years, there are some who stay more (= longer) until they make the wedding, did you understand?
13.	N1:	*lī*[664] *yḥaḍḍru ṛwāḥḥum, hāḏāka tžahhiz… iṭ-ṭufla yžahhzōha bōha w-ummha yžahhzōha. yḥaḍḍrū-lha maṯalán ižhāzha.*	Until they prepare themselves, that one prepares the dowry… The girl's father and mother prepare her dowry for her. For example, they prepare her dowry for her.
14.	N1:	*taʕⁱrfi šnū*[665] *maʕnāha ižhāz? maṯalán kī biš tʕarris iṭ-ṭufla ʕindna, biš tʕarris, bōha w-ummha yḥaḍḍrū-lha ižhāz ⁱmtāḥḥa.*	Do you know what *ižhāz* (dowry) means? For example, when the girl in our midst (= in our culture) is going to marry, she is going to marry, her father and mother prepare her *ižhāz* (dowry).
15.	N1:	*āṯāṯ… l-id-dāʔṛ, maṯalán, fhimti? w-baʕd yḥaḍḍru l-ʕirⁱs.*	For example, furniture… for the house, do you understand? And then they prepare the wedding.
16.	N1:	*yžī dāṛ il-ᵃʕrīs biš yḥaḍḍru l-ʕirⁱs, yžū yzīdu yitʕāwdu*[666]*… yitlammu lēla uxṛa, yitfāhmu šnūwa l-maṭlūb, il-ᵘʕrūsa šnūwa ṭḥibb.*	The groom's family comes to prepare the wedding, they come one more time… They gather for another night, they agree upon what is requested, what the bride wants.

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[663] < Fr. *gâteau* "cake".

[664] Abbreviated form of *līn*.

[665] Abbreviated form of *šnūwa*.

[666] This is the only instance where the pattern VI is used in this meaning, elsewhere in the corpus pattern III is used: *ʕāwid, yʕāwid*.

17. N1: *ʕāyilt il-ᵘʕrūsa šnūwa yḥibbu yišru l-… ummāli l-ᵃʕrīs šnūwa yžībū-lhum.*

What the bride's family wants to buy for… What the groom's relatives (should) bring them.

18. N1: *famma škūn yḥibb ʕlā d-ḏhab, famma škūn yḥibb il-flūs, famma škūn yitšaṛṛiṭ yḥibb dāṛ, famma škūn yḥibb āṯāṯ l-id-dāṛ mizyān.*

There are some who want gold, there are some who want money, there are some who make demands (= request a lot) and want a house, there are some who want nice furniture for the house.

19. N1: *w-famma škūn lā, mā-yitšaṛṛiṭ-ⁱš. maʕnāha, ubsiṭ ḥāža maʕnāha.*

And there are some who do not make demands. That means (they request) the simplest thing.

20. N1: *tā-yabdu muqtanʕīn iz-zōz, ʕādi, maʕnāha, mā-fammā-š ʕlāš yitšaṛṛṭu ʕlā bʕaḏhum, fhimti?*

When both of them are convinced (= fine with it), it is fine, that means there is no reason to make demands from each other, do you understand?

21. N1: *kīf b-in-nisba līya āna l-U. mā-tšaṛṛiṭṭ-ⁱš, maʕnāha ʕādi.*

Like for my part, I did not make demands for U., it means it is fine.

22. N1: *iḥna žahhiznāha w-hūwa illi ʕindu⁶⁶⁷ yʕarris bīh w-āka hāw.*

We prepared her dowry and he (= the groom) marries with what he has and that is it.

23. N1: *fammā-š ʕlāš nitšaṛṛṭu. illi yaqdir ʕlīh w-hōka hāw maʕnāha.*

There is no reason why we should make demands. That means (he should bring with him) what he is capable of and that is it.

24. N1: *āma famma baṛša yʕažžzu l-ⁱʕrīs yʕažžzūh.*

But there are many of those who thwart the groom, they thwart him.

25. N1: *maʕnāha yuṭᵘlbu baṛša ṭalabāt, baṛša ṭalabāt, yiʕžiz. ywalli yitsallif.*

That means they require many requirements (= things), many requirements, (so that) he is thwarted. He (= the groom) starts borrowing (money).

26.	N1:	*ywalli yaʕmil… twalli ʕindah ⁱdyūn, ywalli maġṣūṛ.*	He starts doing… he gets debts, he becomes cornered.
27.		*mā… ṯamma ḥkāyāt fāṛġa, maʕnāha ḥkāyāt zāyd*[668]*… sāʕāt l-ⁱʕrīs yabda maġṣūṛ bāha.*	There are empty (= meaningless) stories, that means redundant stories… by which the groom is sometimes cornered.
28.	N1:	*b-in-nisba līna niḥna lā, famma ʕāylāt la*[669]*, famma ʕāylāt… maʕnāha il-mawžūd, illi yaqdir ʕlīh l-ᵃʕrīs āka hāw, fhimti?*	For our part no, there are families who do not, (and) there are families… that means (he should bring) what is available, what the groom can afford and that is it, did you understand?
29.	N1:	*āka hāw w-baʕⁱd naʕⁱmlu ḥafla w-žaww.*	That is it[670], and afterwards we make a party and (we have) fun.
30.	AN:	*gaddāš min yōm?*	How many days (does the wedding last for)?
31.	N1:	*niḥna naʕⁱmlu tlāṯ ayyām ḥinna, tlāṯ ayyām ḥinna.*	We make three days of henna, three days of henna.
32.	AN:	*ʕlāš tlāṯ ayyām?*	Why three days?
33.	N1:	*hakka, yitlammu l-ʕāylāt w-sahrīyāt f-id-dāṛ.* […]	Like that, the families gather and (there are) evening gatherings at home. […]
34.	N1:	*naʕⁱmlu nhāṛ il-ūl, yzīdu yʕāwdōha nhāṛ iṯ-ṯāni*[671] *biš twalli ġāmqa, lōnha ywalli ġāmiq.* […]	We make (henna) the first day, they repeat it the second day, so that it (the henna) gets dark, so that its color gets dark. […]
35.	N1:	*tlāṯ ayyām w-baʕⁱd yaʕⁱmlu n-naqša*[672]*, xāṭiṛ in-naqša hāḏīka. w-kull šayy b-iz-zāza*[673]*, w-iz-zġāṛīṭ*	Three days and then they make *naqša* because that is the *naqša*. And everything is with *zāza* and trilling cries of joy

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668 The expected form is *zāyda*, this could possibly be a pausal form.

669 Contrary to *lā* in the first part of the sentence, here *a* is a short vowel.

670 Also attested for Tunis, cf. Singer (1984: 734).

671 Interestingly, in this sentence as well as sentences 39 and 42, the speaker does not use the definite article in the attributive phrase. This syntactical phenomenon needs further investigation. See 3.3.1 for more examples.

672 Traditional temporary tattoo for women, applied by *ḥargūṣ* (black cosmetic substance, cf. Singer 1984: 6).

673 According to an informant, this word means "wedding convoy accompanied by music".

		hakkāya w-žaww, fhimti kīfāš?	like this and fun, did you understand how (it is)?
36.	N1:	*yabdu l-ʕāylāt malmūmīn biš yaʕⁱmlu žaww baṛk l-il-ᵃʕrūsa biš mā-yḥasssūhā-š illi hīy māšya.*	The families are gathered to have fun only for the bride, in order not to make her feel that she is going (away from them).
37.	N1:	*buš txalli dāṛ bōha w-txalli dāṛ ummha, fhimti? dīma… yabdu mawžūdīn mʕāha.*	She will leave the house of her father and her mother, did you understand? They are always present with her.
38.	N1:	*w-baʕⁱd nhāṛit il-ʕšāʔ naʕⁱmlu ʕšāʔ. famma škūn yaʕmil il-ʕšāʔ w-il-wṭīya[674] faṛⁱd lēla.*	And afterwards on the day of the dinner we make a dinner. There are some who make the dinner and the *wṭīya* the same night.
39.	N1:	*famma škūn yaʕmil il-ʕšā w-il-wṭīya nhāṛ iṯ-ṯāni.*	There are some who make the dinner and (they make) the *wṭīya* the second day.
40.	AN:	*šnūwa l-wṭīya?*	What is the *wṭīya*?
41.	N1:	*il-wṭīya… hīya timši l-ᵘʕrūsa l-il-ḥažžāma w-naḏⁱbḥu l-ᵃʕlāliš w-nṭayybu l-kusᵘksi w-naʕⁱmlu… nistadʕu n-nās yžū yitʕaššu baḥḏāna.*	The *wṭīya*… The bride goes to the hairdresser and we slaughter the lambs and cook couscous and make… We invite people to come have dinner at our place.
42.	N1:	*w-yžū umṃāli l-ᵃʕrīs qbal il-ʕirⁱs ⁱb-nhāṛēʔn, yžū umṃāli l-ᵃʕrīs yisⁱhru baḥḏāna w-iž-žīrān w-nās il-kull.*	And the groom's relatives come two days before the wedding, the groom's relatives come to spend a convivial evening at our place, and the neighbors and all the people (also join us).
43.	N1:	*hāḏīka maʕnāha kī yitlammu ġādīka sahrīya biš ywaddʕu*	That one means when they gather there, that evening gathering is to say farewell to the bride. She will go (to) her husband's home.

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674 This expression is also used in other Tunisian varieties, such as the one of Tunis, cf. Singer (1984: 529): "Zeremonie der Ḥenna-Applikation" and Nabeul, cf. Dallaji-Hichri (2010: 89f): „Die *wṭīya* ist die letzte vor der Vermählung zelebrierte Zeremonie zu Ehren der Braut."

fãha l-ᵃʕrūsa. hāy biš timši
dāṛ ʕrūsha[675].

44. N1: w-mbaʕⁱd l-ᵃʕrīs yaʕmil
ḥinntah, ḥinna mtāʕu[676]
hūwa, baʕⁱd l-wṭīya tāʕ[677]
l-ᵃʕrūsa.

And afterwards the groom does his henna, his henna, after the bride's *wṭīya*.

45. N1: w-nhāṛ baʕd il-ḥinna tāʕ
l-ᵃʕrīs, nhāṛ il-ʕirⁱs hāḏāka.
ḥāṣīlu[678] sabʕ ayyām
kāmlīʔn.

And the day after the groom's henna, that is the wedding day. In short, seven full days.

46. N1: sabʕ ayyām w-in-nās ⁱdẓaġriṭ
w-tištaḥ… āka hāw. […]

Seven days (during which) the people utter trilling cries of joy and dance… that is it. […]

47. N1: nhāṛit il-wṭīya yqayydu
z-zdāq[679], il-ʕaqⁱd. […]

[…] On the day of the *wṭīya* they sign the marriage contract, the contract. […]

48. AN: w-yaʕni taww kīma qbal
walla muxtalíf?

And is it now like before or is it different?

49. N1: muxtalíf, muxtalíf. qbal
f-ⁱnhāṛ wāḥid… āka hāw.

It is different, it is different. Before (the wedding took place) in one day… that is it.

50. AN: yaʕni inti f-ⁱnhāṛ wāḥid?

So you (married) in one day?

51. N1: qbal ⁱqbal f-ⁱnhāṛ wāḥid.
b-in-nisba l-U., binti, ʕmalna
tlāṯ ayyām ḥinna…

Before before (the wedding took place) in one day. As for U., my daughter, we made three days of henna…

52. AN: w-inti?

And you?

53. N1: āna? āna tlāṯ ayyām ḥinna
w-nhāṛ il-ʕirⁱs. tlāṯ ayyām
ḥinna w-nhāṛ ḥammām, nhāṛ
ḥammām zāda.

Me? I (did) three days of henna and the wedding day. Three days of henna and one day of hammam (Turkish bath) day, also a day of hammam.

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675 In the rest of the text the speaker uses ʕrīs, and here she uses ʕrūs synonymously. In Tunis Arabic ʕᵃrûs is used (cf. Singer 1984: 177), whereas the variation ʕarīs ~ ʕarūs is attested for Sidi Bouzid Arabic (cf. Prinoth 2017: 92).

676 The speaker alternates between the suffixes -ah and -u, see 3.1.1.3 for pronominal suffixes.

677 Abbreviated form of *mtāʕ*.

678 < OA *al-ḥāṣilu* "briefly, in short", also attested for Tunis (Singer 1984: 645) and Takrouna (Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 836).

679 < ṣ - d - q; other speakers (see e.g. sentence 15 of text 6 from Hbeba) realize it as *zdāg*.

54.	N1:	*yimšu… yitlammu l-ibnāt il-kull hakkāya mɛā l-ᵃɛrūsa, yimšu l-il-ḥammām.*	They go… All the girls gather like this with the bride, they go to the hammam.
55.	N1:	*taɛirfi l-ḥammām ɛinna l-ɛaṛbi. yimšu l-il-ḥammām.* […]	You know our traditional hammam. They go to the hammam. […]
56.	N1:	*yhizzu l-ᵃɛrūsa w-ḥlū w-šmaɛ w-wāḥid w-yimšu… l-il-ḥammām. w-il-līla hāḏīka yṭayybu l-ᵃɛšā.* […]	They take the bride (to the hammam) and (they bring) sweets and candles and the like and they go… to the hammam. And that night they cook the dinner. […]
57.	N1:	*k il⁶⁸⁰ kānu f-il-ḥammām hōḏumka l-kull yitlammu baḥḏa l-ᵃɛrūsa.*	All those who were in the hammam gather at the bride's place.
58.	N1:	*ṣaḥbātha w-žīrānha w-il-kull, āka hāw. w-il-*famille*, il-ɛāyla. w… kā hāw. w-mbaɛ̣d l-inhāṛ il-ɛiris.*	Her friends and her neighbors and everyone, that is it. And the family, the family. And… that is it. And then until the wedding day.
59.	N1:	*qbal mā-yfūtū-š… muš iqbal… qbal iqbal nhāṛ w-qbal, fi… āna, f-waqti āna aṛibɛ ayyām akkāka, tlāṯ ayyām.*	Before they did not exceed… not before… before before (= even longer time ago) (it lasted for) a day and before, in… me, in my time, (it was) about four days, three days.
60.	N1:	*b-in-nisba qbal f-inhāṛ w-ġudwa… yitfāhmu il-yōm b-il-ɛiris, ġudwa ṛāw biš… ṯamma ɛiris, sāyē⁶⁸¹, famma ɛiris, ḥanni w-famma ɛiris.*	As for before, (it took place) in one day and tomorrow (= the next day)… They agree upon the wedding today, (and) tomorrow there will… be a wedding, that is it, there is a wedding, apply henna and there is a wedding.
61.	N1:	*qbal… kānit mā-fammā-š krāhib. kānu yimšu ɛa-l-iḥṣān. tibda baṛša hakkāya fōg il…*	Before... there were no cars. They were riding on the horse. The are many like this on the…
62.	AN:	*w-il-ibhīm.*	And the donkey.

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680 < *hāk illi*.

681 < Fr. *Ça y est!* "That's it!"

63.	N1:	*hay, yimšu ʕa-l-ⁱḥṣān, yimšu ʕa-l-ⁱbhīm kī tibda masā̆fa bʕīda xāṭiṛ mā-fammā̄-š kṛāhib.*	Yes, they go on the horse, they go on the donkey when the distance is long because there were not any cars.
64.	N1:	*w-famma… w-f-il-žanūb yimšu ʕa-ž-žmā̆l w-yaʕⁱmlu l-hawdiž.*	And there is… and in the south they ride on camels and they make the howdah.
65.	N1:	*il-hawdiž hīya ž-žiḥfa[682] nsammōha niḥna b-il-ʕaṛabīya hawdiž, lā̆kin b-laḥžit… b-lahžitna niḥna nsammōha žiḥfa.*	The howdah is the bridal palanquin, in Standard Arabic we call it *hawdiž*, but in the variety… in our variety we call it *žiḥfa*.
66.	N1:	*žmal, nḥuṭṭu fōgah akkā̆ya… šuftīh maṛṛa, tfaṛṛižti fīh maṛṛa?*	A camel, we put on it like this... Did you ever see it, did you ever watch it?
67.	N1:	*taww nwaṛṛīhū-lik zā̆da f-it-tṣāwir. ʕindi f-it-tṣāwir, ʕindi bint xūya b-iž-žiḥfa zā̆da.*	I will also show it to you in the pictures. I have it in the pictures, I also have my niece in the bridal palanquin.
68.	N1:	*ḥāṣīlu, yabda[683] ažwā̆ taḥfūna. muddit il-ʕirⁱs hā̆ḏīka žawwu taḥfūn baṛša.*	In short, the atmosphere is lovely. (During) that wedding period, its atmosphere is very lovely.
69.	N1:	*ā̆ka hā̆w. baʕⁱd ⁱtʕarris il-ᵃʕrūsa w-timši mʕā ṛāžilha f-is-sbūʕ[684]. džī l-dāṛ bōha w-yaʕⁱmlu ʕšā̆.*	That is it. Afterwards the bride marries and goes to a gathering called *sbūʕ* with her husband. She comes to her father's house and they make a dinner.
70.	N1:	*niḏⁱbḥu ʕallūš w-nistadʕu ž-žīṛān, il-ʕāyla, uṃṃā̆li l-ᵃʕrīs w-yžū yitʕaššu baḥḏāna l-ᵃhnā̆ w-naʕⁱmlu žaww.*	We slaughter a lamb and we invite the neighbors, the family, the groom's relatives and they come to have dinner here at our place and we have fun.
71.	N1:	*niḥtaflu bīhum zōz ʕirsān ṛawwḥu m-il-*voyage de noces*, niḥtaflu bīhum.*	We celebrate the bridal couple that came back from the

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682 This expression is widespread throughout the Maghreb varieties, cf. Singer (1984: 13), Louis (1961-62: 178), Louis (1972: 111), Dallaji-Hichri (2010: 96), Beaussier (1887: 79) and Ph. Marçais (2001: 6).

683 The speaker alternates between the forms *yabda* and *yibda* (sentence 61 and 63).

684 Gathering on the seventh day of their marriage.

honeymoon, we celebrate them.

72.	N1:	*ṭamma škūn il⁶⁸⁵ ysā̆fir w-famma il mā-yimšī-š baṛša, maʕnāha… ṭamma škūn yuxṛuž l-baṛṛa, ᵢl-xāṛiž.*	There are some who travel and there are some who do not go a lot, that means… there are some who go abroad, abroad.
73.	N1:	*maṯalán ngūlu mšā̆ l-Maṣᵢr, yimši l-il-Maġrib, yimši ᵢl-Mālīzīya, yimši Tūʷṛkya, fhimti?*	For example, let us say he went to Egypt, he goes to Morocco, he goes to Malaysia, he goes to Turkey, did you understand?
74.	N1:	*voyage de noces. kīfā̆š ᵢssammūh⁶⁸⁶ intum?*	Honeymoon (Fr.). How do you call it?
75.	AN:	*šhaṛ il-ʕasᵢl.*	Honeymoon (Arab.).
76.	N1:	*hāḏā̆ka Maṣᵢr ygūlu šahᵢṛ il-ᵃʕsal, āma famma škūn yaʕᵢmlah fi-blā̆dah, famma škūn yuxṛuž ᵢl-baṛṛa.*	That is (in) Egypt, they say honeymoon (Arab.), but there are some who do it in their country, (and) there are some who go abroad.
77.	N1:	*w-famma škūn l-ᵃhnā̆, maʕnāha mā-yimšī-š l-ḥatta buqʕa, kull wāḥid kīfā̆š ḏurūfah.*	And there are some who (spend it) here, that means they do not go anywhere, everyone (does it depending on) how their circumstances are.
78.	N1:	*illi ʕandu flūs yimši w-il mā-ʕandūʷ-š yabqa fi-dāṛu w-illi ʕindah ih⁶⁸⁷ akkā̆ka w-baṛṛa⁶⁸⁸ yimši l-il-ūtīl, yḥawwsu, ā̆ka hāw.*	The one who has money goes (on a honeymoon) and who does not have (money) stays at his home and the one who has only some money goes to the hotel, they stroll around (and have fun), that is it.

5.6. "Wedding in the Past"

Place: Hbeba
Speakers: Hbeba1/f/50 (H1), Hbeba2/f/85 (H2), Hbeba3/m/85 (H3)

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685 Abbreviated form of *illi*.

686 < *tsammūh*.

687 Exclamation for expressing that something is only just enough, not abundant.

688 The phrase *(h)akkā̆ka w-baṛṛa* expresses that something is done in an imperfect, barely satisfactory way. In this sentence it means that the person has barely any money.

1.	H1:	*gat-lik iḥkī-li ʕlā l-ᵃʕrās mtāʕ qbal kīfāš, kī ʕarristi inti maṭalán, fi-žīlik inti.*	She told you tell me about how the weddings were earlier, for example when you got married, in your generation.
2.	H2:	*ʕarrisⁱt nī rākba fōg ⁱfṛas, miš fōg ⁱbhᾱym w-iṭ-ṭabbāla gᾱlba ṛōḥḥa⁶⁸⁹ tuḏrub w-naḥna lābsīn iz-zwirⁱ⁶⁹⁰ mtāʕ l-Almān bikri…. ayyᾱmᾱt nitlaḥḥfu bīha.*	I married riding on a mare, not on donkeys and the drummers drummed intensively (lit. "they flip over") and we were wearing the blankets of the Germans in the past… (Those were) days when we covered ourselves up with them.
3.	H3:	*sažžli, sažžli!*	Record, record!
4.	H1:	*w-kī yžī yuxᵘṭbik ⁱḤsan, kīfāš? titqāblu mʕā bʕaḏkim, mā-dgᾱblū-š ⁱbʕaḏkim?*	And when Hassan came to ask for your hand, how (was that)? Did you meet each other, didn't you meet each other?
5.	H3:	*māw ⁱgbal kī yuxᵘṭbu m-mrē… mā-yimšū-š mʕā bʕaḏhum w-mā-yaʕⁱrfū-š bʕaḏhum maṛṛa waḥda līn nhᾱrit ⁱdžī, fhimti?*	Before, when they ask for the woman's hand… they do not go (out) with each other and they do not know each other at all (lit. "a single time") until the day (when he comes to ask for her hand) comes, did you understand?
6.	H2:	*miš kī taww.*	It is not like now.
7.	H3:	*mā-yaʕrifhā-š… w-taww hᾱw yimši w-yᾱha w-yitḥaddiṯ. gbal mā-ṯammᾱ-š.*	He did not know her… and now he goes with her and talks (with her). Before it (= meeting before the engagement) did not exist.
8.	H3:	*uxᵘzri! nīya ⁱxṭabⁱt ⁱmrē, im-mrē mā-rrīhᾱ-š⁶⁹¹ maṛṛa waḥda, maṛṛa waḥda. mā naʕrifha w-ⁱrrᾱha⁶⁹² illa*	Look! I asked for a woman's hand, I did not see the woman (even) once, (even) once. I (got to) know her and saw her only when I get to her (= her house),

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689 < *ṛōḥḥa*.

690 Cf. also Boris (1958: 256).

691 < *mā-nrīhᾱ-š*.

692 < *nrīha*.

		kān-iš kī taxⁱḷt-ilha[693], nhāṛit ⁱnžī.	the day when I came (to ask for her hand from her father).
9.	H3:	*āma hāw tawwīka hāy tbaddlit id-dinya, māy wallit…*	But now life has changed, it became…
10.	H1:	*lā tidri ʕlīha ḥōla lā tidri ʕlāha xōṣa[694].*	You do not know what she is (lit. "You do not know if she is cross-eyed or has ptosis.")
11.	H3:	*mā-yaʕrifha lā ḥōla w-lā faṛṭāṣa[695], hūw willa hīy, mā-yidṛū-š ʕlā ṛwāḥḥum.*	He neither knows if she is cross-eyed nor if she is bold, him or her (= they both do not know each other), they (= the engaged couple) do not know about themselves (= each other).
12.	H1:	*hūw kull ḥadd w-zahṛu.*	It depends on everyone's luck.
13.	H3:	*kull ḥadd w-zahṛa, hīy w-yāh. āma džī bāhya w-yitʕāšru āma yitʕāṛku. w-ktīrha blāš zdāgāt.*	It depends on everyone's luck, her and him (= hers and his). Either she turns out to be good and they get along with each other or they fight. And most of them (= most of the marriages) are without marriage contracts.
14.	H3:	*wāḥid yugʕud b-il-ʕāmīn, b-it-tlāta, b-il-xamsa… hāw Xaddūž![696] blāš zdāgāt, bāš yqayydu z-zdāgāt.*	Someone stays (married without a marriage contract) for two years, for three (years), for five (years)… There is Khadija[DIM]! (They spend years) without marriage contracts, until they (sign and) register the marriage contracts.
15.	H1:	*yʕarrsu blā zdāg.*	They marry without a marriage contract.

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693 It is unclear why the speaker uses the 3SG.F or else the 2SG.M verb form.

694 Also attested for Takrouna cf. Marçais/Guîga (1958-61: 1211) in the meaning of a person "who has an uneven opening of the eyelids or generally holds one of the eyelids half-closed".

695 Also found in Singer (1984: 470).

696 A person called Khadija just joined the group at that moment, so the speaker interrupts the story to point at her coming.

16.	H3:	*blā, mā-fammā̄-š. ʕizbātah gaʕdit, mā-ʕizbit-š, āna fā̄*[697] *ṛawwḥi!* […]	Without, it (= the marriage contract) does not exist. If he likes her, she stays, if he does not like her, (he tells her) go, go home! […]
17.	H3:	*lā yaʕṭuha flū*ʷ*s lā yaʕṭuha ḥatta ḥā̄za.*	They neither give her money nor anything.
18.	H3:	*gaʕdit gaʕdit, min*[698] *dabbit* ⁱ*mšit. il-kalba mšit, timši kalba w-taržaʕ ux*ᵘ*tha. āka hā̄w.*	(If) she stayed, she stayed, if she went, she is gone. The bitch went, a bitch (= woman[PEJ]) goes and her sister comes back (= and another woman comes). That is it.

5.7. "Folk Medicine"[699]

Place: Zaga
Speaker: Zaga2/m/40 (Z2)

1.	Z2:	*qbal ydā̄wu… ṭamma maṭalán nā̄s...talga ṛāžil kbīr ʕindah fikra ʕlā… ydā̄wu b-il-*ᵃ*ḥšā̄yš.*	Before they (used to) cure (diseases)… For example, there are people… you (can) find an old man who has an idea about… they cure (diseases) with herbs.
2.	Z2:	*ṭamma ḥāšā̄k*[700] *f-il-*ⁱ*bgar. ydā̄wu l-*ⁱ*bgaṛ b-il-*ᵃ*ḥšā̄yš.*	There is, far be it from you, (traditional medicine) for cows. They treat cows with herbs.
3.	Z2:	*nā̄s kbā̄ṛ, lākin f-il-waqⁱt hā̄ḍa mā-ʕāš-š*[701] *mōžūda.*	Old people, but in this time it does not exist anymore.
4.	NA:	*qbal* ⁱ*ddā̄wu w-inta ṣġīr kīfā̄š maṭalán?*	How did you cure (diseases) when you were young?
5.	Z2:	*taww maṭalán wā̄ḥid* ⁱ*qbal* ⁱ*ṣġīr yumṛuḍ, yḥuṭṭū-lah*	For example, when a child gets sick before, they put

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697 < Fr. *On y va*! "Let's go!".

698 The meaning of *min* in this sentence is unclear.

699 For folk medicine-related vocabulary in the South Tunisian variety of the Maṛāzīg see Petschmann-Toumi (2006).

700 *ḥāša* + object suffix is a phrase to apologize to the interlocutor for bringing up an indecent or unpleasant topic, also attested for Tunis (Singer 1984: 735f.), Takrouna (Marçais/Guîga 1958-61: 822) and the Algerian variety of Dellys (cf. Souag 2005: 168).

701 < *mā-ʕād-š*.

kālātūs ʕlā ṛāsah. yikᵢbsū-lah ṛāsah.	eucalyptus on his head. They tie his head tightly.

6. Z2: *ṯamma lli yšalḷṭū-lah b-mūs lām, yšalḷṭū-lah žibᵢhtah. yiẓri d-damm, lā-bās.*

There are (also) those who incise him with a shaving razor, they incise his forehead. The blood flows (out), (he gets) well.

7. Z2: *ṯamma maṯalán wāḥid ḥāšǎk kiršah tā-tiẓri. ṯamma ḥšīša tinbit f-il-wǟd hǟḏīya ysammōha bumṛān.*

There is, for example, someone who, far be it from you, will have diarrhea (lit. whose belly will run). There is an herb that grows in the riverbed, they call it *bumṛān*.

8. Z2: *yġallūhǟ-lah w-yšaṛṛbūhǟ-lah. yfizz lā-bās.*

They boil it for him and they give it to him to drink. He gets up fine (cured).

5.8. "Event of Death"

Place: Touila
Speaker: Touila4/f/60 (T4)

1. AN: *w-kī wǟḥid ymūt š-taʕᵢmlu?*

And what do you do when someone dies?

2. T4: *kī ymūʷt… kī ymūt hānah… ymūt hāna yibku ʕlīh, yibku ʕlīh miskīʸn.*

When he dies… When he dies there he is… (When) he dies, they mourn him, they mourn him, poor guy.

3. T4: *hāna min ġudwa ysaxxif yugʕud āk il… ḥatta kī ymūt…*

On the next day, there he is, he arouses pity, that one stays… even when he dies…

4. T4: *taww hāw kī ymūt yhizzūh kī yaʕᵢrfūh yžībūh l-iṭ-ṭbīb. mā-ysāʕid-š yhizzūh yidᵢfnūh.*

Now when he dies (= when he is about to die), they take him, when they know (that he is about to die), they bring him to the doctor. (If) it avails nothing, they take him and bury him.

5. T4: *lā māt, hāni⁷⁰² yugʕud miskīn kī hakkāka. […]*

If he died, there he is, the poor guy stays like this. […]

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702 It is unclear what *hāni* refers to. This is the only occurrence of *hāni* for 3SG.M in the corpus, the attested forms are *hāw ~ hānu ~ hānah*, but not with the suffix *-ni*.

6.	T4:	*a nāṛi ʕlā ṛāžli willa a nāṛi ʕlā wildi min wiš ymūt-ilha akkāka.*	(The woman says) "Oh my poor husband" or "Oh my poor son", from what (= why) he dies like this.
7.	T4:	*tibki ʕlīh, ywaṣṣlūh, yaḏⁱbḥu līh šwāḥ. yʕūd*[703] *taww hūw ẓawwāḷⁱ*[704] *ṛāhu* […].	She mourns him, they take him (to the graveyard), they slaughter sheep for him. (Even though) he is poor […].
8.	T4:	*yaḏⁱbḥū-lah āk iš-šyāḥ*[705]*, tōkul l-ᵃʕbād āk ⁱftayyta*[706] *l-lḥam w-ftayyta l-kusᵘksi. āka hūw, mšā ʕlā ṛōḥa.*	They slaughter those sheep for him, the people eat those bits of meat and bits of couscous. That is it, he is gone.
9.	T4:	*tugʕud āk il-ⁱmṛā miskīna tʕāni.*	That poor woman stays (alone) and struggles.
10.	T4:	*tʕāni tkabbir ūlādha, timši miskīna tixdim, tuṭlub ʕlīhim, tūgif ʕlīhim līn twaṣṣilhim tiglibhum ṛažžāla.*	She struggles to nurture her children, the poor (woman) goes to work, she begs for them, she supports them until she makes them reach (success) and turn them into men.
11.	T4:	*w-iṛ-ṛāžil kī tmūt l-ⁱmṛā, hāna yimši yōxuḏ mrē uxṛa, ydabbir dirbāla*[707] *uxṛa kīfha.*	And the man when the woman dies, he goes and marries another woman, he finds another woman[PEJ] like her.
12.	T4:	*w-ōk il-awlād, ōk il žābhum, ōka ydibbu msākīn ʕlā ṛwāḥḥum.*	And those children, those that he fathered, those poor ones go away (= they look after themselves).
13.	T4:	*yihⁱmlu, yimšu msākīn… mā-tidrī-š ʕlīhum wēn dabbu.*	They roam about, the poor ones go… You do not know about them where they went to.

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703 For the NA copula *yʕūd* see 3.6.6.1.

704 < Tr. *zavallı* "poor, pitiful".

705 The speaker uses two different plural forms, *šwāḥ* (sentence 7) and *šyāḥ*. In Boris (1958: 331) the plural form *šyâh* is found.

706 Cf. OA *futāt* "crumbs, bits" as well as Beaussier (1887: 488) "pain émietté; en miettes".

707 In Singer (1984: 546) and Boris (1958: 168) *dirbāla* is found in the meaning of "ragged piece of clothing". In this case, the speaker uses *dirbāla* as a derogatory term for a woman and compares a woman with a ragged piece of clothing.

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