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The Arabic Spoken in Kairouan (Tunisia): towards a Reassessment of the Arabization of Northern Africa

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The Arabic Spoken in Kairouan (Tunisia):

Towards a Reassessment of the Arabization of Northern Africa

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للقرأى
للشعب التونسي

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Alessia D'Accordio Berlinguer

Paris

Abbreviations

AA	Andalusi Arabic
ART	definite article
C	consonant
DE	Deutsch
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
EL	elative
EN	English
EXCL	exclamative
FEM	feminine
FR	French
IT	Italian
IMP	imperative
INT	interrogative
JA(Vs)	Judeo-Arabic (varieties)
KA	Kairouani Arabic
lit.	literally
M	Muslim
MASC	masculine
MA	Muslim Arabic
MagA	Maghrebi Arabic
MLT	(Standard) Maltese
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
N	noun
OA	Old Arabic ¹

¹ The definition of Old Arabic in this dissertation has to be intended as a cover term which opposes Classical Arabic, MSA, etc., to contemporary Arabic vernaculars. Precisely, OA is used ‘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).

P-	prefix
PL	plural
pron.	pronoun
R	speaker with <i>rīf</i> origins and from the provinces of the Governorate
S	singular
S-	suffix
SG.F	singular feminine
SG.M	singular masculine
SA	Sicilian Arabic
SIC	Sicilian dialect
TA	Tunisian Arabic ²
v	short vowel
̄	long vowel
*	reconstructed form
	syllable boundary
:::	emphatic lengthening
[xxx]	unintelligible word

² I use ‘Tunisian Arabic’ as ‘an umbrella term for the primarily Arabic vernaculars of Tunisia’ (Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun 2023: 128)

Symbols used for transcription³

b	[b]	voiced bilabial stop
ḃ	[b ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced bilabial stop
p	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop
m	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal
ṁ	[m ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced bilabial nasal
w	[w]	voiced labiovelar approximant
f	[f]	voiceless labiodental fricative
v	[v]	voiced labiodental fricative
t	[θ]	voiceless interdental fricative
ḏ	[ð]	voiced interdental fricative
ḏ	[d ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced alveolar stop
ḏ	[ð ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
t	[t]	voiceless alveolar stop
ṭ	[t ^ʕ]	emphatic voiceless alveolar stop
d	[d]	voiced alveolar stop
n	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal
s	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
ṣ	[s ^ʕ]	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
z	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative
ẓ	[z ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced alveolar fricative
ẓ	[ʒ]	voiced post-alveolar fricative
š	[ʃ]	voiceless post-alveolar fricative
l	[l]	alveolar lateral approximant
ḷ	[l ^ʕ]	emphatic alveolar lateral approximant
r	[r]	voiced alveolar trill
ṛ	[r ^ʕ]	emphatic voiced alveolar trill
y	[j]	voiced palatal approximant
k	[k]	voiceless velar stop
ḵ	[k ^ʕ]	emphatic voiceless velar stop

³ All the allophones of Kairouani Arabic consonant phonemes are presented in detail in sections §2.1. Likewise, the symbols used to transcribe long and short vowels – and their allophones – are directly described in §2.2 for more accuracy.

g	[g]	voiced velar stop
x	[x]	voiceless velar fricative
ḡ	[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative
q	[q]	voiceless uvular stop
ħ	[ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ʕ	[ʕ]	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ʔ	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop
h	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative

Hyphen

The hyphen (-) is used in this study only in the following cases. It splits the definite article from its noun or adjective (*l-...*), the monosyllabic conjugations (*b-...*, *f-...*), the suffix pronouns (*...-i*, *-k*), the elements composing the circumfixal negation (*mā- ...-š*), and the coordinating conjunction *w*, when followed by a short vowel (*w-əl-...*).

Preface

I started researching Tunisian Arabic (henceforth TA) in 2018 after graduating in Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) from the *Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes* (IBLV) in Tunis. At that time, I asked my current supervisor, Prof. Riccardo Contini, to supervise me for my master's thesis on TA under the co-supervision of my current co-supervisor, Prof. Luca D'Anna, at the University of Naples 'L'Orientale'. Taking advantage of the revival of the *Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* project, my thesis focused on the etymology and morphological structures of fish names in the TA spoken in the Governorate of Mahdia. The main results of this study have been the identification of around a hundred etymologies of fish names from Arabic, Latin, Italian – and dialects – French and Berber (D'Accordio Berlinguer 2021a; D'Accordio Berlinguer 2021b), and the analysis of the four morphosyntactic structures most used for denominating fishes in TA (D'Accordio Berlinguer 2022).

Having approached the study of Maghrebi Arabic (henceforth MagA) in general – and Tunisian in particular – I realized there were still many Arabic-speaking areas of Northern Africa to describe and analyze. Moreover, there were several unsolved questions about historical linguistic aspects concerning the Arabization of this region. Among them, the paradoxical theory on the role played by ancient Kairouani Arabic (henceforth KA) stood out. It was Giuliano Mion who pointed out to me, during my first conference in Cagliari, in 2019, that several scholars for almost a century have considered the Arabic spoken in Kairouan between the 7th and the 9th century to be the first Arabic variety historically spoken in Northern Africa and the unique origin of all first-layer varieties. Nevertheless, KA was never systematically studied and was still unknown then.

The echo of this key theory, all the doubts it carried with it, and the lack of detailed and accurate linguistic descriptions of MagA varieties prompted me to stay within TA and especially to approach the Arabic – at least – currently spoken in Kairouan. In the meantime, memories of when Kairouani traders in 2018 begged me to stay, talk, and listen to them even though I had already spent all my dinars did not leave me. That encouraged me to believe that collecting hours of interviews there, pleasing the speakers, and contributing simultaneously to the scientific community would not be too difficult.

Furthermore, the choice to carry out this dissertation in co-supervision at the INALCO of Paris was given by the need to improve my methodological training at one

of the main and most prestigious study centers on linguistics and, particularly Maghrebi dialectology, thanks to the supervision of my co-supervisor, Prof. Christophe Pereira.

This research was realized in three years during the COVID-19 pandemic. This historical event caused great difficulties for researchers in accessing the field, confronting them with new challenges and – sometimes alternative and until then unconventional – ways of ‘reaching’ the field, adapting their studies on the ongoing unstable remolding of that time (Williams et al. 2021). In this context, my dissertation also suffered from and had to adapt to the historical moment in which it was developed. However, I strongly tried to ensure that these difficulties did not affect the results of my work.

Finally, as is the very essence of the research, this dissertation does not always give (definite) answers to all the questions I have asked myself in these years, both in front of the data I analyzed and with the speakers I interviewed. Nevertheless, it fills a gap in Arabic dialectology studies, and I hope it will raise further questions for whoever reads it.

List of Maps and Figures

Figure 1: Map of Tunisia	p. 20
Figure 2: Map of Kairouan Governorate.....	p. 21
Figure 3: The municipalities of Kairouan Governorate.....	p. 22
Figure 4: Map of present-day Kairouan	p. 24
Figure 5: Kairouan in 1887. The medina and the <i>Zlāš</i> suburb.....	p. 27
Figure 6: Urban evolution of Kairouan from 1930 to 1988 (Kerrou 1995: 98)....	p. 29
Figure 7: Badreddine’s transcription samples. Corpus I.....	p. 43
Figure 8: Commercial routes passing through Kairouan.....	p. 253

Introduction

This dissertation aims at providing a comprehensive linguistic description of the phonology and morphology of the Arabic variety spoken in the city of Kairouan (Tunisia). Furthermore, it aims at contributing to the ongoing debate about the reassessment of the traditional classification of Maghrebi Arabic (Caubet 1998; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020; Guerrero 2018; Mion 2014, 2015, 2018; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Pereira 2018), questioning the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA from ancient Kairouani Arabic (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65).

Starting from 1925, ancient KA was considered the origin of all first-layer varieties for almost a century. The French colonial scholar William Marçais (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) defined the city of Kairouan as the 'mère des cités du Maghreb' (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII) and ancient KA as the first variety of MagA (W. Marçais 1950: 219) spoken in the region. Besides, this theory was refined by David Cohen, who proposed a subgroup of first-layer varieties, calling them *parlers kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65). These varieties should be the local linguistic evolution of ancient KA (Caubet 2004: 64–65). The scientific literature often mentions KA, but paradoxically, we lack any studies on the topic. For almost a century, this variety of Arabic has been considered by several scholars (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219; Singer 1984: 9; D. Cohen 1988: 106; Caubet 2004: 64; Aguadé 2018: 39) the first historically spoken in the region, although it has never been systematically studied. Indeed, the only study available on KA is Belhassen Badreddine's (1977a) unpublished dissertation, *Le parler de Kairouan-ville, étude phonologique et phonétique*, which focused on phonetics and phonology.

Consequently, my dissertation aims to fill the gap in describing present-day KA and overcome the paradox according to which neither historical nor linguistic data have ever verified W. Marçais's theory, which mostly reverberated due to the scholar's stature in the field (Benkato 2019: 10).

In order to achieve the phonological and morphological description of KA, I apply the functionalist methodological approach that is commonly used in the most significant studies of descriptive and comparative dialectology of MagA (Stumme 1896; Ph. Marçais 1956; D. Cohen 1975; Singer 1984; Caubet 1993; Ph. Marçais 1977; Vicente 2000; Pereira 2010; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Guerrero 2015). Sharing this approach, I

conducted interviews in Kairouan (and in Italy with some diaspora speakers) and collected more than 46 hours of audio and video recordings of free speech, ethno-texts, and questionnaires. Moreover, Belhassen Badreddine's interviews (Badreddine 1977a; Badreddine 1977b) – collected in 1974 in Kairouan – have also been added to my corpus for diachronic comparison of phonological and morphological isoglosses. The grammatical description shown in this dissertation is the result of the analysis of this data collection. This approach also includes comparative remarks on geographically and typologically related varieties of Arabic. Moreover, it is integrated with the most up-to-date Arabic variationist sociolinguistic approach (Messaoudi 2001; Miller et al. 2007; Bassiouney 2009; Messaoudi 2019; Al-Wer & Horesh 2019; Al-Wer et al. 2022) – based on different sociolinguistic parameters, such as the speaker's age, gender, and origin – to understand the relationship between language and its context of use.

With the aim of questioning the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA from ancient KA and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais*, this study enters an ongoing debate (Mion 2015; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Mion 2018; Guerrero 2018; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020; Bettega & Morano 2022; Naddari 2023) on the reassessment of traditional theories and classifications of spoken Arabic varieties. In order to achieve this goal, this dissertation focuses on the major historical phases and social phenomena occurring in Northern Africa between the 7th and 11th centuries – in correspondence with the beginning of the two so-called waves of Arabization. From a comparative point of view, it will also consider the diachronic development and the synchronic distribution of three isoglosses (i.e., the realization of the etymological *qāf*, interdental fricatives, and diphthongs **aw* and **ay*) in first-layer Arabic across present-day and more ancient varieties such as Andalusian and Sicilian Arabic, Maltese, and some Judeo-Arabic varieties.

This study does not intend to present a contemporary Arabic variety to draw conclusions or hypotheses about a very distant linguistic past. However, it will show that the data collected in the present and the comparative analysis with other more ancient varieties of MagA may support Arabic dialectologists in evaluating whether it makes sense to continue recalling Marçais' axiom on ancient KA's primacy and first-layer monogenetic origin.

The comprehensive grammatical description of KA will facilitate answering the following research questions:

- How can present-day KA be classified within the linguistic panorama of TA and, more generally, MagA? Is KA a sedentary-type variety, as already affirmed by W. Marçais (1950: 206–207)?
- Is any sociolinguistic variation in KA attested? What does this variation consist of, and where does it come from? Are any of the isoglosses of this variation typical of Bedouin-type MagA (W. Marçais 1950: 211–216; Ph. Marçais 1977)? Is this variation related to any specific category of speakers? Why? Is there any parallelism between sociolinguistic dynamics developed in KA and in other contemporary Arabic-speaking urban contexts?

The review of historical sources and the comparison of both synchronic and diachronic linguistic data will facilitate answering these other following research questions:

- Could present-day KA still be related to the variety spoken in the city during the first wave of Arabization?
- Considering historical and both synchronic and diachronic linguistic data, can we continue to support William Marçais’ theory, according to whom ancient KA was the first Arabic variety spoken in Northern Africa and from which first-layer Arabic is derived? Could there be a non-Kairouani origin of first-layer Arabic?
- Is there a typological relationship between present-day KA and the so-called *parlers kairouanais*? Are the *parlers kairouanais* actually the local evolutions of ancient KA?

Regarding its structure, this dissertation is divided into six chapters. The first one, entitled ‘Introduction to Kairouan and its Arabic variety’, is a broad (socio)historical and geographical overview of the city of Kairouan and the composition of its population. After presenting the geographical location of Kairouan and the most relevant historical events of the city’s past, I focus on aspects related to the social composition of its population and the more recent urbanization and migration phenomena that will help to explain and justify the aspects of linguistic variation that will be discussed in the following sections. Therefore, I present the sociolinguistic profiles of the informants interviewed, the methodology used to collect and analyze my data collection, the theoretical approach in which this dissertation is embedded, and the state of the research on the study of TA. In doing so, I introduce my critique of W. Marçais’ theory.

The second chapter is called ‘Phonology’ and is divided into eight major sections. After illustrating the phonemic and phonological inventory of KA, I focus on the phones and phonemes that present noteworthy elements because they are dissimilar from other varieties of TA and MagA. Thus, I show the diphthongs, including both the historical reconstruction of **aw* and **ay* – now monophthongized in *ū* and *ī* – and those currently attested to in KA. After presenting syllable structures and stress rules, I describe the syllabic transformations that monosyllables and polysyllables present when suffixed. This chapter ends with a section on the verbal name and one on phonotactic phenomena, such as assimilation, dissimilation, haplology, metathesis, gemination, elision, and pharyngealization.

The third chapter, ‘Verbal Morphology’, focuses on the verbal morphological system of KA. After a broader introduction to the verb in KA, fourteen main sections treat the trilateral verb, the extinct patterns (IV, VII), the productive patterns (II, III, V, VI, VIII, X, IX/XI), the mixed X + V, the passive form in *t*- and the quadrilateral verb. For each category, I conjugate regular, geminate, assimilate, hollow, and defective roots; irregular roots (**√rʔy*, *√žyʔ*) and ex-hamzate roots (**√ʔkl*, **√ʔxd*) are also included. For each conjugated verb, I present the prefix (P-), suffix (S-), and imperative stems, and masculine and feminine active and passive participles. When possible, the semantic values expressed by the augmented patterns are also provided.

The fourth chapter, ‘Nominal and Pronominal Morphology’, is divided into nouns, the expression of definiteness and indefiniteness, pronouns, and numerals. The noun section shows the categories of gender and number and the morphological patterns identified in the corpus of biliteral, trilateral, quadrilateral, quinquilateral, prefixed, suffixed, diminutive, and elative adjectives and nouns. The second section focuses on the linguistic strategies used to define a noun or to maintain it in an indefinite state. The third section collects personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite pronouns and the relative marker. The chapter ends with cardinal and ordinal numerals and the expression of days, months, fractions, percentages, and hours.

The fifth chapter, ‘Adverbs, Particles, Prepositions, Conjunctions’, is divided into four main sections. The first one collects temporal, local, modal, degree, and interrogative adverbs. The second focuses on the particles and shows the genitive marker, affirmative, negative, interrogative and exclamative particles, the *fi* marker, the existential *famma*, and the presentatives *ṛā-*, *hā-*, and *mā-*. The last one presents simple and compound prepositions, as well as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

Finally, the last chapter collects the conclusions of this study and presents my future research outlooks. The first part of the chapter sums up the conclusions of the grammar description of KA. It defines KA linguistic typology, motivating the sociolinguistic variation found within it. The second part presents a historical overview of the major phases and social phenomena occurring in Northern Africa between the 7th and 11th centuries. Moreover, it compares the diachronic development and the synchronic distribution of three isoglosses (i.e., the realization of the etymological *qāf*, interdental fricatives, and diphthongs **aw* and **ay*) in first-layer Arabic across present-day and more ancient MagA varieties (Andalusi and Sicilian Arabic, Maltese, and some Judeo-Arabic varieties). In light of this data, it finally outlines whether it is conceivable to consider that there could be some typological relationship between the Arabic currently spoken in Kairouan and that spoken starting from the 7th century and question both the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA from ancient KA and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais*.

Ten ethnographic transcribed and translated texts collected during the interviews in Kairouan are attached to the dissertation to provide insight into my linguistic corpus and more comprehensive examples of the linguistic variety described. The final bibliography and glossary – collecting the lexical items transcribed in this dissertation and some other frequent words gathered during the interviews – conclude the dissertation.

**I. CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION TO KAIROUAN AND ITS
ARABIC VARIETY**

1.1 The city of Kairouan

1.1.1 A Historical-Geographical Overview

Kairouan (*al-qayrawān* in OA, *qurwān* [qur^swɛ:n] in KA)⁴ is located in north-central Tunisia and is considered a holy Islamic city. It is the capital of the homonymous Governorate and has about 190,000 inhabitants, according to the 2014 census. Kairouan lies 184 km south of Tunis and 50 km west of Sousse, which represents the city's opening onto the sea.

Figure 1: Map of Tunisia⁵



⁴ According to scientific (Badreddine 1977a: 12; Mahfoudh 2005: 4095) and popular sources, the toponyms *al-qayrawān* (OA) and *qurwān* (KA) come from the Persian *kārvān*, ‘caravan, military outpost’, referring to the city’s foundation. This Persian etymology promptly explains the current KA phonetic realization of *qurwān*, unlike what I argued in D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 241).

⁵ <https://www.worldometers.info/maps/tunisia-map/>, last accessed on April 20th 2023.

Figure 2: Map of Kairouan Governorate⁶



From an administrative point of view, the Governorate is divided into eleven delegations and 12 municipalities (Kerrou 1995: 83), as shown below in the map.⁷

⁶https://archiqoo.com/sites/administrative.php?area_country=Tunisia&area=Kairouan+Governorate, last accessed on March 9th, 2023.

⁷ A detailed description of the Governorate municipalities helps the reader get a clearer idea of the origin places of some speakers interviewed for this study (see §1.5.1).

Figure 3: The municipalities of Kairouan Governorate⁸



The city of Kairouan was founded around 670 by General ṢUq̣ba ibn Nāfiṣ, who established in *Ifrīqiya* a military outpost for conquering the Maghreb (Mahfoudh 2009: 19). Between the 7th and the 10th centuries CE, Kairouan became the political, cultural, and religious capital of Northern Africa (Mansour 1976: 27–52), replacing the ancient city of Carthage. It was the first Arab-Islamic nucleus in the Maghreb and rapidly became the core of the Arabization and Islamization of the whole region. This city was the cradle of Malikism and a cultural center for studies of mathematics, medicine, philology, and astronomy (Sakly 2000: 85), attracting scholars from all over the world (Sakly 2000: 78). Arab writers, geographers, and historians described Kairouan

⁸<http://www.tunisieindustrie.nat.tn/fr/doc.asp?docid=594&mcat=13&mrub=105>, last accessed on April 20th, 2023.

comme un grand centre politique et administratif où les ordres des souverains aghlabides fatimides et zirides se répandent dans la Berbérie orientale. (Despois 1930: 165).

Despite its prestige and cultural dynamism, some copious migrations and new settlements occurred from Kairouan to the new Arab-Islamic cities in Northern Africa already in the 9th century. The first major migration flow was caused by political and religious opponents and the inhabitants who escaped from Kairouan after the acts of violence executed during the Zirid era (10th - 11th century) and after the destruction of Kairouan's ramparts. These Kairouanese mainly resettled in Fes – where they founded the neighborhood of *al-qarawiyyīn* in 809 (Levi-Provençal 1938: 24) – and in the Constantine region (Mansour 1976: 46). The second most significant migration flow occurred during the Bedouin conquest.⁹ Indeed, Bedouin tribes reached Kairouan in 1052 and destroyed it. So, people fled to the rural surroundings and other cities (Mansour 1976: 47; Mahfoudh 2009: 46). Among them, Mahdia, Tunis, other littoral Tunisian cities in the Sahel, some rural areas – such as Jebel Ouslet, Jebel Serj, Jebel Bargou – Fes, al-Andalus, Sicily, and Egypt, probably crossing Libya, which is too often omitted from historical sources that deal with the migrations of the time. Only a minority of the population who remained in Kairouan joined the newly arrived Bedouin tribes (Trabelsi 1988: 210-211). This historical event is considered the end of the city's golden age. Henceforward, Kairouan became an agricultural center and never regained its ancient and legendary glory.

Historical sources relating to the following centuries are not abundant, probably because the city no longer played a role of power in Northern Africa. Sources become copious and more detailed again, only with the beginning of the French protectorate (1881-1956).

Thus, making a leap in time to the French colonization period, it should be said that the French army carried out a massive urbanization plan organized around a north-south axis and another east-west, reminiscent of the European areas of Tunis, Sousse, or Sfax. The birth of the municipality of Kairouan in 1895 boosted the city's urbanization and administrative organization by building hospitals, post offices, hotels, gardens, etc., allowing the city to become the Governorate's capital, endowed with all the regional services. As a result, all this renewal, new economic offers, and labor supply led to

⁹ On the use of the label 'Bedouin', see §1.3.1.

population movements from rural areas to the city, bringing inter-dialect contacts,¹⁰ which, as I will show in the next sections, have left clear linguistic traces in present-day KA.

Despite this modernization, however, Kairouan remains an interior and marginal city compared to Tunis and the other coastal cities (Mahfoudh 2009: 52–55). Moreover, the current economic crisis and high unemployment rate, which affect the whole country, mainly impact the inland and rural areas where Kairouan belongs.

Figure 4: Map of present-day Kairouan¹¹



¹⁰ As I will argue in the following sections, this has also been the case in other Arabic-speaking contexts set in similar processes of massive urbanization (Miller et al. 2007).

¹¹ https://www.viamichelin.it/web/Mappe-Piantine/Mappa_Piantina-Kairouan--Kairouan-Tunisia, last accessed on March 1st, 2023.

1.1.2 Urbanization, Migrations, and Population Composition

Given that this dissertation's primary goal is to linguistically describe present-day KA – taking into account its sociolinguistic variation (see §1.3) – it is necessary to also focus on some socio-historical data of Kairouan's past, including the composition of its ethnic population.

According to Trabelsi (1988: 212–219), the city's population should mainly comprise the *Baldi* and the *Zlāṣ*¹². The *Baldi* claim to be the descendants of the first-wave conquerors, i.e., the sedentary community settled in the urban city from the 7th century. Instead, the *Zlāṣ* should constitute the originally nomadic population, descendants of the Bedouin tribes of the 11th century, who mainly settled in the countryside (Trabelsi 1988: 212–219; Kerrou 2002: 17–18).

La structuration fondamentale de la société urbaine locale est celle qui distingue entre *beldî* et *Zlassî*. La première catégorie désigne le Kairouanais de souche (*qayrawânî, qarwî*) prétendant généralement descendre des conquérants arabes victorieux qui ont fondé la ville au VII^e siècle. Certains, comme les Lawani, revendiquaient ainsi des origines chérifiennes remontant à la famille du Prophète. D'autres, comme les Saddam par exemple, formaient une noblesse religieuse fort prestigieuse par son ascendance arabe yéménite ainsi que par l'exercice quasi héréditaire des fonctions d'imam de la Grande Mosquée et de bach-mufti ou grand juriconsulte. Ces familles et d'autres anciennement implantées telles que les M'rabet, Adhoum, Bouras, Bouhaha, Attallah, Allani ou Alouini se considèrent et sont considérées comme citoyens de souche ou *beldî*-s. D'ailleurs, dans toutes les villes de Tunisie, il existe des *beldî*-s qui se distinguent des ruraux et des villageois par leurs métiers, maisons, parlars, habits, cuisine et autres manières de faire et d'être. Leurs *habitus* s'accompagnent d'une idéologie de mépris envers une catégorie considérée comme inférieure de par ses origines, qui se réfère aux éléments tribaux et ethniques des groupes bédouins dits *Badwî* ou *'Arbî*. Pareils groupes, plus nomades que sédentaires, portent ici le nom de *Zlass* ou *Jlass* et comprennent les fractions ou *'Arch*-s des *Awlad Iddir*, *Khalifa*, *Sendassen* ainsi que les *Kaoub* et les *Gouazzin*. Ayant pour ancêtre commun « un certain *Jlass* dont l'origine est incertaine » (« Notes sur les tribus... » 1902 : 22-23), ils sont éparpillés dans le Kairouanais. Cette région est également habitée par des éléments provenant d'autres tribus, notamment les *Hamama* de la région de *Gafsa*. [...]. La tribu des *Zlass* est l'une des plus importantes des tribus tunisiennes, dont les fractions campaient au nord, à l'ouest et au sud de la ville de Kairouan. (Kerrou 2002: 17–18).

Even if one assumes such a clearly bipartite and ancient ethnic composition of Kairouani population, it should be noted that at least from 1052 (when the Bedouin conquerors reached Kairouan), only a minority of this population remained in the city, joining the newly arrived tribes. Instead, most of the people escaped or were killed. Consequently, this supposed binary and ancient ethnic division may have already weakened from the 11th century. The *Zlāṣ* and *Baldi* may have already mixed by then,

¹² Popular sources state the Berber origin of this word, whose meaning remains obscure and likely refers to a tribe name.

and it is hard to conceive the opposition between these two groups as still representative of the current population.

Thus, this ethnic opposition rather suggests a pretentious reference to the city's ancient past and its foundation reworked by popular culture and based on the more recent social opposition 'urban-rural', which still seems to have a central role for the inhabitants of Kairouan.¹³

Kairouan est de prime abord une ville isolée au milieu des steppes environnantes où habitent les Zlass. C'est pourquoi la question urbaine est inséparable de la dualité médina-rif ou ville historique-campagnes, avec tout ce que charrie cette dualité complexe de rapports entre une capitale régionale et son arrière-pays. Il y a là toutes les implications des phénomènes de l'exode, de l'urbanisation spontanée, et de la néo-citadinité. Celle-ci est structurée moins par la logique de la mobilité sociale que par la réalité de la pauvreté. C'est pour cette raison qu'il importe d'esquisser ici les grandes lignes du triple phénomène de l'urbanisation, de la pauvreté, et de sa gestion sociale et politique en essayant de les situer dans leur cadre local, régional, et national. (Kerrou 1995: 84).

Focusing on Kairouan's more recent past— from the end of the 18th century – the boundary between the city and its countryside did not remain unchanged over the centuries due to political and socioeconomic reasons and urbanization phenomena. Historical sources attest that the so-called *Baldi* and *Zlāṣ* started mixing in the city's urban context (Trabelsi 1988: 212–219).

First, during the Ottoman era, a war between Husseyn Ben Ali (1675-1740) and his nephew Ali Pasha (1736-1756) involved the deportation of the inhabitants of Djebel Ouslet and a consequent significant flow of migration towards Kairouan 'qui contribua à la ruraliser' (Mahfoudh 2009: 50–51). Moreover, the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881 strongly influenced the spatial and social changes that underlie the city's current urban geography and social composition (Kerrou 1995: 76). Indeed, before the Protectorate, the urban space of Kairouan was approximately limited to the medina and its suburbs and was inhabited by the historical city-dwellers. However, during the Protectorate, the city experienced intense urban development, attracting people from the countryside. Consequently, even the urban space exploded and developed outside the ancient medina. The French administration built the European neighborhood outside the ramparts, and some suburbs – inhabited by the newly arrived *Zlāṣ* – sprang up spontaneously (Kerrou 1995: 76-96).

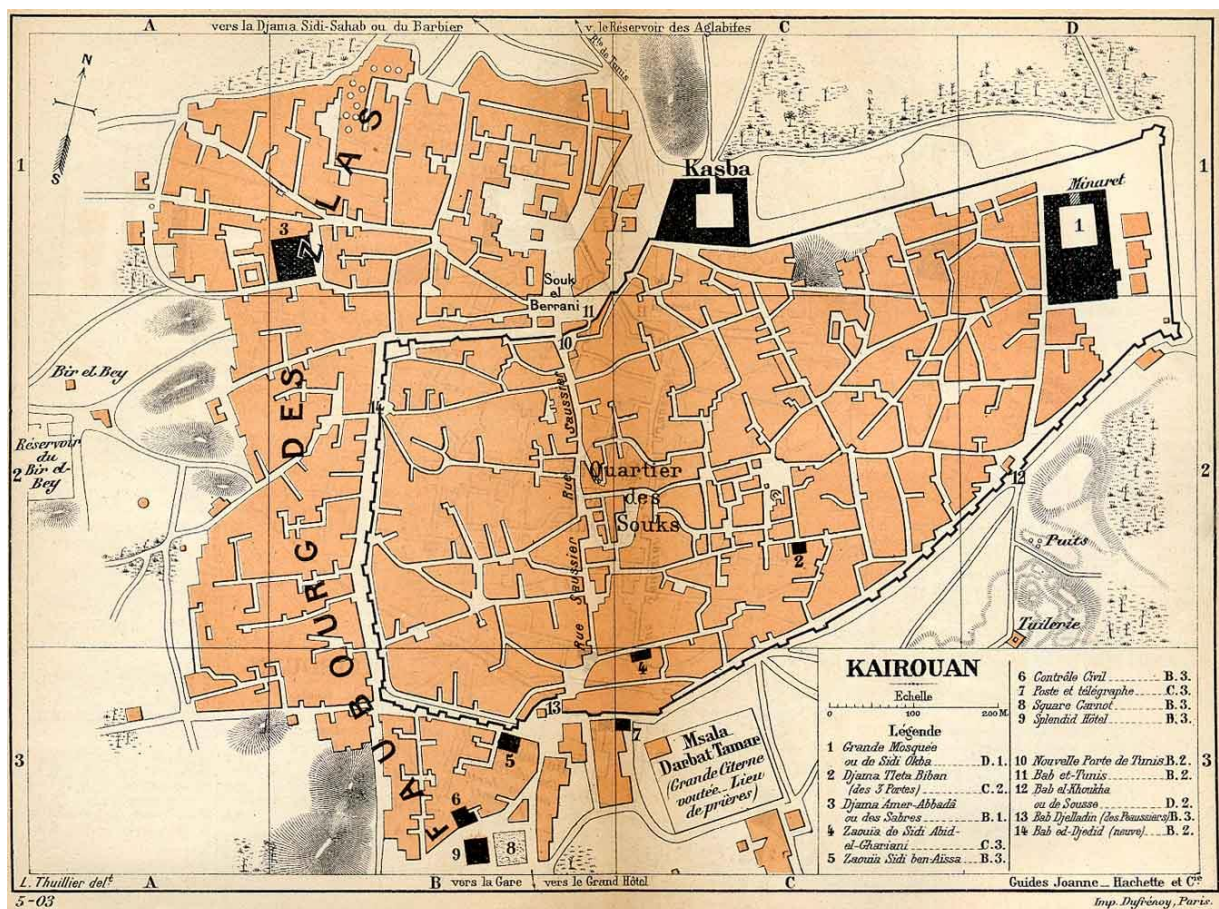
[... L]es bédouins Zlass commencent à affluer à Kairouan au rythme d'un millier par an. À la fin du protectorat, il y a déjà 5.000 personnes vivant dans les gourbis qui se développent à

¹³ Even during my interviews, I found speakers who proudly claimed their descent from the *Baldi*, in contrast to the rural origins of some other Kairouani people.

proximité de Sidi Sahib. C'est là un signe de l'échec d'une politique publique au sein d'une ville de l'intérieur qui n'a pas été élue *ville coloniale* mais conservée comme simple *ville de garnison*. (Kerrou 1995: 82-83).

This new territorial expansion and the consequent division into neighborhoods initially corresponded to an ethnic and social division. The neighborhood concept – *hūma* in TA – constituted the inhabitants' identity reference. The *Baldi* inhabited the three *intra-muros* neighborhoods. The *Zlāš* were installed in the new neighborhoods outside the city walls (Kerrou 2002: 7).

Figure 5: Kairouan in 1887. The medina and the *Zlāš* suburbs.¹⁴



At the same time, Kerrou states that the *faubourg des Zlass* is an Occidental and colonial definition never mentioned by local studies or Kairouani people. He affirms that

[...] malgré de nombreux autres témoignages occidentaux, l'existence de ce quartier Zlass est occultée, au niveau linguistique, par les sources locales – écrites et orales – ainsi que par la cartographie officielle. Tout se passe comme si la bédouinité en ville et la relative

¹⁴<https://www.twentytwo-group.org/documents/251/مدينة-القيروان>, last accessed on April 20th, 2023.

discrimination spatiale, sociale et idéologique qui l'accompagnait, étaient trop honteuses pour être révélées et dites. [...] Cette différence de perception du « Faubourg des Zlass » consistant soit dans la mise en valeur, soit dans le silence sur le fait bédouin en ville, voire sa négation, montre que le regard colonial tend à l'ethnisation et à l'hétérogénéisation de l'espace de la médina de Kairouan alors que le regard indigène – qu'il s'agisse de l'élite ancienne du savoir ou de la nouvelle élite politique nationale – tend à l'homogénéisation. Mais, les deux poursuivent le même objectif de soumission politique de l'espace et de ses acteurs, notamment des plus rebelles ou supposés tels, comme les bédouins. (Kerrou 2002: 21).

The subsequent French interventions in the urban space of Kairouan between 1896 and 1936 influenced the evolution of the medina and the social and political management of the suburbs. With the massive population increase and the inhabitants' growth, the colonial administration intended to replace the administrative divisions based on social, religious, or ethnic grounds with strictly territorial divisions. Moreover, specific neighborhoods were extended over part of the city and its suburbs and even beyond into the countryside. The French governance intended to abolish the symbolic, administrative, and spatial opposition between *Baldi* and *Zlās* (Kerrou 2002: 8). Nevertheless, even today, people in Kairouan define *Baldi* as the historical inhabitants of the city and *Zlās*, those who come from the surrounding countryside.

After Tunisian independence in 1956, the concept of *hūma* itself definitely faded (Kerrou 2002: 16). According to Kerrou, the *hūma* concept

se maintient encore dans le langage populaire et l'imaginaire social mais tout se passe comme si, administrativement, elle n'existait pas car [...] elle ne se lit ni dans les divisions administratives ni sur les cartes urbaines. (Kerrou 2002: 16).

Nevertheless, the city's social composition and urban geography did not stop changing. Due to the independence and the strong population growth, Kairouan faced a new massive phenomenon of a new rural exodus (Mansour 1976: 81) and consequent new inter-dialect contacts.¹⁵ Because of floods, epidemics, famines, and unemployment, the *Zlās* continued moving to the city's outskirts. Meanwhile, the intellectuals and the upper-middle-class relocated to the capital, Tunis, for education and work (Mansour 1976: 185–194; Badreddine 1977a: 10). This rural exodus to Kairouan was the second largest in Tunisia, so much so that Trabelsi (1988: 673) states that one-fifth of the Kairouani population in the late 1980s was of rural origin.

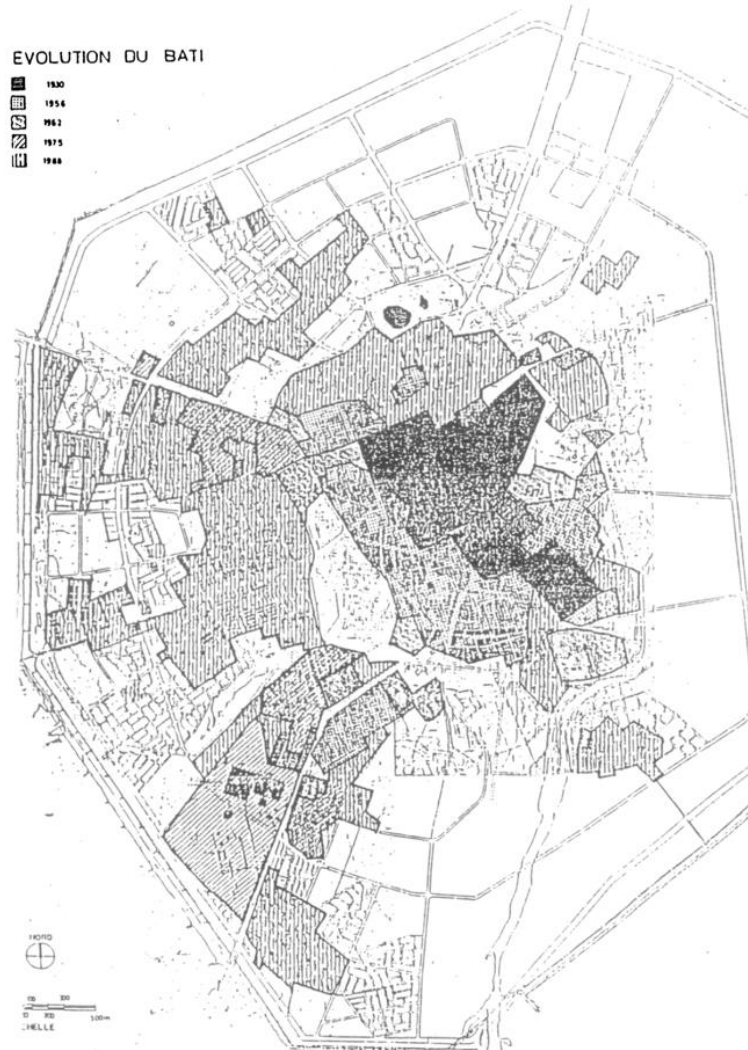
So, this phenomenon shows two directions: the one of the *Zlās*, who migrated from the countryside towards Kairouan, and the other of the *Baldi*, who moved from

¹⁵ On linguistic contacts and dialect-leveling in Tunisia from the Independence, see Sayahi (2014: 28–32).

Kairouan to other urban areas (mostly Tunis, Sousse Nabeul, Monastir, and Sfax) and abroad, mainly to France and Italy (Mansour 1976: 195–200; Trabelsi 1988: 626–641; Kerrou 1995: 85–86). The immigration coming from Tunis and Sousse remained limited (Trabelsi 1988: 630–639) because from the last century Kairouan had only sub-regional *soft power* in Tunisia, as historical data shows.

Figure 6: Urban evolution of Kairouan from 1930 to 1988 (Kerrou 1995: 98).

M. Kerrou : Mutations de l'espace et de la société dans la ville contemporaine de Kairouan.



Source : Plan d'aménagement de la ville de Kairouan.

No more recent surveys of the current composition of Kairouani population have been found. Nevertheless, these more recent local historical facts, the internal and external migratory path, and the composition of Kairouani population mentioned above must be considered for the purposes of the linguistic description of KA. They provide a clear key

to interpreting the relevant phenomena of sociolinguistic variation identified in this study, as I will explain in the next section.

1.1.2.1 Possible linguistic outcomes of social processes in Arabic-speaking contexts

Cities are “*par essence*” places of contact and heterogeneity; and since the 1960s have been the locus of research on language variation and change. (Miller 2007: 1).

This is the incipit of Miller’s Introduction to *Arabic in the City* (Miller et al. 2007), a collection of fifteen case studies on eighteen cities that offer an overview of the most evident outcomes of linguistic urbanization in Arabic contexts from Nouakchott to Sanʿa (Miller 2007: 1–2).¹⁶ Encompassing various methodological and theoretical approaches, this book primarily discusses the impact of internal migration in both individual speech and phenomena of dialect convergence or divergence (Miller 2007: 2), especially as a consequence of urbanization. Indeed, internal migration is one of the major social consequences of the urbanization trend in most Arabic-speaking settings in the second part of the 20th century (Miller 2007: 8).

Despite

[t]he Arabic-speaking world covers a wide and heterogeneous geographical area and includes very different types of urban settings, national constructions, social organizations, and language situations [...], urbanization has been one of the important socioeconomic changes of the second part of the twentieth century. Predominantly rural in the mid-twentieth century, the population of most Arab countries is now predominantly urban. (Miller 2007: 2).

This phenomenon of internal migration carries with it a main sociolinguistic question proposed by Miller to better understand the formation of contemporary Arabic vernaculars:

What is the influence of internal migration upon the development of urban vernaculars and what kind of dialect contact, dialect accommodation or dialect shift has taken place? (Miller 2007: 9)

It is evident that there is no single answer for all linguistic developments in such a heterogeneous geographical area. Still, some common trends can be outlined when observing Arabic varieties.

¹⁶ For other case studies on linguistic outcomes from migration and urbanization phenomena in Arabic-speaking contexts, see Holes (1995), Vanhove (2002), and Amara (2005).

According to another study of Miller (2004: 182-189), the role of migration in the development of urban vernaculars between the 14th and early 20th centuries mostly led to two main types of processes:

1. The Bedouinization of old urban vernaculars: a Bedouin-type new *koiné* replaces the former urban vernacular, which becomes restricted to religious minorities and/or women (it is the case of Mesopotamia, Northern Africa, and Bahrein);
2. Koineization and levelling: the urban vernacular is maintained and leveled without significant transformations (it in Cairo and Damascus).

However, if one takes into account contemporary migration – which occurred during the second half of the 20th century – Miller (2004: 193-197) proposes five other Arabic-speaking urban archetypes that result from migration's impact and koineization. They are classified as follows:

1. capitals – such as Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Casablanca – with a prestigious and well-established vernacular that has become an unofficial national standard;
2. capitals – such as Algiers, Sanʿa, and Beirut – of countries that have known recent demographic or political conflicts causing an important rate of rural migration, in which the linguistic impact of the migration can change from case to case;
3. emerging of new cities, like Amman, with mixed populations and the rural/Bedouin varieties that influence the development of the urban variety;
4. cities with a high presence of non-Arabic-speaking migrants, implying the use of different varieties of Arabic (including even pidgin-creole types), like in Khartoum, or the formation of pidgin Arabic, like in Gulf cities.

Given this general theoretical framework, I will also investigate in my dissertation whether and what linguistic outcomes linked to migration and urbanization phenomena are traceable in current KA. Indeed, I observed a degree of linguistic variation in my corpus that may be the outcomes and consequences triggered by social processes developed during three main time frames. They are the massive migration flows verified from the early 18th century, after the deportation of the inhabitants of Djebel Ouslet towards Kairouan; the migratory waves that occurred from the end of the 19th century as a consequence of the urbanization program of development established by the French Protectorate and the assignment of Kairouan as the administrative center of the Governorate; and the more recent rural exodus from the countryside, because of floods, epidemics, famines, and unemployment, after the Independence in the 1960s.

In this direction, along with the comprehensive phonological and morphological description, I will analyze the variation in my corpus by considering the speaker's geographical origin, parents' origin, and migration paths.

Finally, in this study's conclusions, I will show how KA is positioned in relation to the language dynamics mentioned above that have developed in other contemporary Arabic-speaking urban contexts.

1.2 Choice of the topic and objectives

Continuing the introductory purpose of this chapter, the following section explains why I chose to investigate precisely the present-day variety of Arabic spoken in Kairouan and what are the objectives of this dissertation.

Traditional studies on MagA dialectology go back to the colonial age. Starting from these studies, Maghrebi varieties were classified based on typological criteria – e.g., the pronunciation of the consonant *qāf* [q] vs. [g]¹⁷ – influenced by the ancient and sociolinguistic opposition ‘sedentary-Bedouin’ proposed by Ibn Khaldun in the *Muqaddima* (Benkato 2019: 2-3) of the 14th century. For Maghrebi varieties, unlike the other varieties of Arabic, this binary subdivision also has a diachronic dimension (Caubet 2004: 64), since it corresponds to the bipartition between first- and second-layer varieties¹⁸ generated by the two waves of Arabization of the Maghreb: the first, carried out starting from the 7th century by Arab armies, the second, starting from the 11th century by the nomadic Bedouin tribes of the Banū Hilāl, the Banū Sulaym, and the Maṣqil (W. Marçais 1938; W. Marçais 1956).¹⁹

¹⁷ ‘Though the [q] versus [g], or sedentary versus Bedouin, dichotomy is fundamental to Arabic dialectology, Ibn Khaldūn’s influence on this field, and in particular via colonial scholarship on North Africa, has gone to a great extent unacknowledged, and, even more importantly, critically unexamined.’ (Benkato 2019: 3).

¹⁸ On the terminological choice of ‘first-layer’ vs. ‘second-layer’ instead of ‘pre-Hilali’ vs. ‘Hilali’, see. §1.3.1.

¹⁹ The idea of two distinct stages of Arabization is now widely contested by scholars, who are in favor of the idea of a continuous and gradual Arabization over the centuries (Magidow 2021). ‘We must consider an alternative narrative of westward expansion. Whatever effect the tribal migrations of the 5th/11th century had has been greatly exaggerated, and does not seem to have been the watershed moment that changed the linguistic situation in North Africa. Instead, it is more convincing to posit a longer term, continuous series of migrations from east to west bringing Arabic speakers into North Africa, and creating a linguistic division between older populations and new arrivals’ (Magidow 2013: 246).

As far as first-layer varieties are concerned, the pioneer of Maghrebi dialectology, the French colonial scholar William Marçais, highlighted the presence (at least in his time) of common linguistic isoglosses between sedentary Tunisian varieties and those of the old urban centers of the Maghreb (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219), tracing it back to ancient KA.

By relying on the historical data and the cultural, political, and religious role played by the city of Kairouan until the second-wave invasions, this scholar identified in the city of Kairouan – and its ancient variety of Arabic – the linguistic Arabization core of Northern Africa. He defined this city as the ‘*mère des cités du Maghreb*’ (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII) and ancient KA as the first variety of MagA (W. Marçais 1950: 219) spoken in the region. He specifically stated that the isoglosses shared by first-layer varieties would have resulted from a common linguistic substrate corresponding to the Arabic spoken in Kairouan between the 7th and 9th centuries. At that time – as argued in the previous section – the inhabitants of Kairouan started moving and settling in the rest of the Maghreb, in Sicily, Egypt, and Malta (Trabelsi 1988: 210) for political and religious reasons. According to W. Marçais, KA began spreading in Northern Africa (W. Marçais 1950: 219) at that point, acting as a prestige variety. The derivatives of KA would have continued to be spoken at least until the early 20th century as local evolutions of the ancient KA (W. Marçais 1950: 219; Caubet 2004: 64).

Lately, David Cohen refined W. Marçais’ theory, proposing a subgroup of first-layer varieties, calling them *parlers kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65). Among these varieties, Caubet (2004: 64–65) quotes the MA of Fez, Tlemcen, Nedroma, the JA of Tunis, Fez, Sefrou, Algiers, and Maltese. Moreover, these vernaculars would have influenced the *villageois* varieties of the Jbala in Morocco, Trara in Algeria, and Sahel in Tunisia.

Despite the supposed importance of ancient KA for the linguistic history of Northern Africa and the ancient Arabic-speaking Mediterranean (present-day Malta, ancient Southern Spain, and Italy), we still had neither synchronic nor diachronic studies on KA.²⁰ Although Kairouan’s cultural, religious, and political role within the Islamic West is widely recognized by historical data, its role in the linguistic Arabization of Northern Africa has yet to be proved by data. The scientific literature often mentions KA,

²⁰ The only study available on this variety was the phonetic and phonological unpublished dissertation written in 1977 by Belhassen Badreddine (*Le parler de Kairouan-ville, étude phonologique et phonétique*) presented in section §1.4.2.1.

but paradoxically, it lacks any studies on the topic. Several scholars (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219; Singer 1984: 9; D. Cohen 1988: 106; Caubet 2004: 64; Aguadé 2018: 39) have considered KA for almost a century, to be the first Arabic variety historically spoken in the region, although it has never been systematically studied. This theory has continued to reverberate without question, and what Aguadé wrote in 2018 is an emblematic sample:

Qayrawān [was] the origin of the spread of all pre-Hilālī Maghrebi dialects and there is no reason not to accept this assumption. (Aguadé 2018: 39)²¹.

Furthermore, speaking of *parlers kairouanais*, their diffusion, and the spread of Arabic in Northern Africa, it is evident that the previous and traditional literature looked at what laid from Kairouan towards the West, excluding what geographically – and therefore linguistically – laid from Kairouan to the East, i.e., modern Libya. Describing the Arabization of Libya from the 7th century,²² Pereira (2007: 78–80) assumes that ‘a pre-Hilalian Arabic dialect became well implanted and was to develop’ (Pereira 2007: 78–80) from that time. This means that some form of Arabic was probably already spoken before the foundation of Kairouan. Nevertheless, most dialectologists who have focused on Northern African Arabic varieties tend not to include the role that the very first Arabic spoken in Libya may have had within the process of linguistic Arabization of the region. As a result, the paradigm of Maghrebi Arabization was created exclusively based on what lies West of Kairouan, without Libya. There is no debate on what typology of Arabic was spoken in Libya from its conquest prior to 670, nor on what linguistic relationship there might have been between ancient KA and what was linguistically forming in Libya in the meantime.

The theories and classifications presented above constitute a huge scientific paradox for the Arabic dialectology field because, for a long time, they lacked abundant – multidisciplinary – data to prove the results obtained.

However, in more recent years, many theories and the classification itself are under the scientific community’s attention, being discussed, reconsidered, and revalued by data (see §1.3) (Mion 2015; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Mion 2018; Guerrero 2018; Benkato 2019; D’Anna 2020; Bettega & Morano 2022; Naddari 2023).²³ Consequently, I decided

²¹ Benkato (2023: 23) also mentions this statement with emphasis.

²² The date of the conquest of Tripoli dates back to 643-645 (Pereira 2007: 78–80).

²³ The ongoing research projects TUNOCENT and WIBARAB, presented in §1.4.4, also fit into this debate.

to enter this line of studies, documenting present-day spoken KA. My research sheds light on a variety of Arabic that has been repeatedly cited in studies on Maghrebi dialectology as the *terminus post quem* of the Arabization of North Africa. These studies adopted a colonial approach to research that was not based on verified (socio)linguistic and historical data. On the contrary, my dissertation aims to fill the gap in describing the phonetic, phonological, and morphological (socio)linguistic phenomena found in the synchronic corpus-based study of spoken KA. Moreover, it aims to show the weakness of the monogenetic origin of first-layer Arabic and better define linguistic criteria to assess the *parlers kairouanais* theory. This result will come from an in-depth focus on the major historical phases and social phenomena occurring in the Maghreb between the 7th and 11th centuries – in correspondence with the beginning of the two so-called waves of Arabization – and on the diachronic development and the synchronic distribution of three isoglosses (see Chapter VI) of first-layer Arabic. These isoglosses are the realization of the etymological *qāf*, interdental fricatives, and diphthongs **aw* and **ay*. This comparison is based on the analysis of present-day and more ancient varieties of first-layer Arabic, such as Andalusī Arabic (henceforth AA), Sicilian Arabic (henceforth SA), Maltese (henceforth MLT), and some JA varieties (henceforth JAVs).

Thus, this dissertation aims to open the possibility of critically reconsidering – at least the early stage of – the linguistic process of the Arabization of Northern Africa, starting with the reassessment of ancient KA's role. Once again, it underlines the necessity of (re)discussing traditional definitions and classifications by using sociolinguistic and historical data in diachrony and synchrony.

This study does not intend to present a contemporary Arabic variety to draw conclusions or hypotheses about a very distant linguistic past. However, it will show that the data collected in the present and the comparative analysis with other more ancient varieties of Arabic may support Arabic dialectologists in evaluating whether it makes sense to continue recalling Marçais' axiom on ancient KA's primacy and 'uniqueness'.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Following the new critical review of Maghrebi dialectological studies supported by Adam Benkato (2019), we should remember that W. Marçais belonged to the French colonial apparatus in Northern Africa and pursued the colonial discourse in his studies. If one considers the traditional classification of TA (W. Marçais 1950), it is quite evident that

he simplified the linguistic panorama of those varieties, spreading the idea of a direct connection between the migrating conquerors of the 7th and the 11th centuries and the varieties spoken in the 20th century in Northern Africa. It follows that the scholar made this classification without linguistic mapping carried out in the field. As occurred for the notes he wrote on his first report on the Arabic of Fezzan (Libya), W. Marçais occasionally provided ‘no data in support of his claims’ (Benkato 2019: 10). Nevertheless, his statements and the categories he introduced were increasingly taken as fact, thanks to his stature in the field (Benkato 2019: 12). As happens regarding the primacy of ancient KA in the Arabization of Northern Africa,

the categories of knowledge produced by colonialism have lived on after the “official” end of colonialism and, in many fields, remain the dominant categories of inquiry and analysis. In this way, dialectology is still colonial, operating, [...], within categories and discourses which originate in colonial discourse, and which have yet to be interrogated. (Benkato 2019: 19).

Regarding the classification of KA among the Maghrebi varieties, for instance, it is worth noting that already Badreddine, in 1977, doubted defining KA as a sedentary variety (Badreddine 1977a: 11), as W. Marçais did. He criticized the phonetic criteria used by W. Marçais in classifying contemporary Arabic vernaculars; specifically, he affirmed that the distribution of /q/ and /g/ between ‘parlers citadins, parlers ruraux et parlers villageois’ (Badreddine 1977a: 127) turned out to be a fragile criterion destined to disappear. Moreover, he considered the fact that KA had not yet been studied at his time and, consequently, there was no data to classify it as a sedentary variety. Furthermore, according to the author, the local history of the city demonstrated that starting from the 1960s, the community had expanded and included non-native Kairouani inhabitants who – speaking non-sedentary varieties of TA – introduced non-sedentary isoglosses in KA.

Drawing on the new innovative critical approach to colonial studies in Arabic dialectology (Mion 2015; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Mion 2018; Guerrero 2018; Benkato 2019; D’Anna 2020; Bettega & Morano 2022; Naddari 2023), this dissertation aims to answer the call to revisit sources, theories, and definitions and interrogate them as colonial knowledge (Benkato 2019: 19).

In this direction, I propose a call to reassess not only the reliability of W. Marçais’ theory on the uniqueness of a single Kairouani origin of all first-wave varieties but also the very linguistic situation attested in Northern Africa starting from the 7th century. Moreover, by analyzing my data corpus, I will typologically identify the Arabic variety currently spoken in Kairouan, detaching from the traditional methodology, which has

long excluded historical and sociolinguistic contexts from the linguistic descriptions of spoken Arabic (Miller 2007: 24). In addition to the linguistic data, I take into consideration both the available historical and sociolinguistic sources associated with the Arabization of the region, in general, and of Kairouan, in particular. As illustrated by D'Anna (2021: 108) , among others (Miller 2004: 178), one of the main desiderata of Arabic dialectology is to engage more deeply with history in general and local history in particular. Local history plays a notable role in the linguistic investigation, as it 'might provide some clues to understand the formation of [the] dialect [under analysis]' (D'Anna 2020: 95). Indeed, sharing this theoretical and, consequently, methodological approach helps me to figure out and explain the abundant phenomena of sociolinguistic variation found in the synchronic study of KA.

Even if the theoretical and methodological approach used by W. Marçais is criticized in this dissertation, the enormous value of his studies is well recognized. Therefore, any survey on Maghrebi dialectology cannot be carried out without mentioning W. Marçais' works, and this will continue to be the case for many years. By the same token, I also use some of his traditional classificatory labels (see the following section), waiting for alternatives more aligned with the Northern African (socio)linguistic reality.

1.3.1 Terminological Issues and Transcriptions

Entering the current aforementioned debate on the reassessment of labels used to classify MagAr, I decided to consecrate this section to discuss and motivate my choices regarding the terminology I use for referring to MagA varieties.

When I allude to diachronic aspects of Maghrebi varieties and their historical background, I use the labels 'first-layer' and 'second-layer', relating to the historical events of the so-called two waves of Arabization. In doing so, the first label refers to the varieties formed during the initial settlements in Northern Africa by Arab conquerors started in the 7th century. The second label refers to the varieties formed during a second and more widespread migration and settlement by Bedouin tribes from the 11th century. The choice of this binary terminology is the result of an intense debate²⁴ in which I

²⁴ Already Caubet (2000: 74) and Benkato (2019: 9) proposed to replace also the urban/sedentary and Bedouin labels with first- and second-layer: 'the terms "urban" and "sedentary" are sometimes used interchangeably, since the original distinction was between older dialects located in the old cities of North Africa established by the Arab

participated with some of the prominent scholars of Maghrebi dialectology, held during the International Conference *Revisiting Traditional isoglosses in the Maghreb: Methodology, Terminology, Classification (Algeria, Tunisia, Libya)*, at the University of Wien on June 2-3, 2022. The classification that opposes ‘first-layer’ to ‘second-layer’ varieties attempts to overcome the traditional division between ‘Hilali’ and ‘pre-Hilali’ varieties, which originated at the end of the 19th century in the context of colonial scholarship. Even if the ‘Hilali’ vs. ‘pre-Hilali’ classification also includes the historical dimension of the formation of Maghrebi varieties, it is still based on a tribal dichotomy broadly questioned, starting with David Cohen’s studies, which proposed using the labels ‘non-Hilali’ (Caubet 2000: 74, 76) vs. ‘Hilali’ instead.

As far as the synchronic dimension is concerned, I share the terminology and classification mainly set up by William Marçais (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925; W. Marçais 1950), Georges-Séraphin Colin (1945), and Philippe Marçais (1957), then resumed and updated by Christophe Pereira (2018). Consequently, ‘first-layer’ varieties are labeled as ‘sedentary’ and are subdivided into ‘urban’²⁵ and ‘*villageois*’²⁶; while ‘second-layer’ varieties are labeled as ‘Bedouin’ and are sub-grouped into ‘Hilali’, ‘Sulaymi’, and ‘Maŕqili’.

For the purposes of this dissertation – which does not deal in detail with the ‘second-layer’ varieties – I will define all ‘second-layer’ invasions that arrived in Kairouan from the 11th century as ‘Bedouin’, even if I am aware that the ethnic composition of the conquerors was more complex. Similarly, the linguistic label ‘second-layer’ includes everything that is not ‘first-layer’, without going into the merits of its three sub-groups mentioned above.

In most cases, the labels ‘sedentary/Bedouin’ today no longer have – and in some cases, they never had – any ecolinguistic reflection but continue to be used while awaiting more adequate definitions.

conquerors in the 7th century, and newer dialects spoken by nomadic populations of Bedouin located outside of the urban centers. Nowadays the vast majority of Arabic speakers in North Africa are sedentary and live in urban areas anyway and so the terms urban/sedentary and Bedouin are no longer useful, if they ever were; the purely chronological terms “first-layer” and “second-layer”, though only very recently beginning to be used, are more meaningful.’ (Benkato 2019: 9).

²⁵ In French *citadin* (Pereira 2018: 489).

²⁶ The label ‘*villageois*’ is also currently being highly revised (Mion 2015; Guerrero 2018; D’Anna 2020).

Referring to the classification, I will not use labels other than the ones presented in this section except when mentioning the works of other scholars in which they are employed.

1.4 State of research

1.4.1 The Arabization of Northern Africa and the Classification of MagA

The Northern African Arabization process needs more research from a historiographical and linguistic point of view. In fact, if the historiography relating to the Arab conquests in Northern Africa can be considered adequate (Nickerson 1961; Abun-Nasr 1987; Dhanun Taha 1989; Lo Jacono 2003; Kaegi 2010), there is undoubtedly a need for more in-depth studies on the internal events following the conquests. For this dissertation, I found only generic and approximate information on the migration movements carried on by the inhabitants of Kairouan towards the new Arab-Islamic cities of the Maghreb from the 7th to the 11th century (Idris 1969; Mansour 1976; Trabelsi 1988; Nahon 1993; Sakly 2000; Mahfoudh 2009). Furthermore, from a linguistic point of view, relatively few studies are available on the situation in the Maghreb at the time of the conquest and the linguistic Arabization process (W. Marçais 1938; W. Marçais 1950; W. Marçais 1956; Colin 1945; Ph. Marçais 1957; Molan 1978; Aguadé, Cressier & Vicente 1998; Caubet 2004; Magidow 2013; 2021; Aguadé 2018; Pereira 2018; Guerrero 2021). In this regard, there is an increasing debate on the accuracy and representativeness of the Maghrebi varieties' classification (Caubet 1998a; Mion 2014a; Mion 2015; Mion 2018; Pereira 2018; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Guerrero 2018; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020) traditionally dating back to the pioneer studies of Maghrebi dialectology (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925; Cantineau 1937; 1939; 1941; Colin 1945; W. Marçais 1950; Ph. Marçais 1957). The current question of the classification highlights how much the 'sociolinguistic' division in 'sedentary' vs. 'Bedouin' varieties, as well as the socio-historical labels 'pre-Hilali/non-Hilali' vs. 'Hilali/Sulaym/Maŕqil' (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925; W. Marçais 1950; Ph. Marçais 1957; Ph. Marçais 1977), is incomplete and limited for the more complex panorama of the classification of Maghrebi varieties. Consequently, the scholars involved in this debate (Caubet 1998a; Mion 2014a; 2015; 2018; Pereira 2018; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Guerrero 2018; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020) propose studying and

classifying Arabic vernaculars by the identification of (new) typological criteria to overcome this impasse.

1.4.2 Sedentary Urban TA

Regarding the available studies on MagA, there is also a serious lack of exhaustive and detailed descriptions for a large part of the Arabic-speaking language area of the Maghreb, especially for Tunisia. The sedentary urban Tunisian varieties to which KA belongs are almost unknown, and some of the available descriptions go as far back as even about a century.

The main reference works on the MA of Tunis (Gibson 2009) are the monographs by Hans Stumme (1896) and Hans-Rudolf Singer (1984), which focus exclusively on the language spoken in the city's medina. As regards the Tunis JA, I mention the description and text collection by David Cohen (1964; 1975). In recent years, study projects have been launched aiming at a more complete mapping of Tunisia and its rural areas, which are still unknown. The Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Vienna, under the direction of Stephan Procházka, launched the *Linguistic Dynamics in the Greater Tunis Area: a corpus-based approach (TUNICO)*²⁷, which collects a huge corpus of the language spoken by the capital's young people together with a multilingual diachronic dictionary (English, German, French) of TA.

Regarding the MA spoken in Sousse, a grammar, a collection of eighteen texts, a syntactic study, and a small glossary by Fathi Talmoudi (1980; 1981; 1984) are available. For the Sousse JA, the Ph.D. dissertation by Lucienne Saada (1969), which collects twenty-four texts and a brief introduction to the vernacular, is the main reference (Saada 1956). Saada (2001) also published a commented text on Jerba JA. Regarding the city of Sfax, only a brief grammatical sketch of the MA variety was published by Zeineb Sellami (2019). Three main studies were conducted on the MA spoken in Mahdia (Attia 1969; Yoda 2008; La Rosa 2021), but none so far offer an updated and exhaustive description of this variety.

Regarding Kerkennah Arabic, a first study was conducted by André Louis (1961). Furthermore, Bruno Hérin and Martin Zammit published a paper in 2017 entitled *Three for the Price of One: The Dialects of Kerkennah (Tunisia)* (Herin & Zammit 2017), in

²⁷ The TUNICO project ran from August 2013 until July 2016. For more details, see <https://tunico.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/project.html>.

which they label Kerkennah varieties as ‘pre-hilalian’(Herin & Zammit 2017:145), identifying three different linguistic typologies and, consequently, proving the significant linguistic variation currently found with respect of Louis’(1961) work.

As far as KA is concerned, the only study available is *Le parler de Kairouan-ville, étude phonologique et phonétique*, a phonetic and phonological unpublished dissertation written by Belhassen Badreddine in 1977 (1977a; 1977b).

1.4.2.1 *Le parler de Kairouan-ville. Étude phonologique et phonétique* by Belhassen Badreddine

Almost nothing is known about the author except that he is from Kairouan – ‘issu d’une famille installé là-bas depuis des générations’ (Badreddine 1977a: 18) – and that claims his affiliation – among others – with André Martinet. This study is the result of the ‘analyse acoustique des voyelles et des consonnes du parler de Tunis [et] de Kairouan’ (Badreddine 1977a: 1) after a period of fieldwork. Although I was exclusively interested in his phonetic and phonological study of KA for my dissertation, it must be said that a large part of Badreddine’s work aims to compare the results obtained from the study of TA with those of some dialects of the Caucasus and Russian.

This study is divided into two volumes. In the first (Badreddine 1977a), the author sums up the phonetic and phonological system of KA spoken; in the second (Badreddine 1977b), he provides the phonetic transcription of three interviews that will be presented in detail in §1.5. Although Badreddine’s corpus is excerpted from seven hours of recordings (Badreddine 1977a: 19) collected in the summer of 1974 in Kairouan, the second volume coincides with an annex of just 433 numbered lines. Each interview (named ‘corpus’) belongs to a different speaker and includes several direct and reported verbal interactions.²⁸

It should be said that Badreddine’s dissertation must be critically analyzed, and some issues need to be discussed here. First, the corpus follows a complex and uncommon system of transcription that often makes it difficult to read the data. For this reason and to enhance the transcription’s consistency, I have significantly modified the linguistic examples extracted from the corpus and shown in the present study according to the system of transcription reported at the beginning of this dissertation. Secondly, some of

²⁸ For the sociolinguistic information Badreddine provides on the three speakers, see §1.5.

the conclusions proposed by the author are not supported by the data presented. For this reason, they are contested in the present study when necessary.

Because of the critical issues related to this corpus, I use it only as an accessory data collection to be mainly consulted on the morpho-syntactic level. It represents, in any case, a ‘picture’ of KA in 1974. If carefully and mindfully analyzed, this is a unique material that offers linguistic data that is no longer available and would otherwise be lost entirely.

The following extract is the first page of the first interviews of Badreddine’s corpus to show the reader the transcription system used by the author. The use of dots serves to indicate the vowel timbre, the colons mark the vowel length, and the stress indicates the intensity and/or height (Badreddine 1977a: 55).²⁹

Figure 7: Badreddine’s transcription samples. Corpus I (Badreddine 1977b corpus I,1)

²⁹ For all other details on Badreddine’s transcription system, see Badreddine (1977a: 55-56).

I

1. [ʕ.əm.ərɔf.ɪ:n nz.ɪl-t fə-l-ʕá.sk..ər ||
an quarante descendre je dans le armée
En 1940, je suis parti à l'armée.
2. [ʕ.əm-ũ w.ənd-ũ w-ərbɪ.ɪ:n | mʃ..ɪ:-t
an et un et quarante aller je
En 1941, je suis allé
3. [lə-l kún də ʒənɪ.s | l-ɪ.- *sbɪ.tl.ä ||
à le camp de jeunesse à Sbeitla
au camp de jeunesse de Sbeitla.
4. [n.ä-lqä. *ʕl..əjj..ä b.ɪn *sɪ.ɪ:d-ũ
je trouver Alayya fils Saïd et
J'ai trouvé A. ben Saïd et
5. [*h..əmd..ä b.ũ *ʃ.ərb.ɪjj.ä | s..əbq.ɪ-n
Hamda bou Charbijja sont en avance ils
Hamda bou Charbijja qui étaient arrivés avant moi.
6. [-.ũl.äd l.ɪ-bl.á:d || xlä..t || < ä..h j.ä
garçons la ville arriver je oh ô

1.4.3 Other varieties of TA

Regarding non-sedentary-urban TA, below is a short list of the most relevant descriptive studies available on the Muslim varieties. They are alphabetically ordered by sample

point: Gabes (Cantineau 1951; Skik 1969), Gafsa (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014b), Jemmal (Attia 1969), Jerba (Behnstedt 1998a; Behnstedt 1999), Mateur (Mion 2014a), Msaken (Bouhlel 2009), Nefza (Naddari 2023), Nabeul (Dallaji 2016), Takrouna (W. Marçais & Guîga 1961), Tozeur (Saada 1984), Zarzis (Bouaicha 1993).

The most important descriptions of the Marāzīg varieties were conducted by Gilbert Boris (1951; 1958) and Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (2011; 2014a; 2020).

An ongoing research project (2019-2023) that aims at the collection, documentation, and analysis of varieties spoken in the North-Western and Central Tunisia is the ‘Tunisia’s Linguistic *terra incognita*: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia (TUNOCENT)’, led by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (University of Vienna) in cooperation with Karlheinz Mörth (Centre for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage of the Austrian Academy of Sciences).³⁰ The latest project launched (from October 2021 to September 2026) by the Institute of Oriental Studies (University of Vienna) and the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage (Austrian Academy of Sciences) is called ‘What Is Bedouin-type Arabic?’ (WIBARAB). This project, led by Stephan Procházka, aims to better understand the nature of the linguistic dichotomy between sedentary and nomadic varieties by applying innovative and interdisciplinary research methods of dialectology, general linguistics, sociolinguistics, and historical interpretation.³¹

I am also aware of the project to draft the *Atlas Linguistique de Tunisie* – directed by Taïeb Baccouche – whose materials remain unpublished, except for a few papers (Baccouche 2002).

1.4.4 Maghrebi and Tunisian Arabic Dictionaries

A further gap in TA dialectology concerns the absence of exhaustive, updated, and accessible dictionaries. A part of the monumental but complex consulting dictionary of Takrouna Arabic by W. Marçais (W. Marçais & Guîga 1961), the most relevant TA dictionary are the dated ‘*Dictionnaire arabe-français*’ and ‘*Dictionnaire français-arabe*’ by Alfred Nicolas (1911; 1938), the ‘*Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*’ by Gilbert Boris (1958), the ‘Peace Corps English-Tunisian Arabic Dictionary’ (Ben Abdelkader, Abdeljelil & Naouar 1977) and the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation ‘*Studi lessicali sull’arabo di Tunisia*’ by Livia Panasci (2022). Regarding Maghrebi dictionaries, the

³⁰ For TUNOCENT project, see <https://tunocent.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/about/>.

³¹ For WIBARAB project, see <https://wibarab.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/about/>.

main reference work is the ‘*Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français*’ by Marcelin Beaussier (2006), the pocket dictionary ‘*L’arabe maghrébin. Petit dictionnaire français-arabe*’ by Claudie Cheraïfi (2005), and the aforementioned online dictionary TUNICO³². Another online dictionary is the ‘*Derja Ninja*’³³. It is not scientific but convenient as it offers audio recording, transcriptions – and the possibility of research – in Arabic and Latin characters for each lemma.

1.5 Methodology and Data Collection

Regarding the methodology applied to conduct the linguistic description of KA, I use the functionalist approach commonly applied in the most significant studies of descriptive and comparative dialectology of MagA (Stumme 1896; Ph. Marçais 1956; D. Cohen 1975; Singer 1984; Caubet 1993; Ph. Marçais 1977; Vicente 2000; Pereira 2010; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Guerrero 2015).

This approach proposes studying Arabic varieties through interviews carried out in the field with the speakers and analyzing the corpus collected to draw up a grammar divided into phonology and morphology sections. As I disclosed in §1.3, this methodological approach is, however, integrated with the most up-to-date Arabic variationist sociolinguistic approach (Messaoudi 2001; Miller et al. 2007; Bassiouney 2009; Messaoudi 2019; Al-Wer & Horesh 2019; Al-Wer et al. 2022) to understand the relationship between the language and its context of use.

For a long time, vernacular Arabic descriptions were not representative of the linguistic community analyzed. These studies were based on data collected with few informants (sometimes just one), usually male, elderly, and illiterate (Benkato 2019: 21), considered the holders of the most authentic language. As Miller states,

[w]hen trying to compare the data provided by the Arabic linguistic descriptions, on the one hand, with the data provided by historical, sociological or urban studies, on the other hand, one is struck by the prevalent lack of ‘dialogue’ between them (although there are happily some exceptions). [...] Few linguistic studies take the time to incorporate their findings within a more global frame that will help to understand the nature and dynamics of the urban setting. (Miller 2004: 178).

Hence, this dissertation intends to overcome this widespread limitation found in traditional descriptions of vernacular Arabic, taking into account the sociolinguistic

³² The TUNICO dictionary is available on <https://tunico.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/dictionary.html>.

³³ The *Derja Ninja* dictionary is available on <https://derja.ninja>.

variables that can possibly provide a description of KA Arabic that is not ‘an unrealistic invariable construct’ (Benkato 2019: 21), but a faithful representation of the language spoken by the analyzed community.

Before introducing my corpus in detail, it should be said that it clearly reflects the historical period in which it was collected, the consequent difficulties faced, and the strategies implemented by field researchers at the time. Indeed, this research was realized in three years during the COVID-19 Pandemic. This historical event caused great difficulties for researchers in accessing the field, confronting them with new challenges and – sometimes alternative and until then unconventional – ways of ‘reaching’ the field, adapting their studies on the ongoing unstable remodeling of that time (Williams et al. 2021).

In this context, my corpus also suffered from and had to adapt to its historical moment of collection. It is mainly made up of three sections, which differ in the period, methodology, quantity, and sociolinguistic profile of the speakers.

Since I started my research in December 2020, I had to wait almost a year and a half before reaching Tunisia since the international health policies of the time prohibited or restricted movement between countries.³⁴ For this reason, I began my data collection by recording about five hours of speech with diaspora speakers. I carried out two semi-structured interviews in October 2021 in Palermo (Italy) with two male speakers hailing from the city center of Kairouan (SP4^R and SP5). The first speaker (SP4^R) is a 39-year-old male who arrived in Palermo three months before the interview. I met him twice, recording three hours of speech. Since SP4^R did not know languages other than KA, I conducted the interviews in Arabic. I used some visual materials³⁵ to elicit specific language from SP4^R without my variety of Arabic (easily recognizable by the speaker as non-native) interfering with his language production. The informant claimed to come from *wuṣṭ al-qurwān*, i.e., the city center of Kairouan, near the central station. The second speaker is a 57-year-old (SP5) who moved to Palermo in 1989 at the age of 24. I gathered two hours of speech from him. He studied MSA and French at school but maintains that

³⁴ Entering the country at that time was difficult due to health safety and travel policies. Moreover, prolonged social distancing policies also complicated the establishment of contacts and meetings with speakers. Consequently, I had to wait for policies that would allow me to get to Kairouan without limitations.

³⁵ The visual materials I used were several pictures depicting objects and actions of daily life, such as fruits, vegetables, animals, a crowded crossroad, family routine actions, pictures of Tunisian famous sites, etc.

he has forgotten both languages because he does not practice them anymore. Since he is fluent in the Sicilian dialect and knows Italian, this interview was conducted in Italian so that my variety of Arabic would not interfere with his. Even in Palermo, he continues speaking KA daily with his family. Although he has lived in Sicily for 33 years, he returns every year to Kairouan, where his family and friends still live. The informant claimed to come from the medina, near the Great Mosque of Kairouan (*ġāmiʿ ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ*).

During my first co-supervision stay in Paris in December 2021, I found the corpus of three interviews collected in 1974 in Kairouan by Badreddine (1977b). These transcriptions correspond to the second section of my corpus.

The three interviewees come from Kairouani families. The sociolinguistic information provided by Badreddine is the following:

Les trois sujets parlants choisis appartiennent à des vieilles familles locales. Deux sont alphabètes dont une femme qui représente un type particulier de langage. Le troisième sans être cultivé, manifeste dans son idiolecte les traits du langage soigné d'une petite bourgeoisie à la fois pédante et très conservatrice.

Sujet H.G. Monsieur Hédi GHARBI, né en 1920 à Kairouan où il vit jusqu'à nos jours; il a effectué, dans les années quarante, deux séjours hors de la ville : il a fait son service militaire à Sbeitla (village au sud-ouest de Kairouan) et a travaillé durant quelques mois à Béja (ville au nord-ouest de Kairouan). Il n'a pas fait d'études; il était charbonnier et il travaille actuellement au service de nettoyage de la municipalité de la ville.

Sujet K.G. Madame Khadija GHOZZI, née en 1930 à Kairouan où elle habite jusqu'à maintenant, Elle n'a jamais quitté la ville; maîtresse de maison, elle n'a qu'un contact indirect avec l'extérieur.

Sujet A.B. Monsieur Amor BADRA, né en 1919 à Kairouan, où il a toujours vécu et vit encore. Il n'a pas atteint le niveau de certificat d'études primaires, mais parvient à déchiffrer l'écriture arabe et française. De par la nature de son métier (commerçant), il avait un contact avec les villages avoisinants, avant les années cinquante. Il est actuellement contre-maître dans un chantier de construction. (Badreddine 1977a: 19–20).

To resume, the first interview is the largest and contains 306 lines. The speaker (SP1) was born in 1920 and is an illiterate man who tells memories of his military service in Sbeitla during the 1940s. It is noteworthy that Badreddine underlines that SP1 stands out in speaking as a city-dweller of Kairouan compared to his comrades-in-arms from rural areas. In the second interview, which is 96 lines long, the speaker (SP2) is a female illiterate born in Kairouan in 1930 whose manner of speaking is tagged as particular by the author (Badreddine 1977a: 18). The first part of the interview is a dialogue with a relative she bumps into on the street. The second part is a reported speech in which a cousin reproaches her family. The third and last corpus contains 31 lines in which a male informant (SP3), who was born in Kairouan in 1919, narrates the dispersion of the family's assets after his father's death. Although this speaker is not cultivated, his idiolect

is typical of the lower middle class, which sometimes appears even pedantic and very conservative (Badreddine 1977a: 18).

The limited data exposed so far represented an essential starting point in a critical period of my research, which allowed me to start studying KA and develop some preliminary considerations. However, these have been reevaluated since I finally joined the field in May 2022. Indeed, the third and most relevant data section used for this study is made up of the interviews I carried out in Kairouan. These should be divided into two sections.

The first part was carried out in May and June 2022. This is a much larger corpus of around thirty hours of free speech recorded with 10 male and 16 female speakers (SP6-SP31). Their age ranges from 23 to 79 years old³⁶. All have at least passive or basic skills in *fusha*; eleven (SP7^R, SP11, SP15, SP17^R, SP18^R, SP21, SP22, SP25, SP27, SP30, SP31) have basic proficiency in French, and two (SP11 and SP17^R) even in Italian, for business reasons. Almost all the speakers were born and raised in Kairouan, where they lived at the time of the interviews. Three informants (SP17^R, SP18^R, SP28^R) were born in the Governorate of Kairouan (not in the city) but work in the city center. They speak a variety of Arabic that is typologically different from that of all other informants.³⁷ It demonstrates, as expected, that as soon as one leaves the city, the vernacular changes considerably, switching to other varieties of TA.³⁸

All these speakers have been interviewed within the city of Kairouan.

The data I collected at that time – in the form of audio recordings – are ethno-texts, free-speech texts, and questionnaires. In addition, I took some linguistic notes during participant observation in the field.

The second part of my interviews with these speakers was conducted remotely from June 2023 until the end of the dissertation writing in April 2024. It is a total of an additional 11 hours of audio and video recording format interviews done on the ZOOM

³⁶ I recorded minutes with some children, but I have excluded these materials from my final corpus because it consists only of words or short sentences that do not provide significant information on the variety of Arabic under analysis.

³⁷ In this dissertation, I describe the variety of Arabic spoken within the city of Kairouan. The extracts related to SP17^R, SP18^R, and SP28^R will be reported to only attest to the sociolinguistic variation within the Kairouan Governorate. They are excluded from the linguistic description of KA, which is the purpose of this study.

³⁸ I also have less data for these speakers because their Arabic is outside this dissertation's goals.

application for online video meetings.³⁹ The data collected are only questionnaires used to systematically investigate targeted phonological and morphological isoglosses and phenomena of KA. This data helped me integrate specific linguistic information – that did not come from free speech – in order to give a comprehensive grammatical description of KA.

Finally, I remained in contact via texts and calls with a few of these speakers from our first meetings. They clarified my doubts when necessary.

The data collected in the corpus was analyzed considering the diachronic and sociolinguistic variation proper to each speaker. When necessary, the linguistic differences provided by the data were studied from a diachronic point of view and compared with Badreddine’s data. Sections of the recordings have been transcribed using the ELAN software.⁴⁰

1.5.1 Informants’ profiles

What follows is a summary of all the speakers that make up the corpus of this study. Each of them is introduced by a code (e.g., SP1, SP2, etc.) that anonymously identifies him/her. The sociolinguistic information resumed below includes their gender, age, place of birth, place where they grew up, place of residence, family origin, and the languages spoken beyond KA.

Table 1: Speaker’s gender and age

Speaker’s code	Male	Female	age 20-29	age 30-39	age 40-49	age 50-59	age 60-69	age 70-79
Badreddine’s speakers								
SP1	x					x		
SP2		x			x			
SP3	x					x		
Diaspora speakers (Palermo 2021)								
SP4 ^R	x			x				
SP5	x					x		

³⁹ To learn more about this application, visit the site www.zoom.us.

⁴⁰ I wish to thank my colleague and friend Luigi Sausa for helping me deepen my practical knowledge of ELAN.

Speakers interviewed in Kairouan								
SP6		x					x	
SP7 ^R	x						x	
SP8	x				x			
SP9		x					x	
SP10	x				x			
SP11	x							x
SP12	x							x
SP13	x				x			
SP14		x				x		
SP15	x					x		
SP16	x				x			
SP17 ^R		x	x					
SP18 ^R		x	x					
SP19		x				x		
SP20	x						x	
SP21	x						x	
SP22		x					x	
SP23		x		x				
SP24 ^R		x				x		
SP25		x					x	
SP26		x		x				
SP27		x	x					
SP28 ^R		x				x		x
SP29		x		x				
SP30		x		x				

SP31		x					x	
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Table 2: Speaker's sociolinguistic information

Speaker's code	Birth place	Grown-up in	Resident in	Family origin	Other Languages Spoken
Badreddine's speakers					
SP1	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	?	?
SP2	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	?	?
SP3	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	?	?
Diaspora speakers (Palermo 2021)					
SP4 ^R	Kairouan	Kairouan	Palermo	<i>rīf</i>	
SP5	Kairouan	Kairouan	Palermo	Kairouan	IT, SIC
Speakers interviewed in Kairouan					
SP6	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR
SP7 ^R	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	<i>əl-wslātīya</i> and <i>ṣīn žlūla</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	
SP8	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP9	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP10	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	IT, FR
SP11	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP12	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP13	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP14	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR
SP15	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP16 ^R	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	<i>rīf</i>	IT, FR
SP17 ^R	<i>ḥāžab əl-ṣyūn</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	<i>ḥāžab əl-ṣyūn</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	Kairouan	<i>ḥāžab əl-ṣyūn</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	FR

SP18 ^R	<i>əl-wəslātīya</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	<i>əl-wəslātīya</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	Kairouan	<i>əl-wslātīya</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	
SP19	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP20	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR
SP21	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR
SP22	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP23	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP24 ^R	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	<i>əl-wslātīya</i> and <i>ʕīn žlūla</i> (Kairouan Govern.)	FR
SP25	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP26	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR
SP27	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	FR, EN, DE
SP28 ^R	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP29	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP30	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	
SP31	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	Kairouan	

Among all Kairouani informants, the most relevant sociolinguistic data to report here is the role played by their family origins. Indeed, I noted that only the speakers who were born and grew up in the city but who come from families hailing from the Governorate outskirts and the countryside – the *rīf* – show isoglosses not shared by the other speakers. In this regard, Badreddines declares that he discarded the ‘parler faubourien’ (Badreddine 1977a: 18) from his interviews. This sociolect characterized those speakers who had just moved from the surrounding areas to the city at that time. He defends his choice, explaining that these speakers are:

victimes de l’exode rurale des années soixante et [...] se sont installés dans les bidonvilles. Les parlers de cette population hétérogène qui ne sont pas sans influence sur le parler populaire, sont souvent dénoncé comme déplaisants. Les sujets parlants qui adoptent de temps à autre des prononciations ou un langage [propre] à la contrée dont ils sont originaires, sont vite repérés par les auditeurs. Les gens les plus avertis se trahissent toujours à un moment ou un autre, même ceux qui sont établis dans la ville depuis longtemps. C’est ainsi que on distingue à la ville le parler des [*qrāwa*] “Kairouannais” ou d’[*awlād la-blād*] “citadins”, de celui des [*ʕrab*],

appellation méprisante que les citadins utilisent pour désigner les paysants (Badreddine 1977a: 18).⁴¹

Contrary to Badreddine's statement, I support the need to include the speakers with the *rīf* origins in my study. Indeed, these speakers cannot be excluded nowadays from KA linguistic description because they were born and grew up in Kairouan, without important neighborhood distinctions – defining themselves as Kairouani – and hand down the Arabic they speak to the new generations. Only for more accuracy, I always took this sociolinguistic aspect into account during the data analysis. When I mention these speakers and those coming from the Governorate, I prefer to mark their identification code with a ^R, or to define them as 'speakers with *rīf* origins' or 'speakers from the Governorate' for convenience.

An in-depth consideration of KA's sociolinguistic panorama will be summed up after the next four chapters on the phonological and morphological analysis of my linguistic data.

⁴¹ Other sources mention a similar ethnolinguistic opposition in Tunisia between *Baldi* and *Barrani* Arabic, referring to first-layer urban and *villageois* varieties (Benrabah 2007: 39).

II. CHAPTER TWO: PHONOLOGY

In this chapter, I present and comment on consonantal and vowel phonemes in KA. Mainly, I focus on consonants, their allophones, and phonetic changes – i.e., assimilation, dissimilation, haplology, metathesis, gemination, elision, and pharyngealization – short and long vowels, their allophones, the *imāla*, the diphthongs – including the realization of the etymological **aw* and **ay* – the syllabic structures, the stress and morphophonological phenomena in mono- and polysyllabic words.

Although consonants and vowels in KA feature different allophones – as will be shown in the following sections – I decided to usually⁴² employ a phonemic rather than a phonetic transcription in this dissertation.⁴³ The transcriptions of all allophones that were not presented in the section ‘Symbols Used for transcription’ are reported here by using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

2.1 Consonants

Based on my data, the phonological system of KA is made up as follows:

	Stop		Fricative		Nasal	Lateral approximant	Approximant	Trill
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiced	voiced	voiced	voiced
Bilabial	p	b (b)			m (ṁ)			
Labiodental			f	v				
Interdental			ṫ	ḍ ḍ				
Alveolar	t (t ^s) ṭ	d (d ^s)	s ṣ	z (z)	n	l (l)		r ṛ
Post-alveolar			š	ž				
Palatal							y	
Velar	k (k)	g	x	ḡ				
Labiovelar							w	

⁴² Some corpus samples are also provided with a phonetic transcription.

⁴³ Only the five consonantal allophones ṁ, b, k, l, z are transcribed as such since no fixed rules have been identified for their distribution.

Uvular	q		(χ)					
Pharyngeal			ħ	ʕ				
Glottal	(ʔ)		h					

In conclusion, the KA consonant system includes a total of 28 phonemes and five emphatic allophones [ṁ], [b̥], [k̥], [l̥], [z̥]⁴⁴. Other allophones [t^s], [d^s], [χ], [ʔ] are linked either to sociolinguistic profiles or precise indexical values and will be discussed case by case in the next sections. The two phonemes /p/ and /v/ are not integrated into the system and will be presented in detail in §2.1.10.

Nevertheless, in his phonetic and phonological dissertation, Badreddine presented the phonological system of KA, including 22 consonantal phonemes /f, b, m, t, d, s, z, t, d, r, n, l, š, ž, k, g, q, x, ġ, ħ, ʕ, h/ and the two semi-consonants /w, y/ (Badreddine 1977a: 112–134). He excludes the two emphatic consonants /s̥/, /t̥/ and does not mention the overlapping of the emphatic voiced alveolar stop, i.e., /ḏ/, with the emphatic voiced interdental fricative, i.e., /ḏ̥/, e.g., *abyaḏ* (OA *ʔabyaḏ*) ‘white,’ *maḏa* (OA *marḏa*) ‘sick^{PL}’, *ṛumḏān* (OA *ramadān*) ‘Ramadan’, *yfaḏḏal* (OA *yufadḏilu*) ‘please’, *ḏaḏt* (OA *diḏtu*) ‘I was lost’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 251).

In the following sections, I focus on the most relevant consonantal features and phenomena for the purposes of this dissertation.

2.1.1 Etymological *qāf* /q/⁴⁵

The voiceless uvular plosive /q/ is usually maintained as [q] in KA. Nevertheless, it should be noted that both [q] and [g] are present in TA.⁴⁶ Although Gibson states that these two realizations have ‘phonemic status’ (Gibson 2002: 25) in TA, the voiced velar stop [g] in KA remains marginal. The only minimal pairs I found so far are *qaṛn* ‘century’ ≠ *gaṛn* ‘horn’⁴⁷, *qraḥ* ‘pumpkin’ ≠ *graḥ* ‘bald’. As Badreddine confirms:

⁴⁴ On the five allophones [ṁ], [b̥], [k̥], [l̥], [z̥] in KA, see §2.1.7.

⁴⁵ This and the next section are extracted and reworked from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 252–253).

⁴⁶ According to that, even SP4^R explains that in Kairouan, they do not pronounce all etymological /q/ as [q], but sometimes also as [g] (SP4^R: *muš kull šayy b-əl qa* ‘is not all with *qā*’).

⁴⁷ However, even my speakers perceive the word *gaṛn* as pan-Tunisian.

ce phoneme [the /g/] n'est pas très fréquent dans le parler de Kairouan ; si l'on rapporte uniquement au corpus, on dira qu'il est très peu usité : nous avons relevé 12 items contenant la consonne [g]. (Badreddine 1977a: 124)⁴⁸.

Indeed, my⁴⁹ speakers pronounce the voiced velar stop [g] almost only in:

- words linked to nature elements or farming, e.g., *gamṛa* 'moon', *baḡra* 'cow', *gaṛn* 'horn';
- loanwords from Romance languages, e.g., *gāz* 'gas', *īnglīzi* 'English', *rīgla* 'to arrange, to resolve'⁵⁰, *sīgāru* 'cigarettes';
- non-assimilated loanwords from French, e.g., *agrégé* 'specialist', *cardiologue* 'cardiologist', *engagement* 'commitment', *gâteau* 'cake', *graisse* 'fat', *programme* 'program', *virgule* 'comma';⁵¹
- words that could have been borrowed from other Maghrebi varieties, e.g., *dagla* 'type of dates', *grāwš* 'sweet shortcrust pastry, fried and soaked in honey', *mrāzga* 'Mrezga region', *mungāla* 'watch';
- pan-Tunisian expressions, e.g., *b-əl-gda* 'very well', *mrīgəl* 'OK'.

As expected, the three speakers hailing from the Governorate always pronounce [g], which is their primary linguistic trait of recognition by the city's inhabitants. Instead, the speakers with *rīf* origins have entirely lost this isogloss, unanimously perceived as the most stigmatized.⁵²

⁴⁸ Mentioning Taïb Baccouche, Badreddine adds that the switch from [q] to [g] occurs much more frequently 'par le souci de conférer au mot plus de vigueur et d'expressivité.' (Badreddine 1977a: 125). However, he attests to the existence of the phoneme /g/ by some other minimal pairs that I did not find during my interviews (Badreddine 1977: 123-130).

⁴⁹ For convenience, I refer to the speakers I interviewed as 'my' speakers to distinguish them rapidly from those interviewed by Badreddine in 1974.

⁵⁰ Beaussier (2006: 409) traces the origin of this verb to the Spanish 'arreglar'. However, non-scientific sources report this root from the French verb *régler* 'to resolve, to adjust'. I support the French etymology for phonetic reasons.

⁵¹ In this study, I maintain the original French words – rather than transcribe them – only when they are pronounced according to the French phonetic rules.

⁵² For language attitudes and social meanings carried by the [g] in Tunisia, see Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun (2022). In this study, the scholars state that [q]-speakers in Northwestern Tunisia are perceived as *fīnu*, i.e., 'refined' people, in contrast to the [g]-speakers (Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun 2022: 259). Regarding the loanword *fīnu*, contrary to the etymology proposed by Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun (2022: 269), I argue that it originates from the Sicilian adjective *fīnu* instead of from Italian. Indeed, the equivalent Italian adjective would be *fine* 'refined', 'classy', 'educated', and not *fīno*, which mainly means 'thin'. This etymology is supported both by phonetic and semantic reasons. First, the Italian *fine* would have been accommodated in Tunisian Arabic as **fīni*, since the post-tonic [e] of Italian loanwords usually rises to [i] in MagA varieties (D'Anna

In addition, the etymological /q/ is sporadically subject to non-systematic phenomena of spirantization in female speakers, resulting in [x], e.g., *nqūl-l-ək* ['nxu:l:ək] 'I say to you', *b-əl-ħaqīqa* [bəl'ħexi:xa] 'actually', *talqā-ha* [tal'xa:hə].⁵³

2.1.2 Interdental phonemes

The three interdental phonemes /t̪/, /d̪/, and /d̪̣/ have been preserved in KA, as in most Tunisian varieties, except for the Judeo-Arabic (Saada 1964: 15; Saada 1969: VI; D. Cohen 1975: 12), Mahdia (Yoda 2008: 484) and Moknine (Mion 2014a: 59). Moreover, the etymological emphatic voiced alveolar stop */d̪̣/ merged with the emphatic voiced interdental fricative /d̪̣/.

Some examples of the interdental realizations identified in the corpus are:

- /t̪/ *kār̪ta* 'catastrophe', *nab̪ʕat* 'I send', *t̪mānya* 'eight', *t̪nīn* 'Monday', *wr̪āta* 'inheritance';
- /d̪/ *bə-ħd̪ā-na* 'at us', *d̪hab* 'gold', *hād̪āka* 'that^{FEM}', *xūd̪* 'take^{IMP}', *d̪ūq* 'taste^{IMP}';
- /d̪̣/ *d̪ağt* (OA *dağt*) 'pressure', *nd̪īfa* 'clean^{FEM}', *ṣaḍla* (OA *ṣaḍala*) 'muscle', *tuḍhur* 'she appears.

Two of the partial exceptions to the interdental realization noticed by D'Anna (2020: 88) in Chebba and Naddari (2023: 40) in Nefza, are also attested in KA, as in other Maghrebi varieties:

- the labiodental realization [f] of / t̪ / in the existential *famma/mā-fammā-š* 'there is, there is not', even if the form *tamma/mā-tammā-š* is also attested, but especially in speakers with *rīf* origins;⁵⁴

2018: 180). Moreover, the Sicilian adjective *finu* not only means 'refined', 'elegant', but – when addressed by a person who does not recognize himself as *finu* – it may also carry a nuance of blame caused by an inferiority's self-perception, which sometimes could also be felt by [g]-speakers in Tunisia.' D'Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 273-274).

⁵³ The phenomenon of spirantization of etymological /q/ is described in MagA sedentary-type varieties. Among them, the spirantization of [q] to [q^x] is attested to in some vernaculars of Libyan JA (D'Anna forthcoming b); the realization [q] > [x] in the word **waqt* ['waxt], is spread in the Moroccan Arabic of Tetouan (Vicente 2009: 197); and the realization [k^j] is the distinguishing trait of the K^jal varieties of northwestern Algeria and southeastern Morocco (Chetrit 2015: 1).

⁵⁴ Indeed, the variant *tamma/mā-tammā-š* is described as a Bedouin-type trait by Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 114) and Naddari (2023: 131).

- the numerals *tlāta* ‘three’ and *tlātīn* ‘thirty’, in which only the second interdental is preserved with a case of dissimilation.⁵⁵

2.1.3 Etymological *hamza*

The *hamza* cannot be entirely considered a phoneme in the KA consonant system. Indeed, the etymological *hamza* /ʔ/ is commonly unstable in MagA and tends to fall (Ph. Marçais 1977: 11). The fall of this phoneme involves the following phonetic phenomena in KA⁵⁶:

- the etymological *hamza* can be replaced by a semi-vowel, e.g., *yāna* (OA *ʔana*) ‘I’, *qrāya* (OA *qirāʔa*) ‘study’, *qāyəl* (OA *qāʔil*) ‘saying’, *ḥwāyž* (OA *ḥawāʔiğ*) ‘things’, *nwarrīw* (OA *√rʔy*) ‘I show’, *wākəl* (OA *√ʔkl*) ‘eating’, *wāxəḍ* (OA *√ʔxd*) ‘taking’;
- the etymological median *hamza* -vʔ- is replaced by vowel lengthening \bar{v} , e.g., *bīr* (OA *biʔr*) ‘spring’, *yākəl* (OA *yaʔkulu*) ‘he eats’, *fār* (OA *faʔr*) ‘mouse’;
- the loss of the etymological final *hamza* does not produce phonetic changes, e.g., *yži* (OA *yağīʔu*) ‘he comes’, *ma* (OA *māʔ*) ‘water’, *šta* (OA *šitāʔ*) ‘winter’.

Nevertheless, there are very few cases in which it is preserved in KA, such as in:

- the verb *sʔal* ‘to ask’;⁵⁷
- loanwords from MSA, e.g., *ʔinsān* ‘human being’, *žazāʔir* ‘Algeria’, *mināʔ* ‘harbor’, *qurʔān* ‘Kuran’;
- religious formulas, e.g., *ʔuqsimu bi-llāh* ‘I swear to God’, *mā šāʔ aļļāh* ‘what God has willed’;
- (sometimes) color and relative adjectives, e.g., *ʔašfar* ‘yellow’, *ʔaḥsan* ‘better’, *ʔaqdam* ‘elder’, *ʔaqrab* ‘closer’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 252).

Regarding these last two cases, the articulation of the *hamza* can be considered a case of code-switching to MSA expressing a precise indexical value of emphasis.

Finally, the negation particle *la* can be sometimes pronounced – especially in pausal form – with a final *hamza*, i.e., *lāʔ* ‘not’, which is not etymological.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ On dissimilation phenomena in KA, see § 2.8.2. Singer (1984: 102) states that the numeral ‘three’ is very often dissimilated in Tunis. The dissimilated form is the only one mentioned in Gibson (2009: 564).

⁵⁶ These outcomes are quite common in TA (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 13–14).

⁵⁷ The same realization is described by Pereira (2010: 81) in Tripoli, who questions whether the presence of /ʔ/ might be an influence from Levantine Arabic. The etymological *hamza* is also retained in Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 45)

⁵⁸ The same realization is described by Guerrero (2015: 52) in the Moroccan Arabic of Larache.

2.1.4 Phoneme /b/

This phoneme is generally pronounced as voiced bilabial stop [b]. Nevertheless, when the etymological /b/ is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is realized as the voiceless [p], e.g., *b-əḍ-ḍabt* [bəðˤ'ðˤapt] ‘exactly’, *kaṣbtīn* [kaṣp'ti:n] ‘two pieces’, *nəkḍəb-š* [ˈnək'ðˤəpʃ] ‘I do not lie’, *səptambər* [səp'tāmbərˤ] ‘September’, *šrəbt* [ˈʃrˤapt] ‘you drank’, *ʔləbt* [ˈtˤlˤapt] ‘I called’ (see §2.8.1.2).

2.1.5 Phoneme /h/

The etymological /h/ is lost in some eastern Maghrebi varieties, especially JA (Yoda 2017). This loss is mainly observed in independent and suffix pronouns (Yoda 2017: 85).

Regarding KA, the phoneme /h/ is generally attested to, but it falls in the 3SG.M suffix pronoun *-*hu* > *-u* when following a consonant. There are examples in:

- verbs, e.g., *thəzz-u* < *thəzz-*hu* ‘you take it’, *təsməḥ-u* < *təsməḥ-*hu* ‘she hears it’;
- prepositions, e.g., *mənn-u* < *mən-*hu* ‘than him’, *mtāḥ-u* < *mtāḥ-*hu* ‘its’;
- suffixed names, e.g., *ʕumr-u* < *ʕumr-*hu* ‘his age’, *ʕamm-u* < *ʕamm-*hu* ‘his paternal uncle’.

The loss of the /h/ also occurs in the 3SG.M suffix pronoun *-*hu* > *-u* when following the presentatives *hā-*, *mā-* and *rā-*, e.g., *hā-w* < **hā-hu*, *mā-w* < **mā-hu*, *rā-w* < **rā-hu*.

Moreover – as Ritt-Benmimoun (2014: 10) describes in Douz Arabic – the phoneme /h/ and the following vowel can sometimes be omitted⁵⁹ in the adverbs *hākkā* *hāw* > *khāw* ‘that is all’ and *hākkāka* > *kāka* ‘so’, by depriving these adverbs of their first syllable *hā-*.

2.1.6 Phoneme /ž/

The phoneme /ž/ corresponds to the OA voiced palatal-alveolar affricate /ǧ/ and is pronounced as a voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] in KA, e.g., *ža* (OA *ǧā?*) ‘he came’, *žaḥba* (OA *ǧaḥba*) ‘pipe’, *ražḥət* (OA *raǧaḥat*) ‘she came back’, *wžaḥ* (OA *waǧiḥa*) ‘he hurt’.

⁵⁹ This phenomenon can also be considered as a syllabic elision given by the speaker’s speed of the utterance. On elision phenomena in KA, see §2.8.6.

2.1.7 Emphatics

The emphatic phonemes of KA are /t/ (see §2.1.8) and the etymological /t/, /s/ and /d/.

However, the corresponding non-emphatic phonemes /t/, /s/, and /r/ can also be subjected to a phenomenon of pharyngealization [t^ʕ], [s^ʕ], [r^ʕ] (see §2.8.7). Likewise, the phonemes /b/, /m/, /k/, /l/, and /z/ have the allophones [b^ʕ], [m^ʕ], [k^ʕ], [l^ʕ], [z^ʕ] in:

- emphatic context, e.g., *rumḍān* ‘Ramadan’, *tḥīb* ‘doctor’, *ṣāḇḇāt-ha* ‘her shoes’, *zuwwār* ‘tourists’, *azraq* ‘blue’, *ṣlāṭa* ‘salade’;
- a few specific words containing both *b* and *r*, like *ḥarṛa* ‘outside, abroad, go^{IMP} away’, *ḥarṣa* ‘a lot’, *ḥarḵ(a)* ‘only’;
- family names, e.g., *ḥāḇa* ‘dad’, *māma* ‘mum’, *tātā*: ‘aunt’⁶⁰;
- dysphemisms, e.g., *zəḇḇ* ‘dick’, *ṣāqəṭ* ‘asshole’, *kəḇ* ‘dirty dog’;
- loanwords, e.g., *ḥāy* (< EN) ‘bye’, *ḥlāṣa* (< FR *place*) ‘place’, *ṣāḷa* (< IT *sala*) ‘hall’, *ṣḇānya* ‘Spain’;
- religious expressions containing the words *allāh* or *raḇḇ*, e.g., *allāh* ‘God’, *raḇḇ-i* ‘my God’, *māṣallāh* ‘God has willed it’, *ənšallāh* ‘God willing’, *wallāh* ‘I swear’;⁶¹
- the speaker’s desire to emphasize the concept of greatness, e.g., *ygadd f-əl-ḥāzāt lə-ḵḇār* ‘he is capable of great things’, *qutt-l-ək ṣād ḵtur ḵtur*⁶² ‘I told you that it increased’.

With regard to the phonemic status of *l* and *ḇ*, the following minimal pairs are found:

walla ‘or’ ≠ *wallā* ‘I swear’, *lām* ‘he blamed’ ≠ *lām* ‘blade’;

ḥāy ‘Bey’ ≠ *ḥāy* ‘bye’

⁶⁰ This case is a consequence of the factor that Caubet defines ‘affectivity’ (Caubet 1993: 4). Other conditions that usually lead the speaker to emphasize the allophones above are respect – as happens in religious formulas – or, on the contrary, insult (Cohen 1975: 13–14; Caubet 1993: 4).

⁶¹ However, *ḇə-llāhi* ‘I swear’ is always deemphasized. As Ph. Marçais (1956: 69) discussed, the vicinity of an [i] sound causes a depharyngealization. The same phenomenon is also valid in the JA of Tunis (D. Cohen 1975: 26–27). See Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 18–20) on consonants and vowels that favor or inhibit pharyngealization.

⁶² In this specific case, the speaker implements repetition to amplify the emphasis. The subordinating conjunction *ṣād* is also used to reinforce the content of a statement, see §5.4.2.8.

Nevertheless, both pairs are weak since *walla* is a religious expression – with the fall of the final *h* – and *bāy* and *lām* are two loanwords from the EN ‘bye’ and the FR *lame*.

2.1.8 Phonemes /r/ and /r̥/

The phonetic system of KA includes the voiced alveolar trill [r] and the emphatic voiced alveolar trill [r̥]. Both /r/ and /r̥/ have phonematic status in KA, as is usual in MagA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 5), and the following minimal pairs attest to it:

žāri [ˈʒɛ:ri] ‘running’, ‘typical Tunisian soup’ ≠ *žār-i* [ˈʒɑ:r̥i] ‘my neighbor’;
dār [ˈda:r] ‘he turned’ ≠ *dār̥* [ˈda:r̥] ‘home’.

Moreover, /r̥/ predominantly occurs in the surroundings of the vowels *a/ā* (pronounced without *imāla*), *u/ū* and in emphatics contexts, e.g., *baṛra* ‘outside, abroad, go^{IMP}’, *nhārāt* ‘days’, *nuxruž* ‘I go out’, *ḡrūs* ‘groom’, *rumḡān* ‘Ramadan’, *mṛīd* ‘sick’, while /r/ is more common in the surroundings of *ə/ī*, e.g., *šārəf* ‘street’, *rīh* ‘wind’, *šašrīn* ‘twenty’.⁶³ Thus, /r̥/ can also be an allophone of /r/, e.g., *rīt* ‘you saw’ but *ra* ‘he saw’, *zāyər* ‘tourist’ but *yzūr* ‘he visits’, *žār* ‘neighbor’ but *žīrān* ‘neighbors’.

2.1.9 Glides /w/ and /y/

As is common in TA⁶⁴, the glides /w/ and /y/, respectively, have two allophones, corresponding to the consonant and vowel rules played by the two phonemes. /w/ can be realized as the voiced labiovelar approximant [w] or the close back rounded vowel [u]; /y/ can be articulated as the voiced palatal approximant [j] or the close front unrounded vowel [i]⁶⁵.

These realizations are phonologically conditioned since the allophones [w] and [j] always precede a vowel, e.g., *ḡalwa* [ˈħɛlwa] ‘type of date’, *kərwīya* [kəɾˈwɪ:ja] ‘caraway (spice)’, *wušt* [ˈwust̪] ‘center’, *bāhya* [ˈbɛ:hja] ‘good^{FEM}’, *yaxdu* [ˈjaxðu] ‘he takes’, *yuqrub* [ˈjuqr̪ub] ‘he is close to’. Instead, the allophones [u] and [i] are realized before a

⁶³ The study by Cohen (1975: 26–29) on the distribution of the phonemes /r/ and /r̥/ in the JA of Tunis, served as a basis for the analysis I provided for these phonemes in KA.

⁶⁴ See Fischer & Jastrow (1980: 53) and Singer (1984: 133-135, 482) for Tunis, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 21) for Douz, Naddari (2023: 47) for Nefza.

⁶⁵ However, the transcription system of this dissertation does not distinguish the two allophones [u] and [i] by always using *w* and *y* for these phonemes.

consonant and in word-final position, e.g., *nwarrīw* [nwar^s'r^si:u] 'I show', *wlāda* [u'le:da] 'birth', *wfīya* [u'ti:^sja] 'wedding celebration for the bride's family', *ywalli* [i'wal:i] 'he becomes', *yzīd* [i'zi:d] 'he continues'.

2.1.10 Phonemes /p/ and /v/

The phonemes /p/ and /v/ are not integrated into the system and are found in loanwords from European languages, especially from French, as in the following examples: *avrīl* 'April', *fīvri* 'February', *səptambər* 'September', *portable* (< FR) 'phone', *professeur* 'professor', *virgule* 'comma', *vieux* 'old',⁶⁶ *ykapti* 'he understands', *vīzīta* 'medical examination'. Loanwords that entered the language chronologically before are adapted and have lost /p/ and /v/, e.g., *wrūḅa* 'Europe', *ḅāṭāṭa* 'potatoes'.

Indeed, especially those speakers who do not know languages other than Arabic may articulate these two phonemes respectively as [b] – or mainly [b^s] – and [f], since /b/ and /f/ are integrated into their phonetic repertoire and are the closest phones known to [p] and [v].

2.1.11 Other phonetic remarks

The etymological alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ are preserved in KA. However, they can sometimes be pronounced as affricates [t^s] and [d^s], especially when followed by an *i* sound. e.g., *ənti* ['ənt^si] 'you', *b-īd-i* ['bi:d^s:i] 'myself', *bdīna* ['bd^si:na] 'we started', *brūd^a* ['br^su:d^s] 'fresh air', *ṣādi* ['ṣæ:d^si] 'normal'.

Regarding the /h/, it is commonly a voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ]. Nevertheless, some speakers regularly change its place of articulation, pronouncing it as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ]. It seems to me that this phonetic isogloss is not linked to sociolinguistic profiles with specific variables, like age or gender.⁶⁷

My informants include the stronger pronunciation of the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] as a trait that allows them to recognize speakers from the *rīf*.

⁶⁶ Here and elsewhere, I maintain the original French words when they are pronounced according to the French phonetic rules, and I transcribe them when they are phonetically integrated in KA.

⁶⁷ To the best of my knowledge, the [χ] realization is not described in other Maghrebi varieties. However, it seems to me that it can also be pronounced by some speakers of – at least – the MagA speaking area.

2.2 Vowels

According to Badreddine (1977a: 151), the Kairouani vocalic system includes four short vowels /æ/, /a/, /i/, /u/ and four long vowels /ā/, /ā̄/, /ī/, /ū/. This scholar shows the existence of the two long phonemes /ā̄/ ≠ /ā/ by using some minimal pairs (Badreddine 1977a: 152-153) that I report below:

shā̄b ‘cloud’ ≠ *shāb* ‘friends’;

mšā̄t ‘she went’ ≠ *mšāt* ‘comb’;

bā̄š ‘so that’ ≠ *bāš* ‘tarpaulin’.

To distinguish short /æ/ from short /a/, he uses the following minimal pair:

sæb ‘to insult’ ≠ *sab* ‘to pour’ (Badreddine 1977a: 165).

Nevertheless, as explained in 2023,

it should be noted that Badreddine does not distinguish in transcriptions the emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ from the voiceless alveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the emphatic voiceless alveolar stop /t/ from the voiceless alveolar stop /t̄/. Consequently, he does not consider that the minimal pairs *shā̄b* ‘cloud’ ≠ *shāb* ‘friends’ and *mšā̄t* ‘she went’ ≠ *mšāt* ‘comb’ rather attests to the existence of the phonemes /s/ ≠ /ʃ/ and /t/ ≠ /t̄/. For the third minimal pair, it is evident that the word *bā̄š* ‘tarpaulin’ is a loan from the French *bâche*, which indeed means ‘tarpaulin’. Finally, the only minimal pair used to justify the two phonemes /a/ ≠ /æ/ is also characterized by inaccuracy in transcription, as it should instead be *ʃsbb* ‘to insult’ ≠ *ʃbb* ‘to pour’. (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 254).

In consideration of all the above and of my own phonological analysis, I will show in the next two sections (§2.2.1 and §2.2.2) that it would be more appropriate to consider that the vocalic system of KA is made up of only three short /a, ə, u/ and three long vowels /ā, ī, ū/. The phonemes /æ/ and /ā̄/ – proposed by Badreddine – can instead be considered as allophones of short /a/ and long /ā/⁶⁸ (see §2.2.1.2).

2.2.1 Long vowels

The etymological OA long vowels /ā/, /ī/, and /ū/ are preserved in KA. Moreover, the phonemes /ū/ and /ī/ can be the reduction of the OA **aw* and **ay* (see §2.3). Long vowels at the ends of words are realized and transcribed as short. When suffixes appear, they reappear as long even in the transcription.

⁶⁸ As shown in §2.2.1.2, the etymological /ā/ in KA is characterized by first-degree *imāla* [ɛ:] which phonetically matches the phoneme /ā̄/ described by Badreddine.

The following minimal pairs⁶⁹ prove the existence of the three phonemes /ā/, /ū/, /ī/.

/ā/ ≠ /ū/

dār ‘he toured’ ≠ *dūr* ‘turn^{IMP}’;

māt ‘he died’ ≠ *mūt* ‘death’;

qāl ‘he said’ ≠ *qūl* ‘say^{IMP}’⁷⁰;

rās ‘head’ ≠ *rūs* ‘heads’.

/ī/ ≠ /ū/

fīl ‘elephant’ ≠ *fūl* ‘beans’;

hādīka ‘that^{FEM}’ ≠ *hādūka* ‘those’;

līm ‘lemons’ ≠ *lūm* ‘blame’;

ṣīf ‘summer’ ≠ *ṣūf* ‘wool’.

/ā/ ≠ /ī/

lām ‘he reproached’ ≠ *līm* ‘lemons’;

mšāt ‘he went’ ≠ *mšīt* ‘I went’⁷¹;

ṭwāl ‘to become long’ ≠ *ṭwīl* ‘long’

xfāf ‘to become light’ ≠ *xfīf* ‘light’.

Table 3: Long vowels in KA

	Long vowels		
	Front	Central	Back
Close	ī		ū
Mid			
Open		ā	

⁶⁹ These minimal pairs are extracted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 253).

⁷⁰ In all the hollow verbs C¹C²(w)C³, the 3SG.M of the S-stem with the 2SG of the imperative.

⁷¹ In all the defective verbs C¹C²C³(w/y), the 3SG.F with the 1 and 2SG of the S-stem.

2.2.1.1 Allophones⁷² of /ā/

In the presence of pharyngeal, velar, and uvular, the phoneme /ā/ is realized as the open front unrounded vowel [a:], e.g., *ʕādi* [ˈʕa:di] ‘normal’, *ɪxām* ‘marble’ [ɪˈxɑ:m], *ʕgār* ‘children’ [ˈsʕɑ:rʕ], *xātəɾ* ‘because’ [ˈxɑ:tʕərʕ], *qām* [ˈqɑ:m] ‘he stood up’, *qrāwa* [ˈqrʕɑ:wa] ‘Kairouani inhabitants’.

In the presence of emphatic consonants, /ā/ is pronounced as the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ:], e.g., *bāba* [ˈbʕɑ:bʕɑ] ‘dad’, *bḷāša* [ˈbʕlʕɑ:sʕɑ] ‘place’, *māma* [ˈmʕɑ:mʕɑ] ‘mum’, *rābʕa* [ˈrʕɑ:bʕɑ] ‘fourth^{FEM}’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: XX).

Otherwise, the phoneme /ā/ is pronounced as the open mid-front unrounded vowel [ɛ:], as explained further in the following section.

2.2.1.2 *Imāla*

KA features the *imāla*, a phenomenon of palatalization, in which the etymological long vowel /ā/ is raised and fronted to the open mid-front unrounded vowel [ɛ:] (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 255)⁷³. This phonetic shift is generally widespread in the Tunisian varieties described so far (Singer 1984: 170–171; Talmoudi 1980: 17; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 31) and can follow different distribution rules that change from one variety to another.

The *imāla* is not conditioned by the vocalic environment in KA, as it also happens in TA (Durand 2007: 248). It may be found in the word-initial or middle position or even in the final position in monosyllables. Examples of *imāla* realizations are spread in personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns, e.g., *āna* [ˈɛ:na] ‘I’, *hāda* [ˈhɛ:da] ‘this’⁷⁴, *ʕlāš?* [ˈʕlɛ:j] ‘why?’, *kīfāš?* [ki:ˈfɛ:j] ‘how?’, place adverbs, e.g., *dāxəl* [ˈdɛ:xəl], *hna* [ˈhɛ] ‘here’, defective verbs, e.g., *nabdāw* [nabˈdɛ:w] ‘we start’, *mša* [ˈmʕɛ] ‘he went’, *šrāt* [ˈʃrɛ:t] ‘she bought’, the plural marker *-āt* [ɛ:t], e.g., *xwāt* [ˈxwɛ:t] ‘sisters’, some words and idioms, e.g., *āy* [ɛ:j] ‘yes’, *b-əl-gda* [bəlˈgdɛ], *blād* [ˈblɛ:d] ‘city’, *la* [ˈlɛ] ‘not’, *la bās?* [lɛ:ˈbɛ:s] ‘how are you?’, *bāhi* [ˈbɛ:hi] ‘OK, good’, *kās* [ˈkɛ:s] ‘glass’, *klām*

⁷² I specify that this dissertation represents a broad overview of the main phonetic, phonological, and morphological aspects of KA. To focus deeper on some specific aspects of this linguistic variety – such as the realization of vowel allophones – one would need an even more in-depth analysis and the development of phonetic skills that go beyond the scope of this research.

⁷³ KA features an *imāla* of first degree, but other Maghrebi sedentary-type varieties can also feature the *imāla* of second degree, due to which the long vowel /ā/ is raised and fronted to [i:]. On the *imāla* phenomenon, see Levin (2007)

⁷⁴ In the demonstrative pronouns, all /ā/ are pronounced as [ɛ:] because of the *imāla*.

[ˈklɛ:m] ‘talk’, *ḥkāya* [ˈħkɛ:ja] ‘story’, *ma* [ˈmɛ] ‘water’, and loanwords, e.g., *frāz* [ˈfrɛ:z] (< FR *fraise*) ‘strawberry’, *wmlāt* [umˈlɛ:t] (< FR *omelette*) ‘omelette’, *kūktāl* [ku:kˈtɛ:l] (< EN) ‘cocktail’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 255).

Nevertheless, emphatic consonants, the pharyngeal /ʕ/ and /ħ/, and the velar /x/ and /g/ regularly stop the *imāla*. It is also stopped when preceded by the uvular /q/ and in some loanwords. What follows are some other samples of these phonetic realizations: *ənšāllāh* [ənˈʃɑ:lˈɑ:h] ‘God willing’, *rumḍān* [rˈumˈðˈɑ:n] ‘Ramadan’, *ṣāḥab* [ˈsˈɑ:ħəb] ‘friend’, *ḥāzāt* [ħɑ:ˈzɛ:t] ‘things’, *sāʕāt* [sa:ˈʕɑ:t] ‘hours’, *duxxān* [duxˈxa:n], ‘smoking’, *ḡādi* ‘there’ [ˈɣɑ:di], *qāl* [ˈqɑ:l] ‘he said’, *bāy* [ˈbˈɑ:j] (< EN) ‘bye’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 255).

2.2.1.3 Allophones of /ī/

In the presence of emphatics, the uvular /q/, and the pharyngeal /ʕ/, the phoneme /ī/ is pronounced as the close central unrounded vowel [i:], e.g., *nḍīf* [ˈnðˈi:f] ‘clean’, *nawṣīya* [nawˈʕi:ja] ‘quality’, *qīma* [ˈqi:ma] ‘value’, *taʕī-ni* [taʕˈtˈi:ni] ‘give me^{IMP}’, *yṣīr* [ɪ:ˈsˈi:rˈs] ‘it happens’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 254-255).

Otherwise, /ī/ is pronounced as the near-close front unrounded vowel [ɪ:], e.g., *ḥlīb* [ˈħlɪ:b] ‘milk’, *līla* [ˈlɪ:la] ‘night’, *nżīt* [ˈnzi:t] ‘I came’, *ʕāšrīn* [ʕəʃˈri:n] ‘twenty’, *wīn* [ˈwi:n] ‘where’.

2.2.1.4 Allophones of /ū/

In the presence of emphatic, pharyngeal, velar, and uvular consonants, the phoneme /ū/ is pronounced as the near-close near-back rounded vowel [u:], e.g., *ftūr* [ˈftu:rˈs] ‘breakfast’, *ḥūma* [ˈħu:ma] ‘neighborhood’, *nqūm* [ˈnqu:m] ‘I get up’, *rūḥ* [ˈrˈu:ħ] ‘self’, *škūn* [ˈʃku:n] ‘who’, (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 254).

Otherwise, /ū/ is pronounced as the close back rounded vowel [u:], e.g., *ždūd* [ˈzdu:d] ‘grandparents’, *masdūd* [masˈdu:d] ‘blocked’, *šūf* [ˈʃu:f] ‘see^{IMP}’, *qālū-l-ha* [qa:ˈlu:lha] ‘they told her’, *ymūtu* [ɪ:ˈmu:tu] ‘they die’.

2.2.2 Short vowels

The following minimal pairs⁷⁵ prove the existence of three short vowel: /a/, /ə/, and /u/.

/ə/ ≠ /u/

⁷⁵ These minimal pairs are extracted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 253).

ḥabb ‘love^{IMP}’ ≠ *ḥubb* ‘love’;
kanna ‘daughter-in-law’ ≠ *kunna* ‘we were’;
ktab ‘he wrote’ ≠ *ktub* ‘books’;

/ə/ ≠ /a/

ḥabb ‘love^{IMP}’ ≠ *ḥabb* ‘he wanted’;
šadd ‘grab^{IMP}’ ≠ *šadd* ‘he grabbed’⁷⁶;
ʕašra ‘long-standing friendship’ ≠ *ʕašra* ‘ten’

/a/ ≠ /u/

ḥabb ‘he wanted’ ≠ *ḥubb* ‘love’;
šabb ‘he poured’ ≠ *šubb* ‘pour^{IMP}’⁷⁷;
xamsīn ‘fifty’ ≠ *xumsīn* ‘two fifths’.

Table 4: Short vowels in KA

Short vowels		
	Central	Back
Close		u
Mid	ə	
Open	a	

2.2.2.1 Allophones of /a/

In the presence of emphatic consonants, the phoneme /a/ is pronounced as the open-back unrounded vowel [ɑ], e.g., *ḥarša* [ˈbʰarʰʃɑ] ‘a lot’, *nšawwəʔ* [ˈnsʰaw:ʊrʰ] ‘I took a picture’, *nšallāh* [ˈnʃalʰɑ:h] ‘God willing’, *stah* [ˈstʰah] ‘roof’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 254).

⁷⁶ In all the geminate verbs following the pattern $C^1aC^2C^3$, $yC^1əC^2C^3$, the 3SG.M of the S- stem with the 2nd sg. p. of the imperative.

⁷⁷ In all the geminate verbs following the pattern $C^1aC^2C^3$, $yC^1uC^2C^3$, the 3SG.M of the S- stem with the 2SG of the imperative.

In the presence of pharyngeal, velar, and uvular, the phoneme /a/ is realized as the near-open central vowel [ɐ], e.g., *qalb* ['qɛlb] ‘heart’, *mħall* ['mħɛl:] ‘store’, *ʕand-i* ['ʕɛndi] ‘I have’, *xamsa* ['xɛmsa] ‘five’.

Otherwise, the phoneme /a/ is pronounced as the open central unrounded vowel [a], e.g., *famma* ['fam:a] ‘there is/are’, *maɾgūm* [mar'gu:m] ‘maɾgūm’⁷⁸, *tawwa* ['taw:a] ‘now’, *zanqa* ['zanqɛ] ‘narrow street’.

2.2.2.2 Allophones of /u/

In the presence of emphatic, pharyngeal, velar, and uvular consonants, the phoneme /u/ is pronounced as the near-close near-back rounded vowel [ʊ], e.g., *kull* ['kʊl:] ‘everything’, *gudwa* ['ɣʊdwa] ‘tomorrow’, *nusʃ* ['nosʃ:] ‘half’, *quwwa* ['qʊw:a] ‘streight’, *ɾumḏān* [rʃʊmʃ'ðʃɑ:n] ‘Ramadan’ (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 254).

Otherwise, /u/ is pronounced as the close back rounded vowel [u], e.g., *mudda* ['mud:a] ‘period of time’, *nusknu* ['nusknu] ‘we live’, *udxul* ['udxʊl] ‘get in^{IMP}’, *yumkun* ['jumkʊn] ‘maybe’, *zuwwār* [zuw'wa:rʃ] ‘tourists’.

2.2.2.3 Allophones of /ə/

The /ə/ is pronounced as the close central unrounded vowel [ɨ] when it is in contact with the semi-consonant /y/ and there is no emphatic, pharyngeal, or velar consonant, e.g., *yəktəb* ['jɨktəb] ‘he writes’, *nətkayyəf* [nət'kaj:ɨf] ‘I smoke’, *wləyyəd* [u:'ləj:ɨd] ‘boy’, *yədd* ['jɨd:] ‘hand’, *ʒwayyəd* ['ʒwaj:ɨd] ‘thin’.

The /ə/ is pronounced as a near-close front unrounded vowel [ɪ] when it is in contact with the semi-consonant /y/ and an emphatic, pharyngeal, or velar consonant, e.g., *yəxdmū-h* [jɪxd'mu] ‘the work it’, *sāyəħ* ['sa:jɪħ] ‘tourist’.

When the /ə/ is preceded by the geminate semi-consonant /w/, it is pronounced as the near-close near-back rounded vowel [ʊ], e.g., *ndawwəʃ* ['ndaw:ʊʃ] ‘I take a shower’, *ʃawwəɾ* ['sʃaw:ʊrʃ] ‘take a picture^{IMP}’, *tzawwəʒ* ['tzaw:ʊʒ] ‘he married’, *ydawwəɾ* [ɪ:'daw:ʊrʃ] ‘he makes something spin’.

Otherwise, /ə/ is pronounced as the mid-central vowel [ə], e.g., *əlli* ['əl:i] relative marker, *mənn-u* ['mən:u] ‘from him’, *təktəb* ['təktəb] ‘you write’, *xāṭəɾ* ['xɛ:tʃɛr] ‘because’, *xdəmt* ['xdəmt] ‘I worked’, *ʕəɾs* ['ʕɛrs] ‘wedding’, *xāṭəɾ* ['xɛ:tʃɛrʃ] ‘because’.

⁷⁸ Type of carpet.

2.2.3 Quantitative oppositions

The following minimal pairs prove the quantitative oppositions between the three long and the three short vowels presented above:

/a/ ≠ /ā/

ḥažž ‘pilgrimage’ ≠ *ḥāžž* ‘old man’;

labsa ‘dress’ ≠ *lābsa* ‘wearing^{FEM}’;

xamsa ‘five’ ≠ *xāmsa* ‘fifth^{FEM}’.

ə/ ≠ /ī/

kbəṛ ‘he grew up’ ≠ *kbīṛ* ‘big’.

u/ ≠ /ū/

šufna ‘we saw’ ≠ *šūf-na* ‘see^{IMP} us’;

ždud ‘new^{PL}’ ≠ *ždūd* ‘grandparents’.

2.2.4 Phonemes and allophones overview

The following table summarizes the phonemes and allophones that make up the vowel system of KA.

	Long vowels			Short vowels		
Phonemes	ā	ī	ū	a	ə	u
Allophones	[ɛː]/[ɑː]/[aː]	[iː]/[iː]	[uː]/[uː]	[a]/[ɑ]/[ɐ]	[ə]/[ɪ]/[ɨ]/[ʊ]	[u]/[ʊ]

2.2.5 Historical remarks

As is the case for Tunisian varieties in general, the distribution of the short vowels does not always correspond to that of /a/, /i/, and /u/ of OA. Indeed, this distribution is often phonologically conditioned.⁷⁹ Regarding the three short vowels /a/, /ə/, and /u/ of KA,

- OA /a/ often corresponds to /ə/ in a non-emphatic consonant environment, e.g., *kəlma* (OA *kalima*) ‘word’;

⁷⁹ In the same direction, Singer states that the distribution of short vowels in Tunis Arabic is frequently inexplicable (Singer 1984: 142).

- OA /a/ can be realized as /u/ in an emphatic and labial environment, e.g., *wuṣṭ* (OA *wasṭ*) ‘middle’, *ṛumḍān* (OA *ramadān*) ‘Ramadan’;
- OA /a/ tends to be /ə/ in a post-tonic syllable, e.g., *kamməl* (OA *kammala*) ‘to finish’, *baddəl* (OA *baddala*) ‘to change’;
- KA /u/ is frequently found in an emphatic and uvular environment, e.g., *nuṣṣ* (OA *nisf*) ‘half’, *yuqtul* (OA *yuqtalu*) ‘he kills’.
- KA /ə/ tends to be used in all other consonant environments. An example of OA /u/ corresponding to KA /ə/ is *zəbda* (OA *zubda*) ‘butter’.⁸⁰

Concerning the three long vowels /ā/, /ī/ and /ū/, they correspond to:

- OA long vowels /ā/, /ī/ and /ū/, e.g., *dqīqa* (OA *daqīqa*) ‘minute’, *kūfī* (OA *kūfī*) ‘Kufic’, *məftāḥ* (OA *miftāḥ*) ‘key’;
- (only /ū/ and /ī/) the reduction of the OA diphthongs *aw and *ay, e.g., *fūq* (OA *fawq*) ‘above’, *ṣīf* (OA *ṣayf*) ‘summer’;
- vowel lengthening and contraction from the OA *v?* to KA *v̄*, e.g., *yākul* (OA *yaʔkulu*) ‘he eats’, *la bās* (OA *lā baʔs*) ‘fine’, *ṛās* (OA *raʔs*) ‘head’;
- lengthening of etymologically short vowels, e.g., *qūl* (OA *qul*) ‘say^{IMP}’, *dūr* (OA *dur*) ‘turn^{IMP}’;
- long vowels in loanwords, e.g., *klīnik* (FR *clinique*) ‘clinic’, *mārs* ‘March’, *nūmru* ‘phone number’.

2.2.6 Anaptyctic vowels

Anaptyctic vowels correspond to what Singer defines *überkurze Vokale* (Singer 1984: 70), i.e., ultrashort vowels. As Singer states for *tunisois* Arabic, ultrashort vowels are unstable elements whose place of articulation is generally determined by the consonant context. They purely have a phonetic role, facilitating the pronunciation of heavy consonant groups. Indeed, they are never stressed and, do not have phonological status (Singer 1984: 70–71).

KA has three anaptyctic vowels, *a*, *ə*, and *u*, which facilitate the pronunciation of the two following consonant clusters:⁸¹

⁸⁰ Much of this vowel distribution is also true for Tunis (Singer 1984: 140–167), Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 32–33) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 56–57) Arabic.

⁸¹ In Douz and Nefza, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 45–47) and Naddari (2023: 58–59) also attest to the presence of three anaptyctic vowels, *a*, *u*, and *i*, which occur in the two functional uses I describe for KA.

- two consonant initial-word clusters, e.g., *aṣḥāb* ‘friends’, *aktāb* ‘write^{IMP}’, *uṣrub* ‘drink^{IMP}’. In this case, the use of the anaptyctic vowel is optional and normally conditioned by the phonetic environment;
- word-internal three consonant clusters -CCC-. In this case, the anaptyctic vowel can be inserted between both the first and second consonants of the cluster, e.g., *xad²mt-i* ‘my work’, *mad⁴rsa* ‘school’ and the second and third consonants of the cluster, *yusk^unu* ‘they live’, *musl^pmīn* ‘Muslim^{PL}’, *mā-yḥabb-²š* ‘he does not want’. In this case, the use of the anaptyctic vowel is mandatory to break up the three-consonant cluster.⁸²

The anaptyctic vowels are not phonemes, and I do not transcribe them in word-internal position since their use is also systematic. However, I decided to transcribe them in this dissertation when they occur in the initial word position, because, in that case, their use is optional and needs to be explicitly marked.

2.3 Diphthongs

Because a vowel + glide compound is a diphthong in Semitic linguistics (Iványi 2007: 640), the spoken Arabic of Kairouan has two typologies of diphthongs.

The first one features a long vowel, i.e., *āw*, *āy*, *īw*. These diphthongs are found as follows:

- *āw* occurs in the plural person of defective verbs, e.g., *nabdāw* ‘we start’, *ṣṭāw* ‘they gave’, *mšāw* ‘they went’, *ndrāw* ‘we know’, *qrāw* ‘they studied’, *twaffāw* ‘they died’; in the 3PL of the S-stem conjugation, e.g., *žāw* ‘they come’, *klāw* ‘they ate’, *rāw* ‘they saw’, *xḏāw* ‘they took’; in the III pattern of the hollow verb $C^1\bar{v}C^2(w)vC^3$, e.g., *nṣāwnu* ‘we collaborate’; in other words, e.g., *grāwš* ‘sweets’ (*hākka*) *hāw* ‘that is all’; and loanwords, e.g., *ṭāwla* ‘table’;
- *āy* occurs in the singular female and plural male active participle of the hollow verb $C^1\bar{v}C^2(y)vC^3$, e.g., *dāyma* ‘staying^{FEM}’, *xāybīn* ‘bad^{PL}’, *xāyfa* ‘scared^{FEM}’, *žāyba* ‘bringing^{FEM}’, *ṣāyšīn* ‘living^{PL}’; the female active participle *žāya* ‘coming^{FEM}’; words, such as *āy* ‘yes’, *qāyla* ‘afternoon’, *ṣāyla* ‘family’; loanwords, e.g., *bāy* (< EN) ‘bay’, *tāy* ‘the’, *wkāy* (< EN) ‘ok’;

⁸² On the phonetic rules governing polysyllabic words in KA, see §2.6.2.

- $\bar{i}w$ occurs in plural persons of the P-stem of the defective verb $C^1C^2C^3(y)$ with the thematic vowel in $-i$, e.g., *naḥkīw* ‘we say’, *nəməšīw* ‘we go’, *nəšallīw* ‘we pray’, *nwarrīw-k* ‘we show you’, *yġaṭṭīw* ‘they cover (their heads)’.

The second group of diphthongs features an initial short vowel, and it is divided into diphthongs with a geminated semi-consonant, i.e., *aww*, *ayy*, and those without the gemination, i.e., *aw* and *ay*. Among the examples of geminated diphthongs, there are diminutives, e.g., *wlayyəd* ‘boy’, hollow verbs of pattern II, e.g., *ndawwəš* ‘I take a shower’, *nšawwəṛ* ‘I take a picture’, *ṭrawwəḥ* ‘you leave’, *ylawwəž* ‘he looks for’, and other words, such as *šayy* ‘thing’, *šnūwa?* ‘what?’, *tawwa* ‘now’. (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 256)

The OA etymological diphthongs $*aw$ and $*ay$ are usually reduced to \bar{u} and \bar{i} (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 255), as shown below:

OA $*aw \rightarrow$ KA \bar{u}

KA *fūq* (OA *fawq*) ‘above’, KA *mūt* (OA *mawt*) ‘death’, KA *nūm* (OA *nawm*) ‘sleep’, KA *xūx* (OA *xawx*) ‘peach’, KA *yūm* (OA *yawm*) ‘day’, KA *zūz* (OA *zawğ*) ‘two’;

OA $*ay \rightarrow$ KA \bar{i}

KA *bīt* (OA *bayt*) ‘room’, KA *kīf* (OA *kayf*) ‘like, as’, KA *zīt* (OA *zayt*) ‘oil’, KA *xīr* (OA *xayr*) ‘better’, KA *zītūn* (OA *zaytūn*) ‘olives’.

However, some exceptions are attested to as well. Indeed, the etymological $*aw$ and $*ay$ are sometimes retained in the passive participle of the assimilated verb $C^1(w/y)C^2vC^3$, e.g., *mawlūda* ‘born^{FEM}’, *’mawžūd* ‘present, existing’, *mawžūfa* ‘suffering^{FEM}’,⁸³ the conjugation of some X pattern assimilated verb $staC^1(w/y)C^2vC^3$, e.g., *stawtan* ‘to settle’, some loanwords from OA, e.g., *dawla* ‘nation’, *law kān* ‘if’, *nawf* ‘type’, *nawfīya* ‘quality’, and other words (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 256).

Table : The diphthongs in KA

⁸³ However, speakers tell me that forms like *mawžūd* or *mawlūd* are perceived as loanwords from MSA.

The diphthongs

Long vowel	<i>āw</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>īw</i>
Short vowel	<i>aw (> ū)</i>	<i>ay (> ī)</i>	<i>ayy</i> <i>aww</i>

2.4 Syllabic structures

In this section, it is necessary to distinguish short vowels (v) from long vowels (v̄) and open syllables from closed syllables. An open syllable ends in a vowel, while a closed one ends in a consonant. Short syllables are open syllables with short vowels; all the others are long syllables (D. Cohen 1975: 73; Pereira 2010: 83).

KA does not accept a short vowel in an unstressed open syllable, like the other Maghrebi varieties. Therefore, precise morphological transformations derive from this rule.⁸⁴ Some MSA loanwords constitute an exception to this rule are, e.g., *mu|ṛab|bṣāt* ‘squares’, *mu|ta|naf|fās* ‘oxygen’, *wa|hīd* ‘only’.

What follows are all the possible syllabic structures in KA:

Cv̄: *bā|hi* ‘OK’, *bu* ‘father’, *ḡā|di* ‘there’, *ma* ‘water’, *xu* ‘brother’;

CvC: *bar|bar* ‘Berbers’, *dāg|la* ‘type of dattes’, *kam|məl* ‘he finished’, *yāb|da* ‘he starts’, *yā|kul* ‘he eats’;

Cv̄C: *bāb* ‘door’, *lūn* ‘colour’, *māk|la* ‘food’, *māt* ‘he died’, *qāl* ‘he said’;

CCv̄: *ḡkā|ya* ‘story’, *klī|nīk* ‘clinic’, *ktī|ba* ‘inscriptions’, *lqa* ‘to find’, *mša* ‘he went’;

CCvC: *bḡar* ‘sea’, *štar* ‘half’, *ktāb* ‘he wrote’, *qbal* ‘before’, *ṣtaḡ* ‘roof’;

CCv̄C: *blād* ‘country’, *bnīn* ‘tasty’, *kbār* ‘big^{PL}’, *klīm* ‘type of carpet’, *škūn* ‘who’;

CvCC: *bānt* ‘daughter’, *faṣl* ‘season’, *kālb* ‘dog’, *māst|ḡaqq* ‘needy’, *ṣabb* ‘he poured’;

Cv̄CC: *ḡārṛ* ‘spicy’, *hāzz* ‘old man’, *hāzz* ‘taking’;

CCvCC: *ltamm* ‘he collected’, *fhāmt* ‘I understood’, *šṛābt* ‘I drank’.

2.5 Stress

This section examines the word stress’ rules⁸⁵ in KA.

⁸⁴ For an overview on syllabic structures in MagA, see Ph. Marçais (1977: 24–34)

⁸⁵ Regarding prosody and, especially, intonation which deals with the utterance accent, no exhaustive studies in Arabic dialectology are yet available (Benkirane 2008: 726).

The stress in Arabic is usually fixed because its position depends on the word's syllabic structure, and it does not vary because of the word or syntagm's morphology⁸⁶. The same is also true for KA. Already Badreddine (1977a: 215–217) studied the stress rules in KA, which I confirm and report below.

As far as monosyllables are concerned, these are evidently constantly stressed, e.g., *mḥáll* 'shop', *mšá* 'he went', *nás* 'people', *tház* 'you take', *snín* 'years', etc.

The stress can be on the penultimate or the ultimate syllable in all other multisyllabic words. However, it more often tends to fall on the penultimate syllable. Specifically, KA features a penultimate stress when:

- the final syllable is open (-Cv), e.g., *dxálna* 'we got in', *ndǝǝfa* 'clean^{FEM}', *náǝnǝu* 'we make', *hādúka* 'that^{FEM}', *tálqa* 'you find';
- the final syllable is closed (-CvC), e.g., *nsálləm* 'I greet', *núqǝud* 'I stay', *tnázǝəm* 'she can', *túnəs* 'Tunis', *yúrqud* 'he sleeps';

The stress falls on the ultimate syllable in KA when:

- the final syllable is closed by two consonants (-CvCC), e.g., *fakkárt* 'I thought', *kallámt* 'I called', *yḥabb* 'he wants', *kammált* 'you finished', *yṣubb* 'he pours';
- the final syllable is closed and includes a long vowel (-Cv̄C), e.g., *duxǝán* 'smoking', *məḥrǝáb* 'niche', *məxdūmín* 'made^{PL}', *taxǝǝt* 'electrocardiogram', *yqúl* 'he says'.

As Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 49) points out for the TA of Douz, even in KA the article, the conjunction *w-* and prepositions like *b-*, *f-*, and *l-* are proclitic and are unstressed, e.g., *əš-šáyx* 'the sheykh', *b-əl-yádd* 'handmade', *ǝ-əž-žáld* 'of leather', *f-əž-žáməš* 'in the mosque', *m-əl-ḥárǝa* 'from outside'. Moreover, when suffixes are added to nouns and verbs, the new syllabic structure of the word must be reconsidered, and the above-mentioned accent rules reapplied, e.g., *yúqtul* + *hum* > *yuqtúl-hum* 'they kill them', *yḥabbu* + *ha* > *yḥabbú-ha* 'they love her', *máǝna* + *ha* > *maǝná-ha* 'I mean (lit. her meaning)', *ma* + *fámma* + *š* > *mā-fammá-š* 'there is not', *(ǝla +) xátar* + *ha* > *(ǝla) xátar-ha* 'because her'.

In conclusion, stress in KA is always on the penultimate syllable, except when the final syllable is long or closed by two consonants. Only in these two cases the accent falls on the last syllable.

⁸⁶ On prosody in Arabic, see Benkirane (2008).

2.6 Morphophonology

As Ph. Marçais states, a short vowel is not allowed in an open unstressed syllable in MagA. For this reason, the words' syllabic structure in these varieties is unstable (Ph. Marçais 1977: 24–25). This is evident when the addition of a suffix starting with a vowel transforms a closed syllable into an open syllable (e.g., CCvC + *u* > *CCvCu).

The following sections discuss the syllabic transformations of monosyllabic and polysyllabic words in KA.

2.6.1 Monosyllabic words

If the vowel suffix of the feminine *-ət* or the plural *-u* is added to the regular verb (e.g., *ktəb* 'to write'), the syllabic structures change as follows:

- CCvC + *ət* > CvCCət

E.g., *qʕad* + *ət* > **qʕadət* > *qʕdət* 'she stayed', *shal* + *ət* > **shalət* > *sahlət* 'she simplified';

- CCvC + *u* > CvCCu

E.g., *ftaḥ* + *u* > **ftaḥu* > *fathu* 'they conquered', *ktəb* + *u* > **ktəbu* > *kətbu* 'they wrote'.

The same phenomenon also occurs when an initial vowel pronoun is suffixed to a verb, a noun, or a preposition with the CCvC pattern:

- CCvC + *v* > CvCCv

E.g., *ʕmur* + *u* > **ʕmuru* > *ʕumr-u* 'his age', *ktub* + *i* > **ktubi* > *kutb-i* 'my books',⁸⁷ *qbal* + *u* > **qbalu* > *qabl-u*.

When the suffix *-a* of the singular feminine or *-īn* of the dual is added to the masculine noun pattern CCvC, the *ressaut* occurs:

- CCvC + *a* > CvCCa

E.g., *bḡal* + *a* > **bḡala* > *baḡla* 'mule^{FEM}', *ḥḏar* + *a* > **ḥḏara* > *ḥaḏra* 'a stone';

- CCvC + *īn* > CvCCīn

E.g., *šhar* + *īn* > **šharīn* > *šahrīn* 'two months', *wḏah* + *īn* > **wḏahīn* > *waḏhīn* 'two faces'.

⁸⁷ Although the word more used in KA to say 'my books' – with the meaning of 'the books I wrote' – is *ktība*.

2.6.2 Polysyllabic words

When the suffix *-u* of the plural is added to the P-stem or the imperative, the following change occurs:

- $-CCvC + u > -CCCu$

E.g., *naṣnaṣ + u > *naṣnaṣu > naṣnu* ‘we do’, *axdām + u > *axdāmu > axdmu* ‘work^{IMP.PL}’, *yəktāb + u > *yəktābu > yəktbu* ‘they wrote’.

The same syllabic change is also found in verbs of I and II patterns followed by personal suffix pronouns starting with a vowel, e.g., *tafzāb-ək > *tafzāb-ək > tafzāb-ək* ‘you like’, *təsmāf-u > *təsmāf-u > təsmf-u* ‘she hears you’, *yfaddəl + ək > *yfaddəl-ək > yfaddl-ək* ‘[may God] please you’, *yḥayyəs + ək > *yḥayyəs-ək > yḥayyš-ək* ‘thank you’, *kalləm-ək > *kalləm-ək > kallm-ək* ‘he called you’.⁸⁸

The same modification is found in the OA structures

- $mvCCvCa > maCCCa$

e.g., *madrāsa > madṛsa* ‘school’, *maktāba > maktba* ‘library’;

in the feminine of the diminutive form $CCayyəC$

- $CCayyəC + a > CCayyCa$

e.g., *sḡayyər + a > *sḡayyərə > sḡayyra* ‘little^{FEM}’, *ḡwayyəd + a > *ḡwayyəda > ḡwayyda* ‘thin^{FEM}’.

- $mvCCvC + v/\bar{i}/\bar{a}t > mvCCCV/\bar{i}/\bar{a}t$

e.g., *muslim + a > muslma* ‘Muslim^{FEM}’, *muslim + \bar{i}n > muslm\bar{i}n* ‘Muslim^{PL}’.

Another syllabic phenomenon regards the feminine nouns of the $CvCCa$ type when suffixed by a vowel pronoun:

- $CvCCa + v > CvCCtv$ ⁸⁹

e.g., *xādma + i > *xādmat-i > xādmt-i* ‘my work’, *xādma + u > *xādmat-u > xādmt-u* ‘his work’, *ṛukba + i > *ṛukbat-i > ṛukbt-i* ‘my knee’.

In order to facilitate the consonant group $-CCC-$, an anaptyctic vowel (^a, ^ə, and ^u)⁹⁰ is inserted between the first and second consonant of the group of three consonants, e.g., *xādmt-i* [ˈxəd^amti] ‘my work’, *madrāsa* [ˈmad^ar^ssa] ‘school’ or between the second and the third consonant, e.g., *yusknu* [ˈyusk^unu] ‘they live’, *muslm\bar{i}n* [ˈmusl^əmi:n] ‘muslim^{PL}’.

⁸⁸ However, these cases are not explicitly cited and analyzed by Ph. Marçais (1977: 24–34) and by the authors of the main MagA grammars consulted for this dissertation.

⁸⁹ The only exception to this rule is found in the address form *lāllāt-i* ‘Madam’, which presents the lengthening of the *a*, instead of its fall.

⁹⁰ For anaptyctic vowels, see §2.2.6.

If a suffix pronoun starting with a vowel is attached to the pattern $C\bar{a}C\bar{a}C$, it becomes $C\bar{a}CC$ -v, e.g., $\dot{r}\bar{a}\dot{z}\bar{a}l + i > *r\bar{a}\dot{z}\bar{a}l-i > r\bar{a}\dot{z}l-i$ ‘my husband’, $\dot{s}\bar{a}h\bar{a}b + \bar{a}k > *s\bar{a}h\bar{a}b-\bar{a}k > s\bar{a}h\bar{b}-\bar{a}k$ ‘your friend’.

When a 3SG.F form of the S-stem is followed by a suffixed vowel pronoun, the short vowel is preserved through the doubling of the *-t*: $\dot{t}al\bar{b}\bar{a}t + u > \dot{t}al\bar{b}\bar{a}tt-u$ ‘she called him’. The same occurs in the female active participle followed by a suffix pronoun starting with a vowel, e.g., $h\bar{a}f\bar{d}a + u > *h\bar{a}f\bar{d}at-u > h\bar{a}f\bar{d}att-u$ ‘I saved him’, $f\bar{a}hma + u > *f\bar{a}hmat-u > f\bar{a}hmatt-u$ ‘I have understood’.

2.7 Verbal Noun

The syllabic structure $CvCC$ is used to form the verbal noun. This pattern opposes the third person masculine singular of the regular verb $CCvC$, e.g., $l\bar{s}ab$ ‘to play’ $\neq l\bar{s}b$ ‘play’, $w\bar{z}\bar{a}n$ ‘to weigh’ $\neq w\bar{z}n$ ‘weight’, $w\bar{l}\bar{a}d$ ‘to give birth’ $\neq w\bar{a}ld$ ‘boy’.

2.8 Phonotactics

This section describes the main phonetic changes caused by contact or proximity between different phonemes, i.e., progressive, regressive, and mutual assimilation, sibilant harmony, dissimilation, haplology, metathesis, gemination, elision, and pharyngealization.

2.8.1 Assimilation

The following paragraphs address sibilant harmony, progressive, regressive, and mutual assimilation in KA.

2.8.1.1 Progressive assimilation

The first example of progressive assimilation occurs mainly with /h/ followed by the 3PL and 3SG.F pronominal suffix *-hum/-ha*. The second is identified only in the word **nuṣf* ‘half’, as is the case of Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 193).

$hh > h\bar{h}$ $tamsa\bar{h}-h\bar{a}-l-i > tamsa\bar{h}-h\bar{a}-l-i^{91}$ ‘you sweep it to me’;
 $sf > s\bar{s}$ $nu\bar{s}f > nu\bar{s}\bar{s}$ ‘half’;

⁹¹ Regarding those speakers who regularly change the place of articulation of [h] to [χ], they pronounce the pattern $hh > [\chi]$.

ṭt > *ṭṭ* *hbatṭ* > *hbatṭṭ* ‘I descended’;
žd > *žž* *ždūd* > *žžūd* ‘grandfathers’.

2.8.1.2 Regressive assimilation

The /l/ of the definite article *əl-* ‘the’ (and its variations *l-* and *lə-*)⁹² is assimilated to the solar consonants of OA and to the /ž/ < OA */ǧ/, as expected and confirmed by the following examples:⁹³

/d/ > *əd-dār* ‘the house’;
 /ḏ/ > *əḏ-ḏhab* ‘the gold’;
 /ḏ̣/ > *əḏ̣-ḏyūf* ‘the guests’;
 /l/ > *əl-lūn* ‘the color’;
 /n/ > *ən-nās* ‘the people’;
 /r/ > *ər-rīḥ* ‘the wind’;
 /ṛ/ > *ər-ṛxām* ‘the marble’;
 /š/ > *aš-šākəl* ‘the pattern’;
 /s/ > *əs-sṭaḥ* ‘the roof’;
 /ṣ̌/ > *aṣ̌-šūf* ‘the wool’;
 /ṭ/ > *əṭ-tālāt* ‘the third’;
 /ṭ/ > *əṭ-tālīfūn* ‘the phone’;
 /ṭ/ > *əṭ-ṭbīb* ‘the doctor’;
 /ž/ > *až-žald* ‘the leather’;
 /z/ > *əz-zuwwār* ‘the tourists’.

What follows is an overview of all the regressive assimilation cases found in my corpus:

ṭž > *žž* *ṭži* > *žži* ‘she comes’, *yəṭžāwaf* > *yəžžāwaf* ‘one acts hungry’;
ṭš > *šš* *mā-xḏīt-š* > *mā-xḏīš-š* ‘you did not take’, *tšabbəḥ* > *ššabbəḥ* ‘she is similar’;

⁹² On the definite article in KA, see §4.2.1.

⁹³ However, some Bedouin-type Tunisian and Maghrebi varieties generalize the assimilation of the definite article even to labials, velars, and post-velars (Ph. Marçais 1977: 162; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 150; Aguadé 2018: 49; Naddari 2023: 117).

<i>tʃ > ʃʃ</i>	<i>tʃawwəɾ > ʃʃawwəɾ</i> ‘imagine ^{IMP} ’;
<i>dt > tt</i>	<i>qʃadt > qʃatt</i> ‘I stay’, <i>ʃāwədt > ʃāwətt</i> ‘I repetead’;
<i>dʃ > ʃʃ</i>	<i>mā-ʃād-š > mā-ʃāš-š</i> ‘no more’;
<i>ln > nn</i>	<i>qulnā-l-ha > qunnā-l-ha</i> ‘we said her’, <i>ħməl-ni > ħməl-ni</i> ‘he hugged me’;
<i>lq > qq</i>	<i>talqa > taqqa</i> ‘you find’, <i>mā-talqā-ši > mā-taqqā-ši</i> ‘you do not find’;
<i>nm > mm</i>	<i>nmīl > mmīl</i> ‘I tend’;
<i>nl > ll</i>	<i>mīyāt-ən-lawħa > mīyāt-əl-lawħa</i> ‘three hundred paintings’;
<i>nʃ > ʃʃ</i>	<i>nʃallīw > ʃʃallīw</i> ‘we pray’, <i>nʃawwəɾ > ʃʃawwəɾ</i> ‘I take a picture’;
<i>nr > rr</i>	<i>nṛakkab > ṛṛakkab</i> ‘I install’, <i>nṛayyəs > ṛṛayyəs</i> ‘I tear’;
<i>nq > qq</i>	<i>nqūlu > qqūlu</i> ‘we say’, <i>tanqīla > taqqīla</i> ‘copy’, <i>zanqa > zaqqa</i> ‘narrow street’;
<i>rn > nn</i>	<i>xāṭəɾ-na > xāṭən-na</i> ‘because we’;
<i>fʃ > ʃʃ</i>	<i>mā-naʃraf-š > mā-naʃraš-š</i> ‘I do not know’, <i>mā-yaʃraf-š > mā-yaʃraš-š</i> ‘he does not know’. ⁹⁴

The following examples show some cases of partial regressive assimilation in which the first element is changed by the second but not totally assimilated into it.

<i>tz > dz</i>	<i>tzīd > dzīd</i> ‘you add’, <i>tzūr > dzūr</i> ‘you visit’;
<i>dʃ > tʃ</i>	<i>mā-ʃād-š</i> ‘no more’;
<i>dx > tx</i>	<i>nudxul > nutxul</i> ‘I go in’;
<i>nb > mb</i>	<i>mənbaɾ > məmbar</i> ‘pulpit’, <i>bə-žanb-ək > bə-žamb-ək</i> ‘next to you’;
<i>ʃd > ʒd</i>	<i>ʃdāq > ʒdāq</i> ‘marriage contract’, <i>ʃdāqāt > ʒdāqāt</i> ‘marriage contracts’;
<i>ʃġ > zġ</i>	<i>ʃġīɾ > zzġīɾ</i> ‘little’, <i>ʃġāɾ > zġāɾ</i> ‘children’.

Finally, the etymological /b/ is devoiced when followed by a voiceless consonant.

[b] + voiceless consonant > [p]	<i>bqa</i> [ˈpqa] ‘he stayed’, <i>nəkḏəb-š</i> [ˈnəkˈðˤəpʃ] ‘I do not lie’, <i>b-əḏ-ḏabt</i> [bəðˤˈðˤəpt] ‘exactly’, <i>kaʃbtīn</i> [kaʃpˈtɪ:n] ‘two pieces’, <i>ʔlabt</i> [ˈtˤlˤəpt] ‘I called’.
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⁹⁴ Regarding the regressive assimilation, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014: 52) states that also the word *wədd* – in the address form *ya wədd-i* – etymologically comes from *wəld* ‘son’ with a case of regressive assimilation *ld* (*wəld*) > *dd* (*wədd*). Since the assimilation of the word *wəld* in KA is only attested to in this address form, *ya wədd-i*, I would instead consider that *wədd* comes from the root √WDD and means ‘friend, dear’ as Beaussier (2006: 1048) mentions (*ya wədd-i* ‘my friend’). At the same time, it is also true that my informants affirm that *wədd* – in the address form *ya wədd-i* – is the word *wəld* pronounced fast.

2.8.1.3 Mutual assimilation

The only case of mutual assimilation found is the following:

$\zeta h > \text{ħħ}$ $mtā\zeta\text{-}\text{ħa} > mtā\text{ħ}\text{-}\text{ħa}$ ‘of her’, $mtā\zeta\text{-}\text{ħum} > mtā\text{ħ}\text{-}\text{ħum}$ ‘of them’

2.8.1.4 Sibilants harmony

When two sibilants occur within the same word or phrase, the following phenomena of assimilation occur.⁹⁵ The prepalatal ζ and ž are assimilated to the preceding or following alveolar s , and z .⁹⁶

$z\text{-}\text{ž} > z\text{-}z$ $zūz$ (OA $zaw\text{ž}$) ‘two’;
 $\text{ž}\text{-}z > z\text{-}z$ $zazzār$ (OA ğazzār) ‘butcher’, $\zeta azūza$ (OA $\zeta a\text{ğ}ūza$) ‘old woman’;
 $\text{ž}\text{-}s > s\text{-}s$ ⁹⁷ $\text{ž}\text{-}\text{əsm}\text{-}u? > s\text{-}\text{əsm}\text{-}u?$ ‘what is his name?’, $waqtā\text{š} sahlāt? > waqtās sahlāt?$ ‘when it got easier?’;

2.8.2 Dissimilation⁹⁸

The most relevant case found in the corpus is the loss of the first interdental $/t/ > /t/$ in the numerals $tlā\text{t}a < *tlā\text{t}a$ ‘three’ and $tlā\text{t}īn < *tlā\text{t}īn$ ‘thirty’ (see §2.1.2).

2.8.3 Haplology

Related to the phenomena of dissimilation and elision⁹⁹, this phonetic change occurs in the following cases in KA:

- when the preposition ζla is followed by the determinative article əl- > e.g., $\zeta\text{-}\text{əl-}\text{barra} < *\zeta la \text{əl-}\text{barra}$ ‘on abroad’, $\zeta\text{-}\text{ər-}\text{rxām} < *\zeta la \text{ər-}\text{rxām}$ ‘on the marble’, $\zeta\text{-}\text{əž-}\text{əld} < *\zeta la \text{əž-}\text{əld}$ ‘on the leather’;

⁹⁵ On the alteration *chuintant-sifflant* in Arabic see [Taine-Cheikh \(1979\)](#) and [Yoda \(2006\)](#).

⁹⁶ The assimilations $z\text{-}\text{ž} > z\text{-}z$ and $\text{ž}\text{-}z > z\text{-}z$ are common in Tunisian (Singer 1984: 123; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 54; Naddari 2023: 67), Libyan (Pereira 2010: 210; Benkato 2014: 70) and East Algerian Arabic (Ph. Marçais 1977: 22).

⁹⁷ This assimilation has been only found in occurrences that involve the morpheme boundaries.

⁹⁸ Considering that dissimilation is the ‘process by which one segment avoids taking on a feature (or a set of features) of another adjacent segment’ (Zemánek 2011: 653), I preferred to distinguish it from haplology (see § 2.8.3), i.e., the loss of a syllable when next to a phonetically identical syllable (Bloomfield 1896).

⁹⁹ Elision in KA is discussed in §2.8.6.

- when the preposition *mən* is followed by the determinative article *əl-* > e.g., *m-əl-ḥarṛa* < **mən əl-ḥarṛa* ‘from outside’, *m-əl-makka* < **mən əl-makka* ‘from outside’, *m-əd-darrīya* < **mən əd-darrīya* ‘from the ancestry’;
- in the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *arḥaṣṣāš* < **arḥaṣṣaš(ra)* ‘fourteen’, *sbaṣṣāš* < **sabḥaṣṣaš(ra)* ‘seventeen’, *tsaṣṣāš* < **təssaṣṣaš(ra)* ‘nineteen’;
- when the 1SG and 3SG.F of the S-stem of the verb *qāl* ‘to say’ is followed by the preposition *l-*,¹⁰⁰ e.g., **qult l-ək* > *qutt l-ək* ‘I said to you’, **qālət l-i* > *qātt-l-i* < ‘she said to me’.

2.8.4 Metathesis

Among the cases of metathesis identified in KA, I report:

- the exchange of /l/ and /n/, e.g., *danḥil* (loanword, OA *dulḥin*) ‘dolphin’;
- the exchange of /h/ and /r/, e.g., *karḥba* ‘auto’ (OA *kahrabā?*);
- the exchange of /d/ and /g/, e.g., *burgdān* ‘orange’ (loanword, OA *burtuqāl*).

2.8.5 Gemination

Geminated consonants are pronounced as single at the end of a word in pausal form, e.g., *damm* [ˈdam] ‘blood’, *yədd* [ˈjəd] ‘hand’. On the contrary – as Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 56) describes for Douz Arabic – if a noun ends in -vC and the following word begins with a vowel, the pattern -vC is geminated in -vCC to close the syllable (-vC + v- > -vCC-v-): *naxṭəf* > *naxṭəff ən-nhār sāṣtīn* ‘I catch up two hours of the day’, *masžəd* > *masžədd əl-anšār* ‘anšār Mosque’.

Another case of gemination is the doubling of C² as compensation due to the fall of the etymological *hamza*, e.g., *šayy* (OA *šay?*) ‘thing’, *ḥadd* (OA *ḥaḥad*) ‘someone’. Also, the OA biradical roots present the gemination of C² in KA, e.g., *famm* (OA *fam*) ‘mouth’ and words like *damm* (OA *dam*) ‘blood’.

The -t of the suffix -ət of the 3SG.F singular of the S-stem is doubled when followed by a suffixed vowel pronoun in order to preserve the short vowel ə, e.g., *ṭalbət + u* > *ṭalbətt-u* ‘she called him’.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ On the morphological transformations that the verb *qāl* ‘to say’ can be subjected to when followed by indirect object suffixes, see §4.3.1.2.2.

¹⁰¹ On phonetic changes in polysyllabic words, see paragraph §6.2.6.

Also, the final *n* of the preposition *mən* is geminated when followed by the 1SG and 3SG.M person suffix pronouns *-i* and *-u*, respecting the MagA syllabic rules: *mənn-i* < *mən-***i* ‘from me’, *mənn-u* < *mən-***hu* ‘from him’.

2.8.6 Elision

The omission of one vowel or consonant, or even a whole syllable, is occasionally attested to in the following cases:

- final vowel, consonant, or syllable in pausal form words, e.g., *dār* ‘house’, *dār əž-ždū^d* ‘grandfathers house’, *karh^{ba}* ‘car’, *baɾ^{ra}* ‘outside’, *hī^a* ‘she’, *yaʕī-k as-šahh^a* ‘right’;
- the words *sīdi* > *si* ‘sir’, ‘man’, *ṭāta* > *ta* ‘aunt (affectionally)’, *fə-sāʕa fə-sāʕa* > *fəsʕa fəsʕa* ‘quickly’,¹⁰²
- final *-š* in interrogative pronouns (not only in pausal form), e.g., *waqta?* < *waqtāš?* ‘how much?’, ‘how many?’, *kīfa* < *kīfāš?* ‘how?’;
- the final *-a* vowel in proximal demonstrative pronouns *hādāy* < *hādāya* ‘this’, *hādīy* < *hādīya* ‘this^{FEM}’;
- the /n/ of the male external plural suffix *-īn* in pausal forms, e.g., *xāybīⁿ* ‘bad^{PL}’;
- the /h/ and the following vowel can sometimes be omitted in the adverbs *hākka hāw* > *khāw* ‘that is all’ and *hākkāka* > *kāka* ‘like this’;
- the /ʕ/ in the word *maʕnā-ha* ‘I mean (lit. her meaning)’;
- the C³ /l/ in the third female person of the S-stem of the verb *qāl* ‘to say’ when followed by the preposition *l-* ‘to’, e.g., *qātt-l-i* < *qālət-l-i* ‘she said me’.¹⁰³

Another case that can be considered elision is the vocative *ā* (OA *yā*) (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 57; Attia 1969: 133), where the etymological *y-* is not pronounced.

2.8.7 Pharyngealization

As discussed in §2.17, pharyngealization is attested to in KA. The most spread cases are progressive and regressive pharyngealization¹⁰⁴ due to emphatic context¹⁰⁵, but other

¹⁰² To all these samples, Singer (1984: 206) adds *mā-naʕɪf-š* instead of *mā-naʕɪraf-š* ‘I do not know’ in Tunis, which actually is a realization that it could be also heard in some informal speech in KA.

¹⁰³ Likewise, the last three omissions occur in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 57).

¹⁰⁴ However, not all the speakers – nor in all occurrences – realize the pharyngealization to the same extent.

¹⁰⁵ For a more in-depth analysis with examples on emphatics and pharyngealization, see §2.17.

occurrences of pharyngealization are found in specific words, family names, dysphemisms, loanwords, and religious expressions. Some consonants, syllables, or even entire words are pharyngealized when the speaker wants to emphasize a word deemed worthy of importance for the purposes of communication. In conclusion, pharyngealization is often used in KA to express a precise indexical value.

**III. CHAPTER THREE:
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY**

3.0 Introduction to the verb

This chapter focuses on trilateral and quadrilateral roots and their conjugations¹⁰⁶.

First, it presents the trilateral root: the non-augmented verb and the augmented patterns, i.e., II, III, V, VI, VIII, IX/XI, X, mixed (X + V), and *t*-passive patterns. Irregular (*√rʔy, √žyʔ) and ex-hamzated roots (*√ʔkl, *√ʔxǧ, *√ʔns) are also included. Furthermore, quadrilateral root verbs found in the corpus are described. I present regular, geminate, assimilate, hollow, and defective roots for each category.

For each verb, I show the prefix (P-), suffix (S-), and imperative stems, as well as male and female active and passive participles. The pattern model is mentioned, along with one example of the conjugated verb, examples of other verbs of the category found in the corpus, and possible semantic values expressed by the augmented patterns. When one or more of these categories of verbs and conjugations are not shown, it means that no verb of the category or conjugation is attested in my corpus.

Regarding the aspectual values expressed by P- and S-stems, Arabic verbal morphology is based on the contraposition of two main aspectual categories, i.e., the perfective and imperfective:¹⁰⁷

[...] the Perfective [i.e. the S-stem] indicates both perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while the Imperfective [i.e. the P-stem] indicates everything else (i.e. either imperfective meaning or relative non-past tense). (Comrie 1976: 80)

These two categories should not be confused with present and past tenses. (Ph. Marçais 1956: 147–148; Ph. Marçais 1977: 69–71).¹⁰⁸

The suffixes of the S-stem and both prefixes and suffixes of the P- and imperative stems are the same for all verbs and patterns of KA verbal system and are shown in the following table:

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3SG.M	-∅	y-	
3SG.F	-∂t	t-	
2SG	-t	t-	(v-)...-∅

¹⁰⁶ On the verbal system in Arabic, see Larcher (2009).

¹⁰⁷ Pioneer French scholars defined these two aspectual categories as *accompli* and *inaccompli* (Ph. Marçais 1977: 35).

¹⁰⁸ For the categories of aspect and tense in Arabic, see Eisele (2006); Horesh (2009). My future research outlooks include an in-depth study of KA syntax, including the study of the grammatical category of aspect.

1SG	-t	n-	
3PL	-u	y-...-u	
2PL	-tu	t-...-u	(v-)...-u
1PL	-na	n-...-u	

Gender distinction is not preserved in singular and plural second persons of verbal morphology,¹⁰⁹ as it occurs in most Tunisian (W. Marçais 1950: 208) and – more generally – Maghrebi sedentary varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 36).

However, it is worth noting that speakers from the Governorate and those with *rīf* origins can maintain the gender distinction in the 2SG (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 263), e.g., SP16^R *ənti mā-rītī-š, āna rīt-u* ‘you^{FEM} did not see, I saw him’, SP16^R *nařžaf l-ħammāmāt nšūf əd-dār, fhəmti?* ‘I go back to Hammamet to visit my family, do you^{FEM} understand?’, SP17^R *gūlī-l-i, gūlī-l-i* ‘tell^{FEM.IMP} me, tell^{FEM.IMP} me’, SP17^R *dūri!* ‘turn^{FEM.IMP}!’, SP24^R *hāk šbařti fī-ha hād-əl-līla řā-k* [SP6’s name] ‘thus, you enjoyed your aunt [aunt’s name]’s company tonight’. Indeed, preserving gender distinction in the second person is a typical feature of Bedouin-type varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 36), which should be the vernaculars typologically spoken in their families and places of origin.¹¹⁰

In KA, gender distinction is only retained in the singular third person.

In the S-stem, the 1SG and 2SG end in *-t* and are equal. Verbs with C³ *d*, e.g., *řqad, yurřud* ‘to sleep’, have an assimilation of C³ *d* > *t* when 1SG and 2SG suffix *-t* and 2SG.PL suffix *-tu* are attached: *řqad + t* > *řqatt* ‘I/you slept’, *řqad + tu* > *řqattu* ‘you^{PL} slept’. These same suffixes *-t* and *-tu* are assimilated in verbs with C³ *ř*, e.g., *ħabbař + t* > *ħabbařt* ‘I/you made lower’, *ħabbařtu* ‘you^{PL} made lower’. The 3SG.F is marked by the suffix *-ət*, which is pronounced as [at] when C³ is a back consonant (Singer 1984: 322) and becomes *-āt* in defective verbs¹¹¹ and those verbs that are inflected as defective roots.¹¹²

Regarding the inflection of the P-stem, the 1SG has the prefix *n-*, which is the principal distinctive MagA feature that distinguishes it from Mashreqi Arabic (Ph.

¹⁰⁹ The loss of gender distinction also occurs in the personal pronominal system (§4.3.1.1).

¹¹⁰ However, these varieties of Arabic have not yet been described at the current state of research.

¹¹¹ On the specificity of defective root conjugations, see §3.1.5.

¹¹² I will present them case by case in the following sections whenever they occur.

Marçais 1977: 37). The 1PL of the P-stem also has the prefix *n-*, but it is distinguished from the singular by the suffix *-u*, which marks all the plural persons. Second persons and 3SG.F are characterized by the prefix *t-* in the P-stem. Consequently, the 2SG coincides with the 3SG.F. *y-* is the prefix of the 3SG.M and 3PL.¹¹³ All these prefixes of the P-stem have a short vowel when followed by two consonants.

The imperative features only the singular and plural second persons formed from the P-stem's respective persons without the prefix *t-*. Thus, even the stem vowel of the imperative is always the same as the P-stem. A prefixed short vowel appears in the imperative of pattern I regular and defective roots.¹¹⁴ This vowel is the same as the imperative stem due to a phenomenon of regressive vocal harmony (Pereira 2010: 93). Regarding the augmented patterns, the stress falls on other syllables.

As shown in §2.6.1 and §2.6.2, when the 3SG.F suffix *-ət* and the plural suffix *-u* are added to the S-stem, the syllabic structures change as follows, due to the emergence of an open syllable: CCvC + *ət* > CvCCət, e. g., *qʕad + ət* > **qʕadət* > *qaʕdət* 'she stayed', CCvC + *u* > CvCCu, e.g., *ktəb + u* > **ktəbu* > *kətbu* 'they wrote'. When the plural suffix *-u* is added to the P-stem or the imperative, the syllabic structure *-CCvC + u* becomes *-CCCu*, e.g., *naʕnaʕ + u* > **naʕnaʕu* > *naʕnu* 'we do', *əxdəm + u* > **əxdəmu* > *əxdmu* 'work^{PL.IMP}'. In order to break the consonant cluster *-CCC-*, an anaptyctic vowel (^a, ^ə, and ^u)¹¹⁵ is inserted between C² and C³.

3.0.1 General remarks on augmented patterns

The augmented patterns attested to in KA are II, III, V, VI, VIII, X, and XI. The augmentation is realized through phenomena of consonant gemination in C² (II, V), prefixation of *t-* (V, VI) or *st-* (X), and infixation of *-ā-* (III, VI, IX/XI) or *-t-* (VIII). In pattern V, the prefixation of *t-* and the consonant gemination in C² are combined; in pattern VI, the prefixation of *t-* and the infixation of *-ā-* are combined.

¹¹³ As shown in §2.1.9, the prefix *y-* can be phonetically pronounced as the voiced palatal approximant [j] when followed by a vowel or as the close front unrounded vowel [i] if followed by a consonant.

¹¹⁴ Pereira (2010: 93) justifies the presence of this vowel by the fact that it is stressed, and it is valid for the singular person of regular and defective verbs (e.g., *əktəb*, *əmsi*) and the plural person of the regular verb (e.g., *əktbu*). However, in the case of the plural person of the defective verb, the accent falls in the following syllable (e.g., *əmsiʔw*).

¹¹⁵ For anaptyctic vowels, see §2.2.6.

Patterns IV (**ʔaffʕala*), VII (**infaʕala*) of OA are not in use, as it also happens in the TA of Tunis, Sousse and Nefza.¹¹⁶ Pattern IV has mostly merged into pattern I and II and the *t*-passive form carries out the corresponding reflexive-passive function of pattern VII. Regarding pattern IX/XI (C¹C²*ā*C³), it

is not a sufficiently good match for Classical Arabic form IX/XI in its Form or in its lexical distribution, and does not derive directly from Form IX/XI. Formally and functionally, it is a better match for proto-Berber's Conjugation IV, and primarily reflects the latter; it was introduced to Arabic by L1 Berber speakers, building upon Conjugation IV's partial similarities with Form IX/XI. (Souag 2024: 27).¹¹⁷

The most productive augmented verb patterns are II, and V. Pattern VIII is not particularly productive in KA, as already in TA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 63; Singer 1984: 365; Naddari 2023: 215) and the rest of MagA.¹¹⁸ Indeed, these verbs have generally converged in other patterns, as I will show case by case in the following sections.

When vocalized, the vowel of the prefixes in the P-stem is *a*.

The variation in the stems' vocalization is related to the consonant context, as is also the case for other MagA varieties (Grand'Henry 1972; Singer 1984; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Guerrero 2015; Naddari 2023). Backed C² and C³ of the root especially cause the vocalization in *a* of stem vowels augmented patterns.

As is the case in the majority of MagA varieties, (Ph. Marçais 1977: 81), the formal distinction between active and participle forms is neutralized. The original active participle form is used in both active and passive functions and has the prefix *m*- in all the augmented forms.

Those patterns expressing passive values usually do not envisage using the imperative.¹¹⁹

The following sections show in detail all the patterns mentioned above.

¹¹⁶ On the contrary, Douz Arabic still has some examples of pattern IV verbs, and pattern VII is regularly used (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 348; 360–368).

¹¹⁷ For convenience, I maintain the label 'IX/XI'.

¹¹⁸ The Arabic of Douz, also in this case, represents an exception in the TA – already described –landscape, attesting to a significant use of pattern VIII (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 368–375).

¹¹⁹ As Ph. Marçais states for the Arabic of Jijel, 'L'impératif sert à exprimer l'ordre. Il n'est en usage que dans les verbes fournissant la notion d'action, et, dans une certaine mesure, dans ceux qui fournissent la notion d'état. La majorité des formes du thème fondamental et des thèmes dérivés II, III, VI, X, XI, peuvent avoir des impératifs. Mais de celles du thème V, les seules à admettre ce mode sont les formes dont le concept verbal exprimé n'est pas celui d'un acte subi. [...À]ux réfléchies-passives à préfixe *t*- [...] l'impératif n'est pratiquement pas concevable.' (Ph. Marçais 1956: 145).

3.1 Pattern I

The first pattern provides the three radical roots of the verb without inserting other morphological elements, such as the redoubling of C², the prefixation of *t-* or *st-*, and the infixation of *-ā-* or *-t-*.

3.1.1 The regular¹²⁰ root C¹C²vC³

In the S-stem, the short vowel of the verb can be either *a*, *ə*, or *u*, and in the P- and imperative stems, a more significant phonetic variation is attested to. According to that, the following six groups¹²¹ of regular verbs are found in KA:

1. C¹C²əC³, yəC¹C²əC³ (ə; ə-ə), e.g., *ktəb*, *yəktəb* ‘to write’;
2. C¹C²aC³, yuC¹C²uC³ (a; u-u), e.g., *qtal*, *yuqtul* ‘to kill’;
3. C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²aC³ (a; a-a), e.g., *bʕat*, *yabʕat* ‘to send’;
4. C¹C²aC³, yəC¹C²aC³ (a; ə-a), e.g., *smaʕ*, *yəsməʕ* ‘to hear’¹²²;
5. C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²əC³ (a; a-ə), e.g., *ʕmal*, *yaʕməl* ‘to do’;
6. C¹C²uC³, yuC¹C²uC³ (u; u-u), e.g., *skun*, *yuskun* ‘to live’.

The active participle of this root follows the pattern C¹āC²əC³, e.g., *fāhəm* ‘understanding’, and C¹āC²aC³, if C² or C³ is a pharyngeal, an emphatic or the uvular *q*. The passive participle structure is *maC¹C²ūC³*, e.g., *maʕhūm* ‘understood’. The singular feminine forms have the suffix *-a*, i.e., C¹āC²C³a and *maC¹C²ūC³a*¹²³. The plural forms of active and passive participles end in *-īn*, i.e., C¹āC²C³īn and *maC¹C²ūC³īn*, and are used for both masculine and female referents.

This is the only pattern that retains the distinction between active and passive participle forms.

3.1.1.1 C¹C²əC³, yəC¹C²əC³ (ə; ə-ə)

¹²⁰ A verb is called ‘regular’ when none of its root consonants is geminated or is a semi-consonant *w* or *y*, e.g., *ktəb*, *yəktəb* ‘to write’ (Pereira 2010: 96).

¹²¹ Durand & Tarquini (2023: 41–42) describe a verbal classification comprising only the first five groups shown above for Tunis Arabic. A more complex classification for *tunisois* Arabic regular verbs is provided by Stumme (1896: 6–14) and Singer (1984: 331–351).

¹²² As Stumme (1896: 10) states for Tunis Arabic, it is not uncommon for the prefix vowel to differ from the root vowel.

¹²³ For syllabic structure changes due to the adding of a suffix starting with a vowel in KA, see §2.6.2.

This pattern is quite conforming to the Arabic of Tunis (Singer 1984: 341–343) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 179–181). Examples of verbs found in the corpus are *fhəm*, *yəfhəm* ‘to understand’, *kbər*, *yəkbər* ‘to grow’, *ktəb*, *yəktəb* ‘to write’, *lbəs*, *yəlbəs* ‘to wear’, *xdəm*, *yəxdəm* ‘to work’. The only verb with an *hamza* in the root is part of this group and is *sʔəl*, *yəsʔəl* ‘to ask’.

Group 1. $C^1C^2əC^3$, $yəC^1C^2əC^3$ *ktəb*, *yəktəb* ‘to write’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ktəb</i>	<i>yəktəb</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kətbət</i>	<i>təktəb</i>	
2SG	<i>ktəbt</i>	<i>təktəb</i>	<i>əktəb</i>
1SG	<i>ktəbt</i>	<i>nəktəb</i>	
3PL	<i>kətbu</i>	<i>yəktbu</i>	
2PL	<i>ktəbtu</i>	<i>təktbu</i>	<i>əktbu</i>
1PL	<i>ktəbna</i>	<i>nəktbu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>kātəb</i>	<i>maktūb</i>	
SG.F	<i>kātba</i>	<i>maktūba</i>	
PL	<i>kātbīn</i>	<i>maktūbīn</i>	

3.1.1.2 $C^1C^2aC^3$, $yuC^1C^2uC^3$ (*a*; *u-u*)

This pattern includes roots with a pharyngeal, emphatic, velar, or uvular as C^1 or C^2 of the root. Like the previous group, this one also conforms to Tunis Arabic for the most part (Singer 1984: 338–340). Examples of verbs found in the corpus are *dxal*, *yudxul* ‘to get in’, *qtal*, *yuqtul* ‘to kill’, *qʕad*, *yuqʕud* ‘to stay, to remain’, *ʕqad*, *yurqud* ‘to sleep’, *ʕlab*, *yuʕlub* ‘to call by phone’, *xʕaʕ*, *yuxʕuʕ* ‘to get out’.

Group 2. $C^1C^2aC^3$, $yuC^1C^2uC^3$ *qtal*, *yuqtul* ‘to kill’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>qtal</i>	<i>yuqtul</i>	
3SG.F	<i>qatlət</i>	<i>tuqtul</i>	
2SG	<i>qtalt</i>	<i>tuqtul</i>	<i>uqtul</i>

1SG	<i>qtalt</i>	<i>nuqtul</i>	
3PL	<i>qatlu</i>	<i>yuqtlu</i>	
2PL	<i>qtaltu</i>	<i>tuqtlu</i>	<i>uqtlu</i>
1PL	<i>qatalna</i>	<i>nuqtlu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>qātāl</i>	<i>maqtūl</i>	
SG.F	<i>qātla</i>	<i>maqtūla</i>	
PL	<i>qātlin</i>	<i>maqtūlin</i>	

3.1.1.3 C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²aC³ (a; a-a)

This pattern is limited to roots with a glottal or pharyngeal in C² or C³, e.g., *bṣaṭ*, *yabṣaṭ* ‘to send’, *ḍrab*, *yaḍrab* ‘to beat’, *kraḥ*, *yakraḥ* ‘to hate’, *ṛkaḥ*, *yaṛkaḥ* ‘to calm down’, *ṛzaṣ*, *yaṛzaṣ* ‘to come back’, *ṣnaṣ*, *yaṣnaṣ* ‘to make, to produce’.¹²⁴

Some speakers conjugate the P-stem of the verb *ṣraf*, ‘to know’ as *yaṣraf* (instead of the most common *yaṣraṣ*, see §3.1.15), probably because of the emphatic context due to the *ṣ*.

Group 3. C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²aC³ *bṣaṭ*, *yabṣaṭ* ‘to send’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>bṣaṭ</i>	<i>yabṣaṭ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>baṣṭaṭ</i>	<i>tabṣaṭ</i>	
2SG	<i>bṣaṭṭ</i>	<i>tabṣaṭ</i>	<i>abṣaṭ</i>
1SG	<i>bṣaṭṭ</i>	<i>nabṣaṭ</i>	
3PL	<i>baṣṭu</i>	<i>yabṣṭu</i>	
2PL	<i>bṣaṭṭu</i>	<i>tabṣṭu</i>	<i>abṣṭu</i>
1PL	<i>bṣaṭna</i>	<i>nabṣṭu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>bāṣṭ</i>	<i>mabṣūṭ</i>	
SG.F	<i>bāṣṭa</i>	<i>mabṣūṭa</i>	

¹²⁴ This distribution is also valid for Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 177–178) while Douz Arabic also includes verbs with velars as C² or C³ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 293–294). Regarding Tunis (Singer 1984: 331–333), this group collects verbs with laryngeals, pharyngeals, velars and emphatics as C¹.

PL *bāḥṭīn* *mabḥūṭīn*

3.1.1.4 C¹C²aC³, yəC¹C²aC³ (a; ə-a)

As is the case in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 335), the verbs of this pattern have ʕ in C³. Some examples found in my corpus are *smaʕ*, *yəsməʕ* ‘to hear’ and *ṭbaʕ*, *yəṭbaʕ* ‘to imprint’.

Group 4. C¹C²aC³, yəC¹C²aC³ *smaʕ*, *yəsməʕ* ‘to hear’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>smaʕ</i>	<i>yəsməʕ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>samʕət</i>	<i>təsməʕ</i>	
2SG	<i>smaʕt</i>	<i>təsməʕ</i>	<i>əsməʕ</i>
1SG	<i>smaʕt</i>	<i>nəsməʕ</i>	
3PL	<i>samʕu</i>	<i>yəsmʕu</i>	
2PL	<i>smaʕtu</i>	<i>təsmʕu</i>	<i>əsmʕu</i>
1PL	<i>smaʕna</i>	<i>nəsmʕu</i>	
	Active	Passive	
	Participle	Participle	
SG.M	<i>sāməʕ</i>	<i>masmūʕ</i>	
SG.F	<i>sāmʕa</i>	<i>masmūʕa</i>	
PL	<i>sāmʕīn</i>	<i>masmūʕīn</i>	

3.1.1.5 C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²əC³ (ə; a-ə)

Verbs of this group have the pharyngeal ʕ, the velar ġ, and *x*, or emphatics as C¹.¹²⁵ Examples of verbs found in my corpus are *ḍhaʕ*, *yaḍḥəʕ* ‘to appear, to take shape’, *ġsal*, *yaġsəl* ‘to clean’, *ʕmal*, *yaʕməl* ‘to do, to make’, *ʕraf*, *yaʕrəf* ‘to know’, *xṭaf*, *yaxṭəf* ‘to steal’.

Group 5. C¹C²aC³, yaC¹C²əC³ *ʕmal*, *yaʕməl* ‘to do’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
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¹²⁵ This consonant context finds correspondence in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 177–178). Regarding Tunis Arabic, this group collects verbs in which C² and C³ are emphatic consonants or an emphatic consonant in combination with a labial (Singer 1984: 333).

3SG.M	<i>ʕmal</i>	<i>yaʕməl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ʕamlət</i>	<i>taʕməl</i>	
2SG	<i>ʕmalt</i>	<i>taʕməl</i>	<i>aʕməl</i>
1SG	<i>ʕmalt</i>	<i>naʕməl</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕamlu</i>	<i>yaʕmlu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕmaltu</i>	<i>taʕmlu</i>	<i>aʕmlu</i>
1PL	<i>ʕmalna</i>	<i>naʕmlu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>ʕāməl</i>	<i>maʕmūl</i>	
SG.F	<i>ʕāmla</i>	<i>maʕmūla</i>	
PL	<i>ʕāmlīn</i>	<i>maʕmūlīn</i>	

3.1.1.6 C¹C²uC³, yuC¹C²uC³ (u; u-u)

Verbs of this group have velar, emphatic or uvular consonants. Examples of verbs found in my corpus are *skut*, *yuskut* ‘to stop talking’, *skun*, *yuskun* ‘to live’, *ktur*, *yuktur* ‘to increase’, *nquṣ*, *yunquṣ* ‘to reduce’.

Group 6. C¹C²uC³, yuC¹C²uC³ *skun*, *yuskun* ‘to live’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>skun</i>	<i>yuskun</i>	
3SG.F	<i>suknət</i>	<i>tuskun</i>	
2SG	<i>skunt</i>	<i>tuskun</i>	<i>uskun</i>
1SG	<i>skunt</i>	<i>nuskun</i>	
3PL	<i>suknu</i>	<i>yusknu</i>	
2PL	<i>skuntu</i>	<i>tusknu</i>	<i>usknu</i>
1PL	<i>skunna</i>	<i>nusknu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>sākən</i>	<i>maskūn</i>	
SG.F	<i>sākna</i>	<i>maskūna</i>	
PL	<i>sākṇīn</i>	<i>maskūnīn</i>	

3.1.2 The Geminate root $C^1vC^2C^3$

In a geminate root, C^2 and C^3 are identical. This conjugation in KA follows the rules of sedentary Tunisian varieties (Stumme 1896: 15–16; Talmoudi 1980: 80–82) with the etymological diphthong $*ay$,¹²⁶ which monophthongizes in \bar{i} ($*ḥabbayt > ḥabbīt$ ‘I/you wanted’, see §2.3) in the first and second persons of the S-stem (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 263).¹²⁷

Within this category, two groups of verbs are found.¹²⁸ Both groups share the vowel a in the S-stem. However, the first group features the vowel \bar{a} in the P-stem (e.g., $ḥabb$, $yḥabb$ ‘to want’), while the second group features the vowel u (e.g., $ṣabb$, $yṣubb$ ‘to pour’) (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 263). The first group is more productive, and some examples of verbs belonging to it are $ḥabb$, $yḥabb$ ‘to want’, $ḥall$, $yḥall$ ‘to open’, $hazz$, $yḥazz$ ‘to hold, to take’, $šadd$, $yšadd$ ‘to hold’, $gadd$, $ygadd$ *fi* ‘can, to be able to’, $ḥass$, $yḥass$ *bi* ‘to feel something’. Instead, verbs belonging to the second group are $daqq$, $yduqq$ ‘to knock’, $ḥatt$, $yḥutt$ ‘to put’, $fakk$, $yfukk$ *fla* ‘to give something up’, $ṣabb$, $yṣubb$ ‘to pour’.

The active participle patterns are $C^1\bar{a}C^2C^3$, $C^1\bar{a}C^2C^3a^{FEM}$, $C^1\bar{a}C^2C^3\bar{i}n^{PL}$ and the passive ones are $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3$, $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3a^{FEM}$, $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3\bar{i}n^{PL}$.

An example of the complete verb conjugation for each group follows:

Group 1. $C^1aC^2C^3$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2C^3$ $ḥabb$, $yḥabb$ ‘to want’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ḥabb</i>	<i>yḥabb</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ḥabbət</i>	<i>tḥabb</i>	
2SG	<i>ḥabbīt</i>	<i>tḥabb</i>	<i>ḥabb</i>
1SG	<i>ḥabbīt</i>	<i>nḥabb</i>	
3PL	<i>ḥabbu</i>	<i>yḥabbu</i>	
2PL	<i>ḥabbītu</i>	<i>tḥabbu</i>	<i>ḥabbu</i>
1PL	<i>ḥabbīna</i>	<i>nḥabbu</i>	

¹²⁶ On the contrary, Bedouin-type varieties show the monophthongization of $*ay$ in \bar{e} (Pereira 2010: 98; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 301).

¹²⁷ This monophthongization in the first and second person of the S-stem occurs by analogy with defective verbs (§3.1.5) (Pereira 2010: 98).

¹²⁸ Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 301–305) describes a third group in Douz, i.e., $C^1aC^2C^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^3$.

	Active Participle	Passive Participle
SG.M	<i>ḥābb</i>	<i>maḥbūb</i>
SG.F	<i>ḥābba</i>	<i>maḥbūba</i>
PL	<i>ḥābbīn</i>	<i>maḥbūbīn</i>

Group 2. $C^1aC^2C^3$, $yC^1uC^2C^3$ *ṣabb*, *yṣubb* ‘to pour’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ṣabb</i>	<i>yṣubb</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ṣabbat</i>	<i>tṣubb</i>	
2SG	<i>ṣabbīt</i>	<i>tṣubb</i>	<i>ṣubb</i>
1SG	<i>ṣabbīt</i>	<i>nṣubb</i>	
3PL	<i>ṣabbu</i>	<i>yṣabbu</i>	
2PL	<i>ṣabbītu</i>	<i>tṣabbu</i>	<i>ṣabbu</i>
1PL	<i>ṣabbīna</i>	<i>nṣabbu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>ṣābb</i>	<i>maṣbūb</i>	
SG.F	<i>ṣābba</i>	<i>maṣbūba</i>	
PL	<i>ṣābbīn</i>	<i>maṣbūbīn</i>	

3.1.3 The assimilated root $C^1(w/y)C^2vC^3$

The characteristic of the assimilated root is the fact that C^1 is a semi-consonant w or y , e.g., $\sqrt{w\dot{s}l} > w\dot{s}al$, $y\dot{u}\dot{s}al$ ‘to arrive’, $\sqrt{ybs} > yb\dot{a}s$, $y\dot{i}b\dot{a}s$ ‘to dry’.¹²⁹ The long vowels \dot{u}/\dot{i} in the P-stem are the result of monophthongization of $*aw/*ay$, e.g., $*yaw\dot{s}al > y\dot{u}\dot{s}al$ and $*yayb\dot{a}s > y\dot{i}b\dot{a}s$. However, the etymological diphthong $*aw$ is usually retained in passive participle forms, e.g., *mawżūd* ‘present’, *mawlūda* ‘born^{FEM}’.

Verbs with $C^1 y$ are less common than those with $C^1 w$ in KA, and the only example found in the corpus is *yb\dot{a}s*, *y\dot{i}b\dot{a}s* ‘to dry’. The stem vowel of these verbs is either \dot{a} or a when C^3 is f .

¹²⁹ Again, the long vowels \dot{u}/\dot{i} in the P-stem are the result of monophthongization of aw/ay ($*yaw\dot{s}al > y\dot{u}\dot{s}al$ and $*yawz\dot{a}n > y\dot{u}z\dot{a}n$).

Among the verbs found in the corpus, examples of assimilated root verbs are *wzən*, *yūzən*¹³⁰ ‘to weight’, *wʃəl*, *yūʃəl* ‘to arrive’, *wləd*, *yūləd* ‘to give birth’, *wʒaʕ*, *yūʒaʕ* ‘to feel pain’.

As it also happens in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 354), the verb *wqəf* has the P-stem *yāqəf* ‘to stand, to stop’, in analogy with *yākəl* and *yaxu* (see §3.1.6.1).¹³¹

The conjugation of these verbs in KA follows the rules of the sedentary-type paradigm (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 264). The active participle patterns are $C^1\bar{a}C^2\partial C^3$, $C^1\bar{a}C^2C^3a^{FEM}$, $C^1\bar{a}C^2C^3\bar{i}n^{PL}$ and the passive ones are $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3$, $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3a^{FEM}$, $maC^1C^2\bar{u}C^3\bar{i}n^{PL}$. There are no passive participle forms of the verb *ybəs*, *yībəs* ‘to dry’ in my corpus.

An example of the complete verb conjugation of wC^2vC^3 and yC^2vC^3 patterns is shown below:

$wC^2\partial C^3$, $y\bar{u}C^2\partial C^3$ *wzən*, *yūzən* ‘to weight’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>wzən</i>	<i>yūzən</i>	
3SG.F	<i>wəznət</i>	<i>tūzən</i>	
2SG	<i>wzənt</i>	<i>tūzən</i>	<i>wzən</i>
1SG	<i>wzənt</i>	<i>nūzən</i>	
3PL	<i>wəznu</i>	<i>yūznu</i>	
2PL	<i>wzəntu</i>	<i>tūznu</i>	<i>wznu</i>
1PL	<i>wzəntu</i>	<i>nūznu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>wāzən</i>	<i>mawzūn</i>	
SG.F	<i>wāzna</i>	<i>mawzūna</i>	
PL	<i>wāznīn</i>	<i>mawzūnīn</i>	

$yC^2\partial C^3$, $y\bar{i}C^2\partial C^3$ *ybəs*, *yībəs* ‘to dry out’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ybəs</i>	<i>yībəs</i>	
3SG.F	<i>yəbsət</i>	<i>tībəs</i>	

¹³⁰ *wīzan*, *yūzin* in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 310).

¹³¹ The P-stem of *wqəf* is mainly vocalized in *ū* in Douz (*yūguf*) and Nefza (*yūguf*) Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 311; Naddari 2023: 186).

2SG	<i>ybāst</i>	<i>tībās</i>	<i>ībās</i>
1SG	<i>ybāst</i>	<i>nībās</i>	
3PL	<i>yābsu</i>	<i>yībsu</i>	
2PL	<i>ybāstu</i>	<i>tībsu</i>	<i>ībsu</i>
1PL	<i>ybāsna</i>	<i>nībsu</i>	
	Active Participle		
SG.M	<i>yābās</i>		
SG.F	<i>yābsa</i>		
PL	<i>yābsīn</i>		

3.1.4 The hollow root C¹C²(w/y)C³

In the hollow root, C² is a semi-consonant *w* or *y*, e.g., $\sqrt{qwl} > qāl, yqūl$ ‘to say’, $\sqrt{zyb} > žāb, yžīb$ ‘to bring’. The conjugation of these verbs in KA respects the rules of sedentary-type paradigms (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 264).

There are three groups of hollow verbs in KA, depending on the realization of the imperative and P-stem vowel:

Group 1. C¹ \bar{a} C³, yC¹ \bar{a} C³, e.g., *bān, ybān* ‘to seem’, the stem vowel is \bar{a} ;

Group 2. C¹ \bar{a} C³, yC¹ \bar{i} C³, e.g., *žāb, yžīb* ‘to bring’, the stem vowel is \bar{i} ;

Group 3. C¹ \bar{a} C³, yC¹ \bar{u} C³, e.g., *qāl, yqūl* ‘to say’, the stem vowel is \bar{u} .

The S-stem is characterized by the abbreviation of the stem vowel in the first and second persons. *a* is the short vowel of the first group (e.g., *bant* ‘I/you appeared’), *ə* is the short vowel of the second group (e.g., *žabna* ‘we brought’), and *u* is the short vowel of the third group (e.g., *qult* ‘I/you said’). In both active and passive participles of hollow verbs, C² is *y*, e.g., *qāyəl* ‘saying’, *žāyba* ‘bringing^{FEM}’. The active participle patterns are C¹ \bar{a} yC³, C¹ \bar{a} yC³*a*^{FEM}, C¹ \bar{a} yC³*īn*^{PL} and the passive ones are *ma*C¹yC³, *ma*C¹yC³*a*^{FEM}, *ma*C¹yC³*īn*^{PL}. Passive participle are possible but non really used with these verbs.

The first group is the least productive, and I found only the verbs *bān, ybān* ‘to seem’. Among the verbs belonging to the second group, there are *bāf, ybīf* ‘to sell’, *žāb, yžīb* ‘to bring’, *dāf, ydīf* ‘to be lost’, *māl, ymīl* ‘to be inclined to’, *qās, yqīs* ‘to measure’, *šār, yšīr* ‘to happen’, *zād, yzīd* ‘to add’, *tāb, ytīb* ‘to be cooked’. Verbs of the third group

are *bās*, *ybūs* ‘to kiss’, *dār*, *ydūr* ‘to turn’, *dāq*, *yqūq* ‘to taste’, *māt*, *ymūt* ‘to die’, *kān*, *ykūn* ‘to be’ *qāl*, *yqūl* ‘to say’, *šāf*, *yšūf* ‘to see’, *qām*, *yqūm* ‘to get up’, *zār*, *yzūr* ‘to visit’.

An example of the complete verb conjugation for the three groups is shown below:

Group 1. C¹āC³, yC¹āC³ *bān*, *ybān* ‘to seem’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>bān</i>	<i>ybān</i>	
3SG.F	<i>bānət</i>	<i>tbān</i>	
2SG	<i>bant</i>	<i>tbān</i>	<i>bān</i>
1SG	<i>bant</i>	<i>nbān</i>	
3PL	<i>bānu</i>	<i>ybānu</i>	
2PL	<i>bantu</i>	<i>tbānu</i>	<i>bānu</i>
1PL	<i>banna</i>	<i>nbānu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>bāyən</i>	<i>mabyūn</i>	
SG.F	<i>bāyna</i>	<i>mabyūna</i>	
PL	<i>bāynīn</i>	<i>mabyūnīn</i>	

Group 2. C¹āC³, yC¹īC³ *žāb*, *yžīb* ‘to bring’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>žāb</i>	<i>yžīb</i>	
3SG.F	<i>žābət</i>	<i>tžīb</i>	
2SG	<i>žəbt</i>	<i>tžīb</i>	<i>žīb</i>
1SG	<i>žəbt</i>	<i>nžīb</i>	
3PL	<i>žābu</i>	<i>yžību</i>	
2PL	<i>žəbtu</i>	<i>tžību</i>	<i>žību</i>
1PL	<i>žəbna</i>	<i>nžību</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>žāyəb</i>	<i>mažyūb</i>	
SG.F	<i>žāyba</i>	<i>mažyūba</i>	
PL	<i>žāybīn</i>	<i>mažyūbīn</i>	

Group 3. $C^1\bar{a}C^3$, $yC^1\bar{u}C^3$ *qāl*, *yqūl* ‘to say’¹³²

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>qāl</i>	<i>yqūl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>qālāt</i>	<i>tqūl</i>	
2SG	<i>qult</i>	<i>tqūl</i>	<i>qūl</i>
1SG	<i>qult</i>	<i>nqūl</i>	
3PL	<i>qālu</i>	<i>yqūlu</i>	
2PL	<i>qultu</i>	<i>tqūlu</i>	<i>qūlu</i>
1PL	<i>qulna</i> ¹³³	<i>nqūlu</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>qāyāl</i>	<i>maqyūl</i>	
SG.F	<i>qāyla</i>	<i>maqyūla</i>	
PL	<i>qāylīn</i>	<i>maqyūlīn</i>	

3.1.5 The defective root $C^1C^2C^3(y)$

The characteristic of defective roots is that C^3 is a semi-consonant *y*, e.g., $\sqrt{mšy} > mša$, *yāmši* ‘to go’. Etymological C^1C^2w verbs have converged in C^1C^2y root. As Ph. Marçais state, in MagA

[o]n constate que tous les verbes qui, en arabe classique, avaient une voyelle *u* de l’inaccompli ont été versés dans la catégorie des verbes à voyelle *i*. (Ph. Marçais 1977: 49).

An example is the verb *hba*, *yahbi* (\sqrt{hbw}) ‘to crawl’.

There are two main groups of defective verbs in KA. The first group is characterized by the vowel *a* in the prefix and in C^3 of the P-stem, e.g., C^1C^2a , yaC^1C^2a *lqa*, *yalqa* ‘to find’. Verbs that belong to this group are *lqa*, *yalqa* ‘to find’, *nsa*, *yansa* ‘to forget’, *dra*, *yadri* ‘to know’. Even the final *hamza* verbs of OA have been integrated into the defective verb conjugation, e.g., $\sqrt{qr?} > qra$, *yaqra* ‘to study’, $\sqrt{bd?} bda$, *yabda* ‘to start’ (Ph. Marçais 1977: 48; D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 264).

The second group is characterized by a final *i* in the P-stem, e.g., C^1C^2a , yvC^1C^2i . This group is divided into two subgroups, including

¹³² On elision phenomena of verb *qāl*, *yqūl* followed by the preposition *l-*, see §4.3.1.2.2.

¹³³ *qulna* is pronounced [qunna] with the regressive assimilation *ln > nn* (see §2.8.1.2).

a) verbs with the vowel *a* in the prefix of the P-stem, e.g., yaC^1C^2i , e.g., *ḥka*, *yaḥki* ‘to speak’. Verbs belonging to this group are *ḥka*, *yaḥki* ‘to speak’, *ḥta*, *yaḥti* ‘to give’, *hba*, *yahbi* ‘to crawl’;

b) verbs that have the vowel *ə* in the prefix of the P-stem, e.g., $yəC^1C^2i$, e.g., *šra*, *yəšri* ‘to buy’. Verbs that belong to this group are *žra*, *yəžri* ‘to run’, *ṛma*, *yəṛmi* ‘to throw’, *ṛha*, *yəṛhi* ‘to sand’ *šra*, *yəšri* ‘to buy’, *kra*, *yəkri* ‘to rent’, *mša*, *yəmši* ‘to go’, *hda*, *yəhdi* ‘to give (a gift)’, *šfa*, *yəšfi* ‘to heal’.

The conjugation of the defective verb in KA deals with the sedentary-type, which shows the reconstruction of a long vowel (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 264-265). This long vowel appears in the suffixes of the 3SG.F (-*āt*) and in the 3PL (-*āw*) of the S-stem, in the plural persons (-*āw*) of the P-stem and the plural imperative (-*āw*). In the first and second singular persons of the S-stem, the etymological diphthong **ay* monophthongizes in *ī*, e.g., *mšīt* (OA *mašaytu*, see §2.3), as is typical of the sedentary-type varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 48). The conjugation of defective verbs is among the most distinguishing features between Tunisian Bedouin and sedentary varieties (W. Marçais 1950: 207–219).

The active participle patterns are $C^1āC^2i^3$, $C^1āC^2ya^{FEM}$, $C^1āC^2yīn^{PL}$ and the passive ones are maC^1C^2i , $maC^1C^2ya^{FEM}$, $maC^1C^2yīn^{PL}$

Group 1. C^1C^2a , yaC^1C^2a *bda*, *yabda* ‘to start’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>bda</i>	<i>yabda</i>	
3SG.F	<i>bdāt</i>	<i>tabda</i>	
2SG	<i>bdīt</i>	<i>tabda</i>	<i>abda</i>
1SG	<i>bdīt</i>	<i>nabda</i>	
3PL	<i>bdāw</i>	<i>yabdāw</i>	
2PL	<i>bdītu</i>	<i>tabdāw</i>	<i>abdāw</i>
1PL	<i>bdīna</i>	<i>nabdāw</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>bādi</i>	<i>mabdi</i>	
SG.F	<i>bādya</i>	<i>mabdya</i>	
PL	<i>bādyīn</i>	<i>mabyīn</i>	

Group 2a. C^1C^2a , yaC^1C^2i *ḥta*, *yaḥti* ‘to give’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ʕta</i>	<i>yaʕti</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ʕtāt</i>	<i>taʕti</i>	
2SG	<i>ʕtīt</i>	<i>taʕti</i>	<i>aʕti</i>
1SG	<i>ʕtīt</i>	<i>naʕti</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕtāw</i>	<i>yaʕtīw</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕtītu</i>	<i>yaʕtīw</i>	<i>aʕtīw</i>
1PL	<i>ʕtīna</i>	<i>yaʕtīw</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>ʕāti</i>	<i>maʕti</i>	
SG.F	<i>ʕātya</i>	<i>maʕtya</i>	
PL	<i>ʕātyīn</i>	<i>maʕtyīn</i>	

Group 2b. C¹C²a, yəC¹C²i *šra*, *yəšri* ‘to buy’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>šra</i>	<i>yəšri</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šrāt</i>	<i>təšri</i>	
2SG	<i>šrīt</i>	<i>təšri</i>	<i>əšri</i>
1SG	<i>šrīt</i>	<i>nəšri</i>	
3PL	<i>šrāw</i>	<i>yəšrīw</i>	
2PL	<i>šrītu</i>	<i>təšrīw</i>	<i>əšrīw</i>
1PL	<i>šrīna</i>	<i>nəšrīw</i>	
	Active Participle	Passive Participle	
SG.M	<i>šāri</i>	<i>mašri</i>	
SG.F	<i>šārya</i>	<i>mašrya</i>	
PL	<i>šāryīn</i>	<i>mašryīn</i>	

The singular person of the verb *mša* imperative commonly is *əməši* ‘go’. However, the etymological adverb *barra* ‘outside’ is often used as the imperative of the verb *mša* with the sense of ‘go away, move’, as it also occurs in Tunis and Douz (Singer 1984: 329; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 288–289).

As far as sociolinguistic analysis is concerned, things are worth noting for defective verbs. As already stated, Badreddine’s speakers and my speakers born and

raised in Kairouan constantly reconstruct the long vowel, which is a typical isogloss of sedentary varieties. Nevertheless, in the speakers with *rīf* origins, the typical Bedouin-type form – which does not provide for the reconstruction of long vowels in suffixes (i.e., P-C¹C²*u* for the plural persons in the P-stem, C¹C²*vt* for the 3SG.F and C¹C²*u* for the 3PL in the S-stem, *v*C¹C²*u* for the imperative) – also appear (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 265)¹³⁴. Two examples are represented by SP4^R, who always says *nsammu* (instead of *nsammīw*, pattern II) during his interviews, e.g., *əntūma mātālan hāda tsammū-ha laymūna, naḥna nsammū-h qarṣ* ‘for instance, you call this *laymūna*¹³⁵ we call it *qarṣ*’, and SP16^R, who alternates the Bedouin-type with the sedentary-type realization in the same sentence: *la, la hūma mšu ḡand-hum xamsīn sna hākkāka, cinquant’anni*¹³⁶ *mšāw* ‘no, no, they left fifty years ago or something like that, they left *cinquant’anni* [ago].’¹³⁷

3.1.6 Irregular verbs

In this section, I describe the conjugation of the etymological hamzated verbs *kla* and *xḏa* and the biliteral *ra* and *ža*.

3.1.6.1 The verbs *kla* and *xḏa*

The conjugation of the etymological first-*hamza* verbs *kla*, *yākul* (OA √*ʔkl*) ‘to eat’ and *xḏa*, *yāxu* (OA √*ʔxḏ*) ‘to take’ follow the model of defective verbs (e.g., *mša*) in the S-stem, of the assimilated verb in the P-stem (e.g., *yūzən*) and both active participles (e.g., *wāzən*) and of the hollow verb (e.g., *qūl*) in the imperative, as expected (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 266-267). No forms of passive participle are attested in my corpus.

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>kla</i>	<i>yākul</i>	
3SG.F	<i>klāt</i>	<i>tākul</i>	
2SG	<i>klīt</i>	<i>tākul</i>	<i>kūl</i>
1SG	<i>klīt</i>	<i>nākul</i>	
3PL	<i>klāw</i>	<i>yāklu</i>	

¹³⁴ The alternation between sedentary- and Bedouin-type conjugation of defective verbs is also attested to in other Maghrebi varieties spoken in synchrony and in Andalusī Arabic (Vicente 2000: 73).

¹³⁵ Here, the speaker wanted to pronounce the word ‘lemons’ in Sicilian dialect, i.e., *limuna*.

¹³⁶ SP16^R repeated ‘fifty years’ in Italian to make sure I understood correctly.

¹³⁷ These examples are excerpted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 265).

2PL	<i>klītu</i>	<i>tāklū</i>	<i>kūlu</i>
1PL	<i>klīna</i>	<i>nāklū</i>	

Active Participle

SG.M	<i>wākāl</i>
SG.F	<i>wākla</i>
PL	<i>wāklīn</i>

As for the verb *xḍa*, it is worth mentioning the weakness of the phoneme /ḍ/ that is lost in all the three singular persons (i.e., *yāxu*, *tāxu*, *nāxu*) of the P-stem (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 267). The loss of the phoneme /ḍ/¹³⁸ is also widespread in Tunis (Singer 1984: 353)¹³⁹, not only in the P-Stem’s singular persons but also in the singular imperative.

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>xḍa</i>	<i>yāxu</i>	
3SG.F	<i>xḍāt</i>	<i>tāxu</i>	
2SG	<i>xḍīt</i>	<i>tāxu</i>	<i>xūḍ</i>
1SG	<i>xḍīt</i>	<i>nāxu</i>	
3PL	<i>xḍāw</i>	<i>yāxḍu</i>	
2PL	<i>xḍītu</i>	<i>tāxḍu</i>	<i>xūḍu</i>
1PL	<i>xḍīna</i>	<i>nāxḍu</i>	

Active Participle

SG.M	<i>wāxəḍ</i>
SG.F	<i>wāxḍa</i>
PL	<i>wāxḍīn</i>

¹³⁸ I have not found any other occurrences of /ḍ/ phoneme’s weakness in KA so far.

¹³⁹ Contrary to what I affirmed in 2023 (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 267), the loss of phoneme /ḍ/ in the verb *xḍa* in Tunis Arabic was already described by Singer (Singer 1984: 353).

3.1.6.2 The verb *ra*

The verb *ra*, *yra* ‘to see’¹⁴⁰ corresponds to the ancient OA $\sqrt{r?y}$ of medial *hamza* and defective root. It is a biliteral irregular verb, and contrary to other TA varieties (Mion 2014: 63-64, Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 329, Naddari 2023: 195–196), it is used in all the stems in KA. It is inflected as shown below:

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ra</i>	<i>yra</i>	
3SG.F	<i>rāt</i>	<i>tra</i>	
2SG	<i>rit</i>	<i>tra</i>	<i>ra</i>
1SG	<i>rit</i>	<i>nra</i>	
3PL	<i>rāw</i>	<i>yrāw</i>	
2PL	<i>ritu</i>	<i>trāw</i>	<i>rāw</i>
1PL	<i>rina</i>	<i>nrāw</i>	

3.1.6.3 The verb *ža*

The verb *ža*, *yži* ‘to come’ (OA root $\sqrt{g?y?}$ of medial weak and final *hamza*) is also a biliteral irregular verb in KA. Its conjugation fits with the sedentary model of the defective verbs (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 266), as shown below:

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ža</i>	<i>yži</i>	
3SG.F	<i>žāt</i>	<i>tži</i>	
2SG	<i>žit</i>	<i>tži</i>	<i>yža</i>
1SG	<i>žit</i>	<i>nži</i>	
3PL	<i>žāw</i>	<i>yžīw</i>	
2PL	<i>žit̄u</i>	<i>tžīw</i>	<i>yžāw</i>
1PL	<i>žit̄na</i>	<i>nžīw</i>	

Active Participle

SG.M	<i>žāy</i>
SG.F	<i>žāya</i>
PL	<i>žāyīn</i>

¹⁴⁰ Regarding the grammatical and functional categories of the verb *ra* and other verbs of sight, I am engaged in a further ongoing study.

Nevertheless, as described for defective verbs, the speakers with *rīf* origins and those hailing from the Governorate mainly use the Bedouin-type conjugation without the reconstruction of the long vowel *ī* (Ph. Marçais 1977: 48; W. Marçais 1950: 212), e.g., SP4^R *žzār yžū, yžū l-tūnās* ‘the Algerians come, they come to Tunisia’. (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 266).

3.2 Pattern II

This pattern is characterized by the gemination of the C² of the root, i.e., C¹vC²C²vC³, yC¹vC²C²vC³ and C¹vC²C²a, yC¹vC²C²i for defective verbs. It is the most frequently used among the augmented verbal patterns of KA.¹⁴¹ Even some verbs of the ancient pattern IV of OA *ʔafʔala* are merged into pattern II, e.g., OA *ʔahbaʔa* > *habbaʔ* ‘to lower’ (see §3.4).

The first vowel of both P- and S- stems is always *a*, while the second vowel can be *ə* or *a*. This vowel is *a* when C² or C³ is a pharyngeal, an emphatic or the uvular *q*, e.g., *naḍḍaf, ynaḍḍaf* ‘to clean’, *ṣaddaq, yṣaddaq* ‘to believe’, *qaṭṭaʕ, yqaṭṭaʕ* ‘to cut’, *xallaṣ, yxallaṣ* ‘to pay’, *waxxaṣ, ywaxxaṣ* ‘to be late, to move backward’. Otherwise, it is *ə*, e.g., *kassəṣ, ykassəṣ* ‘to break’, *naggəz, ynaggəz* ‘to jump’, *xaddəm, yxaddəm* ‘to employ’, *xayyaṭ, yxayyaṭ* ‘to sew’¹⁴², *salləm, ysalləm* ‘to greet’, *wakkəl, ywakkəl f-* ‘to feed someone’¹⁴³.

Regarding vowel variation in pattern II, Singer (1984: 369) states that the second stem vowel *i* generally becomes *a* when stressed in Tunis Arabic.¹⁴⁴ To the same extent, the second stem vowel *ə* of KA becomes *a* when stressed, e.g., *kamməl* > *kammál-ha* ‘he completed it’, *kalləm* > *kallám-ha* ‘he called her’.

The participle patterns are *mC¹aC²C²vC³*, *mC¹aC²C²C³a^{FEM}*, *mC¹aC²C²C³ī^{PL}*.

¹⁴¹ This is also valid for other MagA varieties (Ph. Marçais 1956: 179; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 332; Guerrero 2015: 84).

¹⁴² In this case, the double -yy- determinate the color of the stem vowel (*ə*).

¹⁴³ Likewise, in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 369–374) the second stem vowel is *a* in verbs with back and velarized consonants in C² or C³. Otherwise, in Nefza Arabic, specific consonant contexts influence the second stem vowel (Naddari 2023: 198). According to Talmoudi, first and second stem vowels are always *a* in the S-stem of Sousse Arabic, except in hollow verbs with y C². The second vowel is always *i* in the P-stem.

¹⁴⁴ This same phonetic phenomenon is not regularly attested to in Nefza Arabic, where the second stem vowel mostly remains *i* (Naddari 2023: 198).

Based on the study of Ph. Marçais on the different verbal values expressed by pattern II in the MagA of Djidjelli (Ph. Marçais 1956: 175–207), the following values are found in KA:

- causative: *dawwər, ydawwər* ‘to make something spin’, *habbaṭ, yhabbaṭ* ‘to lower’, *ṛakkəb, yṛakkəb* ‘to assemble’, *wakkəl, ywakkəl f-* ‘to feed someone’, *warra, ywarri* ‘to show’, *xaddəm, yxaddəm* ‘to employ’, *yabbəs, yyabbəs* ‘to dry’, *ḥayyəs, yḥayyəs* ‘to make someone live (God)’;
- intensive: *kassar, ykassar* ‘to break’, *qaṭṭaḥ, yqaṭṭaḥ* ‘to cut’, *naggəz, ynaggəz* ‘to jump’;
- denominative: *dawwəs, ydawwəs* ‘to take a shower’, *ḡanna, yḡanni* ‘to sing’, *qayyəl, yqayyəl* ‘to take a nap’, *samma, ysamma* ‘to name’;
- delocutive: *kalləm, ykalləm* ‘to call’, *salləm, ysalləm* ‘to greet’, *ṣalla, yṣalli* ‘to pray’, *ḥayyət, yḥayyət* ‘to yell’.

3.2.1 The regular root $C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$

According to the description above, the regular root features two patterns¹⁴⁵ which are $C^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2əC^3$ (*a-ə*) and $C^1aC^2C^2aC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2aC^3$ (*a-a*).

Verbs with the vocalization *a-ə* are *baddəl, ybaddəl* ‘to change’, *kalləm, ykalləm* ‘to call’, *kamməl, ykamməl* ‘to finish’, *nažžəm, ynažžəm* ‘can’, *ṛakkəb, yṛakkəb* ‘to assemble’, *salləm, ysalləm* ‘to greet’, *šabbəh, yšabbəh* ‘to look alike’, *xaddəm, yxaddəm* ‘to employ’, *ḥaddəl, yḥaddəl* ‘to be fair’, *ḥalləm, yḥalləm* ‘to teach’, *kassər, ykassər* ‘to break’, *naggəz, ynaggəz* ‘to jump’, *sayyəb, sayyəb* ‘to leave’.

Examples of verbs with the vocalization *a-a* found in my corpus are *habbaṭ, yhabbaṭ* ‘to lower’, *lahḥam, ylahḥam* ‘to weld’, *naḍḍaḥ, ynaḍḍaḥ* ‘to clean’, *qaṭṭaḥ, yqaṭṭaḥ* ‘to cut’, *ṣaddaq, yṣaddaq* ‘to believe’, *sakkar, ysakkar* ‘to close’, *ḥannaq, yḥannaq* ‘to hug’, *xallaṣ, yxallaṣ* ‘to pay’, *wassax, ywassax* ‘to dirty’, *ḍahhaṭ, yḍahhaṭ* ‘to show’.

An example of the paradigm is shown below:¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ This is also the case of Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 368). Instead, Douz Arabic always shows the vocalization *a-a* in the P-stem and *a-i* in the P-stem, regardless of consonant context (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 332).

¹⁴⁶ The two patterns $C^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, and $C^1aC^2C^2aC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2aC^3$ present the same conjugation where only the internal vocalism changes. Therefore, I prefer to provide only one example of the paradigm. The same rule is valid for all similar cases I will describe in the following patterns.

$C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ *şaddaq*, *yşaddaq* ‘to believe’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>şaddaq</i>	<i>yşaddaq</i>	
3SG.F	<i>şaddqət</i>	<i>tşaddaq</i>	
2SG	<i>şaddaqt</i>	<i>tşaddaq</i>	<i>şaddaq</i>
1SG	<i>şaddaqt</i>	<i>nşaddaq</i>	
3PL	<i>şaddqu</i>	<i>nşaddqu</i>	
2PL	<i>şaddaqtu</i>	<i>tşaddqu</i>	<i>şaddqu</i>
1PL	<i>şaddaqla</i>	<i>yşaddqu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mşaddaq</i>		
SG.F	<i>mşaddqa</i>		
PL	<i>mşaddqīn</i>		

3.2.2 The geminate root $C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$

In the geminate root, the first vowel of both P- and S- is also *a*, while the second vowel can be *ə* or *a*, when C^2 or C^3 is a back consonant, e.g., *şahḥah*, *yşahḥah* ‘to sign’. As a result, the possible patterns are $C^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, e.g., e.g., *ğasšəš*, *yğasšəš* ‘to make somebody angry’ and $C^1aC^2C^2aC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2aC^3$, e.g., *şahḥah*, *yşahḥah* ‘to sign’.

When a vowel-initial suffix is attached to the verb (in 3SG.F, 3PL of S-stem, plural persons of P-stem, and the 2PL of the imperative), the short vowel of the second stem syllable drops. Since it is impossible to have a triple consonant in Arabic, one of them is assimilated (Singer 1984 : 374), e.g., *şahḥah* + *u* > **şahḥahu* > **şahḥhu* > *şahḥu* ‘they sign’.¹⁴⁷

$C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ *şahḥah*, *yşahḥah* ‘to sign’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
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¹⁴⁷ According to Singer (1984: 374), a group of three equal consonants is retained in these verbal forms.

3SG.M	<i>ṣahḥah</i>	<i>yṣahḥah</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ṣahḥat</i>	<i>tṣahḥah</i>	
2SG	<i>ṣahḥaht</i>	<i>tṣahḥah</i>	<i>ṣahḥah</i>
1SG	<i>ṣahḥaht</i>	<i>nṣahḥah</i>	
3PL	<i>ṣahḥu</i>	<i>yṣahḥu</i>	
2PL	<i>ṣahḥahtu</i>	<i>tṣahḥu</i>	<i>ṣahḥu</i>
1PL	<i>ṣahḥahna</i>	<i>nṣahḥu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mṣahḥah</i>
SG.F	<i>mṣahḥa</i>
PL	<i>mṣahḥīn</i>

3.2.3 The assimilated root C¹(w/y)vC²C²vC³

There are two groups of assimilated verbs. The first one collects those verbs having *w-* in C¹, *waC²C²vC³*, *ywaC²C²vC³*, e.g., *waxxaṛ*, *ywaxxaṛ* ‘to be late, to move backwards’, *wassax*, *ywassax* ‘to dirty’, including etymological C¹ *ʔ > w*, e.g., *wakkəl*, *ywakkəl* (*f-*) (OA $\sqrt{\text{ʔkl}}$) ‘to feed’. The second group has only the verb *yabbəs*, *yyabbəs* ‘to dry’ with C¹ *y*, i.e., *yaC²C²əC³*, *yyaC²C²əC³*. The conjugation of these verbs corresponds to that of the regular verb of pattern II. There is no attested forms of the participle of *yabbəs*.

waC²C²vC³, *ywaC²C²vC³* *waxxaṛ*, *ywaxxaṛ* ‘to be late, to move backwards’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>waxxaṛ</i>	<i>ywaxxaṛ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>waxxaṛət</i>	<i>twaxxaṛ</i>	
2SG	<i>waxxaṛt</i>	<i>twaxxaṛ</i>	<i>waxxaṛ</i>
1SG	<i>waxxaṛt</i>	<i>nwaxxaṛ</i>	
3PL	<i>waxxaṛu</i>	<i>ywaxxaṛu</i>	
2PL	<i>waxxaṛtu</i>	<i>twaxxaṛu</i>	<i>waxxaṛu</i>

1PL *waxxar̥na* *nwaxxar̥u*

Participle

SG.M *mwaxxar̥*

SG.F *mwaxxar̥a*

PL *mwaxxar̥īn*

$yaC^2C^2vC^3$, $yyaC^2C^2vC^3$ *yabbəs*, *yyabbəs* ‘to dry’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>yabbəs</i>	<i>yyabbəs</i>	
3SG.F	<i>yabbsət</i>	<i>tyabbəs</i>	
2SG	<i>yabbəst</i>	<i>tyabbəs</i>	<i>yabbəs</i>
1SG	<i>yabbəst</i>	<i>nyabbəs</i>	
3PL	<i>yabbsu</i>	<i>yyabbsu</i>	
2PL	<i>yabbəstu</i>	<i>tyabbsu</i>	<i>yabbsu</i>
1PL	<i>yabbəsna</i>	<i>nyabbsu</i>	

3.2.4 The hollow root $C^1aC^2C^2(w/y)vC^3$

This category includes verbs of medial consonant *w* or *y*, which conjugate as the regular verb of pattern II.

The pattern of medial *w* verbs is $C^1awwəC^3$, $yC^1awwəC^3$, e.g., *šawwər*, *yšawwər* ‘to take a picture’, and C^1awwaC^3 , yC^1awwaC^3 when C^3 is *h*, e.g., *řawwah*, *yřawwah* ‘to get home’.¹⁴⁸ Other examples of verbs are *dawwəš*, *ydawwəš* ‘to take a shower’, *dawwər*, *ydawwər* ‘to make something spin’.

$C^1aC^2wwvC^3$, $yC^1aC^2wwvC^3$, *šawwər*, *yšawwər* ‘to take a picture, to draw’.

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>šawwər</i>	<i>yšawwər</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šawwərət</i>	<i>tšawwər</i>	

¹⁴⁸ The same is valid for Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 205).

2SG	<i>ṣawwərt</i>	<i>tṣawwəṛ</i>	<i>ṣawwəṛ</i>
1SG	<i>ṣawwərt</i>	<i>nṣawwəṛ</i>	
3PL	<i>ṣawwru</i>	<i>yṣawwru</i>	
2PL	<i>ṣawwərtu</i>	<i>tṣawwru</i>	<i>ṣawwru</i>
1PL	<i>ṣawwərna</i>	<i>nṣawwru</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mṣawwəṛ</i>
SG.F	<i>mṣawwra</i>
PL	<i>mṣawwriṯn</i>

Regarding verbs of medial *y*, the only pattern found is $C^1ayy\grave{a}C^3$, $yC^1ayy\grave{a}C^3$, without vowel variation.¹⁴⁹ Examples of verbs conforming this pattern are *ḍayyaf*, *yḍayyaf* ‘to host’, *qayyāl*, *yqayyāl* ‘to take a nap’, *ṛayyāš* *yṛayyāš* ‘to tear’, *ṭayyāb*, *yṭayyāb* ‘to cook’¹⁵⁰, *ḥayyāš*, *yḥayyāš* ‘to thank, to make someone live (God)’, *ḥayyāt*, *yḥayyāt* ‘to yell’, *xayyāt*, *yxayyāt* ‘to sew’, *sayyāb*, *ysayyāb* ‘to leave’.

$C^1aCyy\grave{a}C^3$, $yC^1aCyy\grave{a}C^3$, *ṭayyāb*, *yṭayyāb* ‘to cook’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ṭayyāb</i>	<i>yṭayyāb</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ṭayyābət</i>	<i>ṭṭayyāb</i>	
2SG	<i>ṭayyābt</i>	<i>ṭṭayyāb</i>	<i>ṭayyāb</i>
1SG	<i>ṭayyābt</i>	<i>nṭayyāb</i>	
3PL	<i>ṭayyabu</i>	<i>yṭayyabu</i>	
2PL	<i>ṭayyābtu</i>	<i>ṭṭayyabu</i>	<i>ṭayyabu</i>

¹⁴⁹ It should be mentioned that my corpus does not contain hollow verbs of medium *y* with emphatic or pharyngeal constants in C^3 . Nevertheless, Naddari states that in Nefza Arabic ‘ C_2y medial weak verbs have *i* as the second stem vowel when C_3 is *h*, instead of the expected *a*’ (Naddari 2023: 205). Even in Sousse, the second vowel is *i* instead of *a* in the verb *zayyit* (Talmoudi 1980: 98).

¹⁵⁰ The prefix *t-* is assimilated to *ṭ* with $C^1ṭ$ verbs.

1PL	<i>ṭayyābna</i>	<i>nṭayybu</i>
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Participle

SG.M	<i>mṭayyāb</i>
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SG.F	<i>mṭayyba</i>
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PL	<i>mṭayybīn</i>
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3.2.5 The defective root C¹aC²C²a

As it happens in defective verbs of all patterns, etymological *w/y* as C³ becomes a long vowel *ī* in the first and second persons of the S-stem. The 3SG.M ends in *-a* in the S-stem, while the P-stem singular forms end in *-i*, and the plural forms in *-īw*, as is typical of sedentary varieties of MagA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 48). Defective verbs found in KA are *ḡanna, yḡanni* ‘to sing’, *naḥḥa, naḥḥi* ‘to clean’, *ṣalla, yṣalli* ‘to pray’, *samma, ysammi* ‘to name’, *xalla, yxalli* ‘to let’, *ḡarṛa, yḡarṛi* ‘to dare’, *ḡadda, yḡaddi* ‘to pass’, *ḡaṭṭa, yḡaṭṭi* ‘to cover’, *xabba, yxabbi* ‘to hide’.

Initial and final weak verbs are also included in this category, e.g., *warṛa, ywarri* (OA $\sqrt{r?y}$) ‘to show’, *walla, ywalli* (OA \sqrt{wly}) ‘to become, to be, to start’.

C¹aC²C²a, yC¹aC²C²i *ḡadda, yḡaddi* ‘to pass’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ḡadda</i>	<i>yḡaddi</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ḡaddāt</i>	<i>tḡaddi</i>	
2SG	<i>ḡaddīt</i>	<i>tḡaddi</i>	<i>ḡadda</i>
1SG	<i>ḡaddīt</i>	<i>nḡaddi</i>	
3PL	<i>ḡaddāw</i>	<i>yḡaddīw</i>	
2PL	<i>ḡaddītu</i>	<i>tḡaddīw</i>	<i>ḡaddāw</i>
1PL	<i>ḡaddīna</i>	<i>nḡaddīw</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mḡaddi</i>		

SG.F *mʕaddyā*

PL *mʕaddyīn*

3.3 Pattern III

The insertion of a long vowel *-ā-* between C^1 and C^2 of the root characterizes this pattern, i.e., $C^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$ and $C^1\bar{a}C^2a$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2a$ for defective verbs.

The second stem vowel can be *a* or *ə*. For most of the verbs of pattern III, this vowel is *ə* and it remains even when stressed, e.g., *ḥāwəl-ha* ‘he tried it’, as is common in TA (Singer 1984: 378–379; Naddari 2023: 208). When C^3 is a pharyngeal or a laryngeal, the second stem vowel is *a*, as in Tunis (Singer 1984: 378–379), e.g., *sāmaḥ*, *ysāmaḥ* ‘to apologize’. In both cases (*a* or *ə*), the second vowel of the S-stem form is identical to that of the P-stem.

The participle patterns are $mC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$, $mC^1\bar{a}C^2C^3a^{FEM}$, $mC^1\bar{a}C^2C^3in^{PL}$.

Moreover, pattern III in KA expresses some of the semantic values shared by most of MagA varieties (Ph. Marçais 1956: 175–207; Pereira 2010: 109–110):

- conative (Ph. Marçais 1977: 60), e.g., *ḥāwəl*, *yḥāwəl* ‘to try’, *sāmaḥ*, *ysāmaḥ* ‘to forgive’, *ʕāwəd*, *yʕāwəd* ‘to repeat’;
- participation, e.g., *bārək*, *ybārək ʕla* ‘to bless’, *qābəl*, *yqābəl* ‘to meet’, *sāfər*, *ysāfər* ‘to travel’, *žāwəb*, *yžāwəb* ‘answer’, *sāʕəd*, *ysāʕəd* ‘to help’, *wāfəq*, *ywāfəq* ‘to agree’, *ʕāwən*, *yʕāwən* ‘to help’.

Precisely because of their semantics, the verbs expressing participation are essentially found in plural persons.

No examples of geminated verbs of pattern III are attested in my corpus, as is the case of other MagA varieties (Stumme 1896; Singer 1984; Vicente 2000; Pereira 2010; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Guerrero 2015; Naddari 2023).

3.3.1 The regular root $C^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$

The pattern of the regular verb is $C^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$, and examples of these verbs are *bārək*, *ybārək ʕla* ‘to bless’, *qābəl*, *yqābəl* ‘to meet’, *sāfər*, *ysāfər* ‘to travel’, *sāmaḥ*, *ysāmaḥ* ‘to apologize’, *sāʕəd*, *ysāʕəd* ‘to help’.

What follows is an example of the pattern III regular verb conjugation:

$C^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3, yC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$ *qābəl, yqābəl* ‘to meet’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>yqābəl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>qāblət</i>	<i>tqābəl</i>	
2SG	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>tqābəl</i>	<i>qābəl</i>
1SG	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>nqābəl</i>	
3PL	<i>qāblu</i>	<i>yqāblu</i>	
2PL	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>tqāblu</i>	<i>qāblu</i>
1PL	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>nqāblu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mqābəl</i>		
SG.F	<i>mqābla</i>		
PL	<i>mqāblīn</i>		

3.3.2 The assimilated root $w\bar{a}C^2vC^3$

No assimilated verbs with $C^1 y$ are found in the corpus, as in other Maghrebi varieties (Vicente 2000; Pereira 2010; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Naddari 2023). Consequently, the patterns of assimilated verb’s P- and S-stems can be considered $w\bar{a}C^2vC^3, yw\bar{a}C^2vC^3$. Among the verbs found, there is *wāfəq, ywāfəq* ‘to agree’.

The conjugation of the pattern III assimilated verb is identical to the pattern III regular verb:

$w\bar{a}C^2vC^3, yw\bar{a}C^2vC^3$ *wāfəq, ywāfəq* ‘to agree’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>wāfəq</i>	<i>ywāfəq</i>	
3SG.F	<i>wāfəq</i>	<i>twāfəq</i>	
2SG	<i>wāfəq</i>	<i>twāfəq</i>	<i>wāfəq</i>
1SG	<i>wāfəq</i>	<i>nwāfəq</i>	

3PL	<i>wāfqū</i>	<i>nwāfqū</i>	
2PL	<i>wāfəqtu</i>	<i>twāfqū</i>	<i>wāfqū</i>
1PL	<i>wāfəqna</i>	<i>ywāfqū</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mwāfəq</i>
SG.F	<i>mwāfqa</i>
PL	<i>mwāfqīn</i>

3.3.3 The hollow root C¹āC²(w/y)əC³

Verbs with C² *w* have the pattern C¹āwəC³, yC¹āwəC³, e.g., *ḥāwəl*, *yḥāwəl* ‘to try’, *žāwəb*, *yžāwəb* ‘answer the phone’, *ʕāwəd*, *yʕāwəd* ‘to repeat’, *ʕāwən*, *yʕāwən* ‘to help, to collaborate with’. Verbs with C² *y* have the pattern C¹āyəC³, yC¹āyəC³, e.g., *ʕāyər*, *yʕāyər* ‘to insult’.

The conjugation of the pattern III hollow verb is identical to the pattern III regular verb:

C¹āwəC³, yC¹āwəC³ *ʕāwən*, *yʕāwən* ‘to help, to collaborate with’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ʕāwən</i>	<i>yʕāwən</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ʕāwnət</i>	<i>tʕāwən</i>	
2SG	<i>ʕāwənt</i>	<i>tʕāwən</i>	<i>ʕāwən</i>
1SG	<i>ʕāwənt</i>	<i>nʕāwən</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕāwnu</i>	<i>yʕāwnu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕāwəntu</i>	<i>tʕāwnu</i>	<i>ʕāwnu</i>
1PL	<i>ʕāwənnā</i>	<i>nʕāwnu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mʕāwən</i>		
SG.F	<i>mʕāwnā</i>		

PL *mʕāwnīn*

$C^1\bar{a}y\bar{a}C^3$, $yC^1\bar{a}y\bar{a}C^3$, e.g., *ʕāyər*, *yʕāyər* ‘to insult’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ʕāyər</i>	<i>yʕāyər</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ʕāyrət</i>	<i>tʕāyər</i>	
2SG	<i>ʕāyərət</i>	<i>tʕāyər</i>	<i>ʕāyər</i>
1SG	<i>ʕāyərət</i>	<i>nʕāyər</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕāyru</i>	<i>yʕāyru</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕāyərət</i>	<i>tʕāyru</i>	<i>ʕāyru</i>
1PL	<i>ʕāyərna</i>	<i>nʕāyru</i>	
Participle			
SG.M	<i>mʕāyən</i>		
SG.F	<i>mʕāyna</i>		
PL	<i>mʕāynīn</i>		

3.3.4 The defective root $C^1\bar{a}C^2a$

The S-stem of pattern III defective verbs ends in *-a*, while the prefix and imperative stem ends in *-i*, e.g., $C^1\bar{a}C^2a$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2i$,¹⁵¹ e.g., *dāwa*, *ydāwi* ‘to treat’.

$C^1\bar{a}C^2a$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2a$ *dāwa*, *ydāwi* ‘to treat’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>dāwa</i>	<i>ydāwi</i>	
3SG.F	<i>dāwāt</i>	<i>tdāwi</i>	
2SG	<i>dāwīt</i>	<i>tdāwi</i>	<i>dāwi</i>
1SG	<i>dāwīt</i>	<i>ndāwi</i>	

¹⁵¹ Otherwise, the prefix and imperative stem of pattern VI ends in *a*, see § 3.6.

3PL	<i>dāwāw</i>	<i>ydāwīw</i>	
2PL	<i>dāwītu</i>	<i>tdāwīw</i>	<i>dāwīw</i>
1PL	<i>dāwīna</i>	<i>ndāwīw</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mdāwi</i>
SG.F	<i>mdāwya</i>
PL	<i>mdāwyn</i>

3.4 Pattern IV

The ancient pattern IV of OA *ʔafʕala* is not more productive in KA. It has merged into pattern I and II, e.g., OA *ʔahabb* ‘to love’ is KA pattern I *ḥabb* ‘to want’; OA *ʔahbaṭa* is KA pattern II *habbaṭ* ‘to lower’; OA *ʔakmala* is KA pattern II *kammal* ‘to finish, to complete’.

3.5 Pattern V

This pattern has the prefix *t-* and the gemination of C^2 , i.e., $tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $yātC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ and $tC^1aC^2C^2a$, $yātC^1aC^2C^2a$ for defective verbs. As in pattern II, the first vowel of both P- and S- stems is always *a*, while the second vowel is either *ə* or *a*. The vocalization in *a* is attested when C^2 or C^3 is a velar, pharyngeal, emphatic, or the uvular *q*, e.g., *tfaṛṛaṣ*, *yātfaṛṛaṣ ʕla* ‘to watch’, *tqallaq*, *yātqallaq* ‘to be bothered’¹⁵². As pattern II, the vowel *ə* becomes *a* when stressed, e.g., *tətkalləm* > *mā-tətkallám-š* ‘you do not speak’.¹⁵³ The vowel of the P-stem prefix is always *ə*.

The participle patterns are $mātC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $mātC^1aC^2C^2C^3a^{FEM}$, $mātC^1aC^2C^2C^3in^{PL}$.

Regarding semantic values, pattern V expresses the following functions:

¹⁵² In Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 376), the second stem vowel is *a* only when C^3 is a velar, pharyngeal, emphatic, or *h* consonant. According to Talmoudi, there is a distinction in Sousse Arabic between P- and S-stems vocalization. Indeed, the second stem vowel is *a* in the S-stem of all speakers, and it remains *a* in the P-stem of older generation speakers, but it becomes *i* in the P-stem of most young speakers (Talmoudi 1980: 101–102).

¹⁵³ The same is valid for Tunis (Singer 1984: 376), but not for Nefza, where the *i* remains as such, even if stressed (Naddari 2023: 210). The stem vowels of pattern V verbs in Douz are always *a*, corresponding to the OA distribution $taC^1aC^2C^2aC^3a$, $yataC^1aC^2C^2aC^3u$.

- passive, e.g., *tṛabba*, *yəṭṛabba* ‘to be raised’, *tsamma*, *yəṭsamma* ‘to be called’, *twaffa*, *yəṭwaffa* ‘to be died’, *tḡaṭṭa*, *yəṭḡaṭṭa* ‘to be covered’, *txabba*, *yəṭxabba* ‘to be hidden’, *tnahḥa*, *yəṭnahḥa* ‘to be cleaned, to be removed’;
- medio-passive, e.g., *tfakkar*, *yəṭfakkar* ‘to remember’;
- reflexive, e.g., *tbaddəl*, *yəṭbaddəl* ‘to be changed’, *tḡaššəš*, *yəṭḡaššəš* ‘to get angry’, *tzawwəž*, *yəṭzawwəž* ‘to marry’, *tṛayyah*, *yəṭṛayyah* ‘to rest’, *tqallaq*, *yəṭqallaq* ‘to be bothered’, *tkassər*, *yəṭkassər* ‘to be broken’.

This pattern can express the passive of pattern II, e.g., *nahḥa*, *ynaḥḥi* ‘to clean, to remove’ > *tnahḥa*, *yəṭnahḥa* ‘to be cleaned, to be removed’; *xabba*, *yxabbi* ‘to hide’ > *txabba*, *yəṭxabba* ‘to be hidden’.

3.5.1 The regular root $tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$

According to the variation identified in the second stem vowel, the regular root features two possible patterns, i.e., $tC^1aC^2C^2aC^3$, $yəṭC^1aC^2C^2aC^3$ (*a-a*) and $tC^1aC^2C^2əC^3$, $yəṭC^1aC^2C^2əC^3$ (*a-ə*). Among the verbs belonging to the first group (*a-a*), there are *tfakkar*, *yəṭfakkar* ‘to remember’, *tfarṛaž*, *yəṭfarṛaž* *ʕla* ‘to watch’ and *tqallaq*, *yəṭqallaq* ‘to be bothered’, *tšarṛaṭ*, *yəṭšarṛaṭ* ‘to put a condition’. Examples of second group verbs (*a-ə*) are *tkassər*, *yəṭkassər* ‘to be broken’, *tbaddəl*, *yəṭbaddəl* ‘to be changed’, *tkalləm*, *yəṭkalləm* ‘to speak’, *tnaffəs*, *yəṭnaffəs* ‘to breathe’.

$tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $yəṭC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ *tfakkar*, *yəṭfakkar* ‘to remember’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tfakkar</i>	<i>yəṭfakkar</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tfakkṛət</i>	<i>təṭfakkar</i>	
2SG	<i>tfakkart</i>	<i>təṭfakkar</i>	<i>tfakkar</i>
1SG	<i>tfakkart</i>	<i>nəṭfakkar</i>	
3PL	<i>tfakkṛu</i>	<i>yəṭfakkṛu</i>	<i>tfakkṛu</i>
2PL	<i>tfakkartu</i>	<i>təṭfakkṛu</i>	
1PL	<i>tfakkarṇa</i>	<i>nəṭfakkṛu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>məṭfakkar</i>		

SG.F *mətfakkɾa*

PL *mətfakkɾīn*

3.5.2 The geminate root $tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$

As in pattern II geminate roots, when a vowel-initial suffix is attached to the verb (in 3SG.F, 3PL of S-stem, plural persons of P-stem, and the 2PL of the imperative), the short vowel of the second stem syllable drops. Since it is impossible to have a triple consonant, one of them falls, e.g., *yətgəššəš + u > *yətgəššəšu > *yətgəšššu > yətgəššu* ‘they get angry’.

$tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3, yətC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ *tgaššəš, yətgəššəš* ‘to get angry’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tgaššəš</i>	<i>yətgəššəš</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tgaššət</i>	<i>tətgəššəš</i>	
2SG	<i>tgaššəšt</i>	<i>tətgəššəš</i>	<i>tgaššəš</i>
1SG	<i>tgaššəšt</i>	<i>nətgəššəš</i>	
3PL	<i>tgaššu</i>	<i>yətgəššu</i>	
2PL	<i>tgaššəštu</i>	<i>tətgəššu</i>	<i>tgaššu</i>
1PL	<i>tgaššəšna</i>	<i>nətgəššu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mətgəššəš</i>		
SG.F	<i>mətgəšša</i>		
PL	<i>mətgəššīn</i>		

3.5.3 The assimilate root $tC^1(w)aC^2C^2vC^3$

The assimilate root is conjugated as the regular pattern V verbs. My corpus does not include verbs with *y* in C^1 .¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Verbs with *y* in C^1 are not described in Nefza either (Naddari 2023: 212).

$twaC^2C^2vC^3, yətwac^2C^2vC^3$ *twaxxəʔ, yətwaxxəʔ* ‘to go backwards’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>twaxxəʔ</i>	<i>yətwaxxəʔ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>twaxxəʔət</i>	<i>tətwaxxəʔ</i>	
2SG	<i>twaxxəʔt</i>	<i>tətwaxxəʔ</i>	<i>twaxxəʔ</i>
1SG	<i>twaxxəʔt</i>	<i>nətwaxxəʔ</i>	
3PL	<i>twaxxəʔru</i>	<i>yətwaxxəʔru</i>	
2PL	<i>twaxxəʔtu</i>	<i>tətwaxxəʔru</i>	<i>twaxxəʔru</i>
1PL	<i>twaxxəʔna</i>	<i>nətwaxxəʔru</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mətwaxxəʔ</i>
SG.F	<i>mətwaxxəʔa</i>
PL	<i>mətwaxxəʔīn</i>

3.5.4 The hollow root $tC^1aC^2(w/y)C^2vC^3$

These verbs conjugate as the regular verb of pattern V. The pattern of medial *w* verbs is $tC^1awwəC^3, yətwac^1awwəC^3$, and the pattern of medial *y* is $tC^1ayyvC^3, yətwac^1ayyvC^3$.

Examples of verbs with C^2 *w/y* are *tšawwəʔ, yətwac^1šawwəʔ* ‘to think, to image’, *təyayəh, yətwac^1əyayəh* ‘to rest’, *tkayyəf, yətwac^1kayyəf* ‘to smoke’, and *təhayyər, yətwac^1əhayyər* ‘to be confused’.

$tC^1awwəC^3, yətwac^1awwəC^3$ *tšawwəʔ, yətwac^1šawwəʔ* ‘to think’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tšawwəʔ</i>	<i>yətwac^1šawwəʔ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tšawwəʔət</i>	<i>tətwac^1šawwəʔ</i>	
2SG	<i>tšawwəʔt</i>	<i>tətwac^1šawwəʔ</i>	<i>tšawwəʔ</i>
1SG	<i>tšawwəʔt</i>	<i>nətwac^1šawwəʔ</i>	
3PL	<i>tšawwəʔru</i>	<i>yətwac^1šawwəʔru</i>	

2PL	<i>tšawwərtu</i>	<i>tətšawwru</i>	<i>tšawwru</i>
1PL	<i>tšawwərna</i>	<i>nətšawwru</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mətšawwər</i>
SG.F	<i>mətšawwra</i>
PL	<i>mətšawwriṅ</i>

$tC^1ayyvC^3, yətC^1ayyvC^3$ *tkayyəf, yətkayyəf* ‘to smoke’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tkayyəf</i>	<i>yətkayyəf</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tkayyət</i>	<i>tətkayyəf</i>	
2SG	<i>tkayyəft</i>	<i>tətkayyəf</i>	<i>tkayyəf</i>
1SG	<i>tkayyəft</i>	<i>nətkayyəf</i>	
3PL	<i>tkayyfu</i>	<i>yətkayyfu</i>	
2PL	<i>tkayyəftu</i>	<i>tətkayyfu</i>	<i>tkayyfu</i>
1PL	<i>tkayyəfna</i>	<i>nətkayyfu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mətkayyəf</i>
SG.F	<i>mətkayyfa</i>
PL	<i>mətkayyfiṅ</i>

3.5.5 The defective root $tC^1aC^2C^2C^3a$

The pattern of defective roots is $tC^1aC^2C^2a, yətC^1aC^2C^2a$. Among the verbs found in the corpus, there are *tṛabba, yətṛabba* ‘to be raised’, *tsamma, yətsamma* ‘to be called’, *tšadda, yətšadda* ‘pass by’, *txabba, yətxabba* ‘to hide’, *tšašša, yətšašša* ‘to have dinner’, *tğatṭa, yətgatṭa* ‘to be covered’, *tğadda, yətgadda* ‘to have lunch’, *tnahḥa, yətnahḥa* ‘to be removed’.

The double weak verb *twaffa*, *yətwaffa* (\sqrt{wfy}) ‘to be died’ is conjugated as a defective root.

The ending P-stem of defective pattern V verbs is *-a* in the singular persons and *-āw* in the plural, contrary to those of pattern II, which is *-i* and *-īw* (see §3.2.5).¹⁵⁵ The vowel stem of the participle forms of verbs with C¹ *r* is *u*.

$tC^1aC^2C^2a$, $yətC^1aC^2C^2a$ *tṛabba*, *yəṛabba* ‘to be raised’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tṛabba</i>	<i>yəṛabba</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tṛabbāt</i>	<i>təṛabba</i>	
2SG	<i>tṛabbīt</i>	<i>təṛabba</i>	<i>tṛabba</i>
1SG	<i>tṛabbīt</i>	<i>nəṛabba</i>	
3PL	<i>tṛabbāw</i>	<i>yəṛabbāw</i>	
2PL	<i>tṛabbītu</i>	<i>təṛabbāw</i>	<i>tṛabbāw</i>
1PL	<i>tṛabbīna</i>	<i>nəṛabbāw</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>məṛubbi</i>		
SG.F	<i>məṛubbya</i>		
PL	<i>məṛubbyīn</i>		

3.6 Pattern VI

This pattern is characterized by the prefix *t-* and the insertion of the long vowel *-ā-* between C¹ and C² of the root, i.e., $tC^1āC^2vC^3$, $yətC^1āC^2vC^3$ and $tC^1āC^2a$, $yətC^1āC^2a$ for defective verbs.

¹⁵⁵ The reconstruction of a long vowel in the plural persons is a characteristic of MagA sedentary varieties (Singer 1984: 378; Vicente 2000: 90). Instead, Bedouin-type varieties feature the vowel *-u* as the ending of the plural persons in both II and V pattern defective verbs (Pereira 2010: 109; 117; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 339–334; 354).

As is the case of pattern III, the second stem vowel of pattern VI is *a*, except when C³ of the root is a laryngeal,¹⁵⁶ and the second stem vowel is *a*, e.g., *tẓāwaf*, *yātẓāwaf* ‘to pretend to be hungry’. In both groups, the second vowel of the S-stem form is identical to that of the P-stem. The vowel of the P-stem prefix is always *a*.

The participle patterns are *matC¹āC²vC³*, *matC¹āC²C³a^{FEM}*, *matC¹āC²C³in^{PL}*.

According to the values expressed by pattern VI in the majority of MagA varieties – already described – it most expresses the following two semantic functions (Ph. Marçais 1977: 60):

- passive, e.g., *thārāq yāthārāq* ‘to get burnt’, *thāwəl, yāthāwəl* ‘to transform himself’, *tfāqəd, yātfāqəd* ‘to be lost’, *tdāwa, ytdāwa* ‘to be treated’, *tṣāwəd, yāṣāwəd* ‘to be repeated’, *tṣāwən, yāṣāwən* ‘to be helped’, *tsāmaḥ, yātsāmaḥ* ‘to be apologized’;
- reciprocal, e.g., *tfāhəm, yātfāhəm* ‘to understand each other’, *twāfəq, yātwāfəq* ‘to get along’, *tṣārək, yṣārək* ‘to argue each other’, *tḏārəb, yāṣḏārəb* ‘to fight each other’, *tqābəl yāṣqābəl* ‘to meet each other’, *tlāqa, yātlāqa* ‘to meet each other’.

A case of MSA value of ‘pretending to do something’ is found in the verb *tẓāwaf*, *yātẓāwaf* ‘to pretend to be hungry’¹⁵⁷.

This pattern can express the passive of pattern III, e.g., *ṣāwəd, yṣāwəd* ‘to repeat’ > *tṣāwəd, yāṣāwəd* ‘to be repeated’; *ṣāwən, yṣāwən* ‘to help’ > *tṣāwən, yāṣāwən* ‘to be helped’; *sāmaḥ, yṣāmaḥ* ‘to apologize’ > *tsāmaḥ, yātsāmaḥ* ‘to be apologized’.

As is the case of pattern III verbs expressing participation, likewise, verbs of pattern VI expressing a reciprocal value are essentially used in plural forms.

No geminated roots are attested in my corpus.

3.6.1 The regular root *tC¹āC²vC³*

Examples of regular verbs of pattern VI found in my corpus are *tfāqəd, yātfāqəd* ‘to be lost’, *tfāhəm, yātfāhəm* ‘to understand each other’, *thāsəb, yāthāsəb ṣla* ‘to deal with’, *tṣārək, yṣārək* ‘to argue each other’, *tḏārəb, yāṣḏārəb* ‘to fight each other’.

¹⁵⁶ In Tunis Arabic, the second stem vowel is subjected to changes as well (Singer 1984: 383–385). In Nefza, the second stem vowel is *a* when C³ is *ʕ* or *ħ* (Naddari 2023: 214), while in Douz is always *a* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 355).

¹⁵⁷ This semantic value is not commonly described by the main grammars of MagA consulted (Singer 1984; Caubet 1993; Vicente 2000; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Pereira 2010).

$tC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$, $y\bar{a}tC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$ *tfāqəd*, *yətfāqəd* ‘to be lost’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tfāqəd</i>	<i>yətfāqəd</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tfāqədət</i>	<i>tətfāqəd</i>	
2SG	<i>tfāqədət</i>	<i>tətfāqəd</i>	<i>tfāqəd</i>
1SG	<i>tfāqədət</i>	<i>nətfāqəd</i>	
3PL	<i>tfāqədu</i>	<i>yətfāqədu</i>	
2PL	<i>tfāqədətū</i>	<i>tətfāqədu</i>	<i>tfāqədu</i>
1PL	<i>tfāqədənā</i>	<i>nətfāqədu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mətfāqəd</i>		
SG.F	<i>mətfāqədə</i>		
PL	<i>mətfāqədīn</i>		

3.6.2 The assimilated root $tC^1(w)\bar{a}C^2vC^3$

The assimilated root is conjugated as the regular one. Some examples of $C^1 w$ are *twāzən*, *yətwāzən* ‘to be balanced’ and *twāfəq*, *yətwāfəq* ‘to get along’. No examples of $C^1 y$ are attested to in my corpus.¹⁵⁸

$twāC^2vC^3$, $yətwāC^2vC^3$ *twāfəq*, *yətwāfəq* ‘to get along’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>twāfəq</i>	<i>yətwāfəq</i>	
3SG.F	<i>twāfəqət</i>	<i>tətwāfəq</i>	
2SG	<i>twāfəqət</i>	<i>nətwāfəq</i>	<i>twāfəq</i>
1SG	<i>twāfəqət</i>		

¹⁵⁸ Other descriptions of MagA also do not report verbs examples of this verbal typology (Ph. Marçais 1977; Vicente 2000; Pereira 2010; Guerrero 2015; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Naddari 2023).

3PL	<i>twāfqū</i>	<i>yətwāfqū</i>	
2PL	<i>twāfəqtu</i>	<i>tətwāfqū</i>	<i>twāfqū</i>
1PL	<i>twāfəqna</i>	<i>nətwāfqū</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mətwāfəq</i>
SG.F	<i>mətwāfqa</i>
PL	<i>mətwāfqīn</i>

3.6.3 The hollow root $tC^1\bar{a}C^2(w/y)vC^3$

The hollow root also is conjugated as the regular one. Examples of verbs with $C^2 w$ are *tḥāwəl*, *yəḥāwəl* ‘to transform himself’, *tžāwəf*, *yəḥžāwəf* ‘to pretend to be hungry’, *tḥāwəd*, *yəḥḥāwəd* ‘to be repeated’, *tḥāwən*, *yəḥḥāwən* ‘to be helped’. No examples of $C^2 y$ are attested to in my corpus.

$tC^1\bar{a}wvC^3$, $yC^1\bar{a}wvC^3$ *tžāwəf*, *yəḥžāwəf* ‘to pretend to be hungry’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tžāwəf</i>	<i>yəḥžāwəf</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tžāwəfat</i>	<i>təḥžāwəf</i>	
2SG	<i>tžāwəft</i>	<i>təḥžāwəf</i>	<i>tžāwəf</i>
1SG	<i>tžāwəft</i>	<i>nəḥžāwəf</i>	
3PL	<i>tžāwəfu</i>	<i>yəḥžāwəfu</i>	
2PL	<i>tžāwəftu</i>	<i>təḥžāwəfu</i>	<i>tžāwəfu</i>
1PL	<i>tžāwəfna</i>	<i>nəḥžāwəfu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>məḥžāwəf</i>		
SG.F	<i>məḥžāwəfa</i>		
PL	<i>məḥžāwəfīn</i>		

3.6.4 The defective root $tC^1\bar{a}C^2a$

In contrast to defective verbs of pattern III, where the P-stem ends in *-i*, P-stem of pattern VI defective verbs end in *-a*, i.e., $tC^1\bar{a}C^2a$, $y\partial C^1\bar{a}C^2a$.

$tC^1\bar{a}C^2a$, $yC^1\bar{a}C^2a$ *tlāqa*, *yətlāqa* ‘to meet each other’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tlāqa</i>	<i>yətlāqa</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tlāqāt</i>	<i>tətlāqa</i>	
2SG	<i>tlāqīt</i>	<i>tətlāqa</i>	<i>tlāqa</i>
1SG	<i>tlāqīt</i>	<i>nətlāqa</i>	
3PL	<i>tlāqāw</i>	<i>yətlāqāw</i>	
2PL	<i>tlāqītu</i>	<i>tətlāqāw</i>	<i>tlāqāw</i>
1PL	<i>tlāqīna</i>	<i>nətlāqāw</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>mətlāqi</i>		
SG.F	<i>mətlāqya</i>		
PL	<i>mətlāqyn</i>		

3.7 Pattern VII

The ancient pattern VII of OA *infaʕala* does not occur in KA. Its corresponding reflexive-passive functions are carried out by the *t*-passive form (see §3.13), e.g., *tətslax* (OA *insalaxa* ‘to detach’) ‘to be detached’.

3.8 Pattern VIII

Pattern VIII is not particularly productive in KA, as already in TA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 63; Singer 1984: 365)¹⁵⁹ and the rest of MagA (Vicente 2000: 94).¹⁶⁰ Generally, pattern VIII verbs of OA have converged in other patterns in spoken MagA, e.g., OA *ištarā* corresponds to *šra* (I pattern) ‘to buy’ in KA. Even those verbs found in my corpus are perceived by my speakers as MSA loanwords¹⁶¹ or verbs used in very specific contexts.

This pattern is characterized by the infixation of *-t-* between C¹ and C² of the root, i.e., C¹tC²aC³, yəC¹tC²aC³ e.g., *ħtṛam*, *yəħtṛam* ‘to respect’, *ħtall*, *yəħtall* ‘to occupy’, *ṛtāh*, *yəṛtāh* ‘to rest’, *žtmaʕ* *yəžtmaʕ* ‘to meet, to gather’, *xtlaf*, *yəxtlaf* ‘to be different’, *ħtāž*, *yəħtāž* ‘to need’, *xtār*, *yəxtār* ‘to choose’.

No defective and assimilated root verbs have been found in my corpus.

The prefix *m-* of the participle forms are vocalized in *-u-* as in OA, e.g., *muħtall* ‘occupied’. The participle patterns are *muC¹tC²vC³*, *muC¹taC²C³a^{FEM}*, *muC¹taC²C³in^{PL}*.

The values expressed by pattern VIII include reflexive-passive (e.g., *rtāh*, *yərtāh* ‘to rest’, *xtlaf*, *yəxtlaf* ‘to be different’) and mediopassive (e.g., *xtār*, *yəxtār* ‘to choose’) semantic functions.¹⁶²

According to the verbs in my corpus, the stem vowel of P-, S-, and imperative stems is *a*, as in the Arabic of Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 106). The vowel of the P-stem prefix is always *ə*.

3.8.1 The regular root C¹tC²aC³

The pattern of these verbs is C¹tC²aC³, yəC¹tC²aC³, and some examples are *ħtṛam*, *yəħtṛam* ‘to respect’ and *xtlaf*, *yəxtlaf* ‘to be different’, *žtmaʕ* *yəžtmaʕ* ‘to meet, to gather’.

C¹tC²aC³, yəC¹tC²aC³, e.g., *ħtṛam*, *yəħtṛam* ‘to respect’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ħtṛam</i>	<i>yəħtṛam</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ħtṛamət</i>	<i>təħtṛam</i>	

¹⁵⁹ According to Durand & Tarquini (2023: 215–216), in Tunis, there are only three hollow verbs of pattern VIII, which are *rtāh*, *ħtāž*, and *xtār*.

¹⁶⁰ Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 368–375) represents an exception to this deficiency, where this pattern is more productive.

¹⁶¹ In Nefza, pattern VIII is limited to MSA loanwords (Naddari 2023: 215).

¹⁶² For the semantic functions of pattern VIII, see Ph. Marçais (1977: 63).

2SG	<i>ħtṛamt</i>	<i>təħtṛam</i>	<i>ħtṛam</i>
1SG	<i>ħtṛamt</i>	<i>nəħtṛam</i>	
3PL	<i>ħtaṛmu</i>	<i>yəħtaṛmu</i>	
2PL	<i>ħtṛamtu</i>	<i>təħtaṛmu</i>	<i>ħtaṛmu</i>
1PL	<i>ħtṛamna</i>	<i>nəħtaṛmu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>muħtṛam</i>
SG.F	<i>muħtaṛma</i>
PL	<i>muħtaṛmīn</i>

3.8.2 The geminate root $C^1ta\underline{C^2C^3}$

Geminate root verbs follow the pattern $C^1ta\underline{C^2C^3}$, $yəC^1ta\underline{C^2C^3}$.

$C^1ta\underline{C^2C^3}$, $yəC^1ta\underline{C^2C^3}$ *ħtall*, *yəħtall* ‘to occupy’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ħtall</i>	<i>yəħtall</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ħtallət</i>	<i>təħtall</i>	
2SG	<i>ħtallīt</i>	<i>təħtall</i>	<i>ħtall</i>
1SG	<i>ħtallīt</i>	<i>nəħtall</i>	
3PL	<i>ħtallu</i>	<i>yəħtallu</i>	
2PL	<i>ħtallītu</i>	<i>təħtallu</i>	<i>ħtallu</i>
1PL	<i>ħtallīna</i>	<i>nəħtallu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>muħtall</i>
SG.F	<i>muħtalla</i>
PL	<i>muħtallīn</i>

3.8.3 The hollow root $C^1t\bar{a}C^3$

The hollow verbs feature the pattern $C^1t\bar{a}C^3$, $y\bar{a}C^1t\bar{a}C^3$ and those found in the corpus are *ḥtāž*, *yḥtāž* ‘to need’, *ṛtāḥ*, *yṛtāḥ* ‘to rest’, *xtār*, *yaxtār* ‘to choose’. These verbs share the same conjugation of pattern IX/XI verbs (see §3.11), as it also happens in other Tunisian varieties (Singer 1984: 367; Naddari 2023: 216).

$C^1t\bar{a}C^3$, $y\bar{a}C^1t\bar{a}C^3$ *xtār*, *yaxtār* ‘to choose’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>xtār</i>	<i>yaxtār</i>	
3SG.F	<i>xtārət</i>	<i>təxtār</i>	
2SG	<i>xtart</i>	<i>təxtār</i>	<i>xtār</i>
1SG	<i>xtart</i>	<i>nəxtār</i>	
3PL	<i>xtāru</i>	<i>yaxtāru</i>	
2PL	<i>xtartu</i>	<i>təxtāru</i>	<i>xtāru</i>
1PL	<i>xtarṇa</i>	<i>nəxtāru</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>muxtār</i>		
SG.F	<i>muxtāra</i>		
PL	<i>muxtārīn</i>		

3.9 Pattern IX

The ancient pattern IX *ifʿalla* of OA is not used in KA, as in other Tunisian varieties (Singer 1984: 392–397; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 383–387; Naddari 2023: 219–221).¹⁶³

3.10 Pattern X

Verbs of pattern X feature the prefix *st-* to the verbal root, i.e., $sta(w)C^1C^2vC^3$, $y\bar{a}sta(w)C^1C^2vC^3$, and $staC^1C^2a$, $y\bar{a}staC^1C^2a$ for defective verbs. As described for other

¹⁶³ Some scholars (Vicente 2000: 96; Pereira 2010: 127–128; Guerrero 2015: 101–103) classify verbs of the pattern $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$ under this category (see §3.11).

patterns, also these verbs feature a second stem vowel *a* when C² or C³ are back consonants, e.g., *staržaʕ*, *yəstaržaʕ* ‘get back to’, *stawʕan*, *yəstawʕan* ‘to settle’. Otherwise, the second stem vowel is *ə*.

The participle patterns are *məstaC¹C²vC³*, *məstaC¹C²C³a^{FEM}*, *məstaC¹C²C³in^{PL}*.

As with other Tunisian and, generally, MagA varieties, I did not find copious occurrences of pattern X verbs.¹⁶⁴ According to the values of pattern X, it mainly expresses a desiderative value (as intended by Pereira (2010: 128)), e.g., *stadʕa*, *yəstadʕa* ‘to invite’, *stānəs*, *yəstānəs* ‘to get used to’, *staʕməl*, *yəstaʕməl* ‘to be used’, *staržaʕ*, *yəstaržaʕ* ‘get back to’, *stħaqq*, *yəstħaqq* ‘to need’, *staqbəl*, *yəstabəl* ‘to receive’, *staʕrəf*, *yəstaʕrəf* ‘to acknowledge’, *staʕād*, *yəstʕād* ‘to get back’, *stħfəd*, *yəstħfəd* ‘to save’.

3.10.1 The regular root *staC¹C²vC³*

Regular verb patterns are *staC¹C²əC³*, *yəstaC¹C²əC³* and *staC¹C²aC³*, *yəstaC¹C²aC³* with C² or C³ baked consonants. Examples of these verbs are *staʕməl*, *yəstaʕməl* ‘to be used’, *staržaʕ*, *yəstaržaʕ* ‘get back to’, *stasləm*, *yəstasləm* ‘to become Muslim’, *staqbəl*, *yəstabəl* ‘to receive’, *staʕrəf*, *yəstaʕrəf* ‘to acknowledge’, *stħfəd*, *yəstħfəd* ‘to save’.

staC¹C²əC³, *yəstaC¹C²əC³* *staržaʕ*, *yəstaržaʕ* ‘get back to’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>staržaʕ</i>	<i>yəstaržaʕ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>staržaʕ</i>	<i>təstaržaʕ</i>	
2SG	<i>staržaʕt</i>	<i>təstaržaʕ</i>	<i>staržaʕ</i>
1SG	<i>staržaʕ</i>	<i>nəstaržaʕ</i>	

¹⁶⁴ On pattern X marginality, there are attestations in all major studies on MagA. As far as TA is concerned, Naddari states that this pattern is not very frequent in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 216). According to Durand & Tarquini (2023: 216) pattern X is found only in three verbs in Tunis Arabic, and they are *stəħfəd* ‘to store’, *stānəs* ‘to get used to’ and *stāhəl* ‘to deserve’. In Sousse Arabic, Talmoudi notes a more widespread use of pattern X by women and speakers of the older generations, ‘when speaking euphemistically’ (Talmoudi 1980: 108). Regarding Moroccan Arabic, Guerrero (2015: 103) and Vicente (2000: 97) confirm this lack of use in Anjra and Larache and Caubet finds this pattern mostly in ‘un niveau de langue qui emprunte beaucoup à l’arabe, mais pas dans la langue de tous les jours’ (Caubet 1993: 50–51). The same is valid in Algeria for the Arabic of Djidjel (Ph. Marçais 1956: 199). In the Maghrebi panorama, only Tripoli Arabic stands out from this trend (Pereira 2010: 128–129).

3PL	<i>starʒʕu</i>	<i>yəstarʒʕu</i>	
2PL	<i>starʒaʕtu</i>	<i>təstarʒʕu</i>	<i>starʒʕu</i>
1PL	<i>starʒaʕna</i>	<i>nəstarʒʕu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>məstarʒəʕ</i>
SG.F	<i>məstarʒʕa</i>
PL	<i>məstarʒʕīn</i>

3.10.2 The geminate root $stC^1aC^2C^3$

$stC^1aC^2C^3$, $yəstC^1aC^2C^3$ *sthaqq*, *yəsthaqq* ‘to deserve’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>sthaqq</i>	<i>yəsthaqq</i>	
3SG.F	<i>sthaqqāt</i>	<i>təsthaqq</i>	
2SG	<i>sthaqqīt</i>	<i>təsthaqq</i>	<i>sthaqq</i>
1SG	<i>sthaqqīt</i>	<i>nəsthaqq</i>	
3PL	<i>sthaqqu</i>	<i>yəsthaqqu</i>	<i>sthaqqu</i>
2PL	<i>sthaqqītu</i>	<i>təsthaqqu</i>	
1PL	<i>sthaqqīna</i>	<i>nəsthaqqu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>məsthaqq</i>
SG.F	<i>məsthaqqa</i>
PL	<i>məsthaqqīn</i>

3.10.3 The assimilate root $stāC^2vC^3/stawC^2vC^3$

Assimilated pattern X verbs can be classified into two groups.

The pattern of the first group is $stāC^2vC^3$, $yāstāC^2vC^3$. Here, the etymological C^1 is a $*w$ - or $*ʔ$ which became (or is compensated – in the case of the *hamza* – by the) $ā$,¹⁶⁵ e.g., *stānās*, *yāstānās* (OA $\sqrt{\lambda ns}$) ‘to get used to’. The pattern of the second group is $stawC^2vC^3$, $yāstawC^2vC^3$. The verbs belonging to this group have to be considered loanwords from MSA, where C^1 $*w$ - is maintained as a diphthong *aw*, e.g., *stawʔan*, *yāstawʔan* ‘to settle’.¹⁶⁶

Group 1. $stāC^2vC^3$, $yāstāC^2vC^3$ *stānās*, *yāstānās* ‘to get used to’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>stānās</i>	<i>yāstānās</i>	
3SG.F	<i>stānsāt</i>	<i>tāstānās</i>	
2SG	<i>stānāst</i>	<i>nāstānās</i>	<i>stānās</i>
1SG	<i>stānāst</i>		
3PL	<i>stānsu</i>	<i>yāstānsu</i>	
2PL	<i>stānāstu</i>	<i>tāstānsu</i>	<i>stānsu</i>
1PL	<i>stānāsna</i>	<i>nāstānsu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>māstānās</i>		
SG.F	<i>māstānsa</i>		
PL	<i>māstānsīn</i>		

Group 2. $stawC^2vC^3$, $yāstawC^2vC^3$ *stawʔan*, *yāstawʔan* ‘to settle’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>stawʔan</i>	<i>yāstawʔan</i>	
3SG.F	<i>stawʔnāt</i>	<i>tāstawʔan</i>	
2SG	<i>stawʔant</i>	<i>tāstawʔan</i>	<i>stawʔan</i>
1SG	<i>stawʔant</i>	<i>nāstawʔan</i>	

¹⁶⁵ According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 66), this is a Bedouin-type trait.

¹⁶⁶ The same classification is also described in Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010: 130–131).

3PL	<i>stawṭnu</i>	<i>yəstawṭnu</i>	
2PL	<i>stawṭantu</i>	<i>təstawṭnu</i>	<i>stawṭnu</i>
1PL	<i>stawṭanna</i>	<i>nəstawṭnu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>məstawṭən</i>
SG.F	<i>məstawṭna</i>
PL	<i>məstawṭnīn</i>

3.10.4 The hollow root $staC^1\bar{a}C^3$

The pattern is $staC^1\bar{a}C^3$, $yəstC^1\bar{a}C^3$, e.g. *stafād*, *yəstfād* ‘to profit from, to enrich’, *stafād*, *yəstfād* ‘to get back’. No participle forms are attested in my corpus.

$staC^1\bar{a}C^3$, $yəstC^1\bar{a}C^3$ *stafād*, *yəstfād* ‘to profit from, to enrich’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>stafād</i>	<i>yəstfād</i>	
3SG.F	<i>stafādət</i>	<i>təstfād</i>	
2SG		<i>təstfād</i>	<i>stfād</i>
1SG	<i>stafadt</i>	<i>nəstfād</i>	
3PL	<i>stafādu</i>	<i>yəstfādu</i>	
2PL	<i>stafadtu</i>	<i>təstfādu</i>	<i>stfādu</i>
1PL	<i>stafadna</i>	<i>nəstfādu</i>	

3.10.5 The defective root $staC^1C^2a$

The pattern is $staC^1C^2a$, $yəstaC^1C^2a$, e.g., *stadʕa*, *yəstadʕa* ‘to invite’. The final vowel in the P-stem is always *a*, as it is common in MagA (Singer 1984: 391; Pereira 2010: 133; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 380; Guerrero 2015: 105; Naddari 2023: 219).¹⁶⁷

$staC^1C^2a$, $yəstaC^1C^2a$ *stadʕa*, *yəstadʕa* ‘to invite’

S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
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¹⁶⁷Nevertheless, both final *-a* and *-i* verbs can be found in Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 133).

3SG.M	<i>stadʕa</i>	<i>yəstadʕa</i>	
3SG.F	<i>stadʕāt</i>	<i>təstadʕa</i>	
2SG	<i>stadʕīt</i>	<i>təstadʕa</i>	<i>stadʕa</i>
1SG	<i>stadʕīt</i>	<i>nəstadʕa</i>	
3PL	<i>stadʕāw</i>	<i>yəstadʕāw</i>	
2PL	<i>stadʕītu</i>	<i>təstadʕāw</i>	<i>stadʕāw</i>
1PL	<i>stadʕīna</i>	<i>nəstadʕāw</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>məstadʕi</i>
SG.F	<i>məstadʕya</i>
PL	<i>məstadʕyn</i>

3.11 Pattern IX/XI

Souag (2024: 27) shows that what I label in this study as ‘IX/XI pattern’ is an augmented pattern formed on the proto-Berber’s Conjugation IV, thanks to the partial similarities with Arabic forms IX and XI. (Souag 2024: 27).

Pattern IX/XI is mainly formed from adjectives, and it conveys the meaning of acquiring a color or a quality, e.g., *aḥmar* ‘red’ > *ḥmār* ‘to become red’, *xʕif* ‘light’ > *xʕāf* ‘to become light’. Regarding its morphological structure, it is characterized by the infixation of the long vowel *-ā-* between C² and C³, i.e., C¹C²āC³, *yə*C¹C²āC³. This long vowel *-ā-* is shortened to *ə* – and to *u* in C³ *r* verbs – when a consonant-initial suffix is attached, e.g., *ʔwəltu* ‘you^{PL} became long’, *ḥmurt* ‘I/you became red’).

This pattern is not very productive in KA and other MagA varieties (Caubet 1993; Pereira 2010; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a; Naddari 2023).¹⁶⁸ Indeed, participle forms and

¹⁶⁸ As stated in §3.9, the classification relating to the C¹C²āC³ pattern verbs is ambiguous among the scholars who have described MagA varieties. Some agree in classifying them as pattern XI (Singer 1984: 392–397; Caubet 1993: 51–53; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 383–387). Others label them as pattern IX for the semantic values overlapping among the two patterns in OA (Vicente 2000: 96; Pereira 2010: 127–128; Guerrero 2015: 101–103). Stumme, indeed, prefers to define C¹C²āC³ a pattern between the IX and the XI (Stumme 1896: 30–31). I support the classification proposed by Souag (2024).

defective roots are not attested to in my corpus; imperative forms are shown below, but they are not actually used.¹⁶⁹

Some verbs samples found in my corpus are *ḥmār*, *yəḥmār* ‘to become red’, *xfāf*, *yəxfāf* ‘to become light’, *wsāf*, *yūsāf* ‘to become larger’, *byād*, *yəbyād* ‘to become white’ *ṭwāl*, *yəṭwāl* ‘to become long’, *ṣfār* *yəṣfār* ‘to become yellow’.

Pattern VIII hollow verbs (see §3.8.3) are conjugated like pattern IX/XI verbs.

3.11.1 The regular root $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$

The pattern of the regular root is $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$, $yəC^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$, and examples of verbs in the corpus are *ḥmār*, *yəḥmār* ‘to become red’, and *ṣfār*, *yəṣfār* ‘to become yellow’.¹⁷⁰

$C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$, $yəC^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$ *ḥmār*, *yəḥmār* ‘to become red’¹⁷¹

	S-Stem	P-Stem
3SG.M	<i>ḥmār</i>	<i>yəḥmār</i>
3SG.F	<i>ḥmārət</i>	<i>təḥmār</i>
2SG	<i>ḥmur̄t</i>	<i>təḥmār</i>
1SG	<i>ḥmur̄t</i>	<i>nəḥmār</i>
3PL	<i>ḥmāru</i>	<i>yəḥmāru</i>
2PL	<i>ḥmur̄tu</i>	<i>təḥmāru</i>
1PL	<i>ḥmur̄na</i>	<i>nəḥmāru</i>

3.11.2 The geminate root $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$

$C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$, $yəC^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$ *xfāf*, *yəxfāf* ‘to become light’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>xfāf</i>	<i>yəxfāf</i>	
3SG.F	<i>xfāfət</i>	<i>təxfāf</i>	
2SG	<i>xfəft</i>	<i>təxfāf</i>	<i>xfāf</i>

¹⁶⁹ Caubet (1993: 51–52), Vicente (2000: 96) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 383) also attest to the deficient use of imperative and participial forms in Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic.

¹⁷⁰ In Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 395), the verbs *ḥmār* and *ṣfār* also have the vocalization in *u*, i.e., *ḥmur̄t* and *ṣfur̄t*.

¹⁷¹ This verb does not have imperative forms, as *ḥmār*^{IMP.2SG} is perceived by the speakers as the meaning of ‘donkey’.

1SG	<i>xfəft</i>	<i>nəxfāf</i>	
3PL	<i>xfāfu</i>	<i>yəxfāfu</i>	
2PL	<i>xfəftu</i>	<i>təxfāfu</i>	<i>xfāfu</i>
1PL	<i>xfəfna</i>	<i>nəxfāfu</i>	

3.11.3 The assimilated root C¹(w)C²āC³

wC²āC³, yūC¹āC³, wsāf, yūsāf ‘to become larger’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>wsāf</i>	<i>yūsāf</i>	
3SG.F	<i>wsāfət</i>	<i>tūsāf</i>	
2SG	<i>wsəft</i>	<i>tūsāf</i>	<i>wsāf</i>
1SG	<i>wsəft</i>	<i>nūsāf</i>	
3PL	<i>wsāfu</i>	<i>yūsāfu</i>	
2PL	<i>wsəftu</i>	<i>tūsāfu</i>	<i>wsāfu</i>
1PL	<i>wsəfna</i>	<i>nūsāfu</i>	

3.11.4 The hollow root C¹C²(w/y)āC³

C¹wāC³, yəC¹wāC³, twāl, yətwāl ‘to become long’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>twāl</i>	<i>yətwāl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>twālət</i>	<i>tətwāl</i>	
2SG	<i>twəlt</i>	<i>tətwāl</i>	<i>twāl</i>
1SG	<i>twəlt</i>	<i>nətwāl</i>	
3PL	<i>twālu</i>	<i>yətwālu</i>	
2PL	<i>twəltu</i>	<i>tətwālu</i>	<i>twālu</i>
1PL	<i>twəlna</i>	<i>nətwālu</i>	

C¹yāC³, yəC¹yāC³, byāḏ, yəbyāḏ ‘to become white’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>byāḏ</i>	<i>yəbyāḏ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>byāḏət</i>	<i>təbyāḏ</i>	
2SG	<i>byəḏt</i>	<i>təbyāḏ</i>	<i>byāḏ</i>
1SG	<i>byəḏt</i>	<i>nəbyāḏ</i>	

3PL	<i>byāḏu</i>	<i>yəbyāḏu</i>	
2PL	<i>byəḏtu</i>	<i>təbyāḏu</i>	<i>byāḏu</i>
1PL	<i>byəḏna</i>	<i>nəbyāḏu</i>	

3.12 Mixed patterns

The only mixed pattern found in my corpus is formed by pattern X + V.

3.12.1 The verb *stanna*

The verb *stanna*, *yəstanna* (OA root $\sqrt{\text{ʔny}}$) ‘to wait’ is a defective verb and it results of a mixed form made up of the X and the V patterns.¹⁷² It is conjugated as follows:

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>stanna</i>	<i>yəstanna</i>	
3SG.F	<i>stannāt</i>	<i>təstanna</i>	
2SG	<i>stannīt</i>	<i>təstanna</i>	<i>stanna</i>
1SG	<i>stannīt</i>	<i>nəstanna</i>	
3PL	<i>stannu</i>	<i>yəstannāw</i>	
2PL	<i>stannītu</i>	<i>təstannāw</i>	<i>stannāw</i>
1PL	<i>stannīna</i>	<i>nəstannāw</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>məstanni</i>		
SG.F	<i>məstannya</i>		
PL	<i>məstannyīn</i>		

3.13 The *t*-pattern

The *t*-pattern replaced the internal passive, which is not more productive in KA, e.g., *təʕməl* (OA *ʕumila*) ‘to be done’. Moreover, it covers the reflexive-passive functions

¹⁷² Otherwise, Ph. Marçais (1977: 66) classifies this verb as a defective pattern X verb. Singer (1984: 398) and Pereira (2010: 146) state that the verb *stanna*, *yəstanna* is a mixed form of patterns X and II. However, I agree with (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 388; Naddari 2023: 222) in considering this verb a combination of patterns X and V, because the P-stem singular persons end in *-a* – and not in *-i* like pattern II – as is the case of the defective pattern V verbs in MagA.

performed by pattern VII in OA (see §3.7), e.g., *tətslax* (OA *insalaxa*) ‘to be detached’, as occurs in some other varieties of Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (Ph. Marçais 1977: 66–67; Singer 1984: 364–365; Guerrero 2015: 116–117; D’Anna forthcoming a)¹⁷³. The use of the *t*-passive pattern is defined as a Tunisian sedentary trait (W. Marçais 1950: 209).

This pattern is morphologically composed by the morpheme *t*-prefixed – in the S-stem – or infix – in the P-stem – to the pattern I, i.e., $təC^1C^2vC^3$ $yətC^1C^2vC^3$. The stem vocalization remains the same as pattern I:

pattern I *xdəm, yəxdəm* ‘to work’ > *t*-pattern *təxdəm, yətxdəm* ‘to be worked’

The imperative and participle forms of the *t*-pattern are generally rare in MagA varieties (that feature this form), and my corpus does not collect any of them. The imperative and participle forms of pattern I are used to cover these functions.

3.13.1 The regular root

The following table shows the conjugation of the *t*-pattern regular verb, i.e., $təC^1C^2vC^3$ $yətC^1C^2vC^3$.

Some examples in the corpus are *təxdəm, yətxdəm* ‘to be worked’, *tətslax, yətslax* ‘to be detached’, *təfməl, yətfməl* ‘to be done’, *təlbəs, yətlbəs* ‘to be dressed’, *təktəb, yətktəb* ‘to be written’.

$təC^1C^2vC^3$ $yətC^1C^2vC^3$, *təxdəm, yətxdəm* ‘to be worked’,

	S-Stem	P-Stem
3SG.M	<i>təxdəm</i>	<i>yətxdəm</i>
3SG.F	<i>txədmət</i>	<i>tətxdəm</i>
2SG	<i>təxdəmt</i>	<i>tətxdəm</i>
1SG	<i>təxdəmt</i>	<i>nətxdəm</i>
3PL	<i>txədmu</i>	<i>yətxədmu</i>
2PL	<i>təxdəmtu</i>	<i>tətxədmu</i>
1PL	<i>təxdəmna</i>	<i>nətxədmu</i>

¹⁷³ D’Anna (forthcoming b) is publishing a study (*Historical considerations on t-passives in North African Arabic*) on the distribution of *t*-passives patterns in MagA.

3.14 Quadriliteral roots

These verbs are formed by four consonants, and statistically are less numerous in my corpus than trilateral, as is also the case in other varieties of Arabic (Caubet 1993: 53).

From a morphological point of view, quadriliteral verbs are divided into two groups, and both groups follow the same conjugation, with the stem vowels *a-ə*:

Group 1. Verbs with four different root consonants, i.e., $C^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, $yC^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, e.g., *ġarḃəl*, *yġarḃəl* ‘to filter’, *farḥəd*, *yfarḥəd* ‘to amuse’;

Group 2. Verbs with two reduplicate root consonants, i.e., $C^1aC^2C^1əC^2$, $yC^1aC^2C^1əC^2$, e.g., *kaskəs*, *ykaskəs* ‘to make couscous’, *šaqšəq*, *yšaqšəq* ‘to shake’. Reduplicate roots usually express onomatopoeic values, e.g., *šaqšəq*, *yšaqšəq* ‘to shake’ (Caubet 1993: 56)¹⁷⁴.

The pattern of defective verbs is $C^1aC^2C^3a$, $yC^1aC^2C^3i$, e.g., *šarḏa*, *yšarḏi fi* ‘to charge’.

3.14.1 Regular roots

The pattern of the first group is $C^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, $yC^1aC^2C^3əC^4$ and the participle forms are $mC^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, $mC^1aC^2C^3C^4a^{FEM}$, $mC^1aC^2C^3C^4in^{PL}$.

The pattern of the second group (reduplicated roots) is $C^1aC^2C^1əC^2$, $yC^1aC^2C^1əC^2$ and the participle forms are $mC^1aC^2C^1əC^2$, $mC^1aC^2C^1C^2a^{FEM}$, $mC^1aC^2C^1C^2in^{PL}$.

$C^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, $yC^1aC^2C^3əC^4$, *ġarḃəl*, *yġarḃəl* ‘to filter’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>ġarḃəl</i>	<i>yġarḃəl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ġarḃlət</i>	<i>tġarḃəl</i>	
2SG	<i>ġarḃəlt</i>	<i>tġarḃəl</i>	<i>ġarḃəl</i>
1SG	<i>ġarḃəlt</i>	<i>nġarḃəl</i>	
3PL	<i>ġarḃəlna</i>	<i>yġarḃlu</i>	
2PL	<i>ġarḃəltu</i>	<i>tġarḃlu</i>	<i>ġarḃlu</i>
1PL	<i>ġarḃəlna</i>	<i>nġarḃlu</i>	

¹⁷⁴ From a semantic point of view, Ph. Marçais defines quadriliteral root verbs as ‘généralment expressif[s]’ (Ph. Marçais 1977: 68).

	Participle
SG.M	<i>mǧarɓəl</i>
SG.F	<i>mǧarɓla</i>
PL	<i>mǧarɓlīn</i>

$C^1aC^2C^1əC^2, yC^1aC^2C^1əC^2$, e.g., *kaskəs, ykaskəs* ‘to make couscous’¹⁷⁵

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>kaskəs</i>	<i>ykaskəs</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kasksət</i>	<i>tkaskəs</i>	<i>kaskəs</i>
2SG	<i>kaskəst</i>	<i>tkaskəs</i>	
1SG	<i>kaskəst</i>	<i>nkaskəs</i>	
3PL	<i>kasksu</i>	<i>ykasksu</i>	
2PL	<i>kaskəstu</i>	<i>tkasksu</i>	<i>kasksu</i>
1PL	<i>kaskəsna</i>	<i>nkasksu</i>	

3.14.2 The pattern $C^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4$

This pattern, $C^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4, yC^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4$, is formed in analogy to pattern III (see §3.1).¹⁷⁶ Many verbs of this category are verbalized loanwords, and the long vowel \bar{i} in C^2 represents the pronunciation of a vowel in the etymological word of the donor language, e.g., *r̄īgəl, yr̄īgəl* ‘to arrange’ < FR. *régler*.

The participle forms are $mC^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4, mC^1\bar{i}C^3C^4a^{FEM}, mC^1\bar{i}C^3C^4in^{PL}$.

$C^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4, yC^1\bar{i}C^3əC^4, r̄īgəl, yr̄īgəl$ ‘to arrange’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>r̄īgəl</i>	<i>yr̄īgəl</i>	
3SG.F	<i>r̄īglət</i>	<i>t̄r̄īgəl</i>	
2SG	<i>r̄īgəlt</i>	<i>t̄r̄īgəl</i>	<i>r̄īgəl</i>
1SG	<i>r̄īgəlt</i>	<i>nr̄īgəl</i>	

¹⁷⁵ For semantic reasons, this verb has no participle forms.

¹⁷⁶ Singer (1984: 381–383) classifies this pattern among pattern III verbs.

3PL	<i>rīglu</i>	<i>yṛīglu</i>	
2PL	<i>rīgəltu</i>	<i>tṛīglu</i>	<i>rīglu</i>
1PL	<i>rīgəlna</i>	<i>nṛīglu</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mṛīgəl</i>
SG.F	<i>mṛīgla</i>
PL	<i>mṛīglīn</i>

3.14.2 Defective roots

The quadrilateral defective roots found in my corpus are loanwords, following the pattern $C^1aC^2C^3a$, $yC^1aC^2C^3i$, e.g., *šarža*, *yšarži* ‘to charge’ (< FR. *charger*). The S-stem ends in *-a*, while the P-stem ends in *-i*, as is the case of trilateral defective verbs of patterns I (see §3.15, group a), II, and III (see §3.2.5 and §3.3.4).

$C^1aC^2C^3a$, $yC^1aC^2C^3i$, *šarža*, *yšarži* *fi* ‘to charge’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>šarža</i>	<i>yšarži</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šaržāt</i>	<i>tšarži</i>	
2SG	<i>šaržīt</i>	<i>tšarži</i>	<i>šarži</i>
1SG	<i>šaržīt</i>	<i>nšarži</i>	
3PL	<i>šaržīw</i>	<i>yšaržīw</i>	
2PL	<i>šaržītu</i>	<i>tšaržīw</i>	<i>šaržīw</i>
1PL	<i>šaržīna</i>	<i>nšaržīw</i>	

Participle

SG.M	<i>mšarži</i>
SG.F	<i>mšaržya</i>

3.14.3 *t*-passive pattern

The *t*-pattern of quadrilateral verbs is $tC^1aC^2C^3\partial C^4$ $y\partial tC^1aC^2C^3\partial C^4$ and $tC^1aC^2C^1\partial C^2$ $y\partial tC^1aC^2C^1\partial C^2$. It expresses the reflexive-passive of the equivalent verb in pattern I, e.g., *trahwəž*, *y\partial trahwəž* ‘to grow dizzy’, *tfaṛhəd*, *y\partial tfaṛhəd* ‘to have fun’.

The participle form pattern is $m\partial tCaCC\partial C$, $m\partial tCaCCCa^{FEM}$, $m\partial tCaCCC\bar{i}n^{PL}$.

The defective pattern is $tCaCCa$, $y\partial tCaCCa$ e.g., *tšarža*, *y\partial tšarža* ‘to be charged’.

Both the S- and P-stem end in *-a*, as is the case of trilateral defective verbs of patterns I (see §3.15, group b), V, and VI (see §3.5.5 and §3.6.5).

$tC^1aC^2C^3\partial C^4$ $y\partial tC^1aC^2C^3\partial C^4$ *tfaṛhad*, *y\partial tfaṛhad* ‘to have fun’

	S-Stem	P-Stem	Imperative
3SG.M	<i>tfaṛhəd</i>	<i>y\partial tfaṛhəd</i>	
3SG.F	<i>tfaṛhd\partial t</i>	<i>t\partial tfaṛhəd</i>	
2SG	<i>tfaṛh\partial dt</i>	<i>t\partial tfaṛhəd</i>	<i>tfaṛhəd</i>
1SG	<i>tfaṛh\partial dt</i>	<i>n\partial tfaṛhəd</i>	
3PL	<i>tfaṛhdu</i>	<i>y\partial tfaṛhdu</i>	
2PL	<i>tfaṛh\partial dtu</i>	<i>t\partial tfaṛhdu</i>	<i>tfaṛhdu</i>
1PL	<i>tfaṛh\partial dna</i>	<i>n\partial tfaṛhdu</i>	
	Participle		
SG.M	<i>m\partial tfaṛhəd</i>		
SG.F	<i>m\partial tfaṛhda</i>		
PL	<i>m\partial tfaṛhd\bar{i}n</i>		

$tC^1aC^2C^3a$, $y\partial tC^1aC^2C^3a$ *tšarža*, *y\partial tšarža* ‘to be charged’

	S-Stem	P-Stem
3SG.M	<i>tšarža</i>	<i>y\partial tšarža</i>
3SG.F	<i>tšarž\bar{a}t</i>	<i>t\partial tšarža</i>

2SG	<i>tšaržīt</i>	<i>tətšarža</i>
1SG	<i>tšaržīt</i>	<i>nətšarža</i>
3PL	<i>tšaržīw</i>	<i>yətšaržāw</i>
2PL	<i>tšaržītu</i>	<i>tətšaržāw</i>
1PL	<i>tšaržīna</i>	<i>nətšaržāw</i>

Participle

SG.M	<i>mətšarži</i>
SG.F	<i>mətšaržya</i>
PL	<i>mətšaržyīn</i>

3.15 The copula *yabda*

The verb *yabda* can be used either in his etymological meaning (OA \sqrt{bd} ? ‘to start’), and as a copula in KA,¹⁷⁷ e.g., *wāḥəd yətžāwaš wāḥəd yabda sākət* ‘one acts hungry, another one keeps silent’, *maṛṛāt tkallam-ni tabda qāšda š-ət-toilettes* ‘sometimes she calls me when she is sitting on the toilet’, *l-ksāwi ykūnu qayrawānīya*^{MSA} *mašnā-ha tabda l-xədma mtāš l-qurwān* ‘the clothes are from Kairouan. I mean, it is work done in Kairouan.’.

3.16 Future markers

The future markers attested to in KA are *məš/bəš* and *taw*. All of them are followed by the verb in the P-stem.

*məš/bəš*¹⁷⁸

məš (< *māši* ‘going’) is the most used future marker in KA, e.g., *hāk-əl-xyūt əlli məš nḥuṭṭ-hum fi bšaqd-hum* ‘these wires that I will put in each other’, *uğzur āš məš nwarrīw-*

¹⁷⁷ This copula is also used in Tunis Arabic (*yibdä*) (Singer 1984: 317) and other Tunisian, Northwestern and Fezzāni Libyan Arabic varieties (Benkato & Pereira 2021). According to Naddari (2023: 233), *yabda* is mostly used in young and urban middle-aged *nfāza* speakers, probably as an influence of Tunis Arabic. On the uses of the copula *yabda* in MagA, see Benkato & Pereira (2021)

¹⁷⁸ On the use of *məš* and *bəš* in KA, see also D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 267–269). On the expression of the future in TA, see Mion (2017). For the values expressed by the future markers in KA and other ways of expressing the future (use of the P-stem conjugation and the active participle forms), a more targeted study is needed.

k ‘look what I will show you’, *hāk-əl-xyūt əlli məš nḥuṭṭ-hum fi bṣaḍ-hum* ‘these wires that I will put in each other’, *əsmas-ni hā-ni dāxla ndawwəš hā-ni dāxla lə-toilettes hā-ni məš nurqud hā-ni məš nqūm* ‘listen, I am taking a shower, I am going to the bathroom, I am going to sleep, I am getting up’, *kull wāḥəd ʕand-u ḍūrūf-u yāna ʕarfū-ni məš nmīl l-* [female proper name] ‘everyone has his situation. They knew I would have been inclined to [female proper name]’.

However, sometimes it can be replaced by *bəš* which, according to Mion, is ‘un développement à partir de *māši* ‘allant’ qui finit pour se confondre avec’ (Mion 2017: 207) the final conjunction *bəš* (< **b-āš*) ‘to’.¹⁷⁹ Some occurrences of *bəš* are the following: *mā-nī-š bəš nṛā-k* ‘I will not see you’, *mā-nī-š bəš nbīf w nəšri mṣā-ha* ‘I will not sell and buy with her’, *āna rā-ni bəš nṣarṛəs ʕla rūḥ-i* ‘I will marry for myself, *āna kāka bəš nuṭlub fi* [female proper name] *nqūl-ha ḥarṛa* ‘At that point, I was about to call [female proper name] to say to her, ‘go’’, *mā-naṣṛəf-š wīn bəš təmši w āna* je dois rentrer *ḡudwa* ‘I do not know when she will go, and I have to come back tomorrow’.

Few occurrences also attest to the occasional intra-individual overlapping of *məš* and *bəš*, e.g., *qāl-l-i rā-ha təbki u tqūl ya nār-i wlād-i məš ymūt* ‘he told me, ‘she cries and says: ‘my darling, my children are dying’’, *tqūl-l-i ya nār-i mā-nnažžam-š naṣməl ḥatta šayy wlād-i bəš ymūtu* ‘she says, ‘my darling, I cannot do anything. My children are dying’.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, *məš* is more statistically used as a future marker than *bəš*.

taw

¹⁷⁹ In this regard, I would like to further investigate from a typological perspective whether the overlapping between the future marker *məš* and the final conjunction *bəš* might not only be due to phonetic proximity but also to a functional overlap between the future tense and the final clause. For the final conjunction *bəš* ‘in order to’, see § 5.4.2.2.

¹⁸⁰ Both future markers are widespread in other TA varieties (Singer 1984: 310–311; Naddari 2023: 234–235). In Nefza, *māš/miš* is the least frequently attested future marker, mostly used by rural middle-aged and old speakers and is defined as a ‘rural’ trait; whereas *bāš/biš* is more frequently used, especially by young and urban speakers, and is defined as a ‘modern’ trait (Naddari 2023: 234–235). In Douz, only *bāš* is attested to (Ritt-Benmioun 2014a: 400).

The future marker *taw*¹⁸¹ expresses the speaker's intention in the near future,¹⁸² e.g., *taw nabṣaṭ-l-ək taṣwīra b-əl-gda*, 'I am going to send you a beautiful picture', *taw nəmšīw ənšallāh taw nəmšīw* 'we are going to go out, God willing, we are going to go'.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ For the use of *tawwa/taw* as a temporal adverb, see § 5.1.1.4.

¹⁸² The same value is covered by *taww/(h)ātaww* in Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 235). *tāuwä/tāu* is also used as a future marker in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 640) and the prefix *(h)ā-*, and the forms *taww*, *hattāw*, *hattā* in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 401).

¹⁸³ In this last example, the use of the expression *ənšallāh* better shows the uncertainty of the result of this future action introduced by *taw*. On the contrary, the future marker *bəš* is not generally used with *ənšallāh*.

**IV. CHAPTER FOUR:
NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL
MORPHOLOGY**

This chapter deals with the categories of gender and number, describes the most common noun and adjective patterns found in my corpus, explains the expression of definiteness and indefiniteness, and discusses the forms and uses of pronouns and numerals in KA.

4.1 Noun

This section specifically deals with masculine and feminine gender, the number categories of singular, dual, and plural, biliteral, trilateral, quadrilateral, and quinquilateral, suffixed and prefixed patterns of nouns and adjectives, and diminutive and elative (comparative and superlative) degrees.

4.1.1 Gender

There are two grammatical categories of gender in KA: the masculine and the feminine. Masculine nouns and adjectives are unmarked, while most feminine counterparts are marked by the suffix *-a*, e.g., *tbīb* ‘doctor’ > *tbība* ‘doctor^{FEM}’, *xfīf* ‘light’ > *xfīfa* ‘light^{FEM}’. This final *-a* etymologically corresponds to OA *-at*, e.g., *ḥakma* (OA *ḥakma*) ‘wisdom’, *-ā?*, e.g., *nsa* (OA *nisā?*) ‘women’, and *-ā*, e.g., *ṣṣa* (OA *ṣṣā*) ‘stick’.

The marked feminine nouns and adjectives usually refer to:

- female people and animals, e.g., *xāla* ‘maternal aunt’, *kālba* ‘dog^{FEM}, scoundrel^{FEM}’;
- the unity as opposed to the whole, e.g., *tuffāḥa* ‘an apple’/*tuffāḥ* ‘apples’, *tamra* ‘a date’/*tamr* ‘dates’, *rummāna* ‘a pomegranate’/*rummān* ‘pomegranates’;
- plural of noun and nominalized adjective pattern $C^1aC^2C^2āC^3$, e.g., *ḥazzām* ‘hairdresser’ > *ḥazzāma*, *zazzār* ‘butcher’ > *zazzāra*.

4.1.1.1 Unmarked feminine nouns

Nevertheless, there also are nouns morphologically unmarked by the final *-a*, which are feminine for use. They usually belong to the following specific semantic categories:

- female persons, e.g., *umm* ‘mother’, *uxt* ‘sister’, *bānt* ‘daughter’;
- some male animals, e.g., *ṣaqrāb* ‘scorpion’, *tāws* ‘peacock’;
- some double body parts, e.g., *rʒal* ‘leg’, *sāq* ‘foot’, *ṣīn* ‘eye’, *yadd* ‘hand’;
- natural elements, e.g., *aṛḍ* ‘earth’, *mṭar* ‘rain’, *nār* ‘fire’, *rīḥ* ‘wind’, *šams* ‘sun’, *sma* ‘sky’;
- geographical terms, e.g., *blād* ‘town, country’, *qurwān* ‘Kairouan’, *tūnās* ‘Tunisia, Tunis’;

- other terms, e.g., *dār* ‘house’, *bīt* ‘room’, *kərš* ‘belly’ *nəfs* ‘breath, soul’, *rūh* ‘soul’.

As Ph. Marçais states, ‘tous ces noms n’étaient pas féminins dans la langue ancienne [OA] ou étaient de genre instable ; et tous ne sont pas féminins dans tous les parlers [arabes], ou y sont parfois de genre instable’ (Ph. Marçais 1977: 154).

On the other hand, some OA masculine nouns became feminine and marked by the final *-a* in KA, e.g., OA *qamar* > KA *gamra* ‘moon’.

Moreover, some morphologically unmarked feminine nouns of the OA have the feminine marker *-a* in KA, e.g., *səkkīna* (OA *sikkīn*) ‘knife’, *sənnā* (OA *sinn*) ‘tooth’, *ḡrūsa* (OA *ḡarūs*) ‘bride’, *kəbda* (OA *kabid*) ‘liver’.¹⁸⁴

4.1.1.2 Invariable adjectives

Some adjectives are gender and number indifferent in KA, which means that they do not agree with the noun they refer to. Among them, the adjectives *ḡarbi* ‘traditional, homemade (food)’ and *sūri* ‘modern, western, French (language, characters)’, e.g., *yaḡmlu ḡwīza ḡarbi* ‘they do traditional small things’, *dār sūri walla dār ḡarbi* ‘a modern or a traditional house’. Other invariable adjectives are the color adjectives borrowed from French, *gri* ‘grey’, *rose* ‘rose’, *orangé* ‘orange’, e.g., *ḡaḡsan kaḡbtīn ḡūma ḡāḡūka ər-rose* ‘the best two pieces are the pink ones’.

4.1.2 Number

The category of number in KA includes singular, dual, and plural. The singular form is generally unmarked,¹⁸⁵ the suffix *-īn* marks the dual and the plural can either be marked by a suffix (external plural) or by apophony (internal plural).

4.1.2.1 Dual

For the quantification of two entities, KA makes use of two ways of expression. The first one is the analytic construction composed by the numeral *zūz* ‘two’ followed by a plural noun, e.g., *zūz ktub* ‘two books’, *zūz stīlwāt* ‘two pens’. The second construction is

¹⁸⁴ The same nouns are also marked in Naddari (2023: 138); the nouns *kəbdā*, *ḡazūzā*, and *ḡarūsa* have the final *-a* also in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 446).

¹⁸⁵ The singular form should not be confused with the *nomen unitatis*, which is marked by a final *-a*

synthetic and corresponds to the annexation of the dual morpheme *-īn* (OA *-ayn*)¹⁸⁶ to the noun in the singular form.

The use of dual forms in KA is less productive than in OA. The dual number is not attested to in other grammatical categories, except for the noun. As expected for sedentary varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 116), it is only used in order to express:

- time measures, e.g., *dqīqtīn* ‘two minutes’, *nhārīn* ‘two days’, *šahrīn w nuṣṣ* ‘two months and a half’, *sāʕtīn* ‘two hours’, *ʕāmīn* ‘two years’, *maṣṣrīn* ‘two times’;
- numbers, e.g., *mītīn* ‘two hundred’, *alfīn* ‘two thousand’;
- the parental couple, i.e., *wāldīn*.

Moreover, a few other words of different semantic categories can be used in the dual, e.g., *kaʕbtīn* ‘two pieces’, *kālmīn* ‘two words’, *nawʕīn* ‘two types’, *wažhīn* ‘two faces’. Likewise, SP1, in Badreddine’s corpus, uses once the dual form of the word *škāra* ‘sack’ in the construct state, i.e., *kull līla yaṣdām-l-ī škārtīn qamḥ* (Badreddine 1977b: corpus I, 22) ‘every night he buries two sacks of wheat for me’.¹⁸⁷

When a noun in the dual form is followed by a suffix pronoun in the construct state, the *-n* of the dual morpheme falls, e.g., *wāldī-k* ‘your parents’.

4.1.2.2 Pseudo-dual

According to Blanc (1970: 45), the pseudo-dual consists of the use of the suffix *-īn* – as is the case of the regular dual – mainly to denote the plural of paired parts of the body, e.g., *īdīn* ‘hands’, *šāqīn* ‘legs’, *ʕīnīn* ‘eyes’. Regarding the noun *rukba* ‘knee’, the plural is *rkāyb* ‘knees’. The form *rukbtīn* can also be used to emphasize that one refers to ‘two knees together’.¹⁸⁸

When pseudo dual forms are followed by a suffix pronoun in the construct state, the *-n* of the dual morpheme falls as is the case of the plural suffix *-īn*, e.g., *īdī-h* ‘his hands’, *sāqī-k* ‘your legs’. When 1SG, 3SG.F, and 3PL suffix pronouns are attached to

¹⁸⁶ Due to the reduction of the diphthong **ay > ī*, the dual morpheme is *-īn*, as is also the case in Tunis (Singer 1984: 449) and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 131) Arabic, and in some young speakers of Nefza (Naddari 2023: 142).

¹⁸⁷ Suggesting the reactivation of dual forms in some words in TA, also Durand (2012: 74) cites the same example of the word *škārtīn* ‘two sacks’, along with *ḥallīn* ‘two solutions’ and *sababīn* ‘two reasons’.

¹⁸⁸ Tunis and Douz Arabic also have both the pseudo-dual and the internal plural forms *rukbtīn* (Singer 1984: 454)/*rkāyb* (Singer 1984: 228) and *rukbtīn/aṣkāb* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 219). Instead, Nefza Arabic only has the plural form *rkāyb* (Naddari 2023: 143).

the word, the final vowel *-ī-* becomes and *-ā-*, e.g., *sāqā-ya* ‘my legs’, *ʕīnā-ha* ‘her eye’ *īdā-hum* ‘their hands’.¹⁸⁹

Nevertheless, body pairs can also be expressed in the dual form preceded by the numeral *zūz* ‘two’,¹⁹⁰ e.g., *zūz īdīn* ‘two hands’, *zūz ʕāqīn* ‘two legs’. Regarding the dual of foreign origin units, this is only expressed by the analytic construction with *zūz*, e.g., *zūz kīlu* ‘two kilos’, *zūz mīṭru* ‘two meters’.

4.1.2.3 Plural

This section lists three types of external plurals (suffixes *-īn*, *-a*, *-āt*),¹⁹¹ the combination of internal and external plurals, and the category of collective nouns.

4.1.2.3.1 External plural in *-īn*

This is the most common external plural of nouns and adjectives in KA. It is found in:

- plural of active and passive participle forms of all patterns, e.g., *ʕāyšīn* (< *ʕāyāš* ‘living’), *maxdūmīn* (< *maxdūm* ‘done’), *hāḍḍrīn* (< *hāḍḍar* ‘ready, done’), *dāymīn* (< *dāyām* ‘staying’), *bārdīn* (< *bārād* ‘cold’);
- some plurals of the pattern $C^1aC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3$, e.g., *fallāḥīn* (< *fallāḥ* ‘farmer’);
- plural adjectives ending in *-i*, e.g., *bāhīn* (< *bāhi* ‘good’), *lāhīn* (< *lāhi* ‘busy’), *ʕīnīyīn* (< *ʕīnī* ‘Chinese’) >, *lībīyīn* (< *lībi* ‘Libyan’). However, plurals of *nisba* adjectives used as nouns often have an internal plural pattern $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3a$, e.g., *qarwi* ‘Kairouani’ > *qarāwa*;¹⁹²
- plurals of other adjectives included those with the suffix *-ān*, e.g., *farḥānīn* (< *farḥān* ‘happy’), *ʕīfānīn* (< *ʕīfānīn* ‘hungry’);
- diminutives forms of masculine adjectives, e.g., *sḡayyīn* (*sḡayyār* ‘little^{DIM}’), *klayyīn* (*klayyāb* ‘dog^{DIM}’);
- tens, e.g., *xamsīn* ‘fifty’, *ʕašrīn* ‘twenty’;
- masculine ordinal numbers, e.g., *ṛābʕīn* (*ṛābʕ* ‘fourth’), *xāmsīn* (*xāmas* ‘fifth’);
- the plural of *sna* ‘year’ > *snīn* and *āxar* ‘other’ > *uxrīn*.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ In Nefza Arabic, the 1SG suffix pronoun also implicates an exception because it conditions the final vowel *-ē* (< pseudo dual *-ēn*) becoming *-ay* (Naddari 2023: 144).

¹⁹⁰ The same is valid in Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 131).

¹⁹¹ For internal plural patterns, see §4.1.2.5.

¹⁹² For the plural nominal pattern $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3a$, see §4.1.2.5.

¹⁹³ The internal plural *awāxar* ‘final^{PL}’ is also attested to in my corpus.

4.1.2.3.2 External plural in *-a*:

The external plural in *-a* is mainly attested to in noun and nominalized adjective patterns $C^1aC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3$, e.g., *ḥaẓẓām* ‘hairstresser’ > *ḥaẓẓāma*, *zazzār* ‘butcher’ > *zazzāra*, *ṭabbāl* ‘drummer’ > *ṭabbāla*, *mallāx* ‘shoe repairer’ > *mallāxa*, *naḥḥās* ‘coppersmith’ > *naḥḥāsa*, *baṭṭāl* ‘unemployed’ > *baṭṭāla*. However, both *-a* and *-īn* plurals are possible for this pattern, e.g., *naḥḥāsīn* ‘coppersmiths’, though the *-a* plural form is preferred for most of them.¹⁹⁴

4.1.2.3.3 External plural in *-āt*:

The external plural suffix *-āt* is only used with nouns and, specifically, in:

- nouns referring to female persons, e.g., *xwāt* (< *uxt* ‘sister’), *bnāt* (< *bant* ‘daughter’), *ummāt* (< *umm* ‘mother’);
- singular nouns ending in *-a*, e.g., *ṭrayyāt* (< *ṭrayya* ‘chandelier’), *ḥāẓāt* (< *ḥāza* ‘thing’), *ḥkāyāt* (< *ḥkāya* ‘story’), *maṣṣāt* (< *maṣṣa* ‘time’), *sāḥāt* (< *sāḥa* ‘hour’);
- nouns of C^1C^2a patterns, also with the additional infix *-w-* or *-y-*¹⁹⁵, e.g., *kṛwāt* (< *kṛa* ‘rent’), *dwāyāt* (< *dwa* ‘medicine’);
- loanwords, e.g., *sbīṭārāt* (< *sbīṭār* ‘hospital’), *tāksīyāt* (< *tāksi* ‘taxi’), *stīlwāt* (< *stīlu* ‘pen’ < FR *stylo*), *lwāẓāt* (< *lwāẓ* ‘shared taxi’ < FR *louage*), *kādwāt* (< *kādu* ‘gift’ < FR *cadeau*), *tālīfūnāt* (< *tālīfūn* ‘call, phone’ < FR *téléphone*), *rīdwāt* (< *rīdu* ‘curtain’ < FR *rideau*), *lūnātāt* (< *lūnāt* ‘glasses’ < FR *lunettes*), *āpālāt* (*āpāl* ‘call’ < FR *appel*);
- feminine diminutive forms of nouns, *bnayyāt* (< *bnayya* ‘girl^{DIM}’), *uxayyāt* (< *uxayya* ‘sister^{DIM}’);
- other nouns, e.g., *tabdīlāt* (< *tabdīl* ‘change’), *ṣdāqāt* (< *ṣdāq* ‘marriage contract’), *ṭhūrāt* (< *ṭhūr* ‘circumcision’), *nhārāt* (< *nhār* ‘day’);
- decades, e.g., *sattīnāt* ‘sixties’ (< *sattīn* ‘sixty’).

4.1.2.3.4 Combined plural

¹⁹⁴ In Nefza Arabic, both *-a* and *-īn* plurals are also possible (Naddari 2023: 144).

¹⁹⁵ A glide is inserted before the morpheme *-āt*. This glide is *-w-* if the singular word ends in *-u*, and *-y-* if the singular word ends in *-i*.

A plural is defined as ‘combined’ when it is made up of the internal plural and the plural morpheme *-āt*,¹⁹⁶ e.g., *yūm* ‘day’ > *ayyām* + *āt* > *ayyāmāt*, *šqaf* ‘ceiling’ > *šqūf* + *āt* > *šqūfāt*.

4.1.2.3.5 Uncountable nouns vs. single unit

In order to express uncountable nouns and collective groups, KA makes use of uncountable nouns. Some examples are the words *duxxān* ‘tobacco’, *ḥlīb* ‘milk’, *lḥam* ‘meat’, *xubz* ‘bread’, *zīt* ‘oil’, *ʕsal* ‘honey’. Examples of collective groups’ nouns are *xūx* ‘peaches’, *fəlfəl* ‘peppers’, *bṣal* ‘onions’, *ʕdam* ‘eggs’.

If one wants to express a single unit (*nomen unitatis*) of an uncountable noun, a suffix *-a* is added to the uncountable noun (see 4.1.1), e.g., *tuffāḥ* > *tuffāḥa* ‘an apple’, *tamr* > *tamra* ‘a date’, *rummān* > *rummāna* ‘a pomegranate’.

An alternative construction to express a single unit of a collective noun is made of the word *kaʕba* ‘piece’, followed by the indefinite collective noun, e.g., *kaʕba ṭābūna* ‘(lit.) a piece of *ṭābūna*¹⁹⁷ > a *ṭābūna*’, *kaʕba maqrūd* ‘(lit.) a piece of makrout¹⁹⁸ > a makrout’, *kaʕba bīskwīt* ‘(lit.) a piece of cookie > a cookie’.

4.1.2.4 Singular Patterns

This section lists the most recurring singular patterns of nouns and adjectives found in my corpus. Each pattern is classified from a synchronic point of view and is exemplified by word samples with translations.

Below are biliteral and trilateral roots, suffixes and prefixes patterns, quadrilateral, and quinquilateral roots. Nouns and adjectives of geminated and weak roots are included in each pattern. They are explicitly mentioned only if their pattern is different from that of regular roots.

¹⁹⁶ From a diachronic point of view, Dallaji & Gabsi (2016: 190) state that the use of the combined plural in Tunis Arabic is a more innovative trait that has become more frequent over the past few decades. This phenomenon is also described in Tunis (Singer 1984: 463) and Douz Arabic, where it is called *pluralis pluralis* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 219).

¹⁹⁷ *ṭābūna* is an artisanal Tunisian bread, baked on the walls of a traditional terracotta oven.

¹⁹⁸ Makrout is a typical Kairouani cookie.

4.1.2.4.1 Biliteral

The few biliteral nouns in KA are *xu* ‘brother’, *īd* ‘hand’, *bu* ‘father’, *ma* ‘water’. No biliteral adjectives have been identified. The OA *dam* ‘blood’, *fam* ‘mouth’, *yad* ‘hand’ have geminated the final consonants. i.e., *damm*, *famm*, *yadd*.¹⁹⁹

4.1.2.4.2 Triliteral

$C^1aC^2C^3/C^1aC^2C^3a$

The pattern $C^1aC^2C^3$ mostly corresponds to the equivalent OA $C^1aC^2C^3$, e.g., *farq* ‘difference’, *farš* ‘bed’, *nafs* ‘same’, *naqš* ‘engraving’, *nawf* ‘type’, *qalb* ‘heart’, *qamḥ* ‘wheat’, *rabḥ* ‘God’, *šayy* ‘thing’, *waqt* ‘time’, *xatt* ‘calligraphy’, *šahd* ‘era, period’, *šamm* ‘paternal uncle’, *wažh* ‘face’.

The pattern $C^1aC^2C^3a$ mostly corresponds to the OA $C^1aC^2C^3a$. It is often a *nomen unitatis* or a *nomen vicis* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 227), e.g., *fažša* ‘fear’, *ḥafla* ‘party, celebration’, *ḥamla* ‘cuddle’, *kašba* ‘piece’, *labsa* ‘dress’, *marra* ‘time’, *mašda* ‘stomach’, *qahwa* ‘café, coffee’, *qašša* ‘piece’, *zanqa* ‘narrow street’, *xarža* ‘hanging out’. It also includes the OA $C^1aC^2C^3ā?$, used for feminine forms of adjectives of physical impairment and colors, e.g., *zarqa* ‘blue^{FEM}’, *xadra* ‘green^{FEM}’, *kaḥla* ‘black^{FEM}’, *tarša* ‘deaf^{FEM}’, *šarža* ‘lame^{FEM}’. An example of defective root feminine adjective is *šamyā* ‘blind^{FEM}’.

$C^1aC^2C^3/C^1aC^2C^3a$

The pattern $C^1aC^2C^3$ mostly corresponds to the OA $C^1aC^2C^3$, e.g., *bant* ‘daughter, girl’, *kariš* ‘belly, bump’, *mālḥ* ‘salt’, *malk* ‘owner’, *wald* ‘son, boy’, *žadd* ‘grandfather’, *žald* ‘leather’, *šars* ‘wedding’, *šazz* ‘love, affection’, *wadd* ‘dear’.

The pattern $C^1aC^2C^3a$ mostly corresponds to the OA $C^1aC^2C^3a$, e.g., *fakra* ‘idea’, *fatra* ‘period (of time)’, *ḥakma* ‘wisdom’, *ḥanna* ‘henna’, *kalma* ‘word’, *kaswa* ‘suit’, *xadma* ‘work’, *žabba* ‘jibba’, *zabda* ‘butter’, *zabla* ‘rubbish’, *žāšba* ‘pipe’.

$C^1uC^2C^3/C^1uC^2C^3a$

The pattern $C^1uC^2C^3$ corresponds to OA $C^1uC^2C^3$, e.g., *ḥubb* ‘love’, *gušš* ‘anger’, *muxx* ‘brain, mind’, *nušš* (OA *nišf*) ‘half’, *xubz* ‘bread’.

The pattern $C^1uC^2C^3a$ corresponds to OA $C^1uC^2C^3a$, e.g., *gudwa* ‘tomorrow’, *mudda* ‘period (of time)’, *quwwa* ‘strenght’, *rukba* ‘knee’, *žumša* ‘week’.

¹⁹⁹ The same gemination occurs in Tunis Arabic Singer (1984: 497). Regarding the word ‘hand’, it generally is *yadd* but can also be pronounced as *īd*, especially in the compound reflexive pronoun *b-īd-i* ‘myself’.

C¹C²vC³

The following three patterns are considered typical of sedentary TA (W. Marçais 1950: 210), and they result from the shift of the OA C¹vC²(v)C³ forms to C¹C²vC³, e.g., *bḥar* (OA *baḥar*) ‘sea’, *ṣḥan* (OA *ṣaḥn*) ‘plate’.

C¹C²aC³

bḥar ‘sea’, *bṣal* ‘onions’, *dḥab* ‘gold’, *lḥam* ‘meat’, *sbab* ‘cause, reason’, *ṣḥan* ‘plate, dish’, *šḥar* ‘month’, *ṣṭah* ‘roof’, *šṭar* ‘half’, *šṣar* ‘hair’, *zḥar* ‘rose’.

C¹C²əC³

ḥnəb ‘grapes’, *ržəl* ‘leg’.

C¹C²uC³

tful ‘boy’, *ḥmur* ‘age’, *ṣbuḥ* ‘finger’.

C¹v̄C³a

The following three patterns include many trilateral nouns with a hollow root. Some OA nouns CvCa have been integrated into this pattern by the lengthening of the short vowel, e.g., *lūga* (OA *luḡa*) ‘language’, *kūra* (OA *kura*) ‘ball’, *ṣīfa* (OA *ṣifa*) ‘characteristic’, *tīqa* (OA *tīqa*) ‘trust’.

C¹āC³/C¹āC³a

This pattern collects the OA C¹a?C³, e.g., *fār* ‘mouse’, *rās* ‘head’, *rāy* ‘opinion’, and C¹āC³(a), e.g., *bāb* ‘door’, *dār* ‘home’, *ḥāl* ‘condition, situation’, *ḥāža* ‘thing’, *kās* ‘glass’, *nār* ‘fire’, *nās* ‘people’, *ṣāla* ‘living room, hall’, *sāḥa* ‘hour’, *xāl* ‘maternal uncle’, *ṣām* ‘year’. Some loanwords have also been accommodated in this pattern, e.g., *ḥāḥa* ‘dad’, *māma* ‘mum’.

C¹īC³/C¹īC³a

The long vowel *ī* corresponds to the OA *ī*, e.g., *qīma* ‘value’, *rīḥ* ‘wind’, or the OA *i?*, e.g., *bīr* ‘well’, or is the result of the etymological diphthong **ay*, e.g., *bīt* ‘room’, *līla* ‘night’, *ṣīf* ‘summer’, *šīx* ‘Shaykh’, *xīr* ‘good’, *xīṭ* ‘thread’, *zīt* ‘oil’, *ḥīn* ‘eye’.

C¹ūC³/C¹ūC³a

The long vowel *ū* etymologically corresponds to OA *ū*, e.g., *ḥūt* ‘fish’, *kūša* ‘bakery’, *nūr* ‘light’, *ṣūf* ‘wool’, *sūq* ‘market’, *tūm* ‘garlic’, or is the monophthongization result of the ancient diphthong **aw*, e.g., *dūra* ‘walk’, *lūḥ* ‘wood’, *lūn* ‘color’, *mūt* ‘death’, *nūm* ‘sleep’, *xūx* ‘peach’, *yūm* ‘day’. Other examples are *ḥūma* ‘neighborhood’, *rūz* ‘rice’.

C¹C²a

This pattern usually collects etymological defective or final *hamza* nouns, e.g., *mra* ‘women’, *msa* ‘night’, *šta* ‘winter’, *šša* ‘dinner’. The noun *sna* ‘year’ corresponds to the OA *sana*, and the noun *mra* ‘women’ corresponds to the OA *(al-)marʔa*.

C¹āC²əC³/C¹āC²C³a

These patterns are very common in KA.

C¹āC²əC³ includes the active participle of the pattern I, e.g., *qāʕad* ‘staying’, *xārəž* ‘going out’, and the masculine ordinal numbers, e.g., *xāməs* ‘fifth’, *sādəs* ‘sixth’. Some adjectives and nouns are also formed according to this pattern, e.g., *bārəh* ‘yesterday’, *kāməl* ‘complete, entire’, *gāməq* ‘dark’, *šāhəb* ‘friend’, *šəkəl* ‘shape, pattern’, *šārəf* ‘street’, *ʕāžəl* ‘man’, *žāməʕ* ‘mosque’. Geminate roots have the pattern C¹āC²C³, e.g., *hārʕ* ‘spicy’. Hollow roots have the pattern C¹āyC³, e.g., *dāyax* ‘stunned’, *sāyəh* ‘tourist’, *xāyʕ* ‘scared’, *zāyər* ‘tourist’. For C¹C²C³(y) roots, the pattern is C¹āC²i, e.g., *bāhi* ‘good’, *ʕādi* ‘normal’, *gāli* ‘expensive’, *šāfi* ‘clean’. It is also applied to names of towns, e.g., *nābəl* ‘Nabeaul’.

C¹āC²C³a is the feminine counterpart of the pattern C¹āC²əC³. It is also used for active participle of pattern I and ordinal numbers. Some examples are *bāhya* ‘good^{FEM}’, *dāʕfa* ‘spending^{FEM}’, *dāxla* ‘coming^{FEM} in’, *dāyma* ‘staying^{FEM}’, *fāhma* ‘understanding^{FEM}’, *fākha* ‘nuts’, *Fāʕma* ‘Fatima’, *hāḍra* ‘preparing^{FEM}’, *lābsa* ‘wearing’, *lālla* ‘Madame’, *qāyla* ‘afternoon’, *qāʕda* ‘staying^{FEM}’, *sāhla* ‘easy^{FEM}’, *tānya* ‘second^{FEM}’, *tāʕba* ‘tired^{FEM}’, *xāyfa* ‘scared^{FEM}’, *žāyba* ‘bringing^{FEM}’, *ʕāyla* ‘family’. This pattern is also used with loanwords, e.g., *ṭāwla* ‘table’.

C¹ūC²əC³

The only noun found in my corpus is *tūnəs* ‘Tunis, Tunisia’.

C¹ūC²C³u

This pattern has been found only in the loanwords *nūmʕu* ‘number’, *mīʕru* ‘meter’ (< IT *metro*).

C¹C²āC³/C¹C²āC³a

This is a very common nominal pattern in KA and corresponds to the OA C¹vC²āC³(a), e.g., *blād* ‘town, country’, *blāša* ‘place’, *hkāya* ‘story’, *hšān* ‘horse’, *klām* ‘talk’, *ktāb* ‘book’, *nhār* ‘day’, *qṛāya* ‘studies’, *ʕxām* ‘marble’, *šbāh* ‘morning’, *šdāq* ‘marriage contract’, *šlāʕa* ‘salad’, *sxāna* ‘heat, fever’, *šyām* ‘fast’, *wlāda* ‘birth’, *žmāsa* ‘group’. Some loanwords are also accommodated on this pattern, e.g., *ʕrāz* (< FR *fraise*) ‘strawberries’, *wkāy* (< EN) ‘OK’.

C¹C²ʕC³/C¹C²ʕC³a

It mostly corresponds to OA $C^1C^2\bar{r}C^3(a)$, e.g., *bnīn* ‘tasty’, *bsīsa* ‘bsisa’²⁰⁰, *bīn* ‘thick’, *bšīd* ‘far’, *dšīf* ‘thin, weak’, *hlīb* ‘milk’, *ḥqīqa* ‘truth’, *kbīra* ‘big, old’^{FEM}, *klīm* ‘type of carpet’, *ktība* ‘inscription’, *mrīd* ‘sick’, *nđīf* ‘clean’, *qdīm* ‘old, ancient’, *qlīl* ‘little’, *qrīb* ‘near’, *rībīf* ‘spring’, *rxīs* ‘cheap’, *šgīr* ‘small, young’, *šhīh* ‘right’, *smīd* ‘semolina’, *tbīb* ‘doctor’, *twīl* ‘long, tall’, *wšīf* ‘black (skin color)’, *wīya* ‘application ceremony of henna’, *xīf* ‘light’, *xrīf* ‘autumn’, *ždīd* ‘new’, *šīr* ‘juice’, *šīya* ‘afternoon’, *šwīna* ‘plums’. The loanword *wīl* ‘hotel’ is included in this pattern.

$C^1C^2\bar{r}C^3u$

This pattern is attested to in the loanword *stīlu* (< FR *stylo*) ‘pen’.²⁰¹

$C^1C^2\bar{u}C^3/C^1C^2\bar{u}C^3a$

This pattern mostly corresponds to the OA $C^1vC^2\bar{u}C^3(a)$, e.g., *flūs* ‘money’, *ftūr* ‘lunch, breakfast’, *sxūn* ‘hot’, *thūr* ‘circumcision’, *šrūs* ‘groom’, *šrūsa* ‘bride’. An example of a loanword is *wrūba* ‘Europe’.

$C^1uC^2C^2aC^3$

The only pattern found in my corpus is *sukkar* ‘sugar’.²⁰²

$C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3$

Most of the nouns in this pattern correspond to the OA $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3(a)$. They usually refer to professions, and tools, e.g., *barrād* ‘teakettle’, *baṭṭāl* ‘unemployed’, *dallāf* ‘watermelons’, *duxxān* ‘smoking’, *fallāḥ* ‘farmer’, *ḥammām* ‘hammam’, *ḥazzām* ‘hairdresser’, *mallāx* ‘shoe repairer’, *naḥḥās* ‘coppersmith’, *rummān* ‘pomegranates’, *šabbāt* ‘pair of shoes’, *šabbāk* ‘window’, *ṭabbāl* ‘drummer’, *tuffāḥ* ‘apples’, *zazzār* ‘butcher’.

$C^1vC^2C^2\bar{r}C^3/C^1vC^2C^2\bar{r}C^3a$

baṭṭīx ‘melon’, *sakkīna* ‘knife’.

$C^1aC^2C^2\bar{u}C^3/C^1aC^2C^2\bar{u}C^3a$

The pattern $C^1aC^2C^2\bar{u}C^3$ is mainly used in animal names, e.g., *fallūš* ‘lamb’, *babbūš* ‘snails’, *ḥallūf* ‘pig’. Other nouns found in my corpus are *dabbūza* ‘bottle’ and *gaššūš* ‘irascible’.

²⁰⁰ *bsīsa* is a cream of shaken grains and nuts mixed with milk and oil.

²⁰¹ The same is valid for Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 153–154).

²⁰² *sukkar* is also used in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 231), while it is *sukkur* in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 154). Naddari (Naddari 2023: 154) reminds us that, according to Ph. Marçais (1977: 105), the patterns $C^1vC^2C^2vC^3$ are rare in MagA.

C¹āC²īC³a

The only noun found is the Italian loanword *fārīna* (< IT *farina*) ‘flour’.

C¹āC²ūC³/C¹āC²ūC³a

gāzūz ‘soft drinks’, *hānūt* ‘shop’, *māfūn* ‘dishes’, *ṭābūna* ‘oven, typical bread’.

C¹īC²āC³

dīnār ‘dinar’, *šīṭān* ‘devil’.

C¹īC²ūC³

zītūn ‘olives’.

C¹ūC²īC³a

The only word found is the Italian loanword *kūžīna* (< IT *cucina*) ‘kitchen’.

4.1.2.4.3 Quadriliteral

C¹ṽC²C³ṽC⁴

This pattern includes nouns with four different consonants, e.g., *ṣaqṛəb* ‘scorpion’, or reduplicated C¹ and C² roots, e.g., *fəlfəl* ‘peppers (vegetables), pepper (spice)’, *baṛbaṛ* ‘Berber’.

C¹aC²C³C⁴a

handsa ‘engineering’, *kaṛḥba* ‘car’, *tafza* ‘television’, *ṭanžra* ‘pot’.

C¹uC²C³C⁴i

kusksi ‘couscous’.

C¹ṽC²C³āC⁴/C¹ṽC²C³āC⁴a

ğarbāl ‘sieve’, *kaskās* ‘pot for cooking the couscous’, *sərwāl* ‘pants’, *šəšxān* ‘traditional of gold’, *rumḍān* ‘Ramadan’, *qurwān* ‘Kairouan’.

C¹ṽC²C³īC⁴/C¹ṽC²C³īC⁴a

fuṛšīta ‘fork’, *məskīn* ‘pitiful, poor’.

C¹ṽC²C³ūC⁴/C¹ṽC²C³ūC⁴a

fakrūn ‘turtle’, *ḥaṛbūša* ‘pills’, *šakšūka* ‘Tunisian dish’, *qanfūd* ‘hedgehog’, *šaṛdūk* ‘rooster’, *ṣaṣfūr* ‘bird’, *kaṛmūš* ‘figs’.

4.1.2.4.4 Quinquiliteral roots

All the nouns found are *kaskrūt* (< FR *casse-croûte*) ‘sandwich’, *maʕdnūs* ‘parsley’, *buṛdgān* ‘oranges’, *baṛnūs* ‘burnous’²⁰³.

4.1.2.4.5 Prefixed *m-*²⁰⁴

Prefixed nouns in *m-* reported below mainly refer to places and tools.

mvC¹C²vC³

masʕad ‘mosque’, *maḥaf* ‘museum’, *mənbār* ‘pulpit’, *muškəl* ‘problem’.

mvC¹C²C³a

maḍṛsa ‘school’, *maḥba* ‘library’. An example of etymological C¹ ? is the noun *mākla* ‘food’. The geminate root has the pattern *mC¹aC²C³a*, e.g., *mḥaṭṭa* ‘station’.

mC¹aC²C³a

mḡarfa ‘spoon’.

maC¹C²ūC³(a)

This pattern is also used for the passive participles of pattern I. Among the nouns and adjectives found in the corpus, there are *mabrūk* ‘congratulations’, *maḍṛūb* ‘hit’, *maʕẓūʕa* ‘scared^{FEM}’, *maktūb* ‘written’, *maqrūd* ‘makrout’, *maqrūna* ‘noodles’, *maṛḡūm* ‘type of carpet’, *mašhūra* ‘famous^{FEM}’, *maṣṛūf* ‘expense’, *maḥūn* ‘powdered’, *mawẓūʕa* ‘suffering’, *maxdūm* ‘worked’, *maṣṛūf* ‘known’, *maʕẓūn* ‘jam’.

mvC¹C²āC³(a)

məḥṛāb ‘the mosque’s niche indicating the direction of Mecca’, *məzyān* ‘beautiful’, *mungāla* ‘watch’, *məftāḥ* ‘key’.

4.1.2.4.6 Prefixed *t-*

The nominal pattern with the prefix *t-* is *taC¹C²ṛC³(a)* and is the verbal noun of pattern II, e.g., *tanqīla* ‘copy’, *taṛmīm* ‘renovation’, *taṣwīra* ‘picture’, *taxṭīl* ‘electrocardiogram’.

4.1.2.4.7 Prefixed adjectives *a-*

The adjective patterns prefixed in *a-* correspond to the OA *aC¹C²aC³*, used to express the relative (see §4.1.2.6), colors, and physical impairment, e.g., *akḥal* ‘black’, *aqdam* ‘more/most ancient’, *aṣfar* ‘yellow’, *aṣṣab* ‘more/most difficult’, *aṭraṣ* ‘deaf’, *axḍar*

²⁰³ ‘Burnous’ is a long cloak with a pointed hood, traditionally worn by men in North Africa.

²⁰⁴ For active and passive participle forms of pattern I and derived verbs with trilateral or quadrilateral root, see Chapter III.

‘green’, *azraq* ‘blue’, *ažwad* ‘thinner/thinnest’, *ašrəž* ‘lame’. An example of defective root is *ašma* ‘blind’.

4.1.2.4.8 Suffix *-i*

The suffix *-i* has been found in nouns and adjectives (mostly *nisba*), e.g., *biṛri* ‘wild’, *kuṛsi* ‘chair’, *kusksi* ‘couscous’, *mašwi* ‘grilled’, *qaṛwi* ‘Kairouani’, *sūri* ‘modern’, *taqlīdi* ‘traditional’, *tūnsi* ‘Tunisian’, *šarbi* ‘Arabic’.

4.1.2.4.9 Suffix *-īya*

This suffix either represents the feminine counterpart of *-i*, e.g., *šādīya* ‘normal^{FEM}’, *šarbiya* ‘Arabic^{FEM}’, *šfāqsīya* ‘Sfaxi^{FEM}’, *tūnsīya* ‘Tunisian^{FEM}’, or is used in nouns or nominalized adjectives, e.g., *kaṛwīya* ‘caraway’, *nawšīya* ‘typology’, *šāmīya* ‘sweet almond paste’, *zarbiya* ‘carpet’.

4.1.2.4.10 Suffix *-ān*

faṛhān ‘happy’, *žīšān* ‘hungry’, *šaryān* ‘naked’, *šatšān* ‘thirsty’. The feminine is *-āna*, e.g., *faṛhāna* ‘happy^{FEM}’, *žīšāna* ‘hungry^{FEM}’.

4.1.2.4.11 Suffix *-āni*

This suffix *-āni* is attested to in adjectives, e.g., *baṛṛāni* ‘external’, *flāni* ‘so-and-so’, *l-axrāni* ‘the last one’, *l-ūlāni* ‘the first one’. The feminine suffix is *-ānīya*, e.g., *baṛṛānīya* ‘external^{FEM}’, *l-axrānīya* ‘the last one^{FEM}’, *l-ūlānīya* ‘the first one^{FEM}’.

4.1.2.4.12 Suffix *-ži*

This suffix comes from the Turkish *-žī* and is usually used to form job titles, e.g., *kaftāži* ‘kefteji’²⁰⁵, *bankāži* ‘bank clerk’, *buštāži* ‘postman’, *qahwāži* ‘café waiter’, *frīpāži* (< FR *fripe*) ‘second-hand clothing store clerk’.

4.1.2.5 Internal plural patterns

The internal plurals are characterized by the insertion of short or long vowels between the root’s consonants. The most used patterns in KA are shown below.

C¹VC³

This pattern mainly includes etymological C² ʔ, e.g., *ṛūs* (< *ṛās* ‘head’).

C¹C²a

²⁰⁵ *Kaftāži* is a typical dish from Kairouan. It is served with bread, and it mainly consists of peppers, tomatoes, potatoes, eggs and fried.

This pattern is attested to for defective roots plural, e.g., *nsa* (< *mra* ‘women’).

C¹C²aC³

xdam ‘works’ (< *xadma* ‘work’), *dwal* (< *dawla* ‘state’), *hwam* (< *hūma* ‘neighbor’), *ṣrab* (< *ṣarbi* ‘Arabic’).²⁰⁶

C¹C²əC³

This pattern includes defective root adjectives (C¹C²i) with the singular form C¹C²iC³, e.g., *ṣmi* (< *aṣma* ‘blind’).

C¹C²uC³

This plural pattern includes adjectives with the singular form C¹C²iC³, e.g., *qdum* (< *qdīm* ‘old’), *ždud* (< *ždīd* ‘new’), and aC¹C²vC³, e.g., *byuḍ* (< *abyaḍ* ‘white’), *kḥul* (< *akḥal* ‘black’), *ṭruš* (< *aṭraš* ‘deaf’), *xḍur* (< *axḍar* ‘green’), *zruq* (< *azraq* ‘blue’), *ṣruž* (< *aṣraž* ‘lame’)²⁰⁷. Some plural nouns are *šhur* (< *šhar* ‘month’), *ktub* (< *ktāb* ‘book’).

C¹C²āC³(a)

Among the singular nominal and adjective patterns forming the plural C¹C²āC³(a), there are C¹əC²C³ and C¹āC²əC³, e.g., *bnāt* (< *bənt* ‘daughter’), *dyār* (< *dār* ‘house’), *klāb* (< *kəlb* ‘dog’), *ṣḥāl* (< *ṣḥāl* ‘man’), *ṣbād* (< *ṣabd* ‘person’). An example of a loanword is *ṣwāb* (< *ṣūba* ‘dress’ < FR *robe*). Moreover, this pattern is frequent for plural adjectives of C¹C²v̄C³, e.g., *bṣād* (< *bṣīd* ‘far’), *kḥār* (< *kbār* ‘big, old’), *qrāb* (< *qrīb* ‘near’), *sḡār* (< *sḡīr* ‘small, young’), *sxān* (< *sxūn* ‘hot’), *xṣāf* (< *xṣīf* ‘light’). The plural pattern C¹C²āC³a is also used for nouns *nisba*-nouns and adjectives, e.g., *qarwi* (< *qarāwa* ‘Kairouani’).

C¹C²ūC³²⁰⁸

This pattern corresponds to the OA C¹uC²ūC³ and is very used in KA. The singular counterparts mostly are C¹vC²C³ and the equivalent geminated C¹vC²C³ and hollow C¹v̄C³, e.g., *byūt* (< *bīt* ‘room’), *ḍyūf* (< *ḍīf* ‘guest’), *flūs* ‘money’, *qlūb* (< *qalb* ‘heart,

²⁰⁶According to Singer (1984: 576), this plural pattern is rare in Tunis.

²⁰⁷ The equivalent plural pattern of aC¹C²vC³ adjectives in Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties is C¹uC²C³ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 250; Naddari 2023: 160). Nevertheless, the pattern C¹C²uC³ is also used in Nefza, and is described as a modern variant (Naddari 2023: 160).

²⁰⁸ The feminine pattern C¹C²ūC³a is not attested in my corpus. Instead, it is described in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 232–233), Nefza (Naddari 2023: 161), and Tunis Arabic. However, according to Singer (1984: 586) it is not very frequent in Tunis Arabic.

inner part'), *wžūh* (< *wažh* 'face'), *xyūt* (< *xīt* 'threads'), *ždūd* (< *žadd* 'grandfather'), *fyūn* (< *fin* 'eye').

C¹uC²C²āC³

This is the plural pattern of the singular form C¹uC²C²āC³, e.g., *zuwwār* (< *zāyər* 'tourist').

C¹C²āyC³

This plural pattern corresponds to the OA C¹aC²ā?iC³ and is often formed from the singular patterns C¹C²ṽC³a and C¹vC²C³a, e.g., *blāyṣ* (< *blāṣa* 'place'), *qtāyṣ* (< *qaṣa* 'piece'), *ḥwāyž* (< *ḥāža* 'thing'), *mlāyn* (< *malyūn* 'million'), *blāyn* (*bālyūn* 'billion').

C¹C²āC³i

kṛāsi (< *kursi* 'chair'), *ksāwi* 'suits, dress', *mmāli* (< *mūla* 'owner'). In this second example, the etymological C² *w* has been assimilated to the labial C¹ *m*: **mwāli* > *mmāli*.

CCāCvC

ṣwābaṣ (< *ṣbuṣ* 'finger'), *šbābək* (< *šabbāk* 'window')²⁰⁹, *dbābəz* (< *dabbūza* 'bottle').

This pattern includes the plural of quadrilateral nouns C¹aC²C³C⁴a, e.g., *kṛāḥəb* (< *karḥba* 'car'), *ṭnāžəṛ* (< *ṭanzṛa* 'pot'), *tlāfəz* (< *talfza* 'television').

4.1.2.5.1 Prefixed

aC¹C²āC³

This plural pattern is very common in KA, and it corresponds to the OA ?aC¹C²āC³, e.g., *afrāḥ* (< *farḥ* 'celebration'), *alwān* (< *lūn* 'color'), *awlād* (< *wlad* 'boy'), *anwāṣ* (< *nawṣ* 'type'), *ayyām* (< *yōm* 'day'), *aflām* 'films' (< *film* 'film'), *aḥwāl* (< *ḥāl* 'condition, situation'), *aṣmār* (*ṣmur* 'age'), *amrād* (< *mṛīd* 'sick'). The prefixed *a* of the pattern is always audible in combination with a definite article, but not always in the initial position (Singer 1984: 581–582). When the *a* is not audible, the pattern becomes C¹C²āC³, e.g., *ṣḥāb* (< *ṣāḥəb* 'friend') (see § 4.1.2.5).

4.1.2.5.2 Suffixed

C¹vC²C³a

This plural pattern is formed from singular pattern C¹C²ṛC³, e.g., *marḍa* (< *mṛīd* 'sick'), *ṭubba* (< *ṭbīb* 'doctor'). It is used in loanwords as well, e.g., *wəṭla* (< *wṭīl* 'hotel').

C¹C²āC³C⁴a

²⁰⁹ The singular pattern CvCCṽC has the plural pattern CCāCvC in Maghrebi sedentary-type varieties. Its counterpart in Bedouin-type MagA is CCāCīC (Ph. Marçais 1977: 123).

There are only two occurrences of this plural pattern in my corpus, which come from *nisba*-nouns and adjectives, i.e., *twānsa* (< *tūnsi* ‘Tunisian’), *mṣārwa* (< ‘Egyptians’).

C¹C²āC³a

This pattern is used for the plural of the *nisba*-nouns and adjectives with defective roots, e.g., *qrāwa* (< *qarwi* ‘inhabitant of Kairouan’).

C¹iC²C³ān

The nouns found in my corpus are hollow roots. They have the plural pattern C¹iC²C³ān, and the singular pattern C¹vC³, e.g., *bībān* (< *bāb* ‘door’), *žīrān* (< *žār* ‘neighbor’), *kīsān* (< *kās* ‘glass’), *kīrān* (< *kār* ‘bus’).

4.1.2.6 Diminutive

My corpus includes diminutive forms²¹⁰ of nouns and adjectives. The patterns found are:

C¹C²ayyāC³/C¹C²ayyC³a

This is the most common pattern used in KA for trilateral root diminutives in both nouns and adjectives of different nominal patterns. The masculine pattern is C¹C²ayyāC³, and the feminine is C¹C²ayyC³a, and they are formed only from masculine nouns and adjectives (Singer 1984: 482–483), e.g., *bnayya* (< *bānt* ‘girl, daughter’), *klayyāb/klayyba*^{FEM} (< *kalb* ‘dog’), *qlayyāb* (< *qalb* ‘heart’), *uxayya* (< *uxt* ‘sister’), *wlayyād* (< *wlad* ‘boy’), *sḡayyār/sḡayyāra*^{FEM} (< *sḡīr* ‘little’).

The words *šwayya* ‘a little bit’ and *žwayyād/žwayyāda*^{FEM} ‘thin’ are lexicalized diminutives.²¹¹

C¹C²īC³a

C¹C²īC³a is only found in diminutive patterns formed from feminine nouns, e.g., *qhīwa* (< *qahwa* ‘coffee’), *xbīza* (< *xubza* ‘loaf of bread’), *wrīqa*²¹² (< *warqa* ‘paper’).²¹³ The noun *mmīma* ‘grandmother’ < *umm* ‘mother’ can be considered a lexicalized pattern.

C¹C²īC³āC⁴/C¹C²īC³C⁴a

According to Ritt-Benmimoun (2018: 187), this pattern is typical of sedentary-type TA, while C¹C²īC³īC⁴ is common in Bedouin-type TA. Indeed, the pattern C¹C²īC³āC⁴ is described in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 482; Procházka 2019: 222) and I found it in my

²¹⁰ On the diminutives in Tunis Arabic, see Procházka (2019); on the diminutives in South Tunisian Bedouin Arabic, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2018).

²¹¹ The same is valid in Nezfa Arabic (Naddari 2023: 168).

²¹² According to Procházka (2019: 225), *wrīqa* is a lexicalized diminutive in Tunis Arabic.

²¹³ The same occurs in other varieties of TA (Singer 1984: 482–483; Naddari 2023: 168).

corpus, e.g., *qtītās/qtītṣa*^{FEM} (< *qattūs* ‘cat’), *ṣṣīfār* (< *ṣaṣfūr* ‘bird’), *dbībza* (< *dabbūza* ‘bottle’).

C¹aC²C²ūC³(a)

This diminutive pattern is used for hypocoristic, e.g., *faṭṭūma* (< *fāṭma* ‘Fatima’), *fattūna* (< *fātən* ‘Fatin’), *ḥallūma* (< *ḥlīma* ‘Halima’), *ṛannūna* or *ṛannūš(a)* (< *ṛanya* ‘Ranya’), *ṣallūḥa* (< *ṣālḥa* ‘Salha’), *yassūn* (< *yassīn* ‘Yassine’).

C¹ayC²ūC³a

This diminutive pattern has been found with hypocoristic, e.g., *saydūda* (< *sayda* ‘Sayda’), *zaynūba* (< *zaynāb* ‘Zayneb’).

4.1.2.7 Elative

The elative form does not agree in gender and number from its referent. It is formed from adjectives with trilateral roots (regular, geminated, and defective) and used to express comparative and superlative meanings.

The regular root pattern is (?)*aC¹C²aC³*, e.g., *akbar* ‘bigger, biggest’, *aktar* ‘bigger, biggest, more’. The initial *hamza* is attested to when the speaker wants to give more emphasis to the elative form, e.g., *ṛaqdam* ‘older, oldest; more ancient, most ancient’, *ṛaqrab* ‘closer, closest’.

In the case of geminated roots, the elative pattern is *aC¹aC²C³*, e.g., *aqall* ‘less, least’, *axaff* ‘lighter, lightest’. In adjectives with defective roots, the elative pattern is *aC¹C²a*, e.g., *aġla* ‘more expensive, most expensive’, *aḥla* ‘nicer, nicest; sweeter, sweetest’.

Adjectives of color with the pattern *aC¹C²aC³* maintain the same form in the elative, e.g. *ar-ṛūḃa ḥādī abyad m-əl-uxra* ‘my dress is whiter than yours’.

The elative counterpart of the positive adjective *bāhi* ‘good’ is *xīr* ‘better’ or (?)*aḥsan* ‘better, best’ and is taken from other roots.

Regarding the expression of the comparative, two constructions are possible in KA.

The first one is synthetic and can only be used with adjectives of trilateral roots. It is formed of the invariable elative followed by the preposition *mən* and the second term of the comparison, e.g., *aṣṣab m-əl-lūl* ‘[the childbirth was] more difficult than the first’, *ṣand-u yumkun aqall m-əl-ṣā^m* ‘it was maybe less than a year ago’, *lūgat-na ṛaqrab m-əl-ṣarabīya əl-fuṣḥa* ‘our language is closer to Classical Arabic’, *kān tṛa* [female proper name] *mā-hi aṭwal mən-n-u* ‘if you see [female proper name], [she is] taller than him’.

The second construction is analytic and is used with those adjectives that cannot have the relative pattern $aC^1aC^2C^3$. It is formed by the adjective, followed by the invariable relative adjective *akṭar* (< *kṭīr* ‘a lot of’) and the preposition *mān*, e.g., *anti mutwāzān akṭar m-əl-uxrīn* ‘you are more balanced than the others’, *āna māṣālḥa mṣa rūḥ-i akṭar m-əl-uxrīn* ‘I am more in peace with myself than the others’.

The expression of the superlative has two constructions in KA. The first one is formed by the definite positive adjective in agreement with its referent, e.g., *xū-ya lə-kbīr* ‘my older brother’, *wəld-ək lə-kbīr* ‘your older son’. The second one includes the relative form, followed by the indefinite noun in singular, dual or plural form, e.g., *ḡakbaṣ ḡalṭa* ‘the strongest stroke’, *akṭar ḥāḡa elle parle trop pour ne rien dire* ‘the biggest thing is that she talks too much to say nothing’, *akbaṣ sbab ḥūwa lə-stress* ‘the biggest reason is the stress’, *ḡaḥsan kaṣbtīn* ‘the best two pieces’.

When the superlative is used to express the highest degree of something in relation to something else (relative superlative), it is followed by the preposition *fī* and the term of comparison, e.g., *ḡaqdam mānbaṣ f-əl-ṣālām* ‘the most ancient pulpit in the world’.²¹⁴

Moreover, the relative form $aC^1C^2aC^3$ is also used in combination with the exclamative particle *ma*, in order to express the admirative: *ma + aC^1C^2aC^3 + (noun +) personal pronoun*, e.g., *ma aḥlā-h!* ‘how sweet he is!’, *ma aḥla šṣar-ha!* ‘what a beautiful hair (of her)!’, *ma aṭwal-ha!* ‘how tall she is!’, *ma asman-ha* ‘how fat she is!’, *ma axyab-na!* ‘how bad we [were]!’.

In my corpus, there is an occurrence of the construction *akṭar wāḥəd* ‘the best’, pronounced by a speaker with *rīf* origin (SP24^R), *dīma tqūl-l-i xāl-l-i ḥādāya akṭar wāḥəd* ‘she always says to me, ‘this maternal uncle of mine is the best’.²¹⁵

4.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness

This section focuses on the linguistic strategies used to define a noun – through the article *əl-*, suffixed pronouns, direct and indirect annexation – or to maintain it in an indeterminate state.

²¹⁴ The same construction is found in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 478). The relative superlative is expressed in the Arabic of Douz by using the construction ART+ adjective + the preposition *fī-*, e.g., ‘*xūy il-k’bīr fēna*’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 273) ‘my brother is the eldest of us’.

²¹⁵ The construction relative $C^1C^2aC^3 + wāḥəd$ has been observed in Larache Arabic (Guerrero 2015: 139) to express the superlative.

There are two degrees of determination in KA, which are definiteness and indefiniteness.

A noun can be defined by the determinative article *əl-* and its variants²¹⁶, e.g., *əl-bāb* ‘the door’, *əl-ṭhūr* ‘the circumcision’. Based on the vowel context in which it is inserted, the article becomes *l-* or *lə-*.²¹⁷ Precisely,

- the article is *əl-* in the initial position in a sentence, or after a pause, e.g., *əl-qarwi!* ‘the Kairouani!’, *əl-līla* ‘tonight’; or when it is after a consonant-final (-C) word – except when this consonant is /l/ – and before a word starting with a consonant and a vowel (Cv-), e.g., *f-əl-qurwān* ‘in Kairouan’, *m-əl-ġuṣṣ* ‘because of the anger’, *hād-əl-līla* ‘this night’.
- the article is *lə-* when before a double consonant cluster (CC-), e.g., *wuṣṭ lə-blād* ‘the city center’, *nṣawwər-l-ək lə-ktība* ‘I take a picture for you of the writing’, *dīma lə-ṣrab* ‘always the Arabs’.
- otherwise, it is *l-*:
 - *-l + ART + C-*, e.g., *tākul l-ḥārṛ* ‘you eat the spicy’;
 - *-v + ART + C-*, e.g., *ḥatta l-mākla* ‘even the food’;
 - *-C + ART + v-*, e.g., *flāš l-ayyāmāt l-uxṛānīya* ‘why the last days’;
 - *-v + ART + v-*, e.g., *flā-l-aṣnāq* ‘on the shoulders’.

However, a noun can also be defined by a suffix pronoun, e.g., *xadmt-u* ‘its work’, *rās-ha* ‘her head’, or the construct state (see §4.2.1), e.g., *asm əl-xarūf*^{MSA218} ‘the name of the sheep’, *bqīt lə-ṣbād* ‘the rest of the people’.

There is no indefinite article in KA, and the indefiniteness is usually expressed by using the noun without the article, or other elements of determination, e.g., *mṛa* ‘a woman’, *taṣwīra* ‘a picture’, *wāḥəd* étranger ‘a foreign [person]’.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ For article variants and phonetic changes, see §2.8.1.2.

²¹⁷ For the phonetic assimilation to which the determinative article is subjected to in KA, see §2.8.1.

²¹⁸ This superscript tag is used for loanwords from MSA.

²¹⁹ In contrast to KA – and generally Tunisian and Libyan Arabic –, Western MagA distinguishes three degrees of determination (Ph. Marçais 1977: 163), having developed a regular indefinite article (*wāḥd-əl-* and its variants). Regarding KA, the use of *wāḥəd*, *wāḥda* followed by a noun only represents the indefinite pronoun (see §4.3.7), e.g., *ṣand-i wāḥda* munaqaba ‘I have a veiled [woman]’.

4.2.1 Analytic and synthetic genitive

When a noun is determined by a suffix pronoun, e.g., *bənt-i* ‘my daughter’, or by another noun preceded by the article *əl-*, e.g., *bənt əl-kəlb* ‘scoundrel (lit. dog’s daughter)’ or a proper name, e.g., *bənt* [proper male name] ‘[proper male name]’s daughter’, it is in the construct state (or synthetic genitive construction). In a few cases, indeterminate nouns can also be in a construct state, e.g., *xədmaṭ yədd* ‘handmade (lit. work of hand)’, *muddat aṛbʕa xamsa snīn* ‘a period of four, five years’, *kās ma* ‘a glass of water’.

In the construct state, the feminine nouns ending in *-a* become *-at* before a consonant-initial suffix pronoun or noun, e.g., *xālt-ha* ‘her maternal aunt’, *qīmt əž-žāməf* ‘the value of the mosque’, and *-t* before a vowel-initial pronominal suffix or noun e.g., *xədm-t-i* ‘my work’, *ṛukbt-i* ‘my knee’, *līlt əl-ḡərs* ‘the wedding night’.

Some words show irregularities in the construct state. Among them, the word *mṛa* ‘woman, wife’ becomes *maṛt*, e.g., *maṛt-u* ‘his wife’, *maṛt* [male name] ‘[male name]’s wife’.²²⁰ The etymological OA words ending in *-iyya* becomes *-īt*, e.g., (OA *aḡlabiyya*) *aḡlabīt-ha m-əl-ḡuṣš* ‘most of it from anger’, (OA *baqiyya*) *bqīt lə-ḡbād* ‘the rest of the people’. The kin name *mmīma* ‘grandmother’ takes the ending *-āt* in the construct state, i.e., *mmīmāt-ha* ‘her grandmother’, *mmīmāt-hum* ‘their grandmother’.

Another way to formally express the relationship between two elements is using the invariable genitive marker *mtāf*.²²¹ This construction is an alternative to the construct state and represents the analytic genitive. It can be followed either by suffix pronouns or nouns. When followed by suffix pronouns, the modified noun is defined by the definite article, e.g., *l-xədma mtāf-u* ‘its work’, *əl-page mtāf-kum* ‘your page’. When followed by nouns, the modified noun may or may not be defined by the article, while the modifier noun is always defined by *əl-*, e.g., *əl-maqrūḍ mtāf əl-ḡalwa* ‘date Makrout’, *taxṭīt tāf l-qalb* ‘electrocardiogram’.

The synthetic genitive is the least used construction regarding uses. Indeed, the analytic genitive covers almost all the uses; it is just never employed with kin terms and body parts, where only the synthetic genitive is possible,²²² e.g., *bū-h* ‘his father’, *ḡamm-*

²²⁰ For syllabic change of structure in the construct state with suffix pronouns, see §2.6.1 and §2.6.2.

²²¹ On the genitive marker *mtāf* and its variants, see §5.2.1.

²²² According to Singer (1984: 441), the analytic genitive is practically never used in Tunis Arabic when the first member of a genitive construction is a kin or body part name.

u ‘paternal uncle’, *ṛāžəl bənt* [male proper name] ‘[male proper name]’ daughter’s husband’, *ṛās-ha* ‘her head’, *kəṛš-i* ‘my womb’, *qalb-i* ‘my heart’.

4.3 Pronouns

This section collects forms and uses of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, relative markers, interrogative pronouns and adjectives, and reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite pronouns in KA.

4.3.1 Personal pronouns

This section deals with forms and uses of independent and suffix pronouns in KA, the combination of two personal pronouns and the negative copula.

4.3.1.1 Independent personal pronouns²²³

The independent personal pronouns in KA are shown in the table below:

Independent pronouns			
1SG	(y) <i>āna</i>	1PL	(y) <i>aḥna, naḥna</i>
2SG	<i>ənti</i>	2PL	<i>əntūma</i>
3SG.M	<i>hūwa</i>	3PL	<i>hūma</i>
3SG.F	<i>hīya</i>		

As it happens in verbal morphology, KA has lost gender in singular and plural second persons,²²⁴ which is a common feature in Maghrebi sedentary-type varieties (Gibson 2009: 565; Aguadé 2018: 51). Nevertheless, the speakers coming from the Governorate and those with *rīf* origins may maintain the gender distinction in the singular second person, as SP16^R explains to me: *əṛ-ṛažl ənta, lə-mṛa ənti* ‘the man is *ənta*, the woman is

²²³ This section is extracted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 256–258) and integrated with the new data and analyses carried out in the meantime.

²²⁴ The second plural person of KA is also the standard form used in Tunis (Singer 1984: 250). In Sousse is *ntūma* with final *imāla* [ˈntu:mɛ] (Talmoudi 1980: 143).

anti'.²²⁵ Regarding the 2SG, a phonetic phenomenon to retain is the affrication [t^s] of *t* (see §2.1.11) in the pronoun *anti*, especially in female speakers.²²⁶

Only the 3SG.M *hūwa* and 3SG.F *hīya* pronouns retain gender distinction.

Regarding the first singular person pronoun, KA has two forms. The most commonly used is *āna* with initial *imāla* [ɛ:na], which is attested to by all the speakers²²⁷; the other is *yāna*.²²⁸

It is worth noting that the speakers born and raised in the city, coming from Kairouani families, occasionally also realize the 1SG pronoun as *yāna*, already noticed by Mion (2014a: 67). Kairouani speakers perceive the realization of *yāna* as a typical Kairouani trait, and I noted that it mainly occurs when an [i] sound – or generally a vowel sound – precedes the first-person pronouns, e.g., *āy yāna mən l-qayrawān āṣīl əl-qayrawān* ‘yes, I am from Kairouan, native of Kairouan’, *mən-ni yāna* [female proper name] *ʕand-i qaddāš mā rīt-hā-š ʕaddaq-ni!* ‘how long has it been since I do not see [female proper name], believe me!’. Even an occurrence of *u* preceding *yāna* is attested to in my corpus: *kull wāḥəd ʕand-u dūrūf-u yāna ʕarfū-ni məš nmīl l-*[female proper name] ‘everyone has his situation. They knew I would have been inclined to [female proper name]’.

Since the insertion of a glide is a common phonetic phenomenon used to break a hiatus, and it is well attested in many languages – especially Berber (Bedar, Quellec & Voeltzel 2021) – I assume that the prefixed glide *y-* to the 1SG pronouns *āna* found in KA also serves to break the hiatus *i-a* and *u-a*.²²⁹ Furthermore, the insertion of a *y-* to break the hiatus also occurs in some other first-layer varieties of Algeria and Morocco;

²²⁵ I have very few occurrences of *anti* that I only found in this specific sociolinguistic category of speakers. Since I heard for the first time SP16^R differentiate the use of the second person singular independent personal pronoun, I asked him what the functional distribution was.

²²⁶ The affrication of *t* in the 2SG pronoun is also attested to once in a female speaker of Nefza (Naddari 2023: 78).

²²⁷ This form is widespread in the capital (Singer 1984: 250) and is one of the forms described for the 1SG pronoun in Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 76-77).

²²⁸ I have no occurrences of the pronoun *āni*, which Singer (1984: 250) describes for KA, Sousse, Monastir, and Takrouna.

²²⁹ Guerrero (2015: 141) states that *yāna* is used in Larache when preceded by a word ending with a vowel (*-a*). I keep analyzing this phenomenon as its diffusion is not regular and is less present in the new generations. Even my speakers argue that new generations increasingly replace the ‘Kairouani’ pronoun *yāna* with the *tunisois āna*.

specifically, Caubet (1998: 168) finds once in Fes²³⁰ the pronoun *yāna*, specifying that Simon Lévy had defined the *y-* a liaison element. Considering this shared isogloss from a diachronic point of view, it should be noted that in Maltese, the 1SG pronoun is *jena* or *jana*,²³¹ where *ye-* represents the inflection of the long etymological OA *ā* (Aquilina 1987: 561). Taking into account both the spatial and temporal distribution of this isogloss, one could speculate that the initial *y*-theme could be a more ancient trait shared by first-layer varieties. However, a thorough investigation is needed to explore this phenomenon more accurately.

As far as the 1PL pronoun is concerned, it shows variation. The most used form is the sedentary urban *aḥna*, overspread in Tunis, and Sousse (Stumme 1896: 102; Talmoudi 1980: 143; Singer 1984: 250). Even for this 1SG pronoun, the *y*-theme, i.e., *yaḥna*, is once attested to in SP21, and even in this case, the glide *y* divides a hiatus: *āy yaḥna nusknū f-əl-maḥnīya fī wuṣṭ lə-blād* ‘yes, we live in *Maḥnīya*, in the city center’. Moreover, speakers hailing from the Governorate and with *rīf* origins, occasionally feature an initial *n*-theme, typical of non-sedentary Maghrebi varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 189), i.e., *naḥna*²³² along with the most common *aḥna*, e.g., SP4^R *tamma ḥāžāt mā-ḥan-nā-šī naḥna fī tūnās* ‘there are things we do not have in Tunisia’, SP24^R *tabbaḥna naḥna baš nuxṣu l-əl-mḥatta mtāf əl-lwāžāt* ‘we followed them to get to the *louage* station’, SP16^R *w naḥna nqūlu wšīf une personne noire walla naḥna tawwa fī šīf* ‘we call *wšīf* a black person or ‘now we are in summer’’,²³³.

4.3.1.2 Suffix personal pronouns

The suffix personal pronouns paradigm of KA is shown in the table below:

²³⁰ *yāna* sporadically also occurs in the Algerian areas of Djidjel (Ph. Marçais 1956: 436), Oran, and Constantine, where Ph. Marçais describes this form as an augmentative (Ph. Marçais 1977: 188). It is also described in Morocco, in the Jbala region, Larache, Tanger, and Chauen (Guerrero 2015: 141).

²³¹ Martin Zammit’s communication during his presentation ‘Maltese in Arabic Guise: Which alphabet for Maltese?’ at ‘Séminaire de linguistique sémitique’, Inalco, April 7th, 2022.

²³² As Mion states, ‘un thème à consonne /n/ initiale [...] est commun à plusieurs variétés tunisiennes rurales du Nord jusqu’au Sud et, sur le plan des variétés citadines, à Kairouan’ (Mion 2014a: 68). *naḥna* is regularly used in Le Kef and Mateur (Mion 2015: 274) and the variation *naḥna/aḥna* has also been observed in Msaken and Mahdia (La Rosa 2021: 14).

²³³ The speaker was explaining the difference in meaning of the words *šīf* and *wšīf* in KA.

1SG	-i/-ya, -ni	1PL	-na
2SG	-ək/-k	2PL	-kum
3SG.M	-u/-h, -hu, -w	3PL	-hum
3SG.F	-ha, -hi		

These suffix pronouns can be attached to verbs (direct object), nouns (possessive suffix), prepositions (possessive suffix), and presentatives²³⁴ (suffix of the presentative).

Regarding syllabic changes, short vowels in word-final position are lengthened when a suffix pronoun is added, e.g., *bə + hum > bī-hum* ‘at them’, *bə + k > bī-k* ‘at you’. Suffix pronouns are lengthened when followed by the second element of the circumfix negation -š, e.g., *ʕand-u > mā-ʕand-ū-š* ‘he does not have’, *taʕrʕū-ha > mā-taʕrʕū-hā-š* ‘you do not know her’, *mā-nī-š* ‘I am not’.

The plural person suffixes, i.e., -na, -kum, and -hum, are always the same, no matter what grammatical category they are attached to. Instead, the singular persons are subjected to more variation.

The 1SG suffix is -ni when attached to a verb or a presentative, e.g., *ʃhəmt-ni?* ‘did you understand?’, *hā-ni dāxla ndawwəš* ‘I am taking a shower’. It is -i when attached to nouns and prepositions ending by a consonant, e.g., *uxt-i* ‘my sister’, *mā-ʕand-ī-š* ‘I do not have’, and -ya when attached to nouns and prepositions ending by a vowel, e.g., *xū-ya* ‘my brother’, *mʕā-ya* ‘with me’.

The 2SG suffix does not have a gender distinction, like its plural counterpart. It is -k when attached to a word ending in vowels, e.g., *bū-k* ‘your father’, *yaʕrʕī-k* ‘he gives you’, *daqqūt ʕlī-k-ə?* ‘did I knock you?’, *ra-k* ‘you (presentative)’, and -ək when preceded by a word ending by a consonant, e.g., *bənt-ək* ‘your daughter’, *nqūl-l-ək* ‘I say you’, *mənn-ək* ‘from you’.

Concerning the third-person singular suffix pronouns, the masculine suffix -h is attached to words ending by a vowel, e.g., *nsammū-h qarʕ* ‘we call it qarʕ’, *bū-h* ‘his father’, *yrammu fī-h* ‘they renovate it’. Instead, -u follows words ending by a consonant, e.g., *xāl-u* ‘his maternal uncle’, *quddām-u* ‘in front of him’. The forms -hu and -w²³⁵ are

²³⁴ On paradigms and uses of the presentatives *rā-*, *hā-* and *mā-* in KA, see §5.2.8.

²³⁵ The suffix -w with the loss of *h* in the third person singular is also attested in the varieties of Tunis (Singer 1984: 258), Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 88–90).

only attached to the presentatives,²³⁶ e.g., *mā-hu m-əd-duxxān* ‘from the smoke’, *mā-w m-əl-lūl ža w kāda ʕ-əs-slāma* ‘from the beginning he came, etc., [he said] hello’. The suffix *-ha* is always used for the feminine, after verbs, nouns, and prepositions e.g., *kammal-ha* ‘he finished it’, *asm-ha* ‘her name’, *bə-ḥdā-ha* ‘next to her’, while *-hi* follows the presentatives, e.g., [female proper name] *mā-hi aṭwal mənn-u* ‘[female proper name], she is taller than him’.

Sometimes, the independent personal pronoun can be added after the suffix pronouns in order to give an additional emphasis, e.g., *šbī-ha* [female proper name] *ḥattət-ək ənti w mā-ḥattət-nī-š* ‘why did [female proper name] put you and not me?’, *kīma šār l-ək ənti* ‘as it happened to you’.

In addition, some interrogatives (*šbī-*, *kīf*, *wīn*), the genitive marker *mtāʕ*, the nominal negation, and the subordinating conjunction *xāṭəṛ* allow the direct annexation of suffixed pronouns. They will be presented in the following dedicated sections (§ 5.1.4.1, § 5.1.4.3, § 5.1.4.5, § 5.2.1, §4.3.1.4, § 5.4.2.4.).

When a suffix pronoun is added to a dual noun²³⁷ in the construct state, the *-n* of the dual morpheme falls, e.g., *wāldī-k* ‘your parents’.

4.3.1.2.1 Direct object suffixes

The suffix pronouns attached to the verbs cover the role of direct objects. The following table shows the syllabic transformations that occur when the suffixes are attached to the verbs:

	after final -vC verb		after final -v verb	
1SG	<i>fhəm + ni ></i>	<i>fhəm-ni</i>	<i>nsa + ni ></i>	<i>nsā-ni</i>
2SG	<i>fhəm + ək ></i>	<i>fəhm-ək</i>	<i>nsa + k ></i>	<i>nsā-k</i>
3SG.M	<i>fhəm + u ></i>	<i>fəhm-u</i>	<i>nsa + h ></i>	<i>nsā-h</i>
3SG.F	<i>fhəm + ha ></i>	<i>fhəm-ha</i>	<i>nsa + ha ></i>	<i>nsā-ha</i>
1PL	<i>fhəm + na ></i>	<i>fhəm-na</i>	<i>nsa + na ></i>	<i>nsā-na</i>
2PL	<i>fhəm + kum ></i>	<i>fhəm-kun</i>	<i>nsa + kum ></i>	<i>nsā-kum</i>
3PL	<i>fhəm + hum ></i>	<i>fhəm-hum</i>	<i>nsa + hum ></i>	<i>nsā-hum</i>

²³⁶ On the uses of *rā-w* and *rā-hu* in TA, see 5.2.8.1.

²³⁷ For the category of dual in KA, see §4.1.2.1.

Regarding the verbs with -vC ending, two syllabic structure changes are attested to in 2SG and 3SG.M due to the emergence of an open syllable in case of the attachment of the vowel-initial suffixes *-ək* and *-u*. All the other suffixes start with a consonant and do not cause necessary syllabic changes.

As shown in §4.3.1.2, short vowels in the word-final position are marked as longs when a suffix pronoun is added. Thus, all verb forms ending with -v and followed by a suffix become $-\bar{v}$ + suffix.

Another syllabic change is found in the 3SG.F form of the S-stem and feminine active participle. When these forms are followed by *-ək* or *-u*, the short vowel is preserved through the doubling of the -t: *ṭalbət + u > *ṭalbət + u > ṭalbətt-u* ‘she called him’, *fāhma + u > *fāhmat-u > fāhmatt-u* ‘I have understood’ (see §6.2.6).

4.3.1.2.2 Indirect object suffixes and double suffixation

The suffix pronouns indirectly attached to the verbs through the preposition *l-* ‘for’ cover the role of indirect objects, e.g., *qutt-l-ək ṣād ktur* ‘I told you that it increased’, *ṭhart-l-u* ‘I circumcised him’, *mā-hbaṭ-l-ī-š əl-qurwān* ‘he did not go down to Kairouan’.

The table below shows the morphological transformations that the verb *qāl* ‘to say’ can be subjected to when followed by indirect object suffixes:

	1SG/2SG	3SG.F
<i>l-i</i>	<i>qutt-l-i</i> ‘you said to me’	<i>qātt-l-i</i> ‘she said to me’
<i>l-ək</i>	<i>qutt-l-ək</i> ‘I said to you’	<i>qātt-l-ək</i> ‘she said to you’
<i>l-u</i>	<i>qutt-l-u</i> ‘I said to him’	<i>qātt-l-u</i> ‘she said to him’
<i>l-ha</i>	<i>qutt-əl-ha</i> ‘I said to her’	<i>qātt-l-ha</i> ‘she said to her’

To sum up, when followed by the indirect object suffix – introduced by the preposition *l-* – the 3SG.F verb *qālət* ‘she said’ is usually shorted to *qātt*, and the 1SG and 2SG *qult* ‘I/you said’ are shorted to *qutt*. The standard forms *qālət* and *qult* are possible but rarely used with indirect suffix objects.

The other verb forms of *qāl* do not present transformations, excluding the 1PL verb form *qulna* which becomes *qunna*, e.g., *qulnā-l-ha* > *qunnā-l-ha* ‘we said her’, see §2.8.1.2.

In case of double suffixation, the direct suffix is attached to the verb, followed by the indirect suffix introduced by the preposition *l-*, e.g., *tamsah-ḥā-l-i* ‘you sweep it to me’.

4.3.1.2.3 Possessive suffixes

When a possessive suffix is attached to nouns and prepositions, it can cause some morphological changes.

Due to the emergence of a short vowel in an open unstressed syllable, the preposition *mān* ‘from’ doubles the final *n* when a suffix pronoun starting with a vowel is attached to it, e.g., *mānn-i* ‘from me’, *mānn-u* ‘from him’²³⁸.

When followed by the 1PL suffix *-na*, the preposition *ʕand* ‘from’ is subjected to a phenomenon of assimilation, i.e., *ʕand + na* > *ʕan-na* ‘we have’, *ma + ʕand + na + š* > *mā-ʕan-nā-š* ‘we do not have’.²³⁹

On the syllabic transformations of nouns in the construct state due to the emergence of a short vowel in an open unstressed syllable, see §2.6.2.

4.3.1.3 Combination of two personal pronouns

Two personal pronouns can only be combined by using the form *w-yā-*. The construction is composed of an independent personal pronoun + *w-yā-* + the second pronoun attached as a suffix, e.g., *āna w-yā-k* ‘me and you’, *āna w-yā-h* ‘me and him’. The suffix pronoun can be a second and third person, but not the first.²⁴⁰ Some examples found in the corpus are *āna w-yā-h ḥarka* ‘just me and her’, *taw āna maṭalān mʕā-ya xālt-i s-sgīra xālt-i āna w-yā-ha mātḥmīn* ‘now, for example, my youngest aunt comes with me, she and I get along’.

²³⁸ On the preposition *mān*, see §5.3.19.

²³⁹ On uses and forms of the preposition *ʕand*, see §5.3.10.

²⁴⁰ This rule is also valid for the other Maghrebi varieties (Singer 1984: 257; Pereira 2010: 240; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 67; Naddari 2023: 79).

4.3.1.4 Copula

Third-person independent pronouns *hūwa*, *hīya*, and *hūma* can be used as a copula in KA²⁴¹, e.g. *əṣ-šdāq hūwa le contrat de mariage* ‘the *šdāq* is the marriage contract’, *ʔaḥsan kaʕbtīn hūma hāqūka əṣ-rose* ‘the best pieces are the pink ones,’ *w l-qurwān hīya rābʕat-ət-tlāt* ‘Kairouan is the fourth of the three’.

As shown in the samples above, the third-person pronoun usually agrees with the antecedent, but not always. Indeed, in some occurrences, the use of *hūwa* also extends to what should be covered by the feminine and plural pronouns, e.g., *ʔarīqa*^{MSA} *tānya hūwa əl-ḡuṣš* ‘a second way is the anger’, *tlāta ḥwāyž hūwa ḡuṣš, rḥāq, duxxān* ‘three things. They are anger, thinness, and smoke’.

The negative form of the copula is made up of the suffix pronouns negated by the circumfix negation *mā-...-š*. All the possible forms are declined as follows:

1SG	<i>mā-nī-š</i>	‘I am not’	1PL	<i>mā-nā-š</i>	‘we are not’
2SG	<i>mā-k-š</i>	‘you are not’	2PL	<i>mā-kum-š</i>	‘you ^{PL} are not’
3SG.M	<i>muš</i>	‘he/it is not’	3PL	<i>mā-hum-š</i>	‘they are not’
3SG.F	<i>mā-hī-š, mā-ši</i>	‘she is not’			

The negative copula of the 3SG.M is always *muš* in my corpus.²⁴² It is the reduction of **mā-hū-š* (OA *mā-hū-š*) > **mūš* > *muš*; see §5.2.3.4. The 3SG.F can be pronounced *mā-hī-š* or *mā-ši* in fast speech.

Regarding its uses, the negative copula negates:

- the equivalent of the verb ‘to be’, e.g., *mā-k-š lə-hna ənti?* ‘you were not here?’, *mā-kum-š lə-hna* ‘you were not here’;
- adjectives, e.g., [female proper name] *mā-hī-ši žʕāna* ‘[female proper name] is not hungry’, *mā-ši sāhla* ‘she is not easy’;
- nouns, e.g., *muš tarmīm kbīr* ‘[it was] not a significant renovation’, *mā-ši évènement* ‘it is not an event’;

²⁴¹ The same independent pronouns are used in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 251) as copulas.

²⁴² The principal 3SG.M forms described for other Tunisian varieties are *mā-hūwā-š(i)*, *māhūš(i)*, *muš* in Tunis (Singer 1984: 718); *māhūš* and *muš* in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 67–68); *māhūš*, *mūš* and *muš* in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 80).

- participles, e.g., *aḥna mā-nā-š fāhmīn* ‘we do not understand’, *mā-hī-š ʕāyša hna* ‘she is not living here’;
- future tense, e.g., *mā-nī-š baš nṛā-k* ‘I will not see you’, *mā-nī-š baš nbīʕ w našri mʕā-ha* ‘I will not sell and buy with her’.

The form *muš* is also used as a frozen form that does not agree in gender and number with the subject, e.g., *sāʕāt talqā-ha mutdayyna w muš muḥtarma* ‘sometimes a person is religious [in appearance] but is not respectful’, *muš bʕād ʕla bʕaḍ-na* ‘we are not far from each other’.

Nevertheless, my corpus also contains sporadic occurrences of negative copula originating from the construction *muš* + suffix pronouns. The forms attested are *muš-ni* ‘I am not’, *muš-hu* ‘he/it is not’, *muš-na* ‘we are not’, and *muš-hum* ‘they are not’, e.g., *muš-ni sḡayyṛa naʕṛəf* ‘I am not a child, I know’, *muš-na bʕād* ‘we are not far away’.²⁴³

4.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

The proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns found in my corpus are the following:²⁴⁴

	Proximal	Distal
MASC	<i>hāda, hādāy, hādāya</i>	<i>hādāka</i>
FEM	<i>hādi, hādīy, hādīya</i>	<i>hādīka</i>
PL	<i>hādūma</i>	<i>hādūka, hādūk, hādūkum</i>

All the long *ā* of the demonstratives feature an *imāla*.

As shown in the table above, only the masculine and feminine proximal demonstrative pronouns have both the simple forms *hāda*, *hādi* and the augmented

²⁴³ According to Naddari (2023: 80-81), the negative copula typology *miš* + suffix pronouns should be considered more rural. However, it is not used in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 67), and I found the occurrences mentioned above in sociolinguistic profiles of speakers that do not allow me to reach clear conclusions on the sociolinguistic distribution of this paradigm’s use in KA.

²⁴⁴ In other varieties of TA, there is some phonetic variation attested to in demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, which are the loss of the initial *h* (Singer 1984: 260; Naddari 2023: 91) and the emphatic pronunciation of the *d* > *ḍ* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2020: 82; Naddari 2023: 91). Regarding KA, I did not detect any of these two phonetic changes. According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 198), the phenomenon of pharyngealization is typical of the rural and Bedouin TA and – indeed – it is not present in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 262), as well in KA. Singer also describes this trait as common in the Sahel (Singer 1984: 262).

hādāya, *hādīya*.²⁴⁵ The proximal singular pronouns may also be pronounced *hādāy* and *hādīy*.²⁴⁶ The augmented forms *hādāya*, *hādīya* are the most statistically used by the speakers.

Some examples of proximal demonstrative pronouns in my corpus are *hāda ṣām-u ar-rābēf* ‘this is his fourth year’, *aktar hāza elle parle trop pour ne rien dire hādi hāza* ‘most important thing: she talks too much to say nothing, this is one thing’, *hādāya maszād al-anṣār* ‘this is the *anṣār* mosque’, *hādīya l-bīt*²⁴⁷ *mtāh-ḥa* ‘his is her room’, *hādūma lli naṣru l-ṣasūl ṣalla aḷlāh ḥlā-hi wa ṣaḷlam* ‘those who followed the Prophet, peace be upon him’.

The distal forms are characterized by the insertion of the *-k-* element. Regarding the plural forms, the augmented *hādūkum* is attested to twice in my corpus, while *hādūka* is the most commonly used.²⁴⁸ Some examples of distal demonstrative pronouns in my corpus are *hādāka al-mutanaffəs al-wahīd* ‘that is my only oxygen’, *hādīka hāza compliquée baṣša* ‘that is a very complicated thing’, *hādūka žāw m-al-bḥar* ‘those came from the sea’.

Moreover, KA includes the invariable demonstrative pronoun *hākka/hākkāka/kāka* ‘like this, etc.’ (see § 5.1.3.21),²⁴⁹ e.g., *ṣand-i rāžal beau gosse māzyān nḍif hākka* ‘I have a guy, a handsome guy, kind, honest, etc.’, *ḥatta āna kāka āna fi sūsa taw hākkāka* ‘me too, [I do] like this. Now, in Sousse, [I act like] this’. This pronoun is also generally used in connection with *hāw*, i.e., *hākka hāw* (also *hāk hāw* or *k(a) hāw*) ‘that is it’, ‘that is all’. As Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 86) remarks in Douz, this token also stresses the end of a unit of conversation or action, e.g., *mā-tnažžam-š tqūm mā-tnažžam-š tuqṣud hākka hāw* ‘she cannot get up or sit down, that is all’, *mā-naṣṣaf-š*

²⁴⁵ The Arabic of Tunis, Sousse and Douz share the same simple proximal pronouns *hāda*, *hādi* (Stumme 1896: 118; Singer 1984: 260–261; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 82–83; Talmoudi 1980: 148). Regarding the augmented forms *hādāya*, *hādīya*, these are also attested to in Tunis (Singer 1984: 260–261) and Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 82), but not in Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 147–149).

²⁴⁶ It also occurs in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 82–83).

²⁴⁷ As is usual in MagA (Beaussier 2006: 92), the word *bīt* ‘room’ is also feminine in KA.

²⁴⁸ On the contrary, the form *hādūkum* is quite common in Tunis (Singer 1984: 261), Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 84), and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 90) Arabic, while *hādūka* is not even mentioned in Tunis (Singer 1984: 261) and Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 84) Arabic.

²⁴⁹ Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 86) and Singer (Singer 1984: 734) instead attest to the use of *hāka* in Douz and Tunis with only one *-k-*, but I clearly perceive the doubled *-kk-* in KA. On the demonstratives in spoken Arabic, see Fischer (1959).

əl-franši ka hāw naḡrəf les caractères *ma bīn ən-north w-əl-nord w-əl-waṣat w-əs-sud* ‘I do not know French and that is it; I know the characters between the north, the center, and the south’.²⁵⁰

Demonstrative adjectives have the same form as the pronouns shown above. They usually follow the noun they define according to the structure ART + N + DEM,²⁵¹ as is evident from the following examples: *hazzīt faṣš-i l-tufla hāḡi* ‘I took my bed for this little girl’, *āna naḡrəf bāhi l-kəlma hāḡīya* ‘I know this speech well’, *w-əl-aḡmda hāḡūma mā-talqā-š tnīn kīf kīf* ‘you do not find among these columns two that are equal’, *dəfnu lə-hna f-əl-masžəd hāḡāka* ‘they buried [him] here in that mosque’, *mā-ḡand-ū-š əl-langue hāḡīka* ‘they do not have that language’. Both pronouns and adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun to whom they refer.

KA includes the use of the proximal demonstrative adjective *hā-* and the distal *hāk-*. These adjectives can be used according to two different constructions:

1. INVARIABLE DEM + ART + N, e.g., *fhəmt naḡna ḡlāš mā-nanzḡū-š fi hā-l-blād?* ‘do you understand why we do not succeed in this country?’, *nāxu hāk-ət-tranwīša* ‘I take that little slice’;
2. INVARIABLE DEM + ART + N + DEM,²⁵² e.g., *lə-ḡtəḡālāt lāzəm məzyāna f-əl-qurwān f-āk-l-waqt hāḡāka* ‘the celebrations had to be rich in Kairouan at that time’, *žbīt āna k-əd-dabbūza hāḡīka w žāw lə-wlād* (Badreddine 1977b: Corpus I, 214-215) ‘I threw that bottle, and the guys came’, *hāk-əl-tīkyāt hāḡūkum* ‘those tickets’.

Badreddine’s corpus and my data agree that most occurrences have the circumfixal construction (2).

4.3.3 Relative marker

əlli, lli

²⁵⁰ Naddari describes *hāka* as a rural isogloss; however, *hākka* is the more used form in KA in young and older generations with or without *rīf* origins.

²⁵¹ The same order is valid for Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 82) and Nazfa (Naddari 2023: 94-95), but not for Sousse Arabic (Talmoudi 1980: 148), where the demonstrative adjective precedes the defined noun. Indeed, both syntactic orders are possible in MagA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 197–198).

²⁵² This circumfixal construction is also described in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 83-85).

The most used relative marker in KA is the invariable *əlli*²⁵³ and its short form *lli*.²⁵⁴

The form *əlli* is preceded by a consonant sound, e.g., *kull-u b-əl-yədd əlli tra fī-hum* ‘everything (that) you see is handmade’, *qlīl əlli yži fi žəbba* ‘few are those who dress in the jibba²⁵⁵’. In contrast, *lli* is preceded by a vowel and is only found in fast speech,²⁵⁶ e.g., *šnīya lli ysakkəṛ əl-ḡərq?* ‘what is it that closes the veins?’, *ḡmalt-l-u l-programme lli qāl-l-i ḡlī-h* ‘I made him the program (that) he asked me for’, *əl-murabbḡāt hādūka lli fūq əl-məḡrāb* ‘that square above the *miḡrāb*²⁵⁷’, *lə-ktība lli l-dāxəl ktība qdīma* ‘the writings that are inside are ancient writings’.

This marker is used after both a definite or indefinite²⁵⁸ animated or inanimate antecedent, e.g., *munāsabāt^{MSA} muḡayyna^{MSA} əlli hūma afrāḡ w xaṣṣatan^{MSA} əṣ-ṣdāqāt* ‘specific events, which are celebrations and especially *ṣdāqāt*²⁵⁹’, *lə-ḡbād əlli yžīw les invités* ‘the people who come, the guests’. This antecedent can be a noun, e.g., modifications *əlli yətkassru...* ‘the modifications that broke...’, *əl-anṣār əlli žāw m-əl-makka maḡnā-ha w m-əl-madīna* ‘the *anṣār* who came from Mecca and Medina, or a personal pronoun, e.g., *qāl hūma lli ət-tlāṡa* ‘he said, ‘they are the three’’, *hīya lli taḡmāl hādāya* ‘she is who does it’, or a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., *hādūma lli naṣru ṛ-ṛaṣūl ṣalla allāḡ ḡlā-hi w sallam* ‘those who followed the Prophet, peace be upon him’.

When the antecedent is indefinite, another relative construction without a marker is possible in KA, e.g., *tamma ṣqūfāt tbaddlāt* ‘there are ceilings that have been changed’, *ḡan-na šārəḡ kāməl əsm-u š-šārəḡ l-qayrawāni^{MSA}* ‘we have a whole street in Andalusia which is called *al-qayrawāni*’.

When the relative marker covers a role different from that of the subject, the verb is followed by an anaphoric suffix pronoun, e.g., *əl-contrat əlli nqūlū-h aḡna əṣ-ṣdāq* ‘the contract that we call *ṣdāq*’, *hāk-əl-xyūt əlli məṣ nḡuṡṡ-hum fi bḡaḡ-hum* ‘these wires that I will put in each other’.

²⁵³ On the use of *əlli* as a subordinating conjunction, see § 5.4.2.1.

²⁵⁴ This relative marker form is the most used in contemporary Arabic varieties (Mughazy 2009: 62).

²⁵⁵ A typical long coat.

²⁵⁶ The same is true of other Maghrebi varieties, such as Tunis (Singer 1984: 271-279), Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 147), Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 287), and Nefza (*illi/li*) (Naddari 2023: 95).

²⁵⁷ The mosque’s niche indicating the direction of Mecca.

²⁵⁸ The indefinite antecedent is also attested to in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 272).

²⁵⁹ The marriage contract.

The relative marker (*ə*)*lli* can also be preceded by a preposition, e.g., *hī^{va} tabda m-əlli šgīra tabda* ‘she started when she was little’, *āna nuǧzur l-əlli ʕand-i* ‘I look at what I have’.

(*ə*)*lli* can also combine with nouns that express time to form conjunctions, like *waqt əlli* ‘when’ (see § 5.4.2.17).

When without an antecedent, the relative marker (*ə*)*lli* is used as a noun referring to both an animate or inanimate referent, e.g., *lli bə-ḥdā-na maṭalan əž-žzār* ‘for example those close to us, the Algerians’, *təsʕa w təsʕīn f-əl-mīya yəšru lli kīma hādūma ət-tlāyn* ‘the 99% who buy ones like this are Italians’, *tawwa lli xārəž ɓarʕša hūwa l-marǧūm* ‘now what sells a lot is the *marǧūm*’, *əlli wažhīn tnažžəm thuṭṭ-u par terre* ‘you can put that with two sides on the ground’.

əlla

In Badreddine’s corpus (SP1 and SP2), the relative marker *əlli* alternates with *əlla*,²⁶⁰ described by W. Marçais as a *villageois* isogloss of Bedouin origin (W. Marçais 1950: 211).²⁶¹ These informants alternate to the same extent the sedentary *əlli* with the Bedouin *əlla*. I found this same variation in my speakers hailing from the Governorate or with *rīf* origins. Since there is no detailed sociolinguistic information on the family origins of Badreddine’s speakers, one would think that speakers presenting *əlla* may originally come from non-sedentary-speaking areas or are in close contact with these varieties that have this relative marker, as happens with my informants.²⁶²

In conclusion, (*ə*)*lli* is the most commonly relative marker used in KA, and all the speakers of this study express it as typical for a sedentary variety in Tunisia (W. Marçais 1950: 211).

škūn

*škūn*²⁶³ can be used as a relative pronoun in KA.²⁶⁴ In this use, it is usually preceded by *famma* and means ‘there are those who’ e.g., *famma škūn yəmši lə-ḥwāta* ‘there are those who go to the disco’, *famma škūn baʕd šlāt l-ʕša yurqud* ‘there are those who sleep after

²⁶⁰ There is a total of eleven expressions of the relative marker in Badreddine’s corpus, i.e., four occurrences of (*ə*)*lla* in SP1 and SP2, four of (*ə*)*lli* in all the speakers, and three intermediate realizations of the predominant two forms (SP1 and SP3).

²⁶¹ The marker *əlla* is widespread in the Bedouin-type Arabic of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 86).

²⁶² This paragraph is extracted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 259–260).

²⁶³ On the interrogative pronoun *škūn*, see §4.3.4.

²⁶⁴ This is also the case in Tunis (Singer 1984: 275) and Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 96).

evening prayer’, *mā-šād-š famma škūn yḥabb yašnaʕ maʕnā-ha əž-žəld* ‘there are no longer those who want to work with leather’.

4.3.4 Interrogative Pronouns

škūn, škūnu, škūni ‘who(?)’

According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 200), the etymology of the interrogative pronoun *škūn* is the OA *ʔayyu šayʔ yakūnu*.

It is used in direct and indirect questions and can be used alone or combined with prepositions. In direct questions, it can be placed in both the initial and final position,²⁶⁵ e.g., *škūn ma zāl ylawwəž ʕlī-ya* ‘who keeps looking for me?’, *škūn yḥabb tāy?* ‘who wants some tea?’, *taḥki lə-škūn?* ‘who are you talking to?’, *xḍāt mən ʕand škūn?* ‘did she get [it] from whom?’.

Two other forms of this interrogative pronoun are *škūnu* and *škūni*, which represent the combination of *škūn* + the 3SG.M and 3SG.F suffix pronouns *-u* and *-i*,²⁶⁶ e.g., *škūnu?* ‘who is he?’, *škūni lə-mṛa?* ‘who is the woman?’ *əl-ʔufla l-uxra škūni?* ‘who is the other little girl?’, *škūni hādīka* [female proper name] ‘who is this [female proper name]?’.

A usual combination is *škūn* followed by the relative pronoun *əlli*, which gives more emphasis to the subject (‘who is the one that/who is that...?’)²⁶⁷, e.g., *škūn əlli žəbt-u blāš?* ‘who is the one that did you bring for free?’, *škūn əlli ʕmal-l-ək ət-ʔašwīra?* ‘who is that took the picture of you?’, *škūn əlli mšā-l-ha?* ‘who is that came to her?’.

āš?, š-...? ‘what(?)’²⁶⁸

According to D. Cohen (1975: 225), the interrogative pronoun *āš* comes from the OA *ʔayyu šayʔin*.²⁶⁹ It is used in direct and indirect questions in order to ask ‘what(?)’, e.g.,

²⁶⁵ According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 200), *škūn* is used throughout the Maghreb and quite exclusively in sedentary varieties; its use combined with prepositions is almost widespread in eastern Maghrebi and Saharan varieties. Another form to ask ‘who?’ in the Maghreb is *mən* and its variants; however it is mainly used in the Bedouin type varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 200; Pereira 2010: 277–280; Vicente 2000: 140; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 87; Guerrero 2015: 147; Naddari 2023: 97).

²⁶⁶ Forms of *škūn* with attached pronominal suffixes are described in sedentary TA varieties, like Tunis (Singer 1984: 269) and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 149). This combination is not possible in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 88) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 96–97).

²⁶⁷ The same emphatic construction is described in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 269).

²⁶⁸ On the interrogative *šbī-...?* ‘why?, what is up? what is wrong with...?’, see §5.1.4.1.

²⁶⁹ This interrogative pronoun – and its variants – is widespread throughout MagA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 201)

āš taʕmāl? ‘what do you do?’, *uǧzur āš mās nwarrīw-k* ‘look what I am going to show you’, *ən-nās āš yqūlu* ‘[you want to know] what people say’.

The short form *š-* is mainly used in fast speech. It introduces both a verbal and a nominal sentence, e.g., *əl-qurʔān^{MSA} š-yqūl?* ‘what does the Koran say?’, *alīsiya š-tħəbb?* ‘Alessia, what do you want [to drink]?’, *aħna š-qulna?* ‘what did we say?’, *š-maʕnā-ha šdāq?* ‘what does *šdāq* mean?’, *š-ʕan-na fī-h lə-ʕžžāž?* ‘What do we care about the dust?’.

This interrogative pronoun can also be preceded by prepositions, becoming *ʕlāš* ‘why’ (see §5.1.4.1), *fāš* ‘what’ (see §5.1.4.1), and *m(ən)nās* ‘from what’, e.g., *mənnās lə-ħkāya hādīya?* ‘where does this thing (lit. story) come from?’, *ʕand-u əs-sukkaṛ mnās?* ‘from what [reason] he has a high presence of glucose [in the blood] (lit. he has the sugar from where?)’.²⁷⁰

šnīya/šnūwa, (šnawwa), šnu, šn- ‘what?, how?’

These pronouns and adjectives are used in nominal sentences²⁷¹ and commonly agree in gender with the noun they refer to, but not always, e.g., *šnīya əd-dunya ǧādi?* ‘how is the life there?’, *fhəmt šnīya Palermo?* ‘did you understand what Palermo is like?’, *šnīya lli sakkəṛ əl-ʕəṛq?* ‘what closed the veins?’, *šnawwa lə-ħkāya hādīya?* ‘what is this story?’, *šnūwa hādī?* ‘what is that?’. The form *šnūwa* can be shorted to *šnu* in fast speech, e.g., *šnu ɾāy-ək?* ‘what do you think?’ and to *šn-* when asking how a person is, e.g., *šn-aħwāl-ha?* ‘how is she?’, *šn-aħwāl-ək?* ‘how are you?’.

Only SP7^R with *rīf* origins pronounce *šnawwa* (or *šnaw* in fast speech), e.g., *šnawwa lə-ħkāya hādīya?* ‘what is this story?’, *šnaw ɾāy-ək?* ‘what do you think?’.

Both *šnīya* and *šnūwa* can also mean ‘whatever’ e.g., *l-ustāda qāl-l-u l-duktūra walla šnīya...* ‘the professor – or the doctor, whatever she is – told him...’.

When preceded by *dṛa*, they are translated as ‘I do not know what’ e.g., *ʕand-i dwāyāt w ʕand-i tḃīb w ʕand-i dṛa šnīya w ʕand-i dṛa šnīya* ‘I have the medicines, the doctor, I do not know what and I do not know what’, *āna ɾā-ni nħəbb-u w hūwa mā-yħəbb-nī-š w dīma hāɾəb ʕlī-ya w dīma dṛa šnūwa* ‘I love him, and he does not love me, always running away, always I do not know what’.

āna ‘which?’

²⁷⁰ For the other interrogative adverbs formed with the final *āš*, i.e., *qaddāš*, *kīfāš*, *waqtāš*, see §5.1.4. For the use of *-š* as an interrogative marker, see §5.2.4.2.

²⁷¹ In my corpus there are no attested interrogative pronouns forms initiating with *wə-* which in fact are described as rural traits (Naddari 2023: 99).

āna hūwa l-aḥsan? ‘which is the better?’, *āna hūwa lli thəbb tāxu hāda walla hāda?* ‘what is the one you want to take? this one or this one?’.²⁷²

4.3.5 Reflexive Pronouns

ṛūḥ-, ṛwāḥ-

The reflexive pronoun *ṛūḥ-*, *ṛwāḥ-*^{PL, 273} is followed by suffix pronouns. The singular form *ṛūḥ-* is followed by singular suffix pronouns, e.g., *āna nḥəbb nəstānəs ṛūḥ-i* ‘I want to get used to it’, while *ṛwāḥ-* is followed by the plural suffix pronouns, e.g., *mā-nqarṇū-š aḥna ṛwāḥ-na b-əl-ḥbād* ‘we do not compare ourselves with people’. When a pronoun starts with an initial *h*, this sound is progressively assimilated to the precedent *ḥ*, i.e., *ḥ+h > ḥḥ* (see §2.8.1.1), e.g., *ṛūḥ-ḥa*, *ṛwāḥ-ḥum*.

This pronoun can also be preceded by a preposition, e.g., *šlaqt b-ṛūḥ-i m-əl-ḡušš* ‘I realized by myself [that it was because] of the anger’, *yətkalləm correct wātəq mər-ṛūḥ-u* ‘he correctly speaks self-confident of himself’, *ənti ḥand-ək iṭqa fi ṛūḥ-ək* ‘you are confident of yourself’, *kull wāḥəd ḥurṛ fi ṛūḥ-u*, *kull ḥadd ḥurṛ ḥla ṛūḥ-u* ‘everyone is free with himself, everyone is free on their own’.

Especially if *ḥla* is the preposition preceding *ṛūḥ-/ṛwāḥ-*, the construction usually means ‘for oneself, in oneself interest’, e.g., *taqra ḥla ṛūḥ-ək* ‘you study for yourself’, *aḥna nəxdmu ḥla ṛwāḥ-na* ‘we work in our interest’, *āna rā-ni bəš nḥarṛəs ḥla ṛūḥ-i* ‘I will marry for myself’. However, it can also mean ‘on oneself’, e.g., *nbūl ḥla ṛūḥ-i* ‘I pee on myself’.

b-īd-i

Another reflexive construction – less used in KA – is *b-īd-* which means ‘myself’.²⁷⁴ I found this construction only with the 1SG suffix pronoun *-i*, e.g., *āna b-īd-i təḡdamt* ‘Even me, I was shocked (lit. I was in shock myself)’, *qātt-l-i wallāḥi āna b-īd-i yḡāyyəḏ-ni* ‘she told me, ‘I swear he makes me pitiful (lit. I swear, he makes me, myself, pitiful)’.

²⁷² The interrogative *āna* is also used in the varieties of Tunis (Singer 1984: 270) and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 149–150) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 99). Instead, the form *āma*, is used in Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 282) and Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 90). According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 202), *āna* is common in Eastern Maghreb, while *āma* is most used in Algeria and Tunisia.

²⁷³ The plural pronoun *ṛwāḥ* is pronounced with the medial *imāla* as is the case in Tunis Arabic, (*ā*)*ṛwāḥnā* ‘ourselves’ (Singer 1984: 256). Instead, it is pronounced without the *imāla* in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 99).

²⁷⁴ This construction is also described for Tunis (Singer 1984: 257) and Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 92).

nafs

The construction *nafs* + *əl-* + noun is used to say ‘same’,²⁷⁵ e.g., *nafs əl-xədma amma nawf āxər* ‘same work, but different type’, *nafs ət-tissage maʕnā-ha nafs əl-xədma amma nawf āxər* ‘It is the same weaving, I mean, the same work but of another type’.²⁷⁶

4.3.6 Reciprocal Pronouns

baʕḍ + suffix pronoun ‘each other’

The construction *baʕḍ* + suffix pronoun is used to express the reciprocity, i.e., ‘each other’. A preposition can also precede the pronoun *baʕḍ*. Some of the examples found in my corpus are *naʕṛfu baʕḍ-na b-əl-gda b-əl-gda* ‘we know very well each other’, *muš baʕād ʕla baʕḍ-na* ‘we are not far from each other’, *tʕawwru əntūma fi baʕḍ-kum* ‘you take pictures of each other’, *mā-talqā-ši zūz yšəbbhu l-baʕḍ-hum* ‘you do not find two resembling each other’, *hāk-əl-xyūṭ əlli məš nħuʕṭ-hum fi baʕḍ-hum* ‘these wires that I will put in each other’.

mʕa baʕḍ + suffix pronoun ‘together’

The construction *mʕa baʕḍ* + suffix pronoun means ‘together’, e.g., *tuxṛžu mʕa baʕḍ-kum* ‘you^{PL} go out together’.²⁷⁷

4.3.7 Indefinite Pronouns

4.3.7.1 *āxər*

l-āxər, l-uxṛa, l-uxṛīn ‘other (one)’

l-āxər bū-h ‘the other is his father’, *l-āxər yaʕməl-l-i hākka* ‘the other one does that to me’, *ʕamlū-ha mʕa l-uxṛa* ‘they did it with the other^{FEM}’, *baʕḍ yžṭw l-uxṛīn* ‘the others come after’.

āxər, uxṛa, uxṛīn ‘another, other, more’

²⁷⁵ This construction is defined as usual of TA (Ph. Marçais 1977: 213), and it is also quite used in Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 302).

²⁷⁶ The reflexive pronouns in Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 151) and Tunis (Singer 1984: 256) are both *rūh-* and *nifs-/nāʕs-* followed by suffix pronouns. Regarding Sousse, *nifs-* most occur in older generations. However, I have no occurrences of *nafs* followed by suffix personal pronouns in my corpus.

²⁷⁷ Another construction used in MagA to express the reciprocity is *mʕa baʕḍ* (+ suffix pronoun). According to Ph. Marçais (1977: 212), it is predominantly used in Western Maghreb (Vicente 2000: 143; Guerrero 2015: 149), but it is also described in Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010: 302).

It is also used as an adjective, e.g., *famma nawʕ āxər* ‘there is another type’, *bāl-ək-š hūwa ʕand-u mšāʕər uxra mʕa nās uxra* ‘perhaps he has other feelings with other people’, *nafs əš-šūf amma xədma nawʕīya uxra* ‘same wool but another kind of work’, *ʕtā-ni zūz uxriṅ* ‘he gave me two more’.

wāḥəd āxər ‘another one, someone else’

This pronoun means ‘another one’ when referring to an object, e.g., *zīd-ni wāḥəd āxər* ‘add me another one [of makrout]’, and ‘someone else’ when referring to a person, e.g., *ki yzi wāḥəd āxər mən barra mā-ysāl-əš* ‘when someone else one comes from abroad there is no problem’.

4.3.7.2 bʕaḍ

bʕaḍ ‘some’

When followed by a definite plural noun, *bʕaḍ* means ‘some’,²⁷⁸ e.g., *yətxabba fi bʕaḍ lə-blāyəs* ‘he hides in some places’, *šrīt bʕaḍ lə-ḥwāyž* ‘I bought some things’, *mšīt bʕaḍ l-ḥwānət* ‘I went to some shops’.

4.3.7.3 ḥadd

ḥadd ‘someone’

In positive sentences *ḥadd* means ‘someone’, e.g., *ki yzi ḥadd* ‘when someone comes’.

ḥadd ‘no one’, ḥatta ḥadd ‘no one at all’

In negative sentences, *ḥadd* means ‘no one’, and *ḥatta ḥadd* is used to reinforce ‘no one at all’ (see § 5.2.3.2), e.g., *mā-ža-š ḥadd* ‘no one came’, *ḥatta ḥadd mā-ža-š l-yūm* ‘no one at all came today’, *la naʕməl ḥatta ʕlāqa ḥatta mʕa ḥatta ḥadd* ‘I do not even create a relationship with anyone’.

4.3.7.4 ḥāža

ḥāža ‘something’

In positive sentences, *ḥāža* means ‘something’, e.g., *thəbb ʕlā-k ḥāža?* ‘do you like something?’, *ḥāža hākka ayyāmāt* ‘something like that, days’, *ḥāža məzyāna w typique tunisien* ‘something beautiful and typical Tunisian’.

ḥāža ‘anything’, ḥatta ḥāža ‘not even a thing’

²⁷⁸ This construction is also used in Larache (Guerrero 2015: 150) and other MagA varieties (Ph. Marçais 1977: 212).

In negative sentences, *ḥāža* means ‘anything’, and *ḥatta ḥāža* is used to reinforce ‘not even a thing’ (see § 5.2.3.2), e.g., *šūf, āna mā-naʿmāl ḥāža* ‘look, I do not do anything’, *ma-ṭayyabt ḥatta ḥāža bsīṭa* ‘I did not cook even a simple thing’.

4.3.7.5 *šayy*

***šayy* ‘anything’, *ḥatta šayy* ‘nothing at all’**

šayy is used in negative sentences in the sense of ‘anything’, and *ḥatta* is added to strengthen this indefinite pronoun (see § 5.2.3.2), e.g., *mā-nḥəbb šayy* ‘I do not want anything’, *mā-naʿrəf šayy* ‘I do not know anything’, *mā-rīt ʕlā-ha šayy* ‘I did not see anything of her’, *mā-famma šayy* ‘there is nothing’, *mā-yḍahhar ʕlī-h ḥat^{ta} šayy* ‘he does not show anything at all’, *mā-lʕabt šayy ʕlī-h* ‘so many things you did to him! (lit. you did not play with him at all)’, *insān ḥākkāka mā-ʕmāl-l-ək ḥatta šayy* ‘a person like that did not do anything to you at all’.

4.3.7.6 *flān*

***flān, flāna; flān(a) w faltān(a); flāni, flānīya* ‘guy, so-and-so’**

flān mā-ʕand-ū-š sgār w flān mā-ʕand-ū-š mašārīj^{MSA} ‘guy has no children, guy has no expenses’, *xaddəm flāna w faltāna* ‘employ so-and-so’. The corresponding adjective is *flāni, flānīya^{FEM}*, e.g., *tzi l-waqt lə-flāni təsʕa* ‘come at so-and-so, 9 o’clock’, *fi sāʕa flānīya* ‘at so-and-so hour’.

4.3.7.7 *kull*

***kull* ‘all’**

In this case, the pronoun *kull* is preceded by a (more often) definite plural antecedent, e.g., *qbal-hum l-kull* ‘before all of them’, *ən-nās l-kull tzi fi complet* ‘all people come in suits’, *ḥādāya l-kull əš-šākəl mərə ʕās-ha* ‘all this form comes from his head’, *nhār l-kull nhār əl-kull ənti f-ət-tālīfūn* ‘you are on the phone all day all day’.

***kull* + pronoun ‘all’**

kull-hum dāymīn nšaʕlāh kull-hum daymīn ‘they all stay, God willing. They all stay’, *kull-ha təkṭəb f-əl-žāməʕ* ‘all are signed in the mosque’, *əl-aʕmda ḥādāy kull-ha ʕūmānīya* ‘all these columns are Roman’.

***kull* ‘every’**

In this case, the indefinite pronoun *kull* is followed by an indefinite singular noun, e.g., *tkallam-ni kull yūm* ‘she calls me everyday’, *kull šuġl²⁷⁹ yadāwi^{MSA}* ‘every work is handmade’.

***kull ḥāža, kull šayy* ‘everything’**

kull ḥāža and *kull šayy* mean ‘everything’ and when placed at the end of the sentences – more often introduced by the conjunction *w* – mean ‘and so on’, e.g., *klīt kull šayy* ‘I ate everything’, *twalli kull šayy mər-ṛās-ha* ‘it is all from her head’, *yzīdu yšažžfū-na maḡnā-ha w kull šayy* ‘they still support us, and so on’, *famma lli yži fi costume, kull ḥāža...* ‘there is who comes in a suit and everything [else]’, *nəmšīw nṣallīw f-əž-žāməḡ maḡnā-ha w kull šayy* ‘we go to pray in this mosque, I mean, and so on’, *hādīka yəlbsu ḡādi ksāwi w kull ḥāža* ‘[people] normally dress, [like] suits and so on’.

***kull wāḥəd, kull wāḥda, kull ḥadd* ‘everyone, each one’**

kull wāḥəd ḡand-u dūrūf-u ‘everyone has his situation’, *kull wāḥda* pièce unique ‘each one is a unique piece’, *kull ḥadd yaḡlam bī-h ṛaḃḃ-i kull wāḥəd w dūrūf-u* ‘only God knows about each one, about everyone’s situation’.

4.3.7.8 *wāḥəd*

***wāḥəd, wāḥda* ‘one, someone’**

xḏāw-h mən ḡand wāḥəd əž-ždīd ‘we got them from a new one’, *qaddās wāḥəd ki yḥayyər!* ‘how is one like when they get scared!’, *mā-talqā-ši wāḥda tšabbəh l-uxt-ha* ‘you cannot find one that looks like the other’, *ki yži wāḥəd étranger* ‘when comes someone foreign’, *īḏa kān rīt wāḥəd lābəs əž-žəbba* ‘if you see someone wearing the jibba’.

***wāḥəd... wāḥəd...* ‘one... another one...’**

wāḥəd yətzāwəf wāḥəd yabda sākət ‘one acts hungry, another one keeps silent’.

***l-wāḥəd* ‘one’**

The form *wāḥəd* preceded by the article is used to express the impersonal, e.g., *wallāh l-wāḥəd yaḡlam ḡlī-h ṛaḃḃ-i* ‘I swear, only God knows about a person’. Another way to express the impersonal is by using the third person male singular or plural of the verb, e.g., *īḏa mā-yḥəbb-əš mā-yəlbəs-š* ‘If one does not want, one does not wear [it]’, *yzīdu yšažžfū-na* ‘[people] still support’, *žābū-h mən tūnəs* ‘[people] brought him from Tunis’

²⁷⁹ The speaker was addressing me and preferred to use the Mashreqi word *šuġl* because he thought I understood it better than the Tunisian equivalent *xədma*.

or the passive form, e.g., *fī tūnās yaṭktāb f-əl-baladī^{yyaMSA}* ‘[the contracts of marriage] are signed in the town hall’, *təṭrabba fī ʕəzz-kum* ‘may she be raised in your love’.

wāḥəd + suffix pronouns ‘alone, by yourself’

uǧzur waḥd-ək mā-tnažžəm-š thəzz-u ‘look, you cannot hold it alone’, *waḥd-i mā-nāžžəm-š nāqəf nsalləm ʕlī-ha* ‘I cannot stop alone to say hello’, *waḥd-ək āywa waḥd-ək* ‘[you learn] by yourself, OK, by yourself’, [male name] *mša yuṭlub əl-ḥīmāya waḥd-u* ‘he went to call the firefighters by himself’.

ḥatta wāḥəd ‘none’

This pronoun is used in negative sentences (see § 5.2.3.2), e.g., *mā-yaǧləb ḥatta wāḥəd* ‘none wins at all’.

4.4 Numerals

This section shows cardinal and ordinal numerals, the names of days, months, and seasons, and how to express fractions, percentages, and hours in KA.

4.4.1 Cardinal

The following table shows cardinal numerals in KA.

1	<i>wāḥəd, wāḥda</i>	11	<i>ḥdāš</i>	21	<i>wāḥəd w ʕəšrīn</i>
2	<i>ṭnīn/zūz</i>	12	<i>əṭnāš</i>	22	<i>ṭnīn w ʕəšrīn</i>
3	<i>tlāṭa</i>	13	<i>ṭlaṭṭāš</i>	23	<i>tlāṭa w ʕəšrīn</i>
4	<i>aṛbʕa</i>	14	<i>aṛbaʕṭāš</i>	30	<i>tlāṭīn</i>
5	<i>xamsa</i>	15	<i>xmuṣṭāš</i>	40	<i>aṛbʕīn</i>
6	<i>səṭta</i>	16	<i>səṭṭāš</i>	50	<i>xamsīn</i>
7	<i>sabʕa</i>	17	<i>sbaʕṭāš</i>	60	<i>səṭṭīn</i>
8	<i>ṭmānya</i>	18	<i>ṭmunṭāš</i>	70	<i>sabʕīn</i>
9	<i>təsʕa</i>	19	<i>tšaʕṭāš</i>	80	<i>ṭmānīn</i>
10	<i>ʕašʕa</i>	20	<i>ʕəšrīn</i>	90	<i>təsʕīn</i>

All the numeral forms in the table – except number one – are invariable.

Indeed, the number ‘one’ is the only numeral having two gender forms, i.e., *wāḥəd* and *wāḥda^{FEM}*. It is usually used after a noun to emphasize the amount, e.g., *la, tuffāḥa*

wāḥda ‘no, just one apple’.²⁸⁰ The numeral *wāḥad* is also metaphorically used by young speakers to replace the taboo word ‘sex’ in the construction *ʕmal + wāḥad* ‘to do sex’.²⁸¹

The numeral ‘two’ has two forms. The first one is *zūz* (OA *zawǧ* ‘couple’) which can be followed by an indefinite plural noun as a counted object. This construction also represents the way used to express the analytical dual,²⁸² e.g., *zūz ktub* ‘two books’, *zūz stīlwāt* ‘two pens’. The second form used is *tnīn*, which is involved in compound numbers, e.g., *tnīn w xamsīn* ‘fifty-two’, and making a numbers list. Nevertheless, both forms – *zūz* and *tnīn* – can be nominalized, e.g., *mā-talqā-ši zūz ki bʕaḍ-hum* ‘you do not find two identical among them’, *mā-talqā-ši tnīn kīf kīf* ‘you do not find two similar’, or determinate by the article, expressing the sense of ‘both’, e.g., *əz-zūz la bās wallāh* ‘both are OK, I swear’, *wāllaw lə-tnīn* ‘both changed’.

From 3 to 10, the counted object appears in the indefinite plural form, e.g., *xamsa snīn* ‘five years’, *ʕašra marṛāt* ‘ten times’. However, some units of measure of non-Arabic origin remain in the singular, e.g., *xamsa kīlu* ‘five kilos’, *ʕašra kīlūmātər* ‘ten kilometers’. When followed by a noun starting by *-a/-ā*, a short realization of the numeral without the final *-a* is attested to, e.g., *arbf ālāf* ‘four thousand [millimes]’, *sətt ayyām* ‘six days’. The numeral ‘three’ shows the dissimilated form *tlāta* (see §2.8.2) in almost all the corpus, but cases of *tlātā* are present as well in Badreddine’s speakers.²⁸³ The dissimilation *t̄ > t* also remains in compound numerals, e.g., *tlātīn* ‘thirty’, *tlāta mīya* ‘three hundred’.

In the numerals from 11 to 19, the ten is expressed by the final *-āš* (< *ʕašra*). When followed by a counted noun, a connecting element *-ən* is attached to the number, and the counted object is in the indefinite singular form, e.g. *ḥdāš-ən sna* ‘eleven years’, *ʕmur-ha tnāš-ən sna* ‘she has twelve years’.²⁸⁴ Regarding phonetic changes, the loss of the fricative *t̄* in the number ‘thirteen’ has been replaced by the pharyngealization, i.e. *t̄ > t̤̄*.

²⁸⁰ On the use of *wāḥad/wāḥda* as an indefinite pronoun and indefinite article, see §4.3.7.8.

²⁸¹ The use of metaphors and cryptic strategies in young generation sociolects is well known in many languages. For an example of these linguistic strategies and the use of secret languages among urban youth in Arabic-speaking contexts, see Manfredi (2008).

²⁸² On the dual in KA, see §4.1.2.1.

²⁸³ This kind of dissimilation appears in other Tunisian varieties and the Judeo-Arabic of Baghdad (Durand 2007: 245).

²⁸⁴ This suffix also occurs in other varieties of TA, like Tunis (Singer 1984: 612; Bitūna 2011: 32), Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 140), Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 280) Nefza (Naddari 2023: 172) but also in the Libyan Arabic of Fezzān, Benghazi, Khoms (Ph. Marçais 1977: 178; D’Anna 2021: 25) and some Algerian areas (Ph. Marçais, 1977: 178).

From 20 to 99, the tens are expressed by the suffix *-īn*, e.g., *xamsīn* ‘fifty’. In compound nouns, the ones and tens are connected by the conjunction *w*, e.g., *aṛbʿa w sattiin* ‘sixty-four’. Even for these numerals, the counted noun is expressed in the indefinite singular, e.g., *tasʿa w tlāīn sna* ‘thirty-nine years’.

The decades are expressed by suffixing the ending *-āt* to the corresponding numeral, e.g., *fī awāxar as-sattiināt* ‘at the end of the 60s’.

Below are the numerals starting from one hundred:

100	<i>mīya</i>	1 000	<i>alf</i>	1 000 000	<i>malyūn</i>
101	<i>mīya w wāḥad</i>	2 000	<i>ālfīn</i>	2 000 000	<i>zūz mlāyn</i>
102	<i>mīya w tnīn</i>	3 000	<i>tlāī ālāf</i>	3 000 000	<i>tlāīta mlāyn</i>
200	<i>mītīn</i>	4 000	<i>aṛbʿ ālāf</i>	4 000 000	<i>aṛbʿa mlāyn</i>
300	<i>tlāīta mīya</i>	5 000	<i>xams ālāf</i>	5 000 000	<i>xamsa mlāyn</i>
400	<i>aṛbʿa mīya</i>	6 000	<i>satt ālāf</i>	6 000 000	<i>satta mlāyn</i>
500	<i>xamsa mīya</i>	7 000	<i>sabʿ ālāf</i>	7 000 000	<i>sabʿa mlāyn</i>
600	<i>satta mīya</i>	8 000	<i>tmāny ālāf</i>	8 000 000	<i>tmānya mlāyn</i>
700	<i>sabʿa mīya</i>	9 000	<i>tasʿ ālāf</i>	9 000 000	<i>tasʿa mlāyn</i>
800	<i>tmānya mīya</i>	10 000	<i>ʿašr ālāf</i>	1 000 000 000	<i>balyūn/mīlyār</i>
900	<i>tasʿa mīya</i>	11 000	<i>ḥdāš alf</i>	2 000 000 000	<i>zūz blāyn/ zūz mīlyārāt</i>

The numeral ‘hundred’ is *mīya*, its dual form is *mītīn*, e.g., *mītīn alf* ‘two hundred thousand [millimes]’, and its plural *mīyāt*. As shown in the table above, *mīya* remains in singular form even after the numerals from 3 to 10, but it takes the plural *mīyāt* when followed by a noun, e.g., *tlāīta mīyāt alf* ‘three hundred thousand’²⁸⁵. The counted noun is always in the singular form. When followed by the counted object (except for *alf*), the

²⁸⁵ This is also the case in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 615). Instead, in Douz, Ritt-Benmimoun (2017: 281) mainly finds the plural, even though the singular form is also attested to.

suffix *-ən* is attached to the number,²⁸⁶ e.g., *tlāta mīyāt-ən lawħa*,²⁸⁷ ‘there are almost three hundred paintings’, *sətta mīyāt-ən kaṣba maqrūd* ‘six hundred pieces of Makrouts’.

The numeral ‘thousand’ is *alf*, *ālāf*^{PL}, and the dual form is *alfīn* ‘two thousand [millimes]’. Before *ālāf*, the short forms of numbers without the final *-a* are used, e.g., *xamsa ālāf ṣayla* ‘five thousand families’, *ətnāš alf ṣayla* ‘twelve thousand families’. After numbers over 10, *alf* is used in the singular form, e. g. *tlātin alf* ‘thirty thousand’, *b-səttīn alf* ‘sixty thousand [millimes]’.

The words *mīyāt* and *ālāf* are used in the sense of ‘hundreds/thousands of...’, e.g., *ālāf muš mīyāt* ‘they are thousands of years old, not hundreds’.

The word used for ‘million’ is *malyūn*, *mlāyn*^{PL}, e.g., *malyūn w xamsa mīya* ‘one million five hundred’, *tlāta mlāyn w nušš* ‘three and half million’.

The word ‘billion’ can be expressed by both English and French loanwords *balyūn* (< EN ‘billion’), *blāyn*^{PL} most by old generations, and *mīlyār* (< FR *miliard*), *mīlyārāt*^{PL} by youngest generations.

4.4.2 Ordinal

Ordinal numbers – except ‘first’ – follow the pattern $C^1 \bar{a}C^2 \bar{a}C^3$, $C^1 \bar{a}C^2 C^3 a^{FEM}$ and $C^1 \bar{a}C^2 i$, $C^1 \bar{a}C^2 ya^{FEM}$ for defective roots. They can be placed before an indefinite noun or after the noun to which they refer, agreeing in gender, number, and determination.

The forms attested to in my corpus for the ordinal number ‘(the) first’ are *awwəl*, *l-ūl*, and the feminine *l-ūla*. One occurrence of *l-ūlāni* is found in SP7^R, i.e., *ət-təxtīṭ l-ūlāni* ‘the first electrocardiogram’. The forms *l-ūl/l-ūla*^{FEM} and *l-ūlāni* are used as attributes and follow the noun, while *awwəl* always precedes an indefinite noun, e.g., *l-mraħla l-ūla* ‘the second stage’, *awwəl tārīqa f-əl-ħqīqa əs-sport* ‘actually the first way is the sport’.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ To the best of my knowledge, the use of the suffix *-ən* after the numeral *mīyāt* is not described in other varieties of TA (Stumme 1896: 125–126; Talmoudi 1980: 139–140; Singer 1984: 614–615; Bitūna 2011: 34–35; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 281–282; Naddari 2023: 172).

²⁸⁷ The *n* of the suffix *-ən* can be subjected to regressive assimilation, e.g., *mīyāt-ən lawħa* > *mīyāt-əl lawħa*, see § 2.8.1.2.

²⁸⁸ Regarding the number ‘one’, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 283–284) attests to only the form *awwal* (*awwl*^{FEM}), while Naddari also finds the three forms *l-ūl*, *l-ūlāni*, *l-awwil* (*l-ūla*^{FEM} ~ *l-ūlāniya*^{FEM}) (Naddari 2023: 173). The forms described in Tunis by Singer are *āuwəl* (*ūwəl*), *ūlāni* (*āu^ulā*^{FEM} (*ūlā*^{FEM}), *ūlānīyā*^{FEM}) (Singer 1984: 617).

What follows is the list of masculine and feminine ordinal numbers in KA from one to ten. Ordinal numbers after 10 are not usually attested to because speakers prefer to use alternative constructions, e.g., *ža nūmru ḥdāš* ‘he arrived eleventh’.

	SG.M	SG.F
1	<i>awwəl, l-ūl</i>	<i>l-ūla</i>
2	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tānya</i>
3	<i>tālət</i>	<i>tālta</i>
4	<i>ṛābət</i>	<i>ṛābta</i>
5	<i>xāməs</i>	<i>xāmsa</i>
6	<i>sādəs</i>	<i>sādsa</i>
7	<i>sābət</i>	<i>sābta</i>
8	<i>tāmən</i>	<i>tāmna</i>
9	<i>tāsət</i>	<i>tāsfa</i>
10	<i>ṣāšət</i>	<i>ṣāšfa</i>

4.4.3 Days of the week

The numeral roots are used for naming the days of the week, e.g., *l-aṛbfa* ‘Wednesday’, except for *l-žumfa* ‘Friday’. In addition, the names of the days can also be expressed by using the word *nhār* ‘day’²⁸⁹ in genitive analytic construction, e.g., *nhār lə-xmīs* ‘Thursday’, *nhār əs-səbt* ‘Saturday’, *nhār l-aḥad* ‘Sunday’.²⁹⁰

Monday	<i>(nhār) ət-tnīn</i>
Tuesday	<i>(nhār) ət-tlāta</i>
Wednesday	<i>(nhār) l-aṛbfa</i>
Thursday	<i>(nhār) lə-xmīs</i>
Friday	<i>(nhār) l-žumfa</i>
Saturday	<i>(nhār) əs-səbt</i>
Sunday	<i>(nhār) l-aḥad</i>

²⁸⁹ The common plural form of *nhār* is *ayyāmāt*^{PL}; *nhārāt* is used as the French *jours* or the Italian *giornate*.

²⁹⁰ These two possibilities are also valid for other varieties of MagA (Caubet 1993: 157; Guerrero 2015: 164; Ritt-Benmimoun 2020: 285; Naddari 2023: 173–174).

4.4.4 Months and seasons of the year

The names of the months (*šhar*, *šhūr*^{PL} ‘month’) are generally expressed in KA by using French loanwords,²⁹¹ as shown below:

January	<i>žānfi</i>
February	<i>fivri</i>
March	<i>mārs</i>
April	<i>avrīl</i>
May	<i>māy</i>
June	<i>žwān</i>
July	<i>žwīlya</i>
August	<i>ūt</i>
September	<i>səptambəṛ</i>
October	<i>uktübəṛ</i>
November	<i>nūvambəṛ</i>
December	<i>dīsambəṛ</i>

From a phonetic point of view, the vowels *a* and *ā* – preceding the nasal consonants *m* or *n* in the nouns *žānfi*, *žwān*, *səptambəṛ*, *nūvambəṛ*, *dīsambəṛ* – are pronounced as a nasal [ã] as occurs in French.

The four seasons (*fašl* ‘season’) of the year are *šif* ‘summer’, *ṛbīl* ‘spring’, *xīf* ‘autumn’ and *šta* ‘winter’.

4.4.5 Fractions

Fractions are expressed using the root of the number in form $C^1C^2uC^3$, e.g., *rbuf* ‘1/4’, *xmus* ‘1/5’. An exception is constituted by *nušš* and *štar* ‘half’. These two forms cover different uses. *nušš* is used with numbers and hours, e.g., *tlāta mlāyən w nušš* ‘three and a half million’, *nušš sāḥa* ‘half an hour’, *nušš nhār* ‘noon’. Instead, the use of *štar* is linked to expressions of quantity, e.g., *mgarfiṭn w štar sukkar* ‘two and a half spoons of sugar’, *məš nḥall dabbūza, hāy tuḍhuṛ hādīya fā-ha štar* (Badreddine 1977b: Corpus I, 223-225) ‘I am going to open a [new] bottle when this one half appeared’.

²⁹¹ This trend is generally shared in TA (Durand & Tarquini 2023: 190).

4.4.6 Percentages

Percentages are expressed in KA by using the numeral followed by the formula *f-əl-mīya*, e.g., *šašra fī-l-mīya* ‘10%’, *tlāṭīn fī-l-mīya* ‘30%’, *tasṭīn f-əl-mīya* ‘90%’.

4.4.7 Hours

The more common way to ask ‘what time is it?’ is *qaddāš l-waqt?*. The following table resumes the complete way of telling the exact hours.

	a.m.	p.m.
1	<i>mā(di) sāsa mtāf əl-līl</i>	<i>mā(di) sāsa mtāf əl-qāyla</i>
2	<i>mā(di) sāṣṭīn mtāf əl-līl</i>	<i>mā(di) sāṣṭīn mtāf əl-qāyla</i>
3	<i>mā(di) tlāṭa mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>mā(di) tlāṭa lə-ḥšīya</i>
4	<i>l-arḃsa mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>l-arḃsa mtāf lə-ḥšīya</i>
5	<i>l-xamsa mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>l-xamsa mtāf lə-ḥšīya</i>
6	<i>l-satta mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>l-satta mtāf lə-ḥšīya</i>
7	<i>l-sabʿa mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>l-sabʿa mtāf lə-ḥšīya</i>
8	<i>ṭmānya mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>l-ṭmānya mtāf lə-ḥšīya</i>
9	<i>tasʿa mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>tasʿa mtāf əl-līl</i>
10	<i>šašra mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>šašra mtāf əl-līl</i>
11	<i>lə-ḥdāš mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>lə-ḥdāš mtāf əl-līl</i>
12	<i>nuṣṣ nhār</i>	<i>nuṣṣ əl-līl</i>

**V. CHAPTER FIVE:
ADVERBS, PARTICLES, PREPOSITIONS
AND CONJUNCTIONS**

This chapter collects simple and compound adverbs, particles, prepositions, and conjunctions commonly used in KA. I show their forms, meanings, uses – when necessary – and sample sentences from my corpus. The identified forms are generally also attested in other varieties of TA. That is why I will discuss only the most relevant divergences and/or similarities with other varieties in the footnotes.

5.1 Adverbs

This section includes temporal, local, modal, degree, and interrogative adverbs. For each group, the adverbs found in the corpus are listed in alphabetic order, according to the word’s etymological root. Compound adverbs are generally formed by the addition of suffix pronouns, the suffix *-(ī)ka*, prepositions, or demonstratives to the base word. After presenting the simple form of the adverb, all compound forms are shown together under it.

5.1.1 Temporal

5.1.1.1 *bārəḥ*

l-bārəḥ ‘yesterday’²⁹²

l-bārəḥ ɓarka āna qutt-əl-ha [female proper name] *mā-taʕɪfū-hā-š* [female proper name] *mā-hī-ši žʕāna* ‘just yesterday, I told her, ‘[female proper name], you do not know [female proper name] she is not hungry’, *l-bārəḥ nsīna l-yāğurt en le frīžīdār* ‘yesterday we forgot the yogurt in the fridge’.

m-əl-bārəḥ ‘since yesterday’

m-əl-bārəḥ āna f-əd-dār, mā-xražt-š ‘since yesterday I am at home, I did not go out’.

l-barḥat l-ūla ‘the day before yesterday’

l-barḥat l-ūla qaʕdna f-əd-dār ‘the day before yesterday, we stayed at home’.

5.1.1.2 *baʕd*

baʕd ‘then’

²⁹² *l-bārəḥ* generically means ‘yesterday’ in KA, Tunis (Singer 1984: 647) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 103). However, it means ‘yesterday evening, last night’ in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 119) and Takrouna (W. Marçais & Guîga 1961: 267) Arabic. A form *mbārəḥ* is attested to in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 103), but not in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 119) and Tunis (Singer 1984: 647).

yzūr žāməf šuqba w bašd yzūr l-mathaf hādāy ‘he visits the Great Mosque and then he visits this museum’, *w bašd bə-šwayya bə-šwayya twalli kull šayy məṛ-ṛās-ha* ‘and then, little by little, it comes all out from her imagination.’

***bašdīka* ‘after a while’**

This adverb covers both temporal and local (see §5.1.2.2) values, e.g., *āna nuḡzur-l-u w bašdīka žā-ni* ‘I was staring at him, and after a while, he came to me’, *bašdīka qāl-l-i šbī-ha mart* [male proper name] ‘after a while, he said to me, ‘what is wrong with [male proper name]’s wife?’’.

***bašd-ha* ‘after that’**

əsməf bašd-ha wallāt [female proper name] *šbāḥ l-xīr šamm* [male proper name] ‘listen, after that, [female proper name] started [to say to me], ‘good morning, uncle [male proper name]’.’

***mən bašd* ‘after that’²⁹³**

mən bašd wallāw lə-tnīn yqūlu aḷḷāh ybārək ‘after that, both started greeting me’.

5.1.1.3 *bəkri*

***bəkri* ‘before, early’**

āywa, rīt-ha bəkri hāk-əl-vidéo ‘yes, I saw that video before’, *bəkri təmši l-əl-žəbbāna* ‘you go early to the cemetery’.

5.1.1.4 *tawwa*

***tawwa, taw, tawwīka* ‘now, nowadays’²⁹⁴**

The most common meaning of this adverb is ‘now’, e.g., *āna nṛakkab-ha ṛā-hu tawwa wallət sāhla* ‘I [can] assemble it, now it became easy’, *hūma tawwa yašmlu ṡabqət əl-lūḥ w šamlu d-décor* ‘they now do a layer of wood, and the decoration’, *taw hūwa ma zāl sous traitement* ‘now he is still under treatment’, *naṛžšu tawwīka* ‘let’s go back now’.²⁹⁵

taw(wa) also means ‘nowadays’, as in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 120), e.g., *tawwa əš-šīnīyīn hādūma ət-tālīyīn... l-yīd əl-šamla ṡfāqdət* ‘nowadays the

²⁹³ It is unclear whether there is a semantic or sociolinguistic difference between the two temporal adverbs *bašd-ha* and *mən bašd*. Indeed, the equivalent two examples mentioned for these adverbs are attested to in an older male speaker (SP7^R), referring to the same previous event in the same sentence. Both adverbs are described in Douz Arabic with the same value (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 119).

²⁹⁴ For *taw* as future marker, see 3.16.

²⁹⁵ According to Singer (1984: 641), *tāuwīkā* expresses a value of insistence that I did not perceive in KA.

Chinese in these last years... the workforce is lost’, *tawwa l-kull yḥabbu ybaddlu* ‘nowadays everyone wants to change’, *taw ki tāmši tūnsi thazz-u l-ḥarḥa yḥiṣ ḥādi* ‘nowadays, if you, a Tunisian, go abroad, you live normally’.

The form *taw* is more rarely attested to than *tawwa*²⁹⁶ when used, *taw* mainly covers its future marker role, as described in §3.16, e.g., *taw nabḥaṭ-l-ək taṣwīra b-əl-gda*, ‘I am going to send you a beautiful picture’.

***tawwa* ‘just’**

If the action takes place in the recent past, *tawwa* has the value of ‘just’, as Singer (1984: 642) describes for Tunis Arabic, e.g., *rīt-u tawwa f-əl-žāməḥ fi žāməḥ əl-anṣār* ‘I have just seen him in the Mosque, in the *əl-anṣār* Mosque’.

***l-tawwa* ‘until now’²⁹⁷**

la ḥand-ha žār w la ṣāḥba l-tawwa ‘she has neither neighbor nor friend until now’, *l-tawwa ma-kallmāt-nī-š* ‘until now she did not call me’.

5.1.1.5 *dīma*

***dīma* ‘always’**

Ḡandalus^{MSA} *yšabbhu dīma l-ḥarab* ‘[The inhabitants of] *al-Andalus* always resemble the Arabs’, *dīma yəlbəs-ha lli qṛīb ḥarša lli hūwa l-famille* ‘it is always dressed by the very close ones who are the family’, *īda kān rīt wāḥəd lābəs əž-žabba [...]* *rā-hu dīma yuqṛub l-əl-ḥrūsa* ‘if you see someone wearing the jibba [...] it always [means that] he is close to the bride’.

5.1.1.6 *mā-zāl*

The combination of the negation *ma* and the etymological verb *zāl* ‘to pass, to disappear’ is used as an adverb; however, *zāl* has a verb status in KA and it is conjugated in the S-stem.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ On the contrary, the form *taw* is more used than *tawwa* in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 120).

²⁹⁷ For the use of *l-tawwa* as phasal polarity expression in TA, see Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun (2023).

²⁹⁸ In TA, there is variation between forms of *mā-zāl* receiving agreement indexes – as in the case of KA – and the invariable form (Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun 2023: 135). The ‘agreeing forms’ are predominant in the TuniCo corpus, but early morphological signs show that this phasal polarity expression starts to be grammaticalized in Tunis Arabic (Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun 2023: 135). *mā-zāl* is considered an auxiliary verb in Nefza since it is fully inflected (Naddari 2023: 231–232). *mā-zāl* rests in the invariable form also in Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010: 362–363).

When *mā-zāl* is used in a positive sentence, it means ‘still’, whereas, in a negative sentence, it means ‘not yet’, as exemplified below.

***mā-zāl* ‘still’**

taw hūwa mā-zāl sous traitement ‘now he still is under treatment’, *mā-zāl bākri* ‘it is still early’, *mā-zālət šgīra* ‘she is still young’, *ənti mā-zəlt taqra əd-dirāsa*^{MSA} ‘you are still continuing the study’, *mā-zəlna f-əl-ḥafla aḥna tawwa* ‘we are still at the party now’.

***mā-zāl* ‘not yet’**

mā-zāl mā-hbaṭ-l-ī-š əl-qurwān ‘he did not yet go down to Kairouan’, *mā-zəlt mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u l-Whatsapp* ‘I still do not understand [how] WhatsApp [works]’, *mā-zəlt mā-naṣrəf-š* ‘I do not know yet’.

5.1.1.7 *sna*

***əs-sna* ‘this year’**

əs-sna mšīt l-mahdīya ‘this year I visited Mahdia’.

5.1.1.8 *sāṣāt*

***sāṣāt* ‘sometimes’**

walḷāhi w-ən-nfūs sāṣāt sāṣāt insān hākkāka mā-ḡməl-l-ək ḥatta šayy ‘I swear, sometimes individuals, people like that did not do anything to you’, *sāṣāt nəxdəm nqūl-l-ha ya mā rā-ni tāṣba* ‘sometimes I work, and I say to her, ‘Mom, I am tired’’, *sāṣāt naxtəf ən-nhār sāṣtīn nqayyəl* ‘sometimes I steal two hours from the day to take a nap’.

sāṣāt.... w sāṣāt... ‘sometimes... and sometimes...’

walḷāhi sāṣāt talqā-ha mutdayyna w muš muḥtarma w sāṣāt talqa l-ḡaks ‘I swear, sometimes a person is religious [in appearance] but is not respectful, and sometimes it is the opposite’.

5.1.1.9 *šbāḥ*

***əṣ-šbāḥ* ‘in the morning’**

əṣ-šbāḥ āna daqqīt ḡlī-k-ə? ‘did I knock you in the morning?’, *ənti wīn māšya əṣ-šbāḥ?* *ənti əṣ-šbāḥ āš ḡand-ək?* ‘where are you going in the morning? what do you have [to do] in the morning?’, *w-ənti žīt əṣ-šbāḥ* ‘and you came in the morning’.

***f-əṣ-šbāḥ, l-yūm əṣ-šbāḥ* ‘this morning’**

On forms and functional uses of *mā-zāl* as phasal polarity expression in TA, see Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun (2023).

xraʒ f-əʒ-ʃbāh, *xraʒ l-yūm əʒ-ʃbāh* ‘he went out this morning’.

5.1.1.10 *ʕumr*

***ʕumr* + suffix pronoun + negated verb ‘never (in life)’**

If a suffix pronoun follows the word *ʕumr* in a negative sentence, this adverb means ‘never (in life)’. In this syntactic construction, the verb is negated by the particle *mā-*, without the circumfixal *-š*, i.e., *ʕumr* + suffix pronoun + *mā-* + verb, e.g., *mā-nəkḏab-š ʕlī-k m-əl-lūl mā-naʕrfū-š ʕumr-i mā-rīt-u* ‘I am not lying to you, we have not known him since the beginning, I have never seen him’.

***ʕumr* + suffix pronoun + *la nhār* ‘not even a day (in life)’**

Another syntactic construction with *ʕumr* followed by a suffix pronoun involves the negation *la nhār* ‘not even one day’. This construction gives more emphasis to the sentence, e.g., *ʕumr-u la nhār qāl-l-i ǧaʕti rās-ək ʕumr-u la nhār qāl-l-i ǧaʕti* ‘not even a day in my life did he tell me, ‘cover your head’, not a day in my life did he tell me, ‘cover yourself’, *la ʕumr-u nhār tšaddəd fī-h fi ḥāza* ‘do not persist in one thing even a day of your life’.

5.1.1.11 *mā-ʕād-š*

***mā-ʕād-š* ‘not anymore’**

This temporal adverb is composed of the etymological verb *ʕād* ‘to return’, surrounded by the circumfixal negation *mā-...-š*. It is never conjugated in my corpus and means ‘not anymore’,²⁹⁹ e.g., *mā-ʕād-š famma škūn yḥabb yaʕnaʕ maʕnā-ha əʒ-ʒəld* ‘no one wants to work leather anymore’, *naʕrf-ək mā-ʕād-š tḥabb* ‘I know you do not want it anymore’, *əš-šḥam f-əl-ʕrūq hūwa lli ysakkar əl-ʕərq mā-ʕād-š yxallī-u yəxdəm* ‘the fat in the veins is what closes the vein and does not let it work anymore’, *qātt-l-ək muxx-i wqəf mā-ʕād-əš txamməm ḥatta bəš tšədd l-portable* ‘she said to me, ‘my brain stopped’. She did not understand anymore, not even to hold the phone’.

5.1.1.12 *ʕām*

***l-ʕām hādāka* ‘that year’**

waqt əlli ḥart-l-u ənti mā-ʒīt-š l-ʕām hādāka ‘when I circumcised him, you did not come that year’.

²⁹⁹ For a more comprehensive analysis of forms, meanings and functions of *mā-ʕād-š* in TA, see Fischer, Persohn & Ritt-Benmimoun (2023: 143–148). *mā-ʕād-š* is also used as an invariable form in Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 363).

***ƣamnāwwəl, l-ƣām əlli fāt* ‘last year’**

žāt w ƣāt-u ƣamnāwwəl zāda ‘she came and saw him also last year’, *fi mai kīma hakka ƣamnāwwəl ƣand-ha ƣām ƣməl-l-i taxīf*, ‘in May like now, last year, a year ago, he did me the electrocardiogram’.

***l-ƣām əž-žāy* ‘next year’**

l-ƣām əž-žāy māšīn fi blāša ‘next year we go somewhere next year’.

***kull ƣām* ‘every year’**

quṭṭ-l-u kull ƣām naƣməl bilan ‘I said to him, ‘I do a check-up every year’.

5.1.1.13 *ğudwa*

***ğudwa* ‘tomorrow’**

lə-ħqīqa hīya ģudwa peut-être *ƣand-ha* des engagements ‘actually, tomorrow she maybe has some appointments’, *āna* je dois rentrer *ğudwa* ‘I have to come back tomorrow’.

***bƣad ģudwa* ‘the day after tomorrow’**

tawwa naržsu l-ha l-ğudwa bƣad ģudwa naržsu l-ha ‘now, we go back to her tomorrow, [actually] the day after tomorrow go back to her’, [female proper name] *žāya ģudwa bƣad ģudwa nhār lə-xmīs* ‘[female proper name] is coming tomorrow, [actually] the day after tomorrow, on Thursday.’

***bƣad ģudwtīn* ‘the day after the day after tomorrow’**

taržaƣ bƣad ģudwtīn ənšallāh ‘she comes back the day after the day after tomorrow, God willing’.

5.1.1.14 *qbal*

***qbal* ‘earlier, before’**

qbal hādāya maṭalan *kān ən-naqš mtāƣ-u yəxdmū-h xədmət yədd* ‘this one, for example, its decoration was handmade earlier’, *ƣlabt* [female proper name] *qbal* ‘I called [female proper name] before’, *marṣāt nħuṭṭ šwayya qbal* ‘sometimes I put a bit [of coffee] before’.

5.1.1.15 *līla*

***ṭamma līla* ‘a night (in the past)’**

ṭamma līla ƣlabt-ək ‘a night I called you’.

***əl-līla* ‘tonight’**

hāk šbaƣti fi-ha hād-əl-līla ƣā-k [SP6’s name] ‘thus, you enjoyed your aunt [aunt’s name]’s company tonight’, *əl-līla* exceptionnellement *ƣā-hu qulnā-l-ha qulna ma dām*

nashru hna... ‘this night – exceptionally – we told her that as long as we spend the night together here...’, [female proper name] *sahrət əl-līla* ‘[female proper name] stayed awake tonight’.

5.1.1.16 *maṛṛa*

***maṛṛa* ‘once’**

tži maṛṛa baḥd qaddāš? ‘she came once, after how long?’.

***kull maṛṛa* ‘every time’**

kull maṛṛa ki nṛawwah l-tūnəs nimši l-qurwān ‘every time I come back to Tunisia, I go to Kairouan’.

***ḥatta maṛṛa* ‘never’**

āna mā-mšīt-š lə-tālyā ḥatta maṛṛa ‘I have never been to Italy’.

***maṛṛāt* ‘sometimes’**

maṛṛāt tkallam-ni tabda qāšda ʕ-ət-toilettes ‘sometimes she calls me when she is sitting on the toilet’.

5.1.1.17 *nhār*

***ən-nhār* ‘during the day’**

sāšāt naxṭəf ən-nhār sāštīn nqayyəl ‘sometimes I steam two hours from the day to take a nap’.

***nhārāt-ha* ‘these days’**

ḥādīya nhārāt-ha bəš tži nhārāt-ha bəš tṛawwah ḥāḍra-l-ha tabdīlāt-ha w šābbāt-ha w farš-ha ‘these were these days [dedicated] to go to prepare her clothes, changes, shoes, and bed’.

***hāk-ən-nhār* ‘that day’**

hāk-ən-nhār xāl-ək, [male proper name], *ṭlabt-u yži ʕašra maṛṛāt mā-žāwəb-nī-š* ‘the other day your uncle [male proper name], I called him about ten times. He did not answer me’.

***nhār l-kull* ‘all day’**

nhār l-kull nhār lə-kull ənti f-ət-tālīfūn ‘all day, all day you are at the phone’.

***qbal b-ən-nhārīn* ‘two days earlier’**

hūwa qāl-l-i əlli hūwa xraž w qbal b-ən-nhārīn kān f-əs-šbītār ‘he told me that he went out and was in the hospital two days earlier’.

***la nhār* ‘not even one day’**

la nhār qāl-l-i ya [female proper name] *gāṭṭi rās-ək* ‘not even one day did he tell me, [female proper name], cover your head’’, *ṣumr-u la nhār qāl-l-i gāṭṭi rās-ək ṣumr-u la nhār qāl-l-i gāṭṭi* ‘not a day in my life did he tell me, ‘cover your head’, not a day in my life did he tell me, ‘cover yourself’.

5.1.1.18 *waqt*

***waqt-ha* ‘back then, at the time of, when’³⁰⁰**

aḥna waqt-ha lāhīn fī-hum ‘back than we were busy with them’, *waqt-ha gāz-ə?* ‘at the time of the gas [episode]?’’, *āna nsīt waqt-ha rṃāt-l-i l-məftāḥ* ‘I forgot when she had thrown the key at me’.

5.1.1.19 *yūm*

***l-yūm* ‘today’**

ḥatta ḥadd mā-žā-š l-yūm ‘nobody came today’, *āna dār-ha mā-naṣṣaf-hā-š* [female proper name] *l-əl-yūm* ‘I did not know her house, of [female proper name], until today’.

***kull yūm* ‘everyday’**

ki tkallam-ni kull yūm hādāka əl-mutanaffəs^{MSA} əl-waḥīd^{MSA} ‘when she calls me every day, that is my only oxygen’.

5.1.2 Local

5.1.2.1 *ḥarṣa*

***l-ḥarṣa* ‘outside, abroad’**

əl-ḥarṣa^a fī-h āyāt qurʔānīya ‘outside there are Quranic verses’, *taw ki təmši tūnsi thəzz-u l-ḥarṣa tṣīš ṣādi* ‘if you, Tunisian, go abroad, you live in a very normal way’.

***mən ḥarṣa, m-əl-ḥarṣa³⁰¹* ‘from outside, from abroad’**

ki yzi wāḥəd āxər mən barra mā-ysāl-əš ‘when someone comes from abroad there is no problem’, *talqā-ha m-əl-ḥarṣa žəld w mən dāxəl zāda žəld* ‘you find the leather outside and inside’.

***ṣ-əl-ḥarṣa* ‘on abroad’**

ṣan-na fəkrə ṣ-əl-ḥarṣa ‘we have an idea of abroad’.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ The adverb *waqt-ha* expresses the value of ‘back then, at that time’ in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 129) and ‘before, once, back then’ in Tunis (Singer 1984: 644).

³⁰¹ As for the adverbial clauses, *min ḥarṣa* is attested to in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 116-117), whereas *m-əl-ḥarṣa* is found in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 658).

³⁰² *ḥarṣa* is also used in KA as an imperative to say ‘go, go away, move’ (see §3.1.5).

5.1.2.2 *bʕīd*, *baʕdīka*

bʕīd ‘far away’

muš bʕīd ‘it is not far away’.

baʕdīka ‘just beyond’

baʕd Monoprix, *baʕdīka* ‘beyond the Monoprix, just beyond’.

5.1.2.3 *dāxəl*

l-dāxəl ‘inside’

nšawwər-l-ək lə-ktība əlli l-dāxəl ‘I take a picture for you of the writings that are inside’,
famma sqūfāt əl-dāxəl fī-hum ʔatta āyāt qurʔānīya^{MSA} ‘there are ceilings inside that even bear Koranic verses’.

mən dāxəl ‘(from) inside’

talqā-ha m-əl-ḥarḥa žəld w mən dāxəl zāda žəld ‘you find the leather outside and inside’.

5.1.2.4 *tūl*

tūl ‘straight’

tūl tūl! ‘[go] straight!’, [female proper name] *tzi tūl* ‘[female proper name] goes straight’.

5.1.2.5 *gādi*

gādi, *l-gādi*, *gādīka*, *gādīkāya*³⁰³ ‘there’

These adverbs mean ‘there’. I did not find a relevant semantic difference between *gādi* and *gādīka*, as also Singer (1984: 656) describes for Tunis and Naddari (2023: 106) confirms for Nefza.³⁰⁴ The same is also valid in KA, e.g., *mā-qʕadt-š f-əl-qurwān fī dār-i gādi* ‘I do not stay in Kairouan there at my house’, *šnīya əd-dunya gādi?* ‘how is it going there?’, *āna mšīt m-əl-qahwa l-gādi* ‘I got a coffee there’, *fāš qāʕda taʕməl gādīka?* ‘what are you doing there?’.

5.1.2.6 *fūq*

l-fūq ‘above, upstairs’³⁰⁵

naʕlʕu l-fūq taw nṭayyəb ‘let us go upstairs, I am going to cook’.

³⁰³ I have only one occurrence of *gādīkāya* in SP4^R.

³⁰⁴ These forms are also described in Douz (*gādi* and *gādēka*) (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 112 – 113). It should be investigated whether there is a relationship between the use of these two adverbs and the speakers’ knowledge of the place of reference.

³⁰⁵ For the use of *fūq* as a preposition, see §5.3.12.

m-əl-fūq ‘from above’

yugzur l-i m-əl-balkūn m-əl-fūq ‘he is staring at me from the balcony, from above’.

5.1.2.7 *quddām*

l-quddām ‘ahead’

anti qr̄ba d-dār, l-quddām maḡnā-ha ‘you are close to home, I mean [it is] further ahead’.

5.1.2.8 *qr̄b*

qr̄b ‘nearby’

ki taqra ktāb əl-qurʔān^{MSA} talqa r̄ūḡ-ək qr̄b ‘if you read the Koran, you are nearby’.

5.1.2.9 *hna*

hna, l-hna ‘here’

hūwa xalla ət-tālīfūn hna ‘he left the phone here’, *hna mā-ḡan-nā-š əs-sukkaḡ b-əl-kull* ‘we do not have any sugar here at all’, *famma ḡarṣa f-əl-ḡūma taw l-hna* ‘there are many in the neighborhood now here’.

mən hna, m-əl-hna ‘(from) here’

ḡyūf yz̄īw yəšr̄īw m-əl-hna ‘guests come to buy from here’, *tqīs-l-ək əd-damm mən hna mar̄tīn w mən hna mar̄tīn* ‘measure your blood from here twice and from here twice’.

5.1.2.10 *wṛa/tāli*

l-tāli ‘behind’

famma ḡlāša l-tāli ‘there is a place back there’.

m-əl-wṛa ‘from behind’³⁰⁶

l-xədma mtāḡ-u m-əl-wṛa yətxdəm ‘its work is done from behind’.

5.1.2.11 *wuṣṭ*

əl-wuṣṭ ‘the center’

šāfət l-əl-wuṣṭ lə-hna ‘she looked towards the center, here’.

5.1.2.12 *wṛa*

l-wṛa ‘underneath’

³⁰⁶ The adverbial clauses *mən-wṛa* and *l-wṛa* are also used in Tunis Arabic (Stumme 1896: 137; Singer 1984: 657). However, Singer (1984: 657) states that the compound adverbs *l-tāli* ‘back’ and *mən-tāli* ‘(from) behind’ are much more commonly used than *mən-wṛa*. ^ə*l-tāli* and *min tāli* are also attested to in Douz. On *wṛa* as the preposition, see §5.3.21.

qātt-l-i l-wṭa mā-famma šayy ‘she said to me, ‘there is nothing underneath’.

5.1.2.13 *yṣār*

l-yṣār ‘left’

bdāt-ni b-əl-yṣār ‘she started from the left’, *yadṛab l-əl-āxər l-əl-yṣār* ‘it hits the other, on the left’.

ʕ-əl-yṣār ‘on the left’

dūr ʕ-əl-yṣār ‘turn left’.

5.1.2.14 *ymīn*

l-ymīn ‘right’

ki bdīna l-ymīn wallāt taʕməl hākka tš tš³⁰⁷ ‘as soon as it starts to the right, she started doing like that, *tsh tsh*’.

ʕ-əl-ymīn ‘on the right’

dūr ʕ-əl-ymīn ‘turn right’.

5.1.3 Modal and degree

5.1.3.1 *ḥarša*

ḥarša ‘much, many, very, a lot’

This typical pan-Tunisian (Ph. Marçais 1977: 267) word is the most used form with the sense of ‘much, many, very, a lot’ and can be used with verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

When used with nouns, it plays the role of an adjective, which usually precedes the noun and means ‘many’ with an indefinite plural noun and ‘much’ with an indefinite uncountable noun: *ḥarša ət-tālyān yaxḍu l-marḡūm* ‘many Italians buy the *marḡūm*’, *yqūl-l-hum flūs ḥarša* ‘he says to him ‘much money’’.

When it follows a verb, it is a degree adverb, meaning ‘a lot’, e.g., *ət-tlāyən yəšru ḥarša* ‘Italians buy a lot’, *tfaṛražna ḥarša flā-mṣāra* ‘we watched a lot of Egyptian [productions]’.

It means ‘very’ when combined with adjectives, e.g., *ḥāža compliqué ḥarša* ‘a very difficult thing’, *yəlbəs-ha lli qriḇ ḥarša* ‘who is very close wears it’.

ḥarša ḥarša

³⁰⁷ The speaker reproduces a sound produced by equipment used on him during a medical examination.

When repeated twice or more times, it expresses the superlative or gives an emphasis to the sentence, e.g., *qlīl ɓarʃa ɓarʃa ɓarʃa ən-nās l-kull tzi fi complet* ‘it is very, very, very rare; everyone comes in suit’.

5.1.3.2 *ɓarɓa*

***ɓarɓa, ɓarɓ* ‘only, just’**

This adverb is always placed after the noun. Only a few occurrences of the short form *ɓarɓ* are attested to in my corpus, e.g., *l-bārəḥ ɓarɓa āna qutt-əl-ha* [female proper name] *mā-taɣɣfū-hā-š* ‘just yesterday, I told her, [female proper name], you do not know her’, [male proper name] *w-āna w-yā-h ɓarɓa* ‘only [male proper name], him and me’, défaut *ɓarɓa* ‘it is only a mistake’, *fī-h ən-nawɣ wʒah ɓarɓ* ‘there is the type [embroidered] only on one side’.

5.1.3.3 *blāš*

***blāš* ‘without, for free’³⁰⁸**

mākla blāš xubz ‘food without bread’, *āna blāš walla mā-nzī-š* ‘either for free or I do not go’, *xamsa kīlu blāš w xamsa kīlu b-əl-flūs walla l-kull blāš* ‘five kilos for free and five kilos paid, or everything for free’, *taɣɣiw-ni ət-ticket blāš* ‘you^{PL} give me the tickets for free’, *xḍāw blāš* ‘they got [them] for free’.

5.1.3.4 *bāl*

***bāl* + suffix pronoun + š ‘perhaps’**

This construction is usually used with the second person suffix pronouns and means ‘perhaps’, e.g., *bāl-ək-š hūwa ɣand-u mšāɣəɣ uxra mɣa nās uxra* ‘perhaps he has other feelings with other people’.

***fī bāl* + *i* ‘I think, in my opinion’**

āna zāda mā-fī-bāl-ī-š lli [female proper name] *taɣbət* [second female proper name] ‘I did not think either that [female proper name] had called [second female proper name]’, *mā-fī-bāl-ī-š w mā-smaɣt-š* ‘I do not think, and I did not hear’.

***fī bāl* + (other) personal pronouns ‘does someone know...?’**

³⁰⁸ On the use of *blāš* as a preposition, see §5.3.3.

The construction *fi bāl* + personal pronoun (excluding the 1SG) is used in interrogative sentences with the meaning ‘does someone know...?’ *fi bāl-ək ġudwa fišta?* ‘do you know that tomorrow is holiday?’, *l-āxər mā-fi-bāl-ū-š?* ‘does not the other know?’.³⁰⁹

5.1.3.5 *žəmla*

***žəmla* ‘not at all’**

This adverb is used in negative sentences, e.g., *əl-kəlma mā-smaʕt-hā-ši žəmla* ‘I have not heard the word at all’.³¹⁰

5.1.3.6 *hatta*

***hatta* ‘as well, (not) even, neither’**

When this etymological preposition³¹¹ is used as an adverb, it is never combined with suffix pronouns but only with independent personal pronouns or nouns. *hatta* means ‘also, too, even’ in positive sentences and ‘not even, neither’ in negative sentences. In contrast to *zāda* ‘also, too’,³¹² *hatta* precedes the antecedent, e.g., *hatta f-əl-wžūh* ‘in the faces as well’, *yžīw əz-zuwwār maʕnā-ha hatta mən tūnəs* ‘tourists come, even from Tunis’, *hatta baʕd aṛbʕa xamsa snīn yaṛžaʕ yzīd yašri* ‘even four or five years later, they come back and keep buying’, *hatta f-əl-lūga mā-naxtlfū-š* ‘we do not even differ in the language’, *mā-thəbb-š* [female proper name] *hatta ənti naʕrf-ək mā-ʕād-əš thəbb* ‘[female proper name] does not want [it], neither do you, I know you, you do not want [it] anymore’.

5.1.3.7 *hāšīlu*

***hāšīlu* ‘in any case, in short’**

This adverb is mainly used in the narration of events or in filling a gap in the conversation, e.g., *hāšīlu qutt-əl-ha...* ‘in any case, I said to her...’, *hāšīlu marra ʕand-i w marra ʕand-ək* ‘in short, once to me, once to you’, *hāšīlu kull marbūʕ fi qaḍīya*^{MSA} *mtāʕ l-braquage* ‘in short, everything is linked to the holdup issue’.

5.1.3.8 *b-əl-ħaqq*

***b-əl-ħaqq* ‘really’**

³⁰⁹ In other varieties of TA (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 131; Naddari 2023: 108), *fi bāl* is only described suffixed by the 1SG personal pronoun with the meaning of ‘I think, in my opinion’.

³¹⁰ This adverb is not described among the degree adverbs in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 129 – 147) and Tunis (Singer 1984: 659 – 662) Arabic. According to Naddari (2023: 109), *žəmla* is a modern form used in Nefza by young and urban middle-aged speakers.

³¹¹ On the use of the preposition *hatta* in KA, see §5.1.3.6.

³¹² For the adverb *zāda* uses, see §5.1.3.10.

yẓīw xfiḥa fīsaḥ fīsaḥ tḥaddi b-əl-ḥaqq ‘[The days in Kairouan] went fast, it went really fast’, *b-əl-ḥaqq nhar* ‘really one day’, *nsīt-ha b-əl-ḥaqq? wallāh nsīt-ha b-əl-ḥaqq* ‘did you really forget it? I swear, I really forgot it’.

5.1.3.9 *xaṣṣatan*

xaṣṣatan ‘especially’

This loanword from MSA is found in the following examples: *hādāya yaṭlbās fi munāsabāt*^{MSA} *muḥayyina əlli hūma afrāḥ w xaṣṣatan əṣ-ṣdāqāt* ‘this one is dressed in specific events, which are celebrations and especially *ṣdāqāt*’, *əṣ-ṣdāq xaṣṣatan maḥnā-ha f-əl-qurwān taktəb f-əl-ḏāməḥ* ‘the *ṣdāq* is signed in the Mosque, especially in Kairouan’, *mra kbīra xaṣṣatan* ‘especially an old woman’.

5.1.3.10 *zāda*

zāda ‘also, too’

lākən tamma ḥāḏa zāda ‘but there is also a thing’, *zāda tuqṣud ḥašwīya* ‘she stays in the afternoon too’, *ḏāt w rāt-u ḥamnāwwəl zāda* ‘she came and saw him also last year’.

5.1.3.11 *fīsaḥ*

This modal adverb (OA **fi sāḥa* ‘in hour’) means ‘quickly’.

fīsaḥ ‘quickly’

taḥqal-ha fīsaḥ ‘you quickly understand’, *āna fīsaḥ ḏīt* ‘I came quickly’.

fīsaḥ fīsaḥ ‘very quickly’

The reduplicated form is often used to express the superlative or to give emphasis to the sentence, e.g., *yẓīw xfiḥa fīsaḥ fīsaḥ tḥaddi b-əl-ḥaqq* ‘[The days in Kairouan] went fast, it went really fast’.

5.1.3.12 *šwayya*

šwayya ‘a little, a bit’

stanna ər-rīḥ yaṣkaḥ šwayya ‘wait for the wind to calm down a little’, *ḥand-ha šwayya* retard ‘she has a bit of delay’, *lūgat-na šwayya makhbūsa* ‘our language is a bit tight’.

šwayy(a) šwayy(a) ‘a little bit’

When the adverb is repeated to express the diminutive, it can be pronounced without the final *a*, i.e., *šwayy šwayy*, e.g., *āna šwayy šwayy šufnā-ha xīr mən blāš...* ‘I [enjoyed her] a little bit; we have seen her, and it is better than nothing.’

bə-šwayya ‘slowly’

bə-šwayya lāzəm-ni nətkalləm b-əl-accent šwayya maḥlūla ‘I have to speak slowly with the accent a little open’.

***bə-šwayya bə-šwayya* ‘very slowly, little by little’**

bə-šwayya bə-šwayya twalli kull šayy məṛ-ṛās-ha ‘and then, little by little, it comes all out from her imagination’.

5.1.3.13 *b-əḍ-ḍabt*

***b-əḍ-ḍabt* ‘exactly’**

ət-tārīx b-əḍ-ḍabt mā-naḥṛəf-š ‘I do not know exactly the story’, *šḥar-ha ki xū-ha b-əḍ-ḍabt* ‘his hair is exactly like his brother’s’, *lə-hna b-əḍ-ḍabt* ‘exactly here’.

5.1.3.14 *b-əl-gda*

***b-əl-gda* ‘well’**

ki nsalləm ḥlī-h mā-ysalləm-š ḥlī-ya b-əl-gda ‘when I greet him, he does not greet me well’, *yəxdəm b-əl-gda tawwa* ‘he works well now’.

***b-əl-gda b-əl-gda* ‘very well’**

When the adverb *b-əl-gda* is repeated twice, it expresses the superlative or gives a greater emphasis to the sentence, e.g., *naḥṛəf-u b-əl-gda b-əl-gda* ‘I know him very well’, *naḥṛəfu baḥḍ-na b-əl-gda b-əl-gda* ‘we know very well each other’.

5.1.3.15 *taqrīb*

***taqrīb(an)* ‘approximately, about’³¹³**

The form *taqrībān* has to be intended as a loanword from MSA, e.g., *fī-h taqrībān tlāta mīyāt-ən-lawḥa* ‘there are approximately three hundred paintings’, *taqrīb ma bīn xamsa mīya w səttīn xamsa mīya w sabḥīn ḥmūd* ‘among about five hundred and sixty and five hundred and seventy columns’.

5.1.3.16 *kāḍa*

***kāḍa* ‘and so on, etc.’**

This adverb is mainly preceded by the conjunction *w-*, e.g., *taḥṛaḍ-ni ḥ-əs-slāma w yaḥḥam bū-k w kāḍa* ‘she meets me [and says ‘]hello, how are you?, and so on’’, *mā-w m-əl-lūl ža w kāḍa ḥ-əs-slāma* ‘from the beginning he came, etc., [he said] hello’, *mšīna l-əl-CNAM kāḍa* ‘we went to the CNAM³¹⁴, etc.’.

5.1.3.17 *b-əl-kull*

***b-əl-kull* ‘at all’**

³¹³ The form *taqrībān* is a loanword from MSA.

³¹⁴ CNAM is an acronym for the *Caisse nationale d'assurance maladie*, which is the National Health Insurance Fund of Tunisia.

In a negative sentence, this adverb means ‘at all’, e.g., *mā-ʕan-nā-š əs-sukkaṛ b-əl-kull* ‘we do not have sugar at all’, *mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u b-əl-kull* ‘I do not understand it at all’, *mā-xražt-š b-əl kull* ‘I did not go out at all’.

5.1.3.18 *kāməl*

kāməl (f. *kāmla*, pl. *kāmlīn*) ‘whole’

The adjective *kāməl* is used as an adverb and agrees with the antecedent in gender and number, but not in definiteness, e.g., *ʕan-na šārəf kāməl* ‘we have a whole street’, *rīt-ha əz-zanqa kāmla?* ‘have you seen the whole alley?’, non, *əd-damm ydūr f-əl-bdan kāməl* ‘no, the blood flows throughout the whole body’.

5.1.3.19 *kīf kīf*

kīf kīf ‘same, alike’

əž-žzār kīf kīf ‘same [thing with] the Algerians’, *ənti f-əs-sḅānya talqa d-damm kīf kīf f-əs-sḅānya* ‘you find the same blood in Spain’, *mā-talqā-ši tnīn kīf kīf* ‘you do not find two alike’.

5.1.3.20 *bə-llāh*

bə-llāh ‘please’

This modal adverb is commonly used when making a request, e.g., [female proper name] *sʔəlt-ək bə-llāh* ‘[female proper name], I please asked you’, [female proper name] *bə-llāhi tabbət f-əl-page mtāf-kum* ‘[female proper name], please check on your page’.

5.1.3.21 *hākka, hakkāka*

hākka ‘like this’ *hakkāka, kāka* ‘like this, like that’³¹⁵

The form *hakkāka* is the extended form in *-ka* of *hākka*, which is statistically the most used in KA. The form *kāka* is mostly heard in fast speech and is the reduced form of *hakkāka*.

Some examples in my corpus are *ḥāža hākka ayyāmāt* ‘days, something like this’, *maxdūmīn bi māʔ^{MSA} əd-dhab hākka* ‘they are gold plated, like this’, *wallāhi w-ən-nfūs sāʕāt sāʕāt insān hakkāka mā-ʕməl-l-ək ḥatta šayy* ‘I swear, sometimes individuals, people like that did not do anything to you’, *āna kāka bəš nuḥlub fi* [female proper name] *nqūl-ha ḅarṛa* ‘At that point, I was about to call [female proper name] to say to her, ‘go’.

³¹⁵ According to Talmoudi, *hākka* means ‘like this’ and *hakkāka* ‘like that’ in Sousse. However, this difference of meanings is not so clear in KA.

5.1.3.22 *yāsəṛ*

yāsəṛ ‘a lot’

According to my corpus, the adverb *yāsəṛ* is not very used in KA, since I found only one occurrence in a speaker with *rīf* origins, i.e., *yrakkəb f-əl-ħkāyāt hādīya yāsəṛ* ‘he assembles this stuff a lot’. The widespread use of the form *baṛša* instead compensates for expressing the meanings of ‘much, many, very, a lot’.³¹⁶

5.1.3.23 *yumkun*

yumkun ‘maybe’

ʕand-u yumkun aqall m-əl-ʕāṁ ‘it was maybe less than a year ago’, *təlfza maħlūla yumkun* ‘maybe the TV was on’, *w yumkun lqā-ni* ‘and maybe he found me’.

Even though *yumkun* is the main adverb used to say ‘maybe’ in KA, the French adverb *peut-être* is also used especially in educated female speakers, e.g., *rawwaħt peut-être žumʕa qbal ət-θūṛ* ‘I came back maybe a week before the circumcision’, *lə-ħqīqa hīya ġudwa peut-être ʕand-ha des engagements* ‘actually, tomorrow she maybe has some appointments’.

5.1.4 Interrogative

This section includes simple and compound interrogative adverbs in KA. These adverbs are used in direct or indirect interrogative sentences and can be placed in the initial or medial position of the sentence. In the case of a direct interrogative, they can also be placed in the final position.

5.1.4.1 *ʕlāš, šbī-*

ʕlāš ‘why?’³¹⁷

ʕlāš qutt-l-ək žīb-u? ‘why did I tell you, ‘bring it’?’, *ʕlāš žīt?* ‘why did you come?’, *fhəmt naħna ʕlāš mā-nanžhū-š fi hā-l-blād?* ‘do you understand why we do not succeed in this country?’.

(ə)šbī- + suffix pronoun ‘why?, what is up? what is wrong with...?’

An alternative way of expressing ‘why?’ is *(ə)šbī-* followed by a suffix pronoun. This construction is made up of the interrogative *āš* and the preposition *bi*. It is used in direct

³¹⁶ Nefza Arabic also shows less use of the adverb *yāsəṛ* which is – however – a common form used, especially among rural speakers (Naddari 2023: 113).

³¹⁷ On the conjunction *hādāka ʕlāš*, see §5.4.2.9.

questions, e.g., *šbī-ha* [female proper name] *hattət-ək ənti w mā-hattət-nī-š?* ‘why did [female proper name] put you and not me?’, *šbī-hum mā-yašmlū-š hafla?* ‘why did not they have a party?’, and also for asking ‘what is up? what is wrong with...?’, e.g., *qūtt-əl-ha* [female proper name] *šbī-k?* ‘I said to her, [female proper name], what is up?’, *mart* [male proper name] *šbī-ha? qutt-l-u šbī-ha?* ‘what is wrong with [male proper name]’s wife?, I said to him ‘what is wrong with her?’.

5.1.4.2 *qaddāš*

This interrogative adverb is also pronounced *qadda* in pausal form.

qaddāš ‘how much?, how many?’

hattət l-u qaddāš damm yažbəd ‘she gave him how much blood to draw’, *tzi marra bašd qaddāš?* ‘she came once, after how long?’.

qaddāš mən

This construction is used with countable nouns, e.g., *qaddāš mən sukkar?* ‘how much sugar?’.

bə-qaddāš ‘how much (price)?’

bə-qaddāš əd-dāxla? ‘how much is the entrance?’.

qaddāš, qaddāš šumr + suffix pronoun/proper name ‘how old is/are...?’

šnūwa kabrat? qaddāš? ‘how did she grow up? how old is she?’, *qaddāš šumr-u?* ‘how old is he?’.

However, *qaddāš* is also used as an exclamative adverb,³¹⁸ e.g., *qaddāš wāhəd ki ythayyər!* ‘how is one like when they get scared!’, *qaddāš yšir fi-h!* ‘what happens to him!’, *šand-i qaddāš mā-rīt-hā-š! šaddaq-ni!* ‘how long have I not seen her! Believe me!’.

5.1.4.3 *kīfāš, kīf*

*kīfā(š), kīf*³¹⁹ ‘how?’

The interrogative adverb *kīfāš* is often pronounced *kīfa* when in pausal form. It is used either in direct or indirect interrogative sentences, e.g., *kīfāš nqūlu?* ‘how do we say?’, *šəmt kīfa?* ‘did you understand how?’, *mā-našraf-š kīfāš āna nsīt waqt-ha rmat-l-i l-maftāh* ‘I do not know how I had forgotten when she had thrown the key at me’.

³¹⁸ The exclamative value of *qaddāš* is also described in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 659).

³¹⁹ On the use of *kīf* as conjunction, see §5.4.2.15.

kīfāš can also be used with exclamative sense, e.g., *ra kīfāš taktāb!* ‘look at how she writes!’.

***kīf* + suffix pronoun ‘how is/are...?’**

The interrogative *kīf* followed by a suffix pronoun is used to ask how someone is doing e.g., *la bās ʕlī-k? kīf-ək ənti?* ‘is everything fine? How are you?’.

5.1.4.4 *waqtāš*

***waqtā(š)* ‘when?’**

The interrogative adverb *waqtāš* can be pronounced *waqta* when in pausal form, e.g., *taʕraf waqtāš sahlət?* ‘do you know when it got easier?’, *waqtāš tħəss bā-ha tfaṛhdət əd-dār?* ‘when did you feel the house benefited [from it]’, *waqta?* ‘when?’.

5.1.4.5 *wīn*,³²⁰ *fīn*

***wīn*, *fīn* ‘where?’**

ənti wīn māšya əṣ-šbāḥ? ‘where do you go in the morning?’, *l-muškul wīn?* ‘where is the problem?’, *w umm-hum wīn?* ‘and where was their mother?’, *fīn trawwħu?* ‘where are you^{PL} go back?’.³²¹

***l-wīn* ‘until where?’**

l-wīn māši? ‘until where are you going?’, *ħatta l-wīn* ‘until where?’.

***wīn* + suffix pronoun/proper name ‘how is someone?’**

wīn followed by a suffix pronoun or a proper name is the most used construction to ask a person how they are doing. Indeed, it is more used than *kīf* followed by the suffix pronoun (see §5.1.4.3), e.g., *wīn-ək?* ‘how are you?’, *qūl-l-u wīn-ək?* ‘ask him how he is’, *wīn* [female proper name]? ‘how is [female proper name]?’.

***mnīn* ‘from where?’**

This adverb is made up of the preposition *mən* ‘from’ and the interrogative *wīn* ‘where’, e.g., *mnīn žīt?* ‘where did you come from?’, *mnīn ənti?* ‘where are you from?’.³²²

³²⁰ The interrogative adverb *wīn* should not be confused with the temporal (see §5.4.2.18) and relative conjunction (see §5.4.2.18).

³²¹ The forms with initial *w-* and *f-* (*wīn* and *fīn*) are also attested to in Tunis (Singer 1984: 651–653), Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 162) and Mateur (Mion 2014a: 69), whereas Douz has only *wēn* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 103–104). Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 115–116) shows more variation, having *wēn*, *wīn*, *fēn* and *uffēn*.

³²² The variant *mnīn* is also used in Tunis (Singer 1984: 652) and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 162), whereas *mnēn* is attested in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 104). Nefza Arabic shows the same frequency of use of both forms (Naddari 2023: 115).

5.2 Particles

This section shows forms and uses of the genitive marker *mtāf*, the negation particles *la*, *mā-*, *mā-...-š* and *muš*, the question markers *-ə?*, *-š* and *x-*, the exclamative markers *t(i)-* and *ya*, the marker *fi*, the existential particle *famma/ṭamma* and the presentatives *ṛā-*, *hā-*, and *mā-*.

5.2.1 Genitive marker

The genitive marker in KA is the invariable³²³ *mtāf* (OA *matāf* ‘possessions, belongings, goods’) – pronounced with the *imāla* [*'mtɛːf*] –³²⁴ or more rarely *tāf*. This marker is the most widespread in eastern Maghreb (Ph. Marçais 1977: 168). It can be followed either by nouns or suffix pronouns.³²⁵ The construction *(m)tāf* + nouns or suffix pronoun coincides with the analytic genitive,³²⁶ e.g., *hādīya l-bīt mtāh-ḥa əl-bāb mtāf l-bīt* ‘this was her room, the door’s room’, *tarmīm xfiḥ maḥnā-ha mtāf s-ṣtaḥ muš tarmīm kbīr* ‘it was a minor renovation, just of the roof, [it was] not a significant renovation’, *bə-ṛasm-i esprit mtāf-na ḥārṛ* ‘actually, our mind is spicy’.

The variant *tāf* is rare in the corpus. It seems to me that *tāf* is unrelated to sociolinguistic variants since it is attested to in the same speakers, even in the same sentences. It could be considered an abbreviation of *mtāf* found in fast speech or specific consonant contexts, e.g., *xṭart ṭbīb mšīt-l-u f-əl-qurwān mtāf lə-qalb ḥmal-l-i taxṭīt tāf l-qalb* ‘I chose a doctor, I went to him, to a cardiologist in Kairouan. He did the electrocardiogram’. However, further investigations could shed light on this issue.

5.2.2 Affirmation

The particles used for expressing the affirmation in KA are *āh*, *āywa*, *nṣam* and *waḷḷāh*.

³²³ The genitive marker is also invariable in Tunis, Sousse, and Nefza (Naddari 2023:118). Nevertheless, it can show feminine and plural forms in Douz and other Central Tunisian Bedouin varieties (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 151; Naddari 2023: 118).

³²⁴ The same is valid for Tunis and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 158; Singer 1984: 628; Mion 2014a: 60). Conversely, in Nefza Arabic, there are two attested variants of this marker, i.e., *mtāf* and *mtāf* with the *imāla* (Naddari 2023: 118–119). The variant without *imāla* is also attested to in Mateur (Mion 2014a: 60).

³²⁵ When the third person suffix pronouns *-ha* and *-hum* follow the genitive marker, a phonetic mutual assimilation occurs, i.e., *mtāf-ḥa* > *mtāh-ḥa* ‘of her’, *mtāf-hum* > *mtāh-ḥum* ‘of them’; see §2.8.1.3.

³²⁶ On the analytic and synthetic genitive uses, see § 4.3.1.

5.2.2.1 *āy*

This is the most used and neutral affirmative particle used to say ‘yes’. It is used to assert or answer positively to a question, e.g., *āy yāna mən əl-qayrawān*^{MSA} ‘yes, I come from Kairouan’, *āy yaḥna nusknu f-əl-maḥnīya* ‘yes, we live in *Maḥnīya*’, *āy nəfakkar* ‘yes, I remember’.

Sometimes, it is pronounced twice to give a more assertive response *āy āy žāt w rāt-u* ‘yes, yes, she came and saw him’.

5.2.2.2 *āywa*

The particle *āywa* ‘yes, of course, exactly’ is used to approve or confirm what the interlocutor says, e.g., *āywa, rīt-ha bəkri hāk-əl-vidéo* ‘yes, I saw that video before’, *yža! nqūl-l-ək āywa* ‘come! I say to you ‘of course’’, *waḥdā-k āywa waḥdā-k* ‘by yourself, exactly, by yourself’,

5.2.2.3 *nšam*

This particle is pronounced with a rising interrogative tone and is used by speakers when they do not understand. It covers the sense of ‘sorry? excuse me?’.

5.2.2.4 *walḷā(hi)*

When in a positive sentence, the oath particle *walḷāh* means ‘yes, exactly, really, I swear’, e.g., *walḷāhi ža* ‘yes, he came’, *walḷāh m-əl-fažža* ‘exactly, because of the fear’, *walḷāh rā-ni mafžūša* ‘I was really scared’, *rā-ni tāšba walḷāh ya ta!* ‘I am tired, aunt, I swear!’.

5.2.2.5 *wkāy*

The loanword *wkāy* (< EN ‘OK’) is sometimes used, e.g., *qult wkāy m-əṣ-šyām* ‘I said OK, it is because of the fasting’.

5.2.3 Negation

The particles used in KA to express the negation are *la*, *mā-* in combination with other words, the circumfix *mā-...-š* and *muš*. They are presented case by case in the following sections, describing all the meanings found in my corpus.

5.2.3.1 *la, la la, lā?*

The negation *la* is used alone with the meaning of ‘no’, e.g., *la, ti mā-w hādūma l-ḥāžāt l-xāybī ana* ‘no, these are the bad thing for me!’, *la, našrfu hādāya* ‘no, we know that’.

When pronounced with the final *hamza*, i.e., *lāʔ*, it is reinforced,³²⁷ e.g., *lāʔ ʔarīqa*^{MSA} *tānya hūwa ʔl-ḡuṣṣ* ‘no [you are wrong], a second way is the anger’.

However, *la* is also used as a noun’s absolute negation (Ph. Marçais 1956: 600; Singer 1984: 720; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 152), e.g., *la bās ḥamdullāh la bās* ‘I am fine, praise be to God, I am fine’, *la ʕand-i rélation* ‘I do not have any relationships’. To express this absolute negation, *la* is also found in correlation with *ḥatta*, e.g., *la naʕmāl ḥatta ʕlāqa ḥatta mʕa ḥatta ḥadd* ‘I do not even create a relationship with anyone’.

Repeating the simple negation twice *la la* (or even more times, like *la la la*) is another way to reinforce the negation ‘no’, e.g., *la, la hūma mšu ʕand-hum xamsīn sna hākkāka* ‘no, no, they left fifty years ago or something like that’, *la, la, āna šrīt-u* ‘no, no I bought it’.

Combining the negative particle *la* with the swear expression *wallāh* expresses absolute negation, e.g., *āna wallāh la* ‘I certainly do not’, *wallāhi la nqūl kull ḥadd yaʕlam bī-h ʔabb-i kull wāḥəd w dūrūf-u* ‘I swear I do not say [that]. Only God knows about each one, about everyone’s situation’.

Finally, *la... la...* ‘neither... nor...’ is used as a correlative conjunction (see §5.4.1.2).

5.2.3.2 *mā*-...

The negation *mā*- can be used in combinations as follows:

- *mā*-... *šayy* ‘nothing’, e.g., *qātt-l-i c’est bon mā-famma šayy* ‘she said to me, ‘it is OK, there is nothing’’;³²⁸
- *mā*-... *ḥatta šayy* ‘nothing at all’, e.g., *insān hākkāka mā-ʕmāl-l-ək ḥatta šayy* ‘people like that did not do anything at all to you’, *l-yūm ʕaməlt ḥatta šayy* ‘today I do not want to do anything at all’;
- *mā*-... *ḥadd* ‘no one’, e.g., *mā-kallam-ni ḥadd* ‘no one called me’;³²⁹
- *mā*-... *ḥatta ḥadd* or ‘no one at all’, e.g., *ḥatta ḥadd mā-žā-š l-yūm* ‘no one at all came today’;
- *mā*-... *ḥatta wāḥəd* ‘not even one’, e.g., *mā-yaḡləb ḥatta wāḥəd* ‘not even one won’, *mā-rīt ḥatta wāḥəd* ‘I did not see even one person’;³³⁰

³²⁷ The same occurs in Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010: 380).

³²⁸ For the uses of *šayy* in positive sentences, see §4.3.7.5.

³²⁹ For the uses of *ḥadd* in positive sentences, see §4.3.7.3.

³³⁰ For the uses of *wāḥəd*, see §4.3.7.8.

- *mā*-... *ḥāža* ‘nothing’, e.g., *šūf, āna mā-naʕməl ḥāža* ‘look, I did not do nothing’;
331
- *mā*-... *ḥatta ḥāža* ‘not even a thing’, e.g., *ma-ṭayyəbt ḥatta ḥāža bsīṭa* ‘I did not cook even a simple thing’;
- *mā*-... *kān* ‘only’, e.g., *famma des bactéries f-əl-maʕda mā-yuqtul-hum kān əl-ḥārṛ* ‘some bacteria in the stomach are killed only by spicy food’;
- *ʕumṛ*-... *mā*-... ‘never (in life)’, see §5.1.1.10.

5.2.3.3 The circumfix *mā*-...-š(i)

This is the usual negation of P- and S- stem verbs.

If the verb ends with two consonants, the -š is preceded by an anaptyctic vowel, e.g., *mā-yḥəbb-əš* ‘he does not want’. The variant in -š*i* is less frequently found in the corpus, but it is attested to both speakers from Kairouan and the *rīf*, e.g., *mā-talqā-ši* ‘you do not find’.³³² If the verb ends in a vowel, the form is only -š, and the final vowel is lengthened for phonetic reasons, e.g., *mā-fammā-š* ‘there is not’.

Examples of negated verbs are the following: *mā-tnažžam-š tqūm mā-tnažžam-š tuqʕud* ‘she cannot get up or sit down’, *mā-žā-š kammal-ha* ‘he did not come to finish it’, *īda mā-yḥəbb-əš mā-yəlbəs-š* ‘if one does not want, one does not wear [it]’, *mā-talqā-ši tnīn kif kif* ‘you do not find two alike’.

When used in the second persons of the P-stem, the circumfix *mā*-...-š also negates an order – with the sense of a negative imperative, e.g., *mā-təlbəs-š əl-ʕarjān* ‘do not dress naked’, *mā-tsakkṛū-š!* ‘do not close!’.

The circumfix negation is currently used to express the negative copula, as shown in §4.3.1.4. Some examples of the negative copula are *mā-k-š lə-hna ənti?* ‘you are not here?’, *mā-hī-ši žʕāna* ‘she is not hungry’. The negative copula is also used to negate active participles and the future with *bəš*, e.g., *n-nūmṛu mā-nī-š ḥāfḍatt-u* ‘I have not saved the number’, *mā-nī-š fāhmətt-u l-whatsapp* ‘I do not understand WhatsApp’, *mā-nī-š bəš nṛā-k* ‘I will not see you’.

Moreover, *mā*-...-š is used to negate the existential *famma*/*tamma*, e.g., *l-bnāt mā-fammā-š* ‘the girls are not there’, *mā-tamma-š w nšallāh la bās* ‘he is not here, and I hope he is fine’.

³³¹ For the uses of *ḥāža* in positive sentences, see §4.3.7.4.

³³² According to Naddari (2023: 120), the form in -š*i* is rather rural. I did not find a systematic or sociolinguistically oriented distribution of this isogloss in my corpus.

It also negates some prepositions and particles, e.g., *mā-ḡād-š famma škūn yḥabb yaṣnaḡ maḡnā-ha aḡ-ḡald* ‘there is no longer anyone who wants work leather’, *āna zāda mā-fī-bāl-ī-š* ‘me too, I was not aware’.

Besides, it negates the expression of possession, i.e., the equivalent of the verb ‘to have’, according to the clause *mā-ḡand* + suffix pronoun. Some examples are *mā-ḡand-hā-š aṣ-sḡār* ‘she has no children’, *īda anti mā-ḡand-ək-ši* l’esprit... ‘if you do not have the mind...’, *mā-ḡand-ī-š nūmṛū-ha* ‘I do not have his number’.

5.2.3.4 The nominal negation *muš*

The invariable form *muš* is the reduction of the third singular masculine negative copula **mā-hū-š* (*muš* < **mūš* < **mā-hū-š*).³³³ It is used to negate personal pronouns, adjectives, and nouns. Some examples are the following sentences: *muš-ni ḡayyṛa naḡṛaḡ* ‘I am not a child, I know’, *muš-na bḡād* ‘we are not far away’, *yḡṛaḡ qīmt aḡ-ḡāmḡ muš hākkāka ḡādi* ‘he knew the mosque’s value, not as you usually see it’, *muš b-əḡ-ḡarūra*^{MSA} *yəlbəs amma l-aḡlabiyya*^{MSA} *yəlbsu* ‘it is not mandatory, but most wear it’, *hādūka aḡmār-hum ālāḡ muš mīyāt* ‘they are thousands of years old, not hundreds’, *lākən tarmīm xḡfḡ maḡnā-ha mtāḡ s-ṣṭaḡ muš tarmīm kbīr* ‘but it was a minor renovation, just of the roof, [it was] not a significant renovation’, *muš bḡīd muš bḡīd ḡatta fī les caractères muš bḡād ḡlī-na* ‘they are not far, they not far, even in behavior, they are not far from us’, *muš kbīr* ‘is not big’.

5.2.4 Question markers

In addition to the rising interrogative tone, KA makes use of three markers that introduce questions. They are the clitics *-ə?* and *-ši* and the proclitic *x-*.

5.2.4.1 *-ə?*

This question marker can be defined as a prosodic marker (Procházka & Dallaji 2022: 238), which prolongs the final intonation, and it is the most used marker in direct speech polar questions,³³⁴ e.g., *ṡəbb ṡḡuṡṡ-l-ək dabbūza ḡḡayyṛa-ə?* ‘do you want that I put it in

³³³ Douz Arabic shows the use of the form *miš*, which is not attested to in KA. Besides, the particle *māš* of KA expresses the imminent future (see §3.16) and should not be confused with the negation *muš*.

³³⁴ As it occurs in KA, *-ə* is frequently used also in Tunis Arabic as a polar question marker (Procházka & Dallaji 2022: 241), while it is not as frequently attested in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 121) and not even described for Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a:

a small bottle for you?’, *lā-šbād tkapti fhəmt-ə?* ‘people understand, you know?’, *talʕab w tbūs tətʕakkar-ə?*, ‘you played and kissed [my womb], do you remember?’, *thəbb naḍḍfu l-bīt-ə?* ‘do you want us to clean your room?’, *āna daqqīt flī-k-ə?* ‘did I knock on your [door]?’.

5.2.4.2 -š(i)

This marker is attested to in direct and indirect polar questions and is the least used among the question markers of KA.³³⁵ It usually adds a dubitative nuance to the question, e.g., *b-ək-ši?* ‘how are you?’, *nnažžəm-ši?* ‘can I?’, *ḥarṛa, nuqqus w šūf* [male proper name] *kallm-ək-ši* ‘go, ring [the bell] and see if [male proper name] called you’. It is also used – in the form -š – to make negative questions, e.g., *amma klīt-š l-yūm?* ‘but did not you eat today?’.

5.2.4.3 x-³³⁶

The invariable particle *x-* introduces interrogative sentences in direct speeches. It can be used in questions the speaker expects no answer to and polar questions (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 236).

Etymologically, this particle may be considered the reduction of the grammaticalized address form *yāxi* (< **yā ʔax-ī* ‘my brother!’ (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 240)) ‘so, then, as a result’,³³⁷ which have lost its original meaning of ‘my brother!’, becoming a ‘modal particle’ (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 242) as demonstrated by Prochàzka & Dallaji (2022: 240-241).

The semantic functions carried out by *x-*, deal with those expressed by *yāxi* Prochàzka & Dallaji (2022: 240-241), which are values of rhetorical questions or uncertainty, usually combined with a nuance of either astonishment or assumption. From a syntactic point of view, *x-* is employed – like *yāxi* – in declarative sentences and questions, and it is mainly found in utterance-initial position (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 240). As is the case of *yāxi* (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 242), *x-* is a marginal marker that

155–156). On polar questions and markers in Tunis Arabic, see Prochàzka & Dallaji (2022).

³³⁵ This marker is also used in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 722–723), where it ‘mainly expresses contingency or adds a dubitative nuance to the question’ (Prochàzka & Dallaji 2022: 236). Concerning the particle -š*i* use frequency in Nefza, Naddari states that it is attested for old speakers (Naddari 2023: 121).

³³⁶ This section is extracted from D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 269–270).

³³⁷ On particle *x-* etymology and uses in KA, see D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 269–270).

I only found in the female speakers recorded by Badreddine (SP2) and once in female SP24^R of my corpus.

For these reasons, I assume that *x-* may be a more archaic interrogative marker that today tends not to be used anymore.³³⁸ All the examples found are shown below: *qutt-l-u x-anti rīt-ha l-yūm?* (Badreddine 1977a: Corpus II, 18) ‘I told him, ‘So, did you see her today?’’, *qutt-l-u x-anti ki tži walla mā-tžī-š šnawwa?* (Badreddine 1977: Corpus II, 67-68) ‘I said to him, ‘after all, if you come or not, what changes?’’, *x-anti məš təsmaʕ w tuskut?* (Badreddine 1977: Corpus II, 51-52) ‘is it not like you are going to hear and shut up?’’, *qāt-l-ha x-əl-hdīli š-šafbāni ku bū-k sīd-ək? kif kif hūma* (Badreddine 1977: Corpus II, 94-96) ‘she told her, ‘is perhaps Hadhili Chabani like your grandfather? Are they the same (age)?’, *x-tā-k* [SP6’s name] *hāy təsmaʕ fī-k? hāk šbaʕti fī-ha hād-əl-līla tāt-k* [SP6’s name] ‘do you see that your aunt, [aunt’s name], hears you? thus, you^F enjoyed your aunt [aunt’s name]’s company tonight’.

5.2.5 Exclamative particles

The exclamative particles found in the corpus are *ti* and *ya*.

5.2.5.1 *ti*, *t-*³³⁹

The particle *ti* and its shortened form *t-*³⁴⁰ do not have a unique translation and may even often be left untranslated (Mion 2014b: 279–280; Naddari 2023: 122) in KA. This is an introductory particle widespread in Libyan (Tripoli and Benghazi (Mion 2014b: 285) and TA (Takrouna, Sousse, Douz, Tunis, Nefza) and gives the statement a particular emphasis of irritation, astonishment, surprise, or a value of insistence (Singer 1984: 728; Mion 2014b: 279; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 156; Naddari 2023: 122). It can be considered the counterpart of *x-* in the exclamative sentences (Mion 2014b: 284). Some examples found in KA are: *la, ti mā-w hādūma l-ḥāžāt l-xāybīⁿ āna* ‘no, these are the bad thing for me!’, *ti ḥatta f-əṭ-ṭhūr mā-k-š lə-hna anti?* ‘but you were not here even for the circumcision?’, *t-əṭ-ṭhūr la* ‘no, not for the circumcision’,

³³⁸ It is well known that the feminine sociolect of Arabic vernaculars may present more conservative traits (Durand 2009: 165)

³³⁹ For the functions, values and etymology of particle *ti* in Tunis Arabic, see Mion (2014b).

³⁴⁰ The shortened form *t-* is also attested in Singer (1984: 728) and Mion (2014b: 282), whereas Naddari (2023: 122) finds *ī*.

The clause *ti* + object of insistence + *ʕād* is also used to emphasize the insistence (Mion 2014b: 280), e.g., *la la, ti ənti xall-ha ʕād* ‘no, no, just let her go’.

5.2.5.2 *ya, ā*

Speakers currently use the exclamative particle *ya* and its shortened form *ā* to address someone., e.g., *ya sīd-i!* ‘mister!, sir!’,³⁴¹ *ya wədd-i!* ‘dear!’,³⁴² *ya ma!* ‘mom!’, *ā rānya!* ‘Ranya!’.

5.2.6 The marker *fī*

This marker is quite used in Tunisian (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017b) and several other varieties of spoken Arabic (Lentin 2019). It expresses different aspects that may vary from variety to variety, even within TA (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017:349).³⁴³

Regarding KA, I noticed that *fī* introduces the direct object of some transitive verbs and mainly³⁴⁴ marks the action’s progressive or habitual values³⁴⁵. This marker has been attested to with nouns, suffix pronouns, and the interrogative *āš?* (> *fāš?* ‘what?’). Some examples in the corpus are shown below:

- progressive value: *mša yəšri fī kaʕba ʕābūna* ‘he went to buy some *ʕābūna*’, *əlli ʕra fī-hum əl-kull ma šā? əllāh maxdūmīn b-əl-yədd* ‘everything you are seeing is handmade, God willing’, *fāš marbūta lə-ħkāya?* ‘where does this story come from? (lit. what is this story linked to?)’;
- habitual value: *ʕlāš nāklū f-əl-kaʕtāzi?* ‘why do we eat *kaʕtāzi*?’, *yəxdmu fī-hum lə-mšārwa* ‘Egyptians work them’.

³⁴¹ On the use of the exclamation *ya sīd-i* in TA, see Singer (1984: 723).

³⁴² On the use of the exclamation *ya wədd-i* in TA, see Singer (1984: 723).

³⁴³ Even though quite detailed studies have been done on the use of the progressive marker *fī* in Arabic (Saddour 2009; Pallottino 2016; McNeil 2017; Ritt-Benmimoun 2017b; Lentin 2019), ‘a complete picture of the aspectual function of *fī* in spoken Arabic’ (McNeil 2017: 188) still needs to be done.

³⁴⁴ I do not exclude that *fī* may mark other values in KA, but I prefer to dedicate a subsequent and targeted study to this topic.

³⁴⁵ As for the expression of habituality in TA, using *fī* is not attested in all varieties (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017:349).

Moreover, the progressive value expressed by *fī* can be reinforced by the combination with the verb *qāḍad*, e.g., *qāḍdu šabḥa walla tmānya šnīn*³⁴⁶ *yḥammū fī-h* ‘it took seven or eight years to renovate’.³⁴⁷

5.2.7 Existential particle

The existential particle used in KA is *famma/tamma* and means ‘there is, there are’. Its negative form is *mā-fammā-š/mā-tammā-š* ‘there is not, there are not’.³⁴⁸

The alternation between the two forms (*famma/mā-fammā-š* vs. *tamma/mā-tammā-š*) is generally widespread in TA (Gibson 2009: 566; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 114; Naddari 2023: 131), and the variant *tamma/mā-tammā-š* is described as a Bedouin-type trait by Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 114) and Naddari (2023: 131). In line with this, I found this variant statistically much less in my corpus than *famma/mā-fammā-š*. Moreover, *tamma/mā-tammā-š* is especially attested to in speakers with *rīf* origins. These speakers either use only *tamma/mā-tammā-š*, or alternate it mainly with the *famma/mā-fammā-š*.

Some examples of the existential particle are the following: *famma des bactéries f-əl-maḥda mā-yuqtul-hum kān əl-ḥārṛ* ‘there are some bacteria in the stomach that are killed only by spicy food’, *les invités yəlbsu l-labsa l-ḥādīya famma lli yži fī sport famma lli yži fī costume* ‘guests dress normally, there is who comes in sportswear, there is who comes in a suit’, *famma faṛq bīn ənti ḍayyəft-ni w qutt-l-i iṛza kūl w famma faṛq āna žāyba ən-nās w dāfḥa l-flūs* ‘there is a difference between you [who] invited me and said to me, ‘come! eat!’ and there is a difference [between] me bringing people and spending money’, *tamma šqūfāt tbaddlāt hādāya tbaddəl lākən famma šqūfāt əd-dāxəl fī-hum ḥatta āyāt*^{MSA} *qurʔānīya*^{MSA} ‘there are ceilings that have been changed, this one has been changed. However, there are ceilings inside that even bear Koranic verses’, *mā-fammā-š ḥaṭṭa ḥlāša* ‘there is not even a place’, *ḥatta hūwa mā-tammā-š* ‘he was not there either’, [male proper name] *mā-tammā-š w nšallāh la bās* ‘[male proper name] is not here, I hope he is well’.

³⁴⁶ This speaker (SP9) sporadically pronounces /s/ as the voiceless post-alveolar fricative /š/ [ʃ], e.g., *šabḥa* ‘seven’, *šnīn* ‘years’, *šqūfāt* ‘ceilings’, *xamšīn* ‘fifty’ (see ‘Text 3’ transcription). This pronunciation is not systematic or conditioned but more likely due to phonetic articulation problems.

³⁴⁷ McNeil (2017: 176) mentions the combined use of active participle *qāḥid* ‘sitting’ with *fī* in order to make intransitive verbs progressive in TA.

³⁴⁸ On the phonetic variation of the existential particle, see §2.1.2.

5.2.8 Presentatives

5.2.8.1 *ṛā-*

The particle *ṛā-* is generally defined as a presentative,

‘c’est-à-dire qu’il présente, constate l’actualité (ou l’imminence) d’un état ou d’une action ou d’une existence, et en souligne la réalité’ (Ph. Marçais 1977: 74).

Nevertheless, the functional rules covered by *ṛā-* are multiple, generally in MagA (Taine-Cheikh 2013), and especially in TA, as shown by Procházka & Dallaji (2019). As a consequence, it does not have a univocal translation, and often it is not even translated.

This particle etymologically comes from the imperative of the verb ‘to see’ (Ph. Marçais 1977: 194; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 147) and only occurs in combination with a suffix personal pronoun, which usually refers to the subject of the sentence, matching in gender and number.

1SG	<i>ṛā-ni</i>	1PL	<i>ṛā-na</i>
2SG	<i>ṛā-k</i>	2PL	<i>ṛā-kum</i>
3SG.M	<i>ṛā-hu/ṛā-w</i>	3PL	<i>ṛā-hum</i>
3SG.F	<i>ṛā-hi</i>		

As Procházka and Dallaji state,

‘given the verbal origin of the particle *ṛā-*, it is not surprising that 1SG exhibits the variant *-ni* rather than *-i*, which is used with nouns, prepositions, and most other particles’ (Procházka & Dallaji 2019: 47).

Regarding the third singular persons, the 3SG.F always shows the suffix *-hi* in KA instead of the most common *-ha*; the 3SG.M has two forms *-hu* and *-w*, but the most used is *-hu* (> **ṛā-hu*).³⁴⁹ No sociolinguistic variants explaining this differentiated use have been identified.

³⁴⁹ The preferential use of *-hu* is in accord with Tunis Arabic, where the shorter form *ṛā-w* is found only once in Procházka & Dallaji’s (Procházka & Dallaji 2019: 46) corpus. On the contrary, Naddari (2023: 132) states that the 3SG suffixes *-hu* and *-hi* are less frequently attested in Nefza Arabic than variants with the shortened forms *-w* and *-y*. Regarding Douz, Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a: 147) states that in the 3SG.M, the *h-* is often not pronounced, e.g. **ṛā-hu* > *ṛā-w* and **ṛā-hum* > *ṛā-wm*.

In KA, *ṛā-* has various functions, as is the case of other Maghrebi varieties (Taine-Cheikh 2013; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 147–148; Procházka & Dallaji 2019; Naddari 2023: 132–133), among which I mention the:³⁵⁰

- presentative. It can be reinforced by the existential *famma* and translated by ‘there is/there are’, e.g., *ṛā-hu famma farq bīn anti ḍayyāft-ni w qutt-l-i ṛza kūl w famma farq āna žāyba an-nās w dāfṣa l-flūs* ‘there is a difference between you [who] invited me and said to me, ‘come! eat!’ and there is a difference [between] me bringing people and spending money’, *ṛā-hu famma farq bīn anti stadṣīt-ni w qutt-l-i ṛza anti taww^a qāṣda* ‘there is a difference between you [who] invited me to come and said to me ‘come!’ [and] you are now seated’.
- focus on the subject/argument, e.g., *aḥna at-twānsa ṛā-w ṣan-na l’esprit ouvert!* ‘we, the Tunisians, have *l’esprit ouvert*’, *ṣand-ha ṭāṭā-k [SP6’s name] ṛā-hu l-whatsapp* ‘your uncle, [SP6’s name], has WhatsApp’;
- emphasis. In this case, even adverbs or phrases such as *bə-ṛasm-i*, *waḷḷāh* are put to achieve a stronger emphasis, e.g., *naḥki bə-ṛasm-i ṛā-hu* ‘I am serious’, *waḷḷāh ṛā-ni mafzūṣa* ‘I swear, I was scared’;
- assumption. It is used to strengthen the personal pronoun or generally a statement with the sense of ‘sure, certainly’, e.g., *ṛā-hu bū-h ṛā-hu xū-h ṛā-hu ṣamm-u ṛā-hu xāl-u ṛā-hu xāl-ha* ‘he certainly is his father, or his brother, or his paternal uncle, or her maternal uncle’;
- initial-position apodosis of conditional clauses (as the conjunction *fa-* in MSA³⁵¹), e.g., *īda kān fə-ṣ-ṣdāq w rīt an-nās lābsa əl-labsa hādīya hādūkum ṛā-hum qrāb* ‘if [you are] at a *ṣdāq* and you see people wearing this garment, those are close [to the family]’, *kān ṭḥabb nwarriw-l-ək margūm walla ṭḥabb tšūf ḥāza ṛā-hu lə-hna šūm maṣnā-ha l-uxt-i* ‘if you want to see something, the price here is [like] to my sister’;

³⁵⁰ The functional uses of the particle *ṛā-*, as well as of the other presentatives *hā-* (see §5.2.8.2) and *mā-* (see §5.2.8.3) are complex to analyze and need a more detailed syntactic study based on richer and more targeted sentences samples. However, it already seems to me that KA shares at least most of the functional values presented for Tunis Arabic (Procházka & Dallaji 2019).

³⁵¹ For the uses of the conjunction *fa-* in MSA, see Mion & D’Anna (2021: 227).

- contrast. It emphasizes an opposition to the previous sentence, e.g., *mā-tammā-š w nšallāh la bās amma rā-ni xāyfa w maḏzūḏa* ‘he is not there. I hope he is fine, but I am scared and worried’.

5.2.8.2 *hā-*

The demonstrative element *hā-* can be followed by suffix personal pronouns similar to the particle *rā-*, but is less used in KA. The 3SG.M suffix can also be *-nu*, which is not attested to for the other presentatives.³⁵²

1SG	<i>hā-ni</i>	1PL	<i>hā-na</i>
2SG	<i>hā-k</i>	2PL	<i>hā-kum</i>
3SG.M	<i>hā-nu/hā-w</i>	3PL	<i>hā-hum</i>
3SG.F	<i>hā-hi</i>		

It generally expresses a presentative function for proximal deixis. It can be translated by the local adverb ‘here’ or the imperative ‘look at’ and refers to the subject of a sentence with which it agrees, e.g., *amma hā-nu lə-ḏzāž hā-nu uḡzur lə-ḏzāž!* ‘here, the dust! Look at the dust!’, *āy hā-ni qutt-l-ək muš b-əḏ-ḏarūra* ‘yes, I told you, it is not mandatory’, *hā-ni qutt-l-ək* ‘I told you’.

Nevertheless, *hā-* goes beyond its role as a presentative and, can also be used to reinforce the progressive aspect (Naddari 2023: 134), e.g., *əsmāḏ-ni hā-ni dāxla ndawwəš hā-ni dāxla lə-toilettes hā-ni məš nurqud hā-ni məš nqūm* ‘listen, I am taking a shower, I am going to the bathroom, I am going to sleep, I am getting up’.

5.2.8.3 *mā-*

This particle does not have a unique translation – and sometimes it may even remain untranslated – since it covers different semantic functions related to the emphasis of the sentence.

This particle is always used in combination with a suffix pronoun, as shown in the table below:

1SG	<i>mā-ni</i>	1PL	<i>mā-na</i>
2SG	<i>mā-k</i>	2PL	<i>mā-kum</i>

³⁵² The suffix *-nu* > *hā-nu* is also attested to in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 90)

3SG.M	<i>mā-hu/ mā-w</i>	3PL	<i>mā-hum</i>
3SG.F	<i>mā-hi</i>		

mā- especially emphasizes the subject of the sentence,³⁵³ as in the following examples: *l-ṣarq mā-hu masdūd* ‘the vein is blocked’, *hāda maṣgūm?* ‘Is this a *maṣgūm*?’, *maṣgūm hāda! mā-hu bṭīn hāda tlāta xyūt* ‘This is a *maṣgūm*! It is made of three threads’.

Otherwise, it can also add a nuance of explanation to the sentence, e.g., *Ḥlāš žāt l-u žalṭa? mā-hu m-əd-duxxān* ‘why did the stroke happen? because of the smoke’, or a nuance of justification, e.g., *bə-llāhi amma xīr f-ət-tālīfūn walla nqaṭṭaḥ w nṛayyāš f-əl-aṣbād?* *mā-ni natkalləm mṣa bənt-i w wfa* ‘it is better [that I am] on the phone or [that] I speak bad of people? I just talk with my daughter, and that is it’, , e.g., *hādīya xadmt-i... mā-w l-qayrawān*^{MSA} *ixtīšāš mtāḥ-ḥa l-zaṛbīya w-əl-maqrūd mtāḥ l-ḥalwa* ‘this is my work... indeed, the specialties of Kairouan are carpets and date makrout’.

Moreover, *mā-* is also found in the initial-position apodosis of conditional clauses, as is the case of *rā-*, e.g., *kān tṛa* [female proper name] *mā-hi aṭwal mənn-u* ‘if you see [female proper name], she is taller than him’.³⁵⁴

5.3 Prepositions

This section presents simple and compound prepositions in KA, listed according to the order of their etymological alphabetic root. Prepositions either precede a noun or are combined with a suffix personal pronoun. When a pronoun cannot follow a preposition, it is specified in the section.

5.3.1 *b-*

b(ə)-, bī- ‘with, by (means of)’

³⁵³ *mā-* is also used in Nefza as an emphasizing particle (Naddari 2023: 136).

³⁵⁴ This particle is also attested to in Tunis (Singer 1984: 712), Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 68) and Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 136). To the best of my knowledge, there have yet to be any specific studies on the nuanced values expressed by this particle. However, at least the functional and semantic variety expressed by *mā-* is already demonstrated by the different definitions given in the TA grammars. Indeed, it has been defined as reinforcing particle by Singer (1984: 712), reinforcing personal pronoun by Ritt-Benmimoun (2014: 68) and emphasizing particle by Naddari (2023: 136).

When followed by suffix personal pronouns, this preposition is usually *b-* and *bī-*. Only as an oath particle, in compound prepositions and adverbs, and followed by the article, it is *bə-*.

This preposition is used:

- as instrumental, e.g., *yħuṭṭ-u əl-lūħ* direct *b-əl-mākīna* ‘he puts the wood directly by means of the machine’, *yṣīš ṣādi ziddan*^{MSA} *bə-lūḡt-u* ‘he normally lives, with his language’, *b-əl-yədd* ‘handmade’;
- in oath formulas, e.g., *bə-llāhi* ‘please’;
- in some compound adverbs and prepositions, e.g., *b-əl-gda* ‘very well’, *b-əl-kull* ‘totally’, *b-əḏ-ḏabt* ‘exactly’, *bə-ṛasm-i* ‘actually’, *bə-šwayya bə-šwayya* ‘slowly’, *b-ən-nəsba* ‘regarding’, *bə-žanb* + suffix personal pronoun ‘next to’;
- for expressing price and percentages, e.g., cadeau *b-qīmt mītīn alf* ‘a gift worth two hundred thousand [millimes]’, *xamsa tīkyāt bə-tlāṭīn alf* ‘five tickets for thirty thousand [millimes]’, *xamšīn b-əl-mīya* ‘fifty percent’, *mīya b-əl-mīya* ‘one hundred percent’.
- in the expression *marḥāba b-* + suffix pronoun, e.g., *marḥāba bī-ka f-əl-qayrawān*^{MSA} ‘welcome to Kairouan’.

5.3.2 *baʿd*

baʿd ‘after, beyond’³⁵⁵

This preposition can be used both with a temporal and local value, e.g., *ħatta baʿd aṛbṣa xamsa snīn* ‘even after four or five years’, *baʿd Monoprix* ‘beyond the Monoprix’, *baʿd-ha wallāt* [female proper name] ‘[female proper name] began after her’.

5.3.3 *blāš*

blāš ‘without’

This preposition is not attested with pronominal suffixes in my corpus, e.g., e.g., *blāš ṣša* ‘without dinner’. In contrast, the synonymous preposition *ḡīr-* (see below) is attested with pronominal suffixes (see § 5.3.11).

5.3.4 *ma bīn*

ma bīn ‘between, among’

³⁵⁵ For the use of *baʿd* as a temporal adverb in KA, see §5.1.1.2.

When two – or more – nouns are mentioned after the preposition *ma bīn*, the conjunction *w-* comes between them, e.g., *ma bīn ən-north w-əl-nord w-əl-waṣat*^{MSA} *w-əs-sud* ‘between the north, the center and the sud’, *ma bīn nābəl w l-ḥammāmāt* ‘between Nabl and Hammamet’, *ma bīn xamsa mīya w sattīn xamsa mīya w sabṣīn ṣmūd* ‘among about five hundred and sixty and five hundred and seventy columns’.

5.3.5 *taḥt*

taḥt ‘under’³⁵⁶

taḥt ət-tāwla ‘under the table’.

5.3.6 *ḥatta*

ḥatta ‘until, up to’

This preposition cannot be followed by suffix pronouns and has both temporal and local values, e.g., *ḥatta l-tawwa mā-xražnā-š* ‘we have not gone out until now’, *mā-nžī-š ḥatta l-sūsa* ‘I do not go up to Sousse’.

5.3.7 *bə-ḥda*

bə-ḥda ‘next to’

It corresponds to the OA preposition *bi-ḥiḍāʔa* ‘in front of’. Some examples found in my corpus are *mā-qṣadt-š bə-ḥdā-ha* ‘I did not stay long with her (lit. I did not stay long next to her)’, *fī lli bə-ḥdā-na* ‘in those next to us’, *mā-talqa kān mmīmāt-ha lli bə-ḥdā-ha* ‘only finds her mother, who is next to her’, *bə-ḥdā-ya qāṣda* ‘she stayed next to me’, *ki nži bə-ḥdā-hum yğatṭiw* ‘as soon as I go next to them, they get covered’.

5.3.8 *ḍədd*

ḍədd ‘against’

kull marra nqūl ḥāža yži ḍədd-i ‘every time I say something he is against me’.

5.3.9 *ʕla*

ʕla, ʕ- ‘on’

³⁵⁶ This preposition in KA is similar to Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 629): It is attested with the vowel change *a > i* in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 163) and Nefza (Naddari 2023: 124).

The short form *ʕ-* is usually used when *ʕla* is followed by the article. When combined with the suffix pronouns, this preposition becomes *ʕlī-* or *ʕlā-* (pronounced with the *imāla*), depending on where the phrasal stress falls.³⁵⁷ This preposition is used:

- with the sense of ‘on’, e.g., *žābū-h mən tūnəs ʕlā-l-aʕnāq* ‘[people] brought him from Tunis [to Kairouan] on their shoulders’, *tkallam-ni tabda qāʕda ʕ-ət-toilettes* ‘she calls me when she is sitting on the toilet’, *famma zāda naqš ʕ-əṛ-ṛxām hna* ‘there also are decorations on the marble here’;
- in compound adverbs, e.g., *ʕla aqall* ‘at least’;
- as a preposition after certain verbs, e.g., *duqq-l-i ʕla* [male proper name] ‘knock for me at [male proper name]’, *tfaṛražna ḥarša ʕlā-mšāra tfaṛražna ʕlā-aflām* ‘we watched a lot of the Egyptian [productions] we have seen films’, *nhəzz ʕlā-ha* ‘I answer her’, *mā-rīt ʕlā-ha šayy* ‘I did not see anything of her’.
- in the functions of the OA *ʕan*,³⁵⁸ e.g., *muš bʕād ʕlī-na* ‘they are not far from us’;
- in the expression *la bās ʕla* + suffix pronoun, e.g., *la bās ʕlī-k?* ‘are you fine?’.

5.3.10 *ʕand*

ʕand ‘at, in possession of’

The preposition *ʕand* has multiple meanings:

- it corresponds to the preposition ‘at’, e.g., *ḥatta ʕand əṭ-tbīb maḍrūb* ‘even at the doctor, I was weak’, *mā-zāl mā-hbaṭ-l-ī-š əl-qurwān bəš yaʕməl vīzīta ʕand əl-cardiologue* ‘he did not yet go down to Kairouan to visit the cardiologist’;
- it expresses the time span (‘ago’) when asking ‘how long?’ or ‘since when?’, e.g., *hūma mšu ʕand-hum xamsīn sna* ‘they left fifty years ago’, *ʕand-u yumkun aqall m-əl-ʕā^m* ‘it was maybe less than a year ago’;
- the construction *mən + ʕand* means ‘from’, e.g., *xḍāw-h mən ʕand wāḥəd əž-ždīd tful ždīd* ‘I bought (lit. took) it from a new one, a new guy’, *famma lli yašri mən ʕan-na* ‘there are those who buy from us’.

Moreover, *ʕand* expresses the possession and can be considered equivalent to the verb ‘to have’, e.g., *ʕand-i tašwīra* ‘I have a picture’, *ʕand-ək portable?* ‘do you have a phone?’, *ʕand-i wəld-i* ‘I have a son’. In this use, this preposition can also be negated by

³⁵⁷ It seems that not only the word/syntagm stress but even the phrasal stress can influence the phonetic realization of the vowel *a* of *ʕla*, when followed by a suffix. However, I need a more targeted study to confirm this primary observation.

³⁵⁸ For the functions of the preposition *ʕan* in MSA, see Mion & D’Anna (2021: 213).

the circumfixal negation, e.g., *mā-ʕand-ək-ši* l'esprit 'you do not have the *esprit*', *mā-ʕand-ī-š nūmṛū-ha* 'I do not have her number', *mā-ʕand-ū-š sgār* 'he has no sons'. With the first plural person suffix *-na*, the preposition becomes *ʕan*: *ʕand + na > ʕan-na*, e.g., *ʕan-na fəkrā ʕ-əl-ḥarṛa* 'we have an idea of abroad'.

Positive form				Negative form			
1SG	<i>ʕand-i</i>	1PL	<i>ʕan-na</i>	1SG	<i>mā-ʕand-ī-š</i>	1PL	<i>mā-ʕan-nā-š</i>
2SG	<i>ʕand-ək</i>	2PL	<i>ʕand-kum</i>	2SG	<i>mā-ʕand-ək-š</i>	2PL	<i>mā-ʕand-kum-š</i>
3SG.M	<i>ʕand-u</i>			3SG.M	<i>mā-ʕand-ū-š</i>		
		3PL	<i>ʕand-hum</i>			3PL	<i>mā-ʕand-hum-š</i>
3SG.F	<i>ʕand-ha</i>			3SG.F	<i>mā-ʕand-hā-š</i>		

5.3.11 *mən ġīr*

m(ən)-ġīr 'without'

This preposition can be followed by suffix pronouns, e.g., *təmši m-ġīr-i* 'go without me'.

5.3.12 *fūq*

fūq 'on, above'³⁵⁹

əl-murabbʕāt^{MSA} hādūka əlli fūq əl-məḥrāb 'that square above the *miḥrāb*', *fūq ət-tāwla* 'on the table', *fūq-i āna* 'above me'

5.3.13 *fī*

fī, fī- f- 'in, to, at'

This preposition is *fī-* when followed by suffix pronouns. Otherwise, it is *fī* before a consonant and *f-* before a vowel.³⁶⁰ Among its meanings:

- 'in' or 'at' both in local and temporal values, e.g., *aṭlaʕ mʕā-ya fī karḥ^{ba}* 'get in the car with me', *hūwa fī kəṛš-i* 'he was in my bump', *fī ʕīf* 'in the summer', *āna f-əl-fətrā mṛīḍ ʕwayya* 'I was a bit sick at that time';

³⁵⁹ For the use of *fūq* as a local adverb, see §5.1.2.6.

³⁶⁰ On phonetic notes on the compound preposition *fī-ha* in KA, see D'Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 260–261).

- if followed by a suffix pronoun, it covers the role of an existential with the sense of ‘to be formed of’,³⁶¹ e.g., *w fī-h taqīrbān tlāta mīyāt-ən-lawḥa* ‘there are almost three hundred paintings’, *əl-ḥarʿa fī-h āyāt^{MSA} qurʿānīya^{MSA}* ‘outside there are Quranic verses’, *fī-h nawḥīn mən əl-klīm³⁶² fī-h ən-nawḥ k-əlli ʕla waḥhīn w fī-h ən-nawḥ wḥah ḥarḥ* ‘there are two types of *klīm* there is the type that is [embroidered] on both sides, and there is the type [embroidered] only on one side.’. In this use, *fī-* can be negated by the circumfixal negation.
- it indicates the direction ‘to’ with certain verbs, e.g., *nimšīw fī sūsa* ‘we go to Sousse’;
- it covers the role of a progressive marker, see §5.2.6.

5.3.14 *qbal*

qbal ‘before’

hādīka bənt-i qbal-hum l-kull hādīka bənt-i qbal-hum ‘that one is my daughter before them all, that one is my daughter before them’, *rawwaḥt* peut-être *zumʕa qbal ət-ṭhūr* ‘I maybe came back a week before the circumcision’.

5.3.15 *quddām*

quddām ‘in front of’

I found this preposition in my corpus only expressing a local value, e.g., *quddām hādūma yaṭsammāw ḥarḇūša quddām-u* ‘they are called pills in front of him’.

5.3.16 *kīma, kīf*

kīma, kīf, ki ‘like’

The prepositions *kīma* and *ki* are used to formulate comparisons, and suffixes can follow neither. Instead, *kīf* can be combined with suffix personal pronouns. Some examples in my corpus are *əṣ-ṣdāq əl-qayrawāni^{MSA} muš kīma əṣ-ṣdāq...* ‘Kairouani *ṣdāq* is not like the [normal] *ṣdāq...*’, *muš kīma l-ḥarḥa* ‘[it] is not like outside’, *hādāya maṭalan ki l-marḡūm* ‘this one, for example, is like the *marḡūm*’, *mā-talqā-ši zūz ki bḥaḍ-hum* ‘you do not find two identical among them’, *yəkrīw ṣāla kbīra walla ḥāža kīf mən hākka* ‘they rent a big hall or something like this’.

³⁶¹ On the difference between *famma* and *fī-* as existential in TA, see Durand & Tarquini (2023: 126).

³⁶² Type of carpet.

5.3.17 *l-*

l- ‘for, to in possession of’

The two OA prepositions **li* and **ʔilā* have converged in the KA *l-*. Regarding the values, it:

- expresses the meaning of ‘for’, e.g., *famma soirée l-əl-ḡrūsa* ‘there is a party for the bride’, *hāḡīka ḡars l-əl-ḡrūsa* ‘this is the wedding [party] for the bride’, *əl-ḡurḡīya əl-kəmla lī-k* ‘the total freedom for you’;
- marks the direction ‘to’, e.g., *tḡaddīt l-əl-pharmacie* ‘I headed to the pharmacy’, *žžār yžu, yžu l-tūnəs* ‘the Algerians come to Tunis’, *škūn lli mšā-l-ha?* ‘who was the one that came to her?’;
- marks an indirect object, e.g., *waqt əlli ḡart-l-u ənti mā-žīt-š* ‘when I circumcised him, you did not come’, *qātt-l-i ḡarra l-əḡ-ḡbīb* ‘she said to me, ‘go to the doctor’’, *ḡmalt-l-u l-programme* ‘I did him the program’;
- expresses the so-called *dativus ethicus* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 183), e.g., *mā-hbaḡ-l-ī-š əl-qurwān* ‘he did not go down to Kairouan’, *əktəb-l-i kəlma ḡālyāna* ‘write an Italian word’;
- is used in the construction *b-ən-nəsba l-*, see §5.3.20;
- is used in the correlative *mən... l-...* ‘from... to...’, e.g., *mšīt m-əl-qahwa l-ḡādi* ‘I went from the coffee bar to there’.

5.3.18 *mḡa*

mḡa ‘with’

mḡa ḡatta ḡadd ‘with nobody’, *yəxdəm mḡā-ya* ‘he works with me’, *hīya l-fête l-ḡafla mtāḡ l-ḡrūsa mḡa l-famille* ‘it is the bride’s party with the family’, *aḡlaḡ mḡa-ya* ‘come up with me’.

5.3.19 *mən*

mən, m- ‘from, than, because of, since, of’

Before a noun with the article and the relative *əlli*, this preposition is mostly shorted in *-m*; otherwise, it remains *mən*. When combined with vowel-initial suffixes, the gemination of the consonant *n* is attested to, e.g., *mənn-i* ‘from me’, *mənn-u* ‘from him’, *mənnāš...?* ‘from what...?’. Regarding the values expressed, it:

- indicates the origin both in a local and temporal sense. So, it can be translated as ‘from (where/what)’ or ‘since’, e.g., *žāw m-əl-bħar* ‘they came from the sea’, *yāna mən əl-qayrawān*^{MSA} ‘I am from Kairouan’, *ət-tbaʕ fī-hum m-əl-hūt* ‘the print comes from the fish’, *tabda m-əlli šgīra* ‘she started since she was a child’, *m-ər-rumḍān* ‘since the Ramadan’;
- introduces the second term of the comparative, e.g., *ašʕab m-əl-lūl* ‘[it was] more difficult than the first’, *ʔaqrab m-əl-ʕarabīya* ‘closer to the Arabic’, *aṭwal mənn-u* ‘taller than him’;
- has a causal value, e.g., *qult wkāy m-aš-šyām* ‘I said ok, it is because of the fasting’, *wallāh m-əl-fažʕa* ‘I swear, because of the fear’;
- is used in the partitive, e.g., *təsʕīn f-əl-mīya m-əl-šdāqāt* ‘90% of the *šdāqāt*’, *nawʕīn m-əl-klīm* ‘two types of *klīm*’;
- is used in the correlative *mən... l-...* ‘from... to...’, see §5.3.17.
- is used to form compound prepositions and adverbs, as shown in previous sections of this chapter (see §5.1.1.1, §5.1.1.2, §5.1.2.1, §5.1.2.9, §5.1.4.5).

5.3.20 *b-ən-nəsba l-*

b-ən-nəsba l- ‘regarding’

Both suffix personal pronouns and nouns attach to the preposition *l-*, e.g., *hādāka b-ən-nəsba l-naħna*³⁶³ *yətsamma šdāq* ‘regarding us, it is called *šdāq*’, *b-ən-nəsba l-əl-ʕrūs lāʕ* ‘regarding the groom, no’, *b-ən-nəsba l-līlt əl-ʕərs hādīka yəlbsu ʕādi* ‘regarding the wedding night, they dress normal’.

5.3.21 *wra*

wra ‘behind’

nažžəm nuqʕud wra-ha ‘I can sit behind her’, *wra l-kursi mtāʕ-k* ‘behind your chair’, *wra l-bāb* ‘behind the door’.³⁶⁴

5.3.22 *fī wuʕt*

fī wuʕt ‘in the midst of’

³⁶³ In this case, the use of the independent personal pronoun *naħna* – instead of the suffix *-na* – after the preposition has to be considered an error in the speaker’s performance due to a reformulation of the sentence.

³⁶⁴ For the use of *m-əl-wra* as local adverb, see §5.1.2.10.

āna ḥaṭṭīt-hum fi wuṣṭ əd-dār ‘I put them in the midst of the house’, *nuskun fi wuṣṭ əl-qurwān* ‘I live in the midst of Kairouan’.

5.4 Conjunctions

The conjunctions are divided into coordinating and subordinating and are listed in etymological roots’ alphabetic order.

5.4.1 Coordinating

The simple and correlative coordinating conjunctions found in my corpus are *amma*, *lākən*, *la... la...*, *ʕād*, *w-*, and *walla*,

5.4.1.1 *amma*

***amma* ‘but’**

ʕand-ha ʔāʔā-k [SP6’s name] *ṛā-hu l-whatsapp amma n-nūmṛū mā-nī-š ḥāfḍatt-u* ‘your aunt [SP6’s name] has WhatsApp, but I have not saved the number’, *ənšallāh la bās amma ṛā-ni xāyfa w maʕzūʕa* ‘hopefully he is okay, but I am frightened and scared’, *əl-lūn talqā-h amma ən-naqš ḥāḍīka yəstahīl talqā-ha kīf* ‘you find the color, but it is impossible to find the same decoration’, *naʕs əl-xədma amma nawʕ āxəṛ* ‘same work, but different type’.

5.4.1.2 *la...la...*

***la... la...* ‘neither... nor...’**

la ʕand-ha zār w la ʕāḥba l-tawwa, ‘she currently has neither neighbor nor friend’, *la trawwḥu gādi w la nsayyəb-kum* ‘neither you^{PL} come back there, nor I leave you^{PL}’.

5.4.1.3 *lākən*

***lākən* ‘but’**

This adversative conjugation is statistically less used in KA than *amma*. Some occurrences found in the corpus are the following: *əl-kaʕba ḥāšā-k tkassrət lākən mā-tḍūb-š mā-tətslax-š* ‘the piece is broken – far be it from you–, but it does not come off, it does not deteriorate’, *qaʕdu šabʕa walla tmānya šnīn yṛammu fī-h [...] lākən tarmīm xfiʔ* ‘it took seven or eight years to renovate [...], but it was a minor renovation’, *tamma šqūfāt tbaddlət ḥāḍāya tbaddəl lākən famma šqūfāt əd-dāxəl fī-hum ḥatta āyāt^{MSA} qurʔānīya^{MSA}* ‘there are ceilings that have been changed, this one has been changed, but there are

ceilings inside that even bear Koranic verses’, *thəll əl-bāb tudxul w tzi w nāklū w ma... lākən tamma həža zāda* ‘she opens the door, comes, goes, we eat... but there is one more thing’.

5.4.1.4 w-

w- ‘and’

As described in §2.1.9 for the glide /w/, the coordinating conjunction w- has two realizations, depending on its phonetic context. It is pronounced [w] when preceding an initial vowel word; otherwise, it is [u].

Some examples found in the corpus are *talqā-ha m-əl-ḥarṛa žəld w mən dāxəl zāda žəld* ‘you find the leather outside [the bag] and inside’, *ʕumr-u əlf w mītī* ‘it is one thousand two hundred years old’, *hāḍika muš xamšīn b-əl-mīya w āxər tarmīm fi awāxər əs-səttīnāt* ‘it is not fifty percent and the last renovation dates to the end of the 60s’, *naʕrəf škūn yaḥki talyān w mā-yaʕrəf-š yaqrā-h* ‘I know who speaks Italian, but do not read it’, *ʕmal-l-i taxtīt tāʕ l-qalb w šəf-l-i əd-damm* ‘he did the electrocardiogram and checked my blood [values]’.

5.4.1.5 walla

walla ‘or’

qaʕdu šabʕa walla tmānya šnīn ‘it took seven or eight years to renovate’, *duqt əl-kəftāzi walla la?* ‘have you tasted the kafeji or not?’, *ndawwəš walla nuqʕud* ‘I take my shower or sit down’, *xāl-ha walla xālət-ha* ‘her maternal uncle or maternal aunt’, *yəkrīw šāla kbīra walla həža kif mən hākka* ‘they rent a big hall or something like that’, *hīya lli taʕməl hāḍaya walla maʕalan*^{MSA} *yətxədmu b-əl-mākīna* ‘she is who does it, or, for example, they are machine-made’, *nwarrīw-l-ək marḡūm walla thəbb tšūf həža* ‘we show you the marḡūm, or if you want to see something’.

5.4.2 Subordinating

This section collects the simple and compound subordinating conjunctions commonly used in KA.

5.4.2.1 əlli³⁶⁵

əlli, lli ‘that’

³⁶⁵ Regarding the use of *əlli* as a relative pronoun in KA, see §4.3.3.

fakkart əlli l-cinq jours mšīw ṭwālu ‘you thought that the five days were long’, *āna zāda mā-fī-bāl-ī-š lli* [female proper name] *talbət* [second female proper name] ‘I did not even know that [female proper name] had called [second female proper name]’.

5.4.2.2 *bəš*

***bəš* ‘to, in order to’**

bəš is always used as a final conjunction in KA, but it can also be used as a future marker together with *məš* (D’Accordio Berlinguer 2023: 269; see §3.16).³⁶⁶

Some examples found in my corpus are *mša bəš yurqud* ‘he went to sleep’, *mā-ḥand-ək-ši l’esprit bəš təfhəm w bəš tākul l-ḥārṛ* ‘you do not have the mind in order to understand, to eat spicy foods’, *habbaṭ-ha məṭ rās-ha bəš ybūs-ha* ‘he bent her head down in order to kiss her’, *īda təqbəlt maḥnā-ha bəš tzi taḥməl-l-ək* message *tqūl-l-ək tzi l-waqt lə-flāni təsḥa* ‘if you are accepted to come, she sends you a message, saying ‘come at 9 o’clock’ for example’.

5.4.2.3 *baḥd ma*

***baḥd ma* ‘after’**

wkāy m-əṣ-ṣyām, amma baḥd ma nākul əlli hīya ḥāza qlīla nākul ki nəmši l-qahwa nuqḥud bə-ḥda l-wlād ‘OK, it is because of the fast, but after eating – what I ate was a small thing – as soon as I go to the coffee, I sit next to the boys’.

5.4.2.4 *ḥla xāṭəṛ*

***ḥla xāṭəṛ, xāṭəṛ, xāṭəṛ* + suffix pronoun ‘because’**

The form *xāṭəṛ* without the preposition *ḥla* is the most attested to in KA,³⁶⁷ as the following examples show: *taḥbət šwayya f-əl-césarienne xāṭəṛ ət-tānya* ‘she got a bit tired with the cesarean because she is the second [daughter]’, *āna fīsaḥ žīt xāṭəṛ ālīsyā žāya* ‘I left soon because Alessia was coming’, *ənti f-əs-sḥānya talqa d-damm kif kif f-əs-sḥānya xāṭəṛ lə-qrāwa mšāw fathu əs-sḥānya* ‘you find the same blood in Spain because

³⁶⁶ On the etymology and future marker use of *bəš/məš*, see D’Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 269) and §3.16. Regarding the different forms of this final conjunction in TA, it is *bāš* in Tunis (Singer 1984: 696–697) and Sousse (Talmoudi 1980: 165), *bāš* in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 193–194), and *bāš* or *bis* in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 127–128).

³⁶⁷ This is also the case of Nefza Arabic, where the use of ‘the form *ḥlā xāṭir* usually implies additional emphasis’ (Naddari 2023: 128). The form without the preposition *ḥla* is also attested to in Tunis (Singer 1984: 696), Douz and Djerba (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 197).

Kairouani people conquered Spain’, *ʕlāš nāklū f-əl-kəftāzi w nāklū l-hārṛ ḥarša? xātər-na bə-ṛasm-i esprit mtāʕ-na ḥārṛ* ‘why do we eat *kəftāzi* and very spicy? Because, actually, our mind is spicy’.

5.4.2.5 *ma dām*

ma dām ‘as long as’

ma dām kull šay la bās mā-nəmsīw-š lə-šbītār ‘as long as everything is OK, we do not go to the hospital’, *əl-līla* exceptionnellement *ṛā-hu qulnā-l-ha qulna ma dām nashru hna...* ‘this night – exceptionally – we told her that as long as we spend the night together here...’.

5.4.2.6 *ṛaǧm*

bə-ṛaǧm əlli ‘despite’

bə-ṛaǧm əlli kunt dīma mʕa-ha gentille, *mā-ḥabbət-š tsalləm ʕlā-ha* ‘despite you always has been kind to her, she did not want to say ‘hello’’, *bə-ṛaǧm əlli yuqṛub-l-i ʕ-əs-slāma w yarḥam bāy-k* ‘despite he is close to me, [we just say] hello and goodbye (lit. peace be on your father)’.

5.4.2.7 *ʕībāra*

ʕībāra ‘as if’

ʕībāra waḥda m-əl-bnāt ‘as if she were a girl’.

5.4.2.8 *ʕād*

ʕād ‘so, Ø’

This is the grammaticalization of the S-stem 3SG.M verbal form. It is used either to pick up the thread again after a break in the conversation or to reinforce the content of a statement. It often even remains untranslated (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 190). Some examples found in the corpus are *ṛžaʕ ət-taxīṭ mʕaddəl w mrīgəl ʕād baʕd mā-staʕməl-š əd-dwār^{MSA}* ‘the electrocardiogram came back balanced, good so then he did not use medicines’, *qutt-l-ək ʕād kṭur kṭur kṭur kṭur* ‘I told you that it increased, increased, increased, increased’, *ənti tawwa qarwīya ʕād* ‘in addition, you now are Kairouani’.

5.4.2.9 *hāḍāka ʕlāš*

hāḍāka ʕlāš therefore, for this reason³⁶⁸

hāḍāka ʕlāš xfiʃ ‘for this reason, it is light’, *nsīt-ha hāḍāka ʕlāš?* ‘therefore, did you forget?’.

5.4.2.10 *ma ġīr ma*

ma ġīr ma ‘without’

ma ġīr ma thəzzū-hum lə-šbīṭār? ‘without taking them to the hospital?’, *ma ġīr ma təmši* ‘without going out’.

5.4.2.11 *qbal ma*

qbal ma ‘before’

hadāya qbal ma trawwah hādīya nhārāt-ha bəš trawwah hādīra-l-ha tabdīlāt-ha ‘here is before going these days to prepare her clothes’, *anti qbal ma tudxul əd-dawwəš kallam-ha* ‘before you get into the shower, call her’.

5.4.2.12 *īda kān*

īda ‘if’

īda anti muxx-ək w thəbb əl-ʕarbi w thəbb twəlli ʕarbiya ləzəm-ək hətta l-mākla w-əl-caractère mtaʕ l-ʕrab ‘if you, your head, love Arabic and want to become an Arab, you must also have Arab food and behaviors’, *īda anti mā-ʕand-ək-ši l’ esprit bəš təfhəm w bəš tākul l-hārīr bəš twalli ʕlāš l-aʕbād tākul əl-hārīr w təfhəm ʕlāš donc ma-fammā-š rā-hu* ‘if you do not have the mind to understand, to eat spicy foods, to understand why people eat spicy foods, then it does not make sense’, *īda mā-yhəbb-əš mā-yəlbəs-š* ‘If one does not want, one does not wear [it]’, *w-īda taʕzīb-ək həzā šūm l-uxt-ək* ‘if you like something [I do to you] a sisterly price’.

īda kān ‘if’

īda kān āna nsīt, tu peux ‘if I forget, you can [take it]’, *īda kān fə-š-šdāq w rīt ən-nās lābsa əl-labsa hādīya hādūkum rā-hum qrāb* ‘if [you are] at a *šdāq* and you see people wearing this garment, those are close [to the family]’, *īda kān rīt wāhəd lābəs əž-žəbba l-libās hāda rā-hu dīma yuqrub lə-l-ʕrūsa* ‘if you see someone wearing the *jibba*, this dress, [it means that] he is close to the bride’.

³⁶⁸ Combining *ʕlāš* with the singular masculine demonstrative is also used in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 107) and Nefza Arabic (Naddari 2023: 114).

***kān* ‘if’**

kān tqūl-l-u aṭṭab-l-i kəlma ṭālyāna maṣnā-ha [...] *lə-ṣbād tkapti?* ‘If you ask him, ‘write me an Italian word’[...] I mean, people understand’, *kān thəbb nwarrīw-l-ək maṣgūm walla thəbb tšūf hāža rā-hu lə-hna šūm maṣnā-ha l-əl-uxt* ‘If you want, we show you the *maṣgūm*, or if you want to see something, the price here is sisterly’, *kān tra* [female proper name] *mā-hī^a aṭwal mənn-u* ‘if you see [female proper name], she is taller than him’, *kān ṣand-u walla mā-ṣand-u-š mā-yḍahhar ṣlī-h ḥat^a šayy* ‘If one has or has not, he does not show at all’.

5.4.2.13 *law kān*³⁶⁹

***law kān* ‘if’**

law kān xražna bəkri rā-na wṣəlha tawwa ‘if we had gone earlier, we would be there now’, *law kān yzi ḥadd tawwa mā-yalqā-š ṣan-na šayy* ‘if anyone came now, they would not find anything from us’.

5.4.2.14 *kīma*

***kīma* ‘as if’**

kīma bənt-i [female proper name] ‘[female proper name] is as if she were my daughter’, *kīma bənt-i b-əḍ-ḍabt* ‘[she] is exactly as if she were my daughter’.

5.4.2.15 *kīf*

***kīf*,³⁷⁰ *ki*, *k-* ‘when’**

As a conjunction, *kīf* is rarely found in my corpus. Instead, the abbreviated forms *ki* and especially *k-* are more frequently used.³⁷¹ Some examples found in my corpus are *kīf hādāya twaffa əš-šayx* [male proper name] *hāda zədd ḥāḥa zābū-h mən tūnəs ṣlā-l-aṣnāq* ‘when the *Sheykh* [male proper name], grandfather of my father, died, people brought him from Tunis [to Kairouan] on their shoulders’, *ki təsmṣ-u tqūl hūwa ṭālyān* ‘when you hear

³⁶⁹ According to conditional clauses in the Arabic varieties of Tunis, Dallaji, Gabsi & Procházka (the paper is available here <https://vicav.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/docs/TUNICO-conditionals-11-9-2018.pdf>) state that fifty years after the study of Singer, they observed a significant reduction of conjunction forms used in Tunis Arabic – resulting in the dominance of *kān* – for introducing conditional clauses. Moreover, the conjunction *lū-kān* – mainly used for counterfactuals – has almost completely disappeared. If I compare these data with KA, I similarly find the reduced use of *law kān* but not the reduction of the other conjunctions – above mentioned – in favor of *kān*.

³⁷⁰ For the use of *kīf* as an interrogative adverb, see §5.1.4.3.

³⁷¹ In Nefza Arabic, *kīf* is also less attested, and it is found in middle-aged and old speakers. According to Naddari (2023: 129), young speakers exclusively use *ki*.

him, [you say] ‘he is Italian!’’, *ki žīt lə-hna qāl-l-i šnawwa lə-ħkāya?* ‘when I came back here, he said, ‘what is this?’’, *štā-ni raḥḥ-i quwwa k-əṭ-ṭrayyāt rakkbū* ‘God gave me strength when they installed the chandeliers’.

***ki* ‘as soon as’**

ki nəmši l-qahwa nuqʿud bə-ḥda l-wlād ‘as soon as I go to the coffee, I sit next to the boys’, *ki tudxul l-byūt tšūf kifāš bārdīn* ‘as soon as you enter the rooms you see how cold they are’.

***ki* ‘if’**

ki is a shortened form of *kif* and has a hypothetical value of reality, e.g., *ki tʿalləm maʿnā-ha l-qarwi hāk tšūfi-na* ‘if you study Kairouani Arabic, you^{FEM} notice it’, *ki təmši tūnsi thəzz-u l-ḥarḥa yʿiš ʿādi* ‘if a Tunisian goes abroad, he lives in a very normal way’.³⁷²

5.4.2.16 *līn*

***līn* ‘until’**

līn māt w līn qbal ymūt la nhār qāl-l-i ya [female proper name] *gātṭi rās-ək* ‘until he died and until before dying, not a day he said to me, [female proper name], cover your head’.

5.4.2.17 *waqt əlli*

***waqt (ə)li* ‘when’**

waqt əlli ʒa əs-sayyəd bda yərḥi bda ynaḍḍaf bdāt əd-dār tbān ‘when the man started to sand and clean, the house appeared’, *waqt əlli ṭharṭ-l-u ənti mā-žīt-š l-ʿām hāḍāka* ‘when I circumcised him, you did not come that year’, *waqt əlli mšīt nalqa l-bnāt marṣmīn* ‘when I went out I found the girls thrown [to the ground]’.

5.4.2.18 *wīn*³⁷³

***wīn* ‘when’, ‘where’**

mā-naʿrəf-š wīn bəš təmši w āna je dois rentrer ɡudwa ‘I do not know when she will go, and I have to come back tomorrow’, *famma qurābat^{MSA} xamsa ālāf ʿāyla yusknu f-əl-ḥammāmāt wīn yžīw ɖyūf yžīw yəšrīw m-əl-hna* ‘nearly five thousand families are living

³⁷² Both uses of the conjunction *ki* with the meanings of ‘if’ and ‘when’ are also described in Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 204). Instead, *ki* means ‘if’ in Tunis Arabic (Singer 1984: 689), and ‘when’ in Nefza (Naddari 2023: 129).

³⁷³ For the original use of *wīn* as an interrogative adverb in KA, see §5.1.4.5. Ritt-Benmimoun mentions the transition from the local to the temporal aspect of *wīn* in Douz Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 209).

in Hammamet, when they have guests, they come to buy here', *fī wuṣṭ lə-blād wīn masʒəd əl-anṣār* 'In the city center, where the mosque *əl-anṣār* is'.

**VI. CHAPTER SIX:
CONCLUSIONS**

This chapter aims at answering the five research questions raised in this study's 'Introduction', giving my conclusions, and presenting my future research outlooks.

The first part of the chapter (§6.1) represents the conclusions of the grammar description of KA; I define KA linguistic typology, summarizing and motivating the sociolinguistic variation found within it. In the second part of the chapter (§6.2), I use historical and linguistic data in order to outline whether it is conceivable to consider that there could be some typological relationship between the Arabic currently spoken in Kairouan and that spoken starting from the 7th century; and question both the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA from ancient KA (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais*.

For each part, I propose future research perspectives on the topic.

6.1 Conclusions on the grammar description of KA

After the comprehensive description of the phonological and morphological system of KA, this section shall answer the first two research questions raised in the 'Introduction':

The first concerns the classification of KA in the Tunisian and Maghrebi Arabic linguistic panorama, whether KA is a sedentary-type variety as already affirmed by W. Marçais (1950: 206–207). The second investigates the linguistic variation found in KA. It aims to answer what this variation consists of, where it comes from, in which speakers it is attested to and why, and, finally, where the sociolinguistic dynamics developed in KA are positioned compared to those already described for other contemporary Arabic-speaking urban contexts.

Some conclusive remarks and outlook on future research on KA conclude this section.

6.1.1 Classification of KA

According to the phonological and morphological description I presented in the previous chapters, KA is a variety typologically almost equal to that of the capital, Tunis (Singer 1984). If one looks at the classification of TA varieties made by W. Marçais (1950) and wants to refer to the traditional labels used up to now in Maghrebi dialectology studies, the present-day Arabic spoken in the city of Kairouan has to be classified as a sedentary-(urban/*citadin*-)type variety of MagA.

Typical isoglosses of sedentary Tunisian Arabic, according to W. Marçais (1950: 207–210)	KA	For more details and exceptions, see
Realization of etymological OA <i>qāf</i> as /q/	✓	§ 2.1.1
Monophthongization in <i>ī</i> and <i>ū</i> of the etymological diphthongs * <i>ay</i> and * <i>aw</i>	✓	§ 2.3
Doubling of the <i>-t</i> in the 3SG.F verbs and feminine participle, when followed by a vowel-initial suffix	✓	§ 2.6.2
CCvC patterns	✓	§ 4.1.2.4.2
Diminutive forms $C^1C^2\bar{i}C^3\partial C^4$		§ 4.1.2.5
Loss of 2SG gender distinction in verbs and independent personal pronouns	✓	§ 3.0 and 4.3.1.1
Reconstruction of a long vowel in final-weak verbs	✓	§ 3.1.5
Overlapping between active and passive participle in augmented patterns	✓	§3.0.1
Use of the <i>t</i> -passive form	✓	§ 3.13
Typical vocabulary	✓	

Nevertheless, as this study has stated, one of the major desiderata of current Maghrebi dialectology studies is to overcome the labels of traditional classification and propose new definitions that take into account the synchronic linguistic (and ecolinguistic) situations of the varieties that are described. In this regard, along with the

description, I showed that some morphological isoglosses of KA attest to a variation that suggests a more thoughtful consideration.

6.1.2 What does the linguistic variation identified in KA consist of and where does it come from?³⁷⁴

As introduced in §1.1.2, the city of Kairouan faced some phenomena of massive migrations and urbanization. The most relevant of them, that is attested to in historical sources, have been the following: the migration flows verified from the early 18th century, after the deportation of the inhabitants of Djebel Ouslet towards Kairouan; the migratory waves that occurred from the end of the 19th century as a consequence of the urbanization program of development established by the French Protectorate and the assignment of Kairouan as the administrative center of the Governorate; and the more recent rural exodus from the countryside, because of floods, epidemics, famines, and unemployment, after the Independence in the 1960s.

As predictable, these socio-economic phenomena, the consequent settlement of speakers hailing from non-sedentary-urban-speaking contexts, and the prolonged contact of these speakers with Kairouani inhabitants have led to linguistic outcomes.

Already Badreddine, in 1977 points out that

le parler est toujours pour un Kairouanais un critère pour déterminer l'origine des nouveaux venus. (Badreddine 1977a: 11).

Starting from this statement, one deduces that – at least until 1977 – KA had its own specific traits that were well recognizable for the TA-speaking-community. However, Badreddine adds that

si on ne saurait douter du caractère citadin du parler que nous étudions, les traits authentiquement campagnards qui y apparaissent, rappellent les caractéristiques des parlers villageois dont William Marçais a parlé dans le dialecte villageois de Takroûna (Badreddine 1977a: 11).

Likewise, if I look at the variety of Arabic spoken in Kairouan today, it is still recognizable as a specific linguistic variety by TA speakers. At the same time, however, some morphological isoglosses not usually widespread in sedentary-urban varieties are also notably attested to. The most relevant of these isoglosses are:

³⁷⁴ This section is extracted and reworked from D'Accordio Berlinguer (2023: 270–273).

- the first person plural personal pronoun *naḥna*;
- the gender distinction in 2SG personal pronouns and verbs;
- the relative marker *alla*;
- the P-C¹C² u realization of the defective verb (*yəḥṣū* instead of *yəḥṣīw*).

According to the traditional classification of TA varieties by W. Marçais (1950), these are labeled as Bedouin-type traits. The presence of these isoglosses in KA attests to a high degree of sociolinguistic variation, which has been spread at least from the 1970s (Badreddine 1977a: 11). Moreover, I also showed, along with my phonological and morphological description, other features that either are only attested to for speakers with *rīf* origins or, if compared with other varieties of Tunisian Arabic already described, can be tagged as ‘rural’. It is the case of the use of the construction *aktar wāḥad* ‘the best’ (§4.1.2.6), the adverb *yāsər* (§5.1.3.22), the suffix *-ši*, instead of *-š*, in the circumfix negation (§5.2.4.3), the existential *tamma/mā-tammā-š*, instead of *famma/mā-fammā-š* (§5.2.8).

As I will explain in the next section, the presence of these isoglosses within KA is the main linguistic outcome of the uninterrupted socio-economic phenomena of urbanization and migration toward the city from (at least) the 18th century.

6.1.3 Sociolinguistic variation and leveling

Indeed, the Bedouin-type isoglosses mentioned above are only attested to in speakers with *rīf* family origins and those hailing from the Governorate.

As I stated in §1.5, I reported in this study some extracts of speech related to speakers hailing from the Governorate (SP17^R, SP18^R, and SP28^R) only to demonstrate the sociolinguistic variation within the Kairouan Governorate and the fact that as soon as one leaves the city, the vernacular changes considerably, switching to other varieties of TA. Indeed, as is the case of Tunis and Sfax, Kairouan is surrounded by TA varieties that are typologically different from KA. However, this category of speakers is outside of the KA I described in this study.

Things are different if I look at speakers born and raised in the city but from families hailing from the Governorate outskirts and the countryside, i.e., the *rīf*. This category of speakers is part of the variety I described, and they are precisely those who exclusively use or, more often, alternate sedentary-type isoglosses with Bedouin-type ones in KA.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that Badreddine made a targeted choice of informants. He declares that he discarded the ‘parler faubourien’ (Badreddine 1977a: 18) – which characterizes those speakers who had just moved at that time from the surrounding areas to the city – in his interviews, because its speakers are:

victimes de l'exode rurale des années soixante et [...] se sont installés dans les bidonvilles. Les parlers de cette population hétérogène qui ne sont pas sans influence sur le parler populaire, sont souvent dénoncé comme déplaisants. Les sujets parlants qui adoptent de temps à autre des prononciations ou un langage propre à la contrée dont ils sont originaires, sont vite repérés par les auditeurs. Les gens les plus avertis se trahissent toujours à un moment ou un autre, même ceux qui sont établis dans la ville depuis longtemps. (Badreddine 1977a: 18).

Contrary to Badreddine’s statement, I support the need to include speakers with *rīf* origins in a study conducted more than sixty years after the beginning of the rural exodus flow of the 1960s. Indeed, these speakers are – at least – second generations and cannot be excluded from present-day KA linguistic description because they were born and raised in Kairouan, without important neighborhood distinctions, define themselves as Kairouanese, and hand down the Arabic they speak to the new generations. As I showed in §1.1.2, a conspicuous part of the present-day Kairouani population is of *rīf* origin. Most of Kairouani inhabitants were raised in non-sedentary-urban-speaking families who moved to the city. These actors of migration phenomena towards Kairouan have been the carriers of the progressive entry of Bedouin-type isoglosses from other linguistic areas into the sedentary urban KA. The prolonged contact and the settlement of these speakers hailing from non-sedentary-urban-speaking contexts clearly explain the presence of the Bedouin-type isoglosses and their progressive assimilation in present-day KA.

Besides, if I analyze my data collection from a diachronic point of view – in comparison with Badreddine’s corpus (Badreddine 1977b) –, it is evident that most of these Bedouin-type isoglosses found in KA are only spread among the speakers I interviewed or have intensified in their speeches. So, even if Badreddine excluded the ‘parler faubourien’ (Badreddine 1977a: 18) from his interview, however, some Bedouin-type isoglosses are also attested to in the speakers he interviewed.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is plausible that the introduction of these Bedouin-type isoglosses into KA predates the migration flow of the 1960s, possibly tracing back to the initial (?) intensive rural immigration flows that commenced in the 18th century.

As I showed in §1.1.2.1, examples of similar sociolinguistic processes and inter-dialectal contacts due to phenomena of migrations and urbanization are well-attested in Arabic varieties from Morocco to Iraq (Holes 1995; Messaoudi 2001; Miller 2004; Miller et al. 2007). Regarding MagA, the case of Tripoli is among the most striking since this variety

has become Bedouinized as a result of the huge rural exodus and the settlement in the city of Bedouins and former peasants (Pereira 2007: 91).

It seems that KA is – at least for the moment – far from a linguistic Bedouinization process. Indeed, comparing the sociolinguistic dynamics developed in KA with those already described for other contemporary Arabic-speaking urban contexts listed in §1.1.2.1, this urban vernacular is almost maintained and leveled without significant transformations (koineization and leveling). Its speakers still recognize KA for its well-defined characteristics, and compared to those varieties spoken outside the city, it is perceived as prestigious. Moreover, the fact that KA is typologically close to the Arabic spoken in the capital probably supports this leveling direction and the vernacular prestige.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic situation of KA should be monitored during the next decades to observe what will happen with the succession of the next generations.

Regarding future sociolinguistic studies, one wonders why only some Bedouin-type isoglosses are part of the individuated sociolinguistic variation. Indeed, some other traditional Bedouin-type isoglosses – such as the realizations of the etymological *qāf* as /g/, the diphthongs reduced in *ē* and *ō*, the internal passive – seem not to be part of the linguistic repertoire of the informants under analysis. Further data is needed for an in-depth analysis of this topic, and I do not exclude that they could attest to other Bedouin-type isoglosses assimilated in KA speakers. For the moment, I only wonder if it might be that the Bedouin-type isoglosses I mentioned above have entered KA because speakers do not perceive them as stigmatizing sociolinguistic traits. Indeed, the constant loss of the [g] – the most stigmatized isogloss for all Tunisian Arabic speakers³⁷⁶ – would be the primary evidence of this hypothesis.

³⁷⁵ Among the others (Sayahi 2014; Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun 2022), Gibson already affirmed in 2002 that ‘the direction of the ongoing changes [in Tunisian varieties] is toward the modern-day dialect of Tunis’ (Gibson 2002: 28).

³⁷⁶ For language attitudes and social meanings carried by the [g] in Tunisia, see Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun (2022).

6.1.4 Gender- and aged-related variation

The sociolinguistic gender-related variation phenomena individuated in my corpus are the following:

- the etymological /q/ is sporadically subject to non-systematic phenomena of spirantization in female speakers, resulting in [x];
- the affrication [tʰ] of *t* in the 2SG pronoun *ənti*;
- the use of the question marker *x*-;
- a wider use of French loanwords and phenomena of code-switching with the French, especially in educated speakers.

However, a further targeted investigation of gender-related phenomena and variation in KA would be necessary.

The same is also valid for the analysis of age-related variation in KA. While the sample of informants interviewed for this study spans different age groups and is almost equally represented, it is crucial to underscore the need for more targeted research. With a more significant number of speakers (currently, I have three between 20-29 years old and five between 30- 39), I could propose more reliable results relating to age-related sociolinguistic variation. At the same time, since young Tunisians tend to level towards the capital variety (Sayahi 2014; Gibson 2002; Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun 2022) – which is typologically very close to KA – it could be challenging to clearly outline, at least from a morphosyntactic point of view, a possible variation. However, a more evident age-related variation could be easier to show at the lexical level, as I have already started to observe in my corpus.

6.1.5 Closing remarks and outlook (I)

In conclusion, I define KA as a Tunisian variety typologically like that of the capital, attesting to a Bedouin-type sociolinguistic-based variation. This variation is attested to in speakers with *rīf* origins who use some Bedouin-type isoglosses in their speech. From a socio-historical perspective, this variation is explained by the rural migration flows that succeeded towards the city from at least the 18th century and the urbanization phenomena that started during the French Protectorate. Furthermore, the current social composition of the Kairouani population still attests to this ‘mixed’ origin of its members.

The historical and sociolinguistic overview of KA speakers that I proposed in this study, along with the grammatical description, confirms once again the importance of

collecting data from informants with different sociolinguistic profiles and analyzing these data along with the study of the speaking community's local history.

With regard to topics related to the Arabic spoken in the city of Kairouan that require further investigation, I have the following main outlook:

- an in-depth analysis of lexical, grammatical, and functional categories of the four main verbs of sight used in KA, i.e., *ra*, *šāf*, *ǧzur*, and *tfarraǧ*;
- the systematic syntactic description of KA, including the categories of agreement, time, aspect and mood, negation, coordination, subordination, modality, and conditional sentences;
- a further targeted investigation of gender- and young-speakers-related phenomena of sociolinguistic variation by interviewing larger and more targeted groups of speakers;
- a further targeted sociolinguistic investigation on the speakers with *rīf* origins in order to better understand the ongoing phenomena of inter-dialect contacts and dialect leveling in KA.

6.2 Is there a non-Kairouani first-layer Arabic?

Having described the phonological and morphological system of present-day KA and classified this variety, I have achieved the first of the two main goals of this research work.

Regarding the second main objective, this study contributes to the ongoing debate about the reassessment of the traditional classification of MagA (Caubet 1998; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020; Guerrero 2018; Mion 2014, 2015, 2018; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Pereira 2018), questioning the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA from ancient KA (W. Marçais & Guíga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65).

Taking into account what I already introduced in §1.2 and §1.3, this section shall answer the remaining three research questions raised in the 'Introduction':

- Could present-day KA still be related to the variety spoken in the city during the first wave of Arabization?
- Considering historical and both synchronic and diachronic linguistic data, can we continue to support William Marçais' theory, according to whom ancient KA was the first Arabic variety spoken in Northern Africa and from which first-layer Arabic is derived? Could there be a non-Kairouani origin of first-layer Arabic?

- Is there a typological relationship between present-day KA and the so-called *parlers kairouanais*? Are actually the *parlers kairouanais* the local evolutions of ancient KA?

To answer these questions, the following sections present the joined analysis of historical and linguistic data. First, I will focus on the major historical phases and social phenomena occurring in the Maghreb between the 7th and 11th centuries, corresponding with the beginning of the two so-called waves of Arabization. Additionally, I will compare the diachronic development and the synchronic distribution of three isoglosses (i.e., the realization of the etymological *qāf*, interdental fricatives, and diphthongs **aw* and **ay*) in first-layer Arabic across present-day and more ancient varieties such as Andalusí and Sicilian Arabic, Maltese, and some Judeo-Arabic varieties.

Some conclusive remarks and outlook on my further research on the linguistic Arabization of Northern Africa conclude this dissertation.

6.2.1 The monogenetic origin of first-layer Arabic and the so-called *parlers kairouanais*

Taking up what was introduced in the first chapter of this dissertation (see §1.2 and §1.3), ancient KA was considered the origin of all first-layer varieties for almost a century. In 1925, the French colonial scholar and pioneer of Maghrebi dialectology, William Marçais (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219), stated that the isoglosses shared by sedentary Tunisian Arabic and the other varieties spoken in the urban centers of the Maghreb were the result of a unique common linguistic root, i.e., the Arabic spoken in Kairouan between the 7th and 9th centuries. Defining the city of Kairouan as the ‘*mère des cités du Maghreb*’ (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII) and ancient KA as the first variety of MagA (W. Marçais 1950: 219) spoken in the region, he identified Kairouan as the only linguistic first-layer Arabization core of Northern Africa.

Nevertheless, I highlighted that, although neither historical nor linguistic data have ever verified this theory, it mostly reverberated due to W. Marçais’ stature in the field (Benkato 2019: 10). Besides, this theory was refined by David Cohen, who proposed a subgroup of first-layer varieties, calling them *parlers kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65), i.e., the MA of Fez, Tlemcen, Nedroma, the JA of Tunis, Fez, Sefrou, Algiers, and Maltese (Caubet 2004: 64–65), which, in turn, would have

influenced the *villageois* varieties of the Jbala in Morocco, Trara in Algeria, and Sahel in Tunisia.

Conversely, in the following sections, I aim to show that the theory of a monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA is probably too simplistic and incompatible with the available historical and linguistic data.

6.2.1.1 Socio-historical considerations

If one focuses on both the regional and local historical events related to the Arab-Islamic conquest of Northern Africa, as well as the invaders' ethnic – and linguistic – origin and the social composition of pre-Islamic Kairouan, some necessary considerations arise.

Indeed, even before speaking of an ancient KA, it would be appropriate to ask and investigate: who lived in Kairouan before the Arab conquests? What languages did these people speak? Who were the Arabic speakers who arrived in Kairouan at the beginning of the 7th century? Where did they come from? What languages did they speak?

According to historical sources (Talbi 1997: 826), in 670, General ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ established a military outpost for conquering the Maghreb in the present city of Kairouan. However, this area was already inhabited, even if

[o]n ne dispose pas de renseignements sur la population kairouanaise, dont les origines remontant à la période d'avant les conquêtes : ni sur les Berbères de différentes tribus, ni sur les Rūm (les descendantes des Byzantins grecs du Bas-Empire) et les Afāriqa (Berbères romanisés) constituant les *Ağam* et dont un grand nombre étaient christianisés ou judaïsés, ni sur les Noirs (Sakly 2000: 64).

The *ṣağam al-balad*, i.e., the non-Arab and – consequently – non-Arabic speakers already settled in Kairouan in the pre-Islamic era, were Berbers, *Rūm* – Byzantines' descendants, speaking Greek –, *Afāriqa* – Romanized Berbers, speaking vulgar Latin –, and people coming from the present-day Sudanese area (Sakly 2000: 64) – probably speakers of Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Kordofanian languages. This mixed ethnic composition suggests the presence of a multilingual substratum – dominated by Berber – for which Arabic became a superstrate language. The newcomer Arabic-speaking soldiers were added to this multilingual setting.

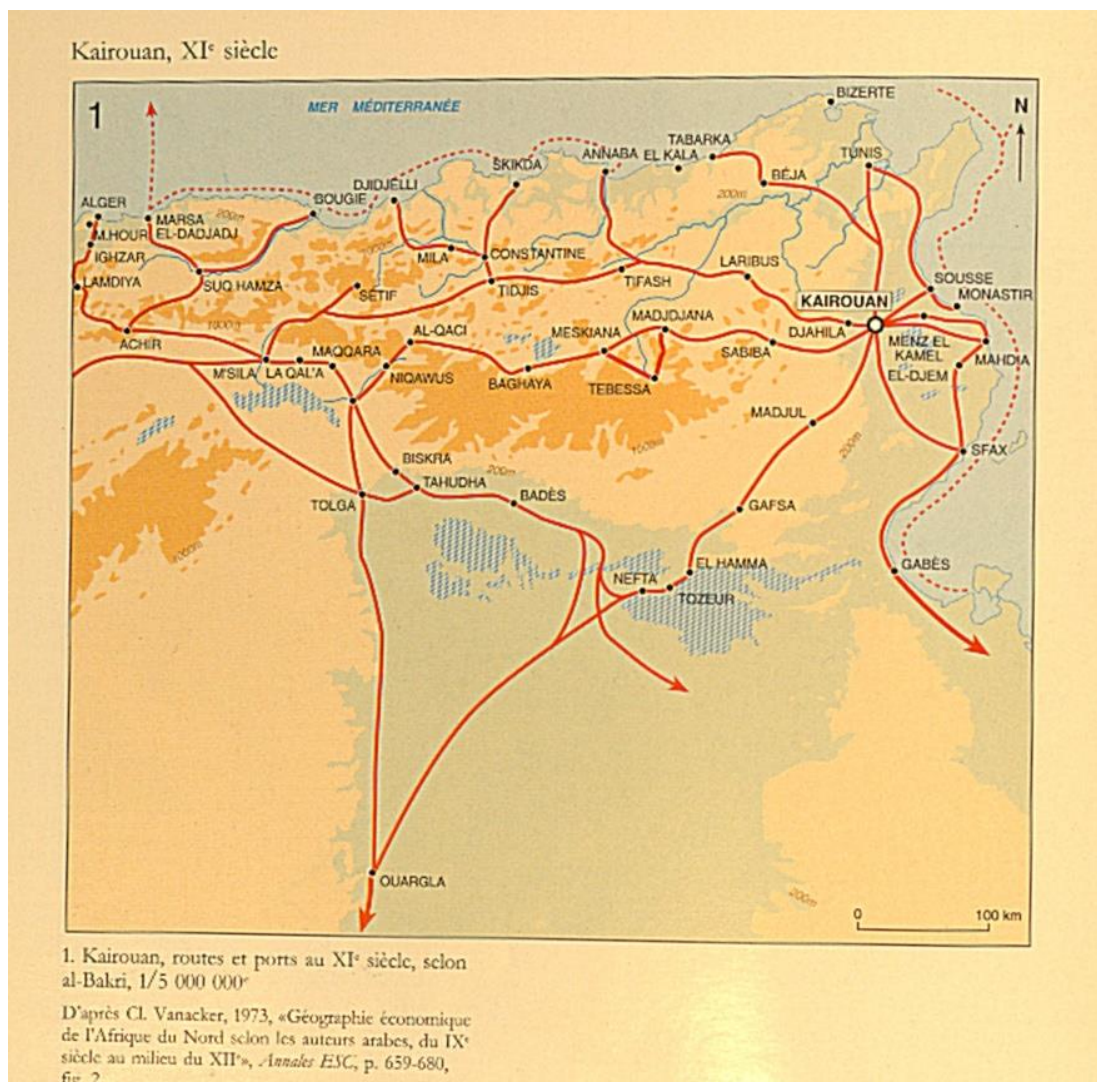
It seems that the first Arab invaders arrived in the mid-7th century and probably hailed from present Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. Moreover, Persians – mainly from the Khorasan – joined the Arab army in Northern Africa (Sakly 2000: 62).

From an economic and political point of view, the relationships established, and the exchange of goods usually practiced with the surrounding areas also contributed to

human and linguistic contacts. From the 8th century, Kairouan's thriving economic and cultural resources attracted the neighboring populations and scholars from all over the Islamic areas. Consequently, the flow of migrations never stopped from its foundation, continuing under the Aghlabids (800-908) and starting to slow down only under the Fatimids in the 10th century (Sakly 2000: 62). From the Aghlabid period, even the presence of Oriental Jews was attested in Kairouan (Sakly 2000: 62; Kerrou 2002).

In the 9th century, present Tunisia, and some areas of Algeria – such as Biskra, Mzab, Tebessa, Niqāws, Tenes, Marsa al-Dağāğ, Algeri, Masīla – were territories that contributed to the provisions of Kairouan (Sakly 2000: 77). The provinces of Tripoli in Libya and Sicily were under its judicial authority (Sakly 2000: 77). So, the city lay at the center of a commercial and caravan crossroads, heading east towards Egypt, west to *Mağrib al-Aqsa*, and south towards the *bilād as-Sūdān* (Sakly 2000: 79).

Figure 8: Commercial routes passing through Kairouan (Sakly 2000: 86).



As reported in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2, even from Kairouan, some significant migrations and new settlements occurred towards the new Arab-Islamic cities in Northern Africa already in the 9th century. The first migration flow concerned political and religious opponents, who mainly resettled in Fes (Levi-Provençal 1938: 24) and the Constantine region (Mansour 1976: 46). The second significant migration occurred as a result of the Bedouin tribes' arrival in 1052, the destruction of Kairouan and the massacre of its people. Considering that only a minority of the population remained then in Kairouan, joining the newly arrived Bedouin tribes (Trabelsi 1988: 210-211), the rest of the population escaped mainly to Fes, al-Andalus, Sicily, Egypt, Mahdia, Tunis, other littoral Tunisian cities in the Sahel, and the rural areas of Jebel Ouslet, Jebel Serj, Jebel Bargou. Thereupon, the city was destroyed and lost its role as the capital of North Africa, leaving its power to Mahdia in 921 (Trabelsi 1988: 210) and becoming an agricultural center (Sackly 2000: 62). Later, the Hafsids were engaged in Kairouan's restoration (Mansour 1976: 63). However, the city remained an internal and provincial center.

Finally, the ethnic composition of Kairouani population started to change because many of the invaders – the Bedouins tribes – integrated into the urban activities:

Ce sont eux [the Bedouins] qui vont continuer d'assurer la survie et la prospérité relative de Kairouan (Mansour 1976: 67).

6.2.1.2 Linguistic considerations

Considering the multiethnic and multilingual pre-Islamic context, the diversified origin of the Arab-speaking conquerors who arrived in Northern Africa from the 7th century, and the economic, cultural, religious, and political relationship of Kairouan with the rest of the Maghreb, it is reasonable to imagine a plurilingual, dynamic, ever-evolving sociolinguistic setting.

That said, what type of Arabic can we suppose Kairouani people spoke between the 7th and 11th centuries?³⁷⁷ What type of Arabic could have spread – according to W. Marçais and D. Cohen – into Northern Africa?

³⁷⁷ W. Marçais refers only to the KA spoken between the 7th and 9th centuries. However, given the historical data above, why do we not include a more extended phase of diffusion of this variety up to the Bedouin conquests? Even if the city's prestige decreased before the destruction of Kairouan, however, it is likely to suppose that precisely at the beginning of the 11th century, the migratory flows may have been even more abundant and would have strengthened the Kairouani presence in the Maghrebi *cités*.

It is well-known that Arabized Berber speakers foremost diffused Arabic in Northern Africa. Indeed, MagA – as we know it today – probably owes its shape precisely to the Berber substrate and to the Berber speakers who spread it in Northern Africa. Many linguistic aspects of MagA were precisely influenced or strengthened by the Berber substratum (Sayahi 2014: 26).³⁷⁸

However, we should not forget that historical data shows that Kairouani linguistic substrate also included Byzantine Greek and Vulgar Latin (Sayahi 2014: 26). The diversified origin of the Arab-speaking conquerors should be added to the pre-Islamic multilingualism and the Berber primary role, which leads me to postulate even the possible confluence of different varieties of Arabic in Kairouan. Persian speakers also probably arrived in Kairouan (Sakly 2000: 62). Unfortunately, we do not have in-depth diachronic and diatopic works that relate to the spoken Arabic varieties in *Ifriqiya* at the time of the conquests. Nevertheless, if one draws attention to the linguistic situation already spread in the Levant – where most conquerors came from – in the 7th century, one already finds a noteworthy sociolinguistic variation, as Lentin confirms:

because of the long-established presence of Arabic in the Levant and the various origins of the Arabic-speaking population, whatever their number, there was certainly, at the time of the conquests, a great variety of Arabic dialects (Lentin 2008: 171).

Consequently, it is likely that once the conquerors arrived in Kairouan from the East – Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen – they spoke different Arabic varieties (Caubet 2004: 64). It is also realistic to assume that a progressive leveling of these typologies of Arabic in the Maghreb happened for military, political, and cultural reasons towards a single *koiné*. After all, this is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that occurred on many occasions over time in Arabic-speaking contexts (Miller 2004). Precisely, the contemporary phenomenon of dialectal leveling towards the vernaculars of some capital cities in the Maghreb, as well as in Mashreq, is an example (Gibson 2002; Miller 2004; Sayahi 2014: 31–32). Given the historical evidence, it is also possible to suppose that in Kairouan, a linguistic *koiné* gradually formed and was perceived as prestigious since it was spoken in the political *Ifriqiya*'s capital, the most prominent cultural center of Northern Africa, the religious core and juridical center of Malikism.

It is also likely that the Arabic spoken in Kairouan from the 7th century spread even outside the city, i.e., in Northern Africa and the Arab-speaking territories of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, acting as a prestigious variety. In fact, the

³⁷⁸ Several studies demonstrate this for some isoglosses (Tilmatine 1999; 2011).

migrations that I summarized in the previous section – towards Fes in Morocco, the Constantine region in Algeria, Mahdia, Tunis, coastal Tunisian cities in the Sahel, the rural areas of Jebel Ouslet, Jebel Serj, Jebel Bargou, Egypt, al-Andalus, and Sicily³⁷⁹ – might support the origin of the so-called *parlers kairouanais*.

So, this sociolinguistic context attests to the likely confluence of different varieties of Eastern Arabic in Kairouan and allows me not to exclude the diffusion of the more prestigious Kairouani *koiné* in the rest of the Maghreb and Northern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, precisely because different varieties of Arabic coexisted in Northern Africa at the time of the first Arabization, it is unrealistic to consider that only the – hypothetical – Kairouani *koiné* underlies all first-layer MagA.

6.2.2 The role of Maltese, Andalusí, Sicilian, and Judeo-Arabic

The only documented varieties that can give us an idea of at least some aspects of the MagA spoken starting from the 7th century are the Maltese language and the no-longer spoken Arabic of al-Andalus, and Sicily. In fact, AA was spoken from the 8th to the 15th century (it became extinct in the early 17th century), SA from the 9th to the late 13th century, and MLT has been spoken since the 9th century and has been standardized for more than six centuries (Pereira 2018: 489).

In addition to these no-longer spoken or standardized varieties, JA includes other varieties that maintain more evident traces of older phases of MagA. In particular, Tunisian and Libyan JAVs often provide us with some ‘missing pieces’ to reconstruct the puzzle of the linguistic history of Northern Africa. Indeed, it is evident that some linguistic features attested to in SA or MLT, but extinct – or almost extinct – in the present-day Muslim varieties, re-emerge within the more conservative JA (D’Anna forthcoming a). What follows explains the reasons that led the JAVs to remain more conservative than the Muslim ones:

whenever historical or demographic changes altered the [...] dialectal landscape of an urban center, members of religious minorities tended to cling to their old dialect for identity purposes. Since the newcomers were usually Muslim (or soon adopted the Islamic religion), the Muslim majority more promptly mixed with them, thus adopting new linguistic patterns. The old dialect of the town, as a consequence, was preserved by religious minorities (D’Anna 2021a: 100–101).

³⁷⁹ These are approximately the *kairouanais* linguistic areas identified by D. Cohen (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65).

For the purpose of knowing more about the intra- and inter-dialectal variation attested to in first-layer Arabic spoken during the Arabization of Northern Africa, have a diachronic view of – at least some aspects of – its evolution and see if there truly could be a direct relationship³⁸⁰ between the ancient varieties (AA, SA, MLT) and present-day KA (as well as other sedentary-type varieties of present-day TA³⁸¹), I started comparing three isoglosses in this study.

The idea of looking at more ancient and ‘conservative’ varieties of MagA and comparing isoglosses in both synchrony and diachrony to better understand the linguistic process of Arabization of Northern Africa and reassess the classification of MagA comes from Luca D’Anna’s broader research project (D’Anna forthcoming b). This project is mostly based on JAVs and Tunisian varieties spoken in the Sahel, and I started contributing in 2022.³⁸² After a wider diatopic and diachronic comparison of first-layer varieties, we chose the case study of the realization of etymological *qāf*, interdental fricatives, and diphthongs to give a more evident and coherent demonstration of the linguistic variation attested to in this typology of Arabic. Moreover, the choice of including AA, SA, and MLT because they allow us to carry out a diachronic comparison and analysis of the possible evolution of first-layer Arabic without contact with second-layer varieties.

Although the study of only three isoglosses is reductive to reach broader conclusions, this is a first step towards a broader field of research. The diachronic and diatopic comparison is used here to start reassessing some aspects – taken for granted for too long – of the linguistic process of Arabization of Northern Africa and the monogenetic origin of first-layer MagA.

6.2.3 A diachronic and diatopic comparison

³⁸⁰ In his theory on the KA unique origin of first-layer Arabic, W. Marçais (1950: 219) proposed a direct relationship between the MagA that began to be spoken in the 7th century and the – at his time – contemporary sedentary MagA.

³⁸¹ The decision to exclude – for now – the Moroccan and Algerian sedentary varieties is linked to the stronger Berber influence on these varieties, which moved them even further away from their primitive form.

³⁸² Indeed, Luca D’Anna and I presented a lecture ‘Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic and the Arabization of Northern Africa: Archaic Features in Equatorial varieties’ during the symposium *Judaeo-Arabic in the Past and Present: Diachronic Perspectives* at the University of Cambridge, on the 19th October 2022.

This section is intended as the very first step in collecting linguistic data and hypotheses to show the weakness of the Kairouani monogenetic origin of first-layer Maghrebi and better define linguistic criteria to assess the *parlers kairounais* theory.

In doing so, I compare the realization of the etymological *qāf*, interdentalals */t/, */d/, */ḏ/, and diphthongs *ay and *aw in the first-layer varieties of Tunis, Sousse, Kairouan, Sfax, Mahdia, Msaken, Chebba, Moknine, and Kerkennah,³⁸³ Maghrebi JAVs already documented, Standard Maltese, and the dead varieties of al-Andalus and Sicily.

These three isoglosses are among the principal ones usually taken into consideration in classifying Arabic varieties and opposing first-layer-type to second-layer-type varieties.

All the linguistic data mentioned and the results shown in this chapter come from the studies of Grand'Henry (1977), Zammit (2009), Corriente (2011), Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza - Corriente (2013), Corriente, Pereira & Vicente (2015) for AA; Agius (1996), La Rosa (2019), and Avram (2017) for SA; Aquilina (1979), Borg (1996), D. Cohen (1966), Zammit (2009; 2014), Avram (2017), Puech (2017), Souag (2020) for MLT; Stumme (1896) and Singer (1984) for Tunis; Talmoudi (1980) for Sousse; my own corpus for Kairouan; Sellami (2019) for Sfax; Attia (1969), Yoda (2008) and La Rosa (2021) for Mahdia; Bouhlel (2009) for Msaken; D'Anna (2020) for Chebba; Louis (1961) and Herin & Zammit (2017) for Kerkena; and M. Cohen (1912), Stillman (1988), Yoda (2005; 2006), Chetrit (2007; 2013; 2014; 2015), Tirosch-Becker (2021) and D'Anna (forthcoming a) for Maghrebi JAVs. Regarding Moknine, no description is available yet, but Mion (2014: 59) reports the loss of the interdental fricatives.

6.2.2.1 The etymological *qāf*

The etymological *qāf* */q/ is the main trait that opposes sedentary-type to Bedouin-type varieties in all spoken Arabic. Sedentary-type – or, better, first-layer-type for the purpose of this diachronic analysis – varieties usually produce a voiceless realization, while Bedouin-type – or second-layer-type – varieties usually realize the voiced one (/g/ in MagA).

³⁸³ I also included varieties from the Sahel, which according to D. Cohen would still be influenced by the so-called *parler kairouanais* (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65).

Isogloss under analysis: etymological *qāf* */q/

Comparison of the etymological *qāf* */q/ realizations in ancient and present-day varieties

First-layer realization	voiceless
Second-layer realization	voiced /g/
AA	/q/ and /k/, but also /g/
SA	/q/ and /k/
MLT	/ʔ/; /q/
^M Tunis	predominance ³⁸⁴ of /q/
^M Sousse	predominance of /q/
^M Kairouan	predominance of /q/
^M Sfax	predominance of /q/
^M Mahdia	predominance of /q/
^M Chebba	predominance of /g/
^M Msaken	predominance of /q/
^M Kerkenā	/q/ and /g/
Maghrebi JAVs ³⁸⁵	voiceless realizations with predominance of /q/

As expected, all the first-layer ancient varieties under analysis share the voiceless realization. However, AA also attests to a voiced realization. In this regard, Corriente states that:

Les graphies arabes n'aident pas, mais la documentation romane reflète pour la plupart des occurrences des réalisations sourdes, avec des exceptions qu'on peut attribuer à la phonétique romane, *mais pas toujours*.³⁸⁶ [...] Par conséquent, il faut accepter que /q/ ait parfois connu une réalisation sonore dans certains registres, régions ou époques de l'arabe andalou (Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2015: 63–64).

³⁸⁴ However, in Tunisian Arabic, both the voiceless /q/ and voiced /g/ realizations are always present (Gibson 2002: 25).

³⁸⁵ I refer to all Maghrebi JAVs already documented.

³⁸⁶ Italics mine.

As far as the other first-layer varieties are concerned, it should be specified that Chebba dialect is a mixed variety, featuring second-layer phonology and a marked first-layer morphology (D'Anna 2020: 80) that D'Anna explains – at least for some isoglosses – through historical events that changed the social composition of this city over the years, including speakers of other linguistic areas. Moreover, Kerkena Arabic shows some variation. It should be noted that /q/ is the predominant realization but the 3rd Kerkena variety – spoken in the town of Mellita – individuated by Herin & Zammit (2017: 145) realizes the etymological *qāf* as voiced /g/. Even in this case, this voiced realization – predominantly a minority one – is easily explainable since: '[l]ocal history recalls that the inhabitants of Mellita came from the south, mostly from the area of Gābis, characterized by its Bedouin dialectal features.' (Herin & Zammit 2017: 143). Therefore, the velar realization is simply justified by more recent linguistic contact with second-layer-type TA.

In conclusion, beyond the variation found in synchrony – which seems to be motivated by recent linguistic contacts with second-layer-type varieties – at least AA shows us the probable presence of the voiced [g] realization of the etymological *qāf* already in first-layer Arabic.

6.2.2.2 The etymological interdental fricatives

The 'preservation' vs. 'loss' of interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/, */ð̪/ is used for classifying Arabic varieties (Guerrero 2021: 289).³⁸⁷ Indeed, it is usually considered that interdental fricatives do not occur in first-layer varieties, while they characterize second-layer varieties. Therefore, it is common knowledge that the interdentals did not arrive in the Maghrebi varieties before the Bedouin conquests. However, the interdental phonemes are currently well attested to in several Maghrebi varieties typologically classified as first-layer. Among them are the Tunisian group,³⁸⁸ except Mahdia, Moknine, and the JAVs.

Isogloss under analysis: Interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/, */ð̪/

Comparison of interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/, */ð̪/ in sedentary Tunisian varieties

³⁸⁷ While I was investigating the realization of interdental phonemes, the study carried out by Guerrero (2021), *On interdental fricatives in the first-layer dialects of Maghrebi Arabic* was published, and it impressively confirmed and enhanced my conclusions.

³⁸⁸ The first-layer Arabic of Cherchell also features the interdental phonemes (Grand'Henry 1972: 6).

First-layer realization	X
Second-layer realization	✓
^M Tunis	✓
^M Sousse	✓
^M Kairouan	✓ ³⁸⁹
^M Sfax	✓
^M Msaken	✓
^M Kerkenā	✓
^M Chebba	✓
^M Mahdia	X
^M Moknine	X
Maghrebi JAVs ³⁹⁰	X

As Guerrero demonstrated in his contribution *On interdental fricatives in the first-layer dialects of Maghrebi Arabic*, things become more interesting if we also consider the diachronic presence of interdental phonemes in the ancient varieties. Indeed, AA, SA, and MLT remained almost impermeable to the influence of second-layer varieties. Nevertheless, in these varieties, the two opposite features coexist.

Isogloss under analysis: Interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/, */ð̪/

Comparison of interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/, */ð̪/ in first-layer ancient varieties

First-layer realization	X
Second-layer realization	✓
AA	X/✓

³⁸⁹ As I showed in §2.1.2, KA and Chebba Arabic (D’Anna 2020: 88) show two exceptions to the interdental realization, i.e., the labiodental realization [f] of /t̪/ in the existential *famma* ‘there is’ and the numerals *tlāta* ‘three’ and *tlātīn* ‘thirty’, in which only the second interdental is preserved with a case of dissimilation.

³⁹⁰ The fact that all JAVs – documented so far – lacked the interdental fricatives cannot be overlooked.

SA

X/✓

MLT

X/✓

Regarding AA, Corriente (2013: 21–25) states that interdental and stop realizations of etymological interdental fricatives are attested to until the late 15th century. In SA, the fricative interdentals mainly collapsed in stop realizations. Nevertheless, */t/ and */d/ still occurred in proper names and surnames transcription with the Greek alphabet (Avram 2017: 20–22). As far as standard MLT is concerned, it does not currently display interdental realizations, but evidence of interdental fricatives is attested until the second half of the 18th century (Avram 2017: 22)

Summing up, the data shown above reflects a significant variation that attests to the two opposite features in all three ancient varieties. So, Guerrero (2021: 304) comes to two possible conclusions on this inconsistency:

- a. All the varieties brought into Northern Africa by Muslim soldiers during the first wave of Arabization displayed interdental fricatives that collapsed in certain vernaculars and survived in others for reasons that change from case to case, such as because of the language of substratum, dialect leveling, etc.;
- b. Otherwise, among the varieties that gave birth to early first-layer Arabic, some exhibited interdental fricatives, and others did not.

The scholar concludes his study by considering that, for some Eastern Arabic varieties, the shift from interdentals to alveolar stops is documented for very early periods. Therefore, the second scenario would appear more likely.

As is well known, there are no studies available on ancient KA, and at the present state of research, this variety is completely unknown. Probably, the study of the manuscripts written in Kairouan between the 7th and the 11th centuries would help us to figure out something more. The Ph.D. ongoing dissertation by Clément Salah³⁹¹ focuses precisely on the study of some manuscripts written in Kairouan during the 7th and 10th centuries. However, the study of these manuscripts – written in Classical Arabic – does not feature interesting dialectal influences, except for the following case: الذي أذريه رسول

³⁹¹ I sincerely thank Clément Salah (Sorbonne Université/Université de Lausanne) for having shared this precious information with me in January 2022.

الله, whereas one would expect the use of the emphatic consonant /d̥/, i.e., أضرِبِه. So, the scholar finds the interdental fricative phoneme /d̥/, instead of the emphatic voiced alveolar stop /d/, in a manuscript that dates back before 895. This confusion between /d̥/ and /d/ induces us to suppose that the etymological /d/ was realized as an emphatic voiced interdental fricative /d̥/ at that time in Kairouan. That would be the typical overlapping of /d/ and /d̥/, which occurs in all varieties that have lost interdental fricatives. However, in this case, the loss of pharyngealization should be added and analyzed. In any case, this confusion between /d/ and /d̥/ would be a good argument to affirm that the interdentals might have spread even in Kairouan in the late 9th century. Nevertheless, this is just one occurrence that cannot allow me to propose relevant conclusions on the state of fricative interdentals in ancient KA.

In conclusion, despite their instability and alternation with the stop realizations, Guerrero states – and I strongly support – that the fricative interdentals were already widespread in first-layer Maghrebi varieties.

6.2.2.3 The etymological diphthongs *ay and *aw

Even the realization of the etymological diphthongs *ay and *aw plays a crucial role in Arabic historical dialectology and is frequently used to classify Arabic varieties. The three following realizations are attested to:

- a. The preservation of the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*³⁹²;
- b. The etymological diphthongs reduction in *ī* and *ū* (first-layer realization);
- c. The etymological diphthongs reduction in *ē* and *ō* (second-layer realization).

Nevertheless, it should be specified that this tripartite subdivision is a simplification of the real linguistic situation. The literature on this subject presents a slightly more complex setting and Ph. Marçais (1977: 17) himself states that particularly Tunisian and Libyan varieties show an unsystematic variation:

Dans les parlers de bédouins en général, dans les parlers des ruraux tunisiens, et dans ceux de Libye, la situation apparaît particulièrement confuse, selon les parlers et, même, dans un parler donné, selon les milieux, allant jusqu'à varier selon les individus. Ce n'est jamais réduction totale *ā*, *ū*, *ī* ; mais hésitation entre conservation diphtongique *ōw*, *ēy* et réduction partielle *ō*, *ē* ; les milieux féminins optant souvent pour la première solution. Mais, là encore,

³⁹² The retaining of etymological diphthongs it is generally considered a 'conservative' trait.

l'environnement consonantique peut jouer son rôle, favorisant l'état diphtongique : *şõwm* "jeûne" (plutôt que *şõwm*), *şëyf* "été" (plutôt que *şëf*). (Ph. Marçais 1977: 17).

Isogloss under analysis: etymological diphthongs **aw* and **ay*

Comparison of etymological diphthongs **ay* and **aw* realizations in sedentary Tunisian varieties

First-layer realization	<i>ī/ū</i>
Second-layer realization	<i>ē/ō</i>
^M Tunis	<i>ī/ū</i> and diphthongs preservation
^M Sousse	<i>ī/ū</i> and diphthongs preservation
^M Kairouan	<i>ī/ū</i> and diphthongs preservation
^M Sfax	<i>ī/ū</i> and diphthongs preservation
^M Bizerte	diphthongs preservation (?)
^M Nabeul	diphthongs preservation
^M Mahdia	<i>ē/ō</i> and <i>ī/ū</i>
^M Chebba	<i>ē/ō</i>
^M Msaken	<i>ē/ō</i>
^M Kerkenā	<i>ī/ū</i> and <i>ē/ō</i>
Maghrebi JAVs ³⁹³	all realizations found

As evident from this comparison, first-layer TA shows a significant variation.

In the varieties of ^MKairouan, ^MTunis, ^MSousse, ^MSfax (that are defined in synchrony as sedentary-urban-type) the first-layer-type realization (*ī/ū*) is the most common. However, diphthongs are retained by female speakers in ^MTunis (Durand 2009: 254) and ^MSousse, old generations in ^MSfax, as well as in ^MNabeul (Zammit 2014: 33). My informants in Kairouan reported that one of the distinguishing features of Bizerte speakers is the preservation of etymological diphthongs. On the contrary, the second-layer-type realization (*ē/ō*) is attested to in ^MMahdia, ^MChebba, and ^MMsaken. However, according to La Rosa (2021: 12), *ē/ō* are not much attested in her *mahdawi* corpus, where she instead identifies the *ī/ū* realization. Regarding Chebba, in addition to the second-layer-type monophthongization, occasionally, 'the long vowels are partially

³⁹³ Here, I refer to all Maghrebi JAVs documented so far.

diphthongized, as in *kēʿf* ‘how/when’ [...] and *l-yōʿm* ‘today’,³⁹⁴ (D’Anna 2020: 88). Moreover, diphthongs are retained in a limited number of occurrences – as it happens in Kairouan as well – even though the glide is not geminate, e.g., *mawzūd* ‘born’ in Chebba (D’Anna 2020: 89), *mawżūsa* ‘suffering^{FEM}’ in Kairouan. The situation is more complicated in Kerkena, since Louis reported some examples of monophthongization to \bar{e} along with a majority of \bar{i}/\bar{u} cases, but Herin & Zammit (2017) report the \bar{e}/\bar{o} monophthongization for all the three dialect types individuated. Therefore, it seems that, apart from the sedentary-urban-type varieties, the others analyzed include the allegedly second-layer-type realization \bar{e}/\bar{o} .³⁹⁵

Contrary to the previous two isoglosses, in which all JAVs shared the same realizations (voiceless realizations and loss of interdental fricatives), all the possible outcomes are found here. For instance, in Tunis JA diphthongs are retained (D. Cohen 1975: 67); in JA Sousse and Djerba, mainly \bar{e} and \bar{o} are found, but also mixed realizations are attested. Indeed, according to D’Anna (forthcoming a), especially Libyan and Tunisian JAVs provide plenty of samples of both the open (\bar{e}/\bar{o}) and closed (\bar{i}/\bar{u}) realization, which appears to be in free variation in the same variety. Some other JAVs, such as that of Zarzis, feature the three possible realizations. Even cases of intra-individual variation are attested.

Therefore, this comparison in synchrony results in a much more complex and varied situation than the previous isoglosses analyzed. What about etymological diphthongs’ realization in the older varieties?

Isogloss under analysis: etymological diphthongs **ay* and **aw*

Comparison of etymological diphthongs **ay* and **aw* realizations in first-layer ancient varieties

First-layer realization ³⁹⁶	\bar{i}/\bar{u}
Second-layer realization	\bar{e}/\bar{o}

³⁹⁴ I wonder whether this could be a case of re-diphthongization.

³⁹⁵ Indeed, already W. Marçais described the monophthongization in \bar{e}/\bar{o} as characteristic of sedentary-*villageois*-type TA (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXI–XXII; W. Marçais 1950: 211).

³⁹⁶ Even in this case, the binomial division between first- and second-layer realizations is used for convenience, but even the literature presents the possible realizations as more nuanced.

AA	all realizations are found
SA	diphthongs preservation and \bar{i}/\bar{u}
MLT	diphthongs preservation and \bar{i}/\bar{u}

As Corriente (2011: 103; Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2015: 13–15) states, AA is one of the most conservative varieties concerning the preservation of OA diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. However, there are several cases of monophthongization in \bar{i}/\bar{u} and \bar{e}/\bar{o} (Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza - Corriente 2013: 7–8),

as well as others that could be considered hypercorrect diphthongs generated by a reaction to that infra-correct trend. This can be construed as evidence that monophthongizing varieties were extant, but in a minority, among those brought to the Iberian Peninsula by the Arabs. (Corriente 2011: 103–104).

The same conservatism of AA is shared by SA, where the contraction in \bar{i}/\bar{u} is even rarer (La Rosa 2019: 79). The Greek transcriptions also attest to a probable shift of diphthongs from *ay, *aw to ey, ew. A similar situation is found in early MLT (Avram 2017: 15), where the diphthongs are generally retained and \bar{i}/\bar{u} are attested only in a few words like *kīf* ‘as, like’, *fūʔ* ‘on’ (La Rosa 2019: 79–80).

Summing up, synchronic and diachronic data attests to considerable variation and all three possible outcomes. Regarding AA, SA, and MLT, they mainly present the more widespread retention of etymological diphthongs and some cases of reduction of the first-layer type \bar{i}/\bar{u} . Nevertheless, AA also features second-layer-type monophthongization \bar{e}/\bar{o} , which cannot be ignored.

If one guesses that the second-layer-type realization attested to in present-day sedentary TA could be a more recent trait due to linguistic contact with second-layer varieties – as is the case with the [g]-realization in Chebba and Kerkena – this is more difficult to suppose for AA and JAVs. Moreover, the cases of hesitation and hypercorrections found in AA would confirm the presence of all three realizations among at least some speakers at the time of the first-layer conquests. As Corriente states, the monophthongization reflects the old minoritarian varieties of some Arabs settled in al-Andalus (Corriente, Pereira & Vicente 2015: 15), and should be taken as evidence of the presence of the coexistence of typologically different varieties of Arabic.

In conclusion, considering the variation attested to in the realization of the etymological diphthongs in ancient MagA (AA, SA, and MLT), as well as the variation still found in present-day sedentary-type MagA, I assume that among the varieties that

gave birth to early first-layer Arabic, some of them retained the diphthongs, but others reduced – or at least started at that time to reduce – them to \bar{i}/\bar{u} and \bar{e}/\bar{o} .

6.2.2.4 Conclusions

Thanks to this diachronic and diatopic comparison, and especially to the AA, SA, and MLT data, the main result of this analysis is that three isoglosses (/g/, interdental, and monophthongization in \bar{e}/\bar{o}) – traditionally considered as second-layer-type and consequently used to identify a variety as second-layer – instead were already spread at the time of the first wave of Arabization. There are cases in which isoglosses traditionally considered as second-layer-type were already described for first-layer varieties, as is the case of interdentals in sedentary-type TA, or the monophthongization in \bar{e}/\bar{o} in sedentary-*villageois* TA. However, this overlap or apparent ‘inconsistency’ was not adequately explained. When present-day sedentary TA shares second-layer-type isoglosses, this could be (and in most cases must be) explained, as I showed, by linguistic contact with second-layer varieties, preferring not to advance the hypothesis of a direct heritage dating back from the Arabization. However, the evidence of second-layer-type isoglosses in the ancient MagA varieties causes more troubles.

6.2.3 What about the Maghreb east of Kairouan?

Before going to the conclusions of this study, another issue that is mainly concerned with Libya needs to be introduced.

Before arriving in Kairouan, the first Maghrebi area conquered by the Arabs was Libya. However, as I affirmed in §1.2, the traditionally widespread paradigm on the Arabization of Northern Africa excluded the linguistic role of Libya. Except for some exceptions (Pereira 2007: 78–80), scholars do not mention that some typology of Arabic was already spoken there before the conquest of Kairouan. No reference is made to the relationship that ancient KA had to the linguistic area stretching to its East – which includes not only present-day Libya but also Egypt, and especially the Egyptian Delta. Nevertheless, a first-layer Arabic variety was implanted and developed in present-day Libya (Pereira 2007: 78–80) from that time, which means that some form of first-layer Arabic was probably already spoken before the foundation of Kairouan.

Libyan Arabic shares some traits that differ from other Maghrebi varieties and can be labeled as Mashreqi isoglosses (Behnstedt 1998b). For instance, D’Anna (forthcoming a) shows that traits of Libyan JA – which clearly is a Maghrebi variety – are shared with

the Egyptian Delta varieties – classified as Mashreqi varieties – and have, at the same time, parallels in other first-layer Maghrebi varieties, such as MLT and SA (as is the case of the diphthongs’ realizations). Therefore, the scholar suggests that these parallelisms should not simply be considered as evidence of typical *Mashreqi* isoglosses found in Maghrebi varieties, but they should instead be identified as probable ‘proto-Maghrebi’ traits *shared* between Mashreqi and Maghrebi varieties.

Moreover, Van Putten & Benkato (2017) show that the Arabic strata of Awjila Berber in Libya attest to the influence of Arabic varieties that are currently unattested and no longer exist in Libya and ‘of varieties whose representatives are now geographically nowhere near Awjila’ (Van Putten & Benkato 2017: 498-499). In doing so, they use some linguistic ‘fossils’ (Van Putten & Benkato 2017: 498) that can prove older stages of Arabic spread in Libya, typologically very distant from contemporary Libyan Arabic. Among others, the reflex *q* of etymological *qāf* in almost all Arabic loanwords is the most remarkable case (Van Putten & Benkato 2017: 478). Indeed, no ^MLibyan Arabic variety – already described – attests to *q* reflex of the *qāf*.³⁹⁷

These examples add evidence to the fact that the linguistic framework developed in the Maghreb from the conquests was much more problematic than described up to now. In particular, the most archaic varieties and the oldest evidence related to the Arabic spoken in Libya seem to show stages of Arabization of which the scientific community is probably not yet aware. Therefore, outlining the origin and evolution of MagA is – once again – an undertaking that must consider numerous socio-linguistic and historical aspects and cannot – above all – exclude a fundamental geographical area of this region. The variation found in Tunisian and Libyan varieties sometimes demonstrates this complexity better than other Maghrebi varieties.

Continuing to talk about etymological diphthongs, as shown in the previous section, Ph. Marçais (1977: 17) was also aware of the complex and unstable situation of rural Tunisia and Libya. Still, he did not explain in detail what this complexity consisted of. After him, no other relevant studies deepened and explained this subject.

In conclusion, the exclusion of Libyan varieties is another aspect that weakens the monogenetic origin of MagA and the *parlers kairouanais*’ theory. Although this theory

³⁹⁷ It is worth noting that the reflex *q* of etymological *qāf* is attested to in the JA of Tripoli (Yoda 2005: 23). Once again, linguistic features attested to in ancient MagA but extinct in present-day Muslim varieties can re-emerge within the more conservative JA (D’Anna forthcoming a).

could somehow be applied to the MagA spoken from Kairouan to the West, it should be investigated if it can also be applied to the East, from where the conquerors arrived in Kairouan and to where Kairouani people also migrated.

6.2.4 Closing remarks and outlook (II)

In light of all the linguistic and socio-historical considerations presented in the second part of this chapter, I will summarize and discuss some key aspects in this final section to draw conclusions and answer the three remaining research questions of this dissertation (see below). Finally, I will propose my new research outlooks on the topic.

Considering historical and both synchronic and diachronic linguistic data, can we continue to support William Marçais' theory, according to whom ancient KA was the first Arabic variety spoken in Northern Africa and from which first-layer Arabic is derived? Could there be a non-Kairouani origin of first-layer Arabic?

It is not easy to thoroughly answer if there was a non-Kairouani first-layer Arabic, and more scholars of different disciplines – dialectology, history, and codicology – should contribute to shed light on this research topic.

The socio-historical and linguistic considerations summarized above showed a multilingual pre-Islamic Kairouan – where Berber stood out – and a more complex sociolinguistic reality than expected – where probably different Eastern Arabic varieties merged starting from ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿs arrival. In addition, from the 8th century, Kairouan's economic, cultural, religious, political, and juridic role involved the perpetuation of migrations from all over the Islamic regions towards the city. At the same time, important migratory flows also occurred from Kairouan towards the new urban centers of the Maghreb. In addition, Maghrebi trade routes passing through Kairouan increased these human – and so linguistic – contacts and exchanges.³⁹⁸

In this multilinguistic setting, it is reasonable to imagine that the different Eastern Arabic varieties gradually leveled out towards a hypothetical Kairouani *koiné*, which spread in Northern Africa for cultural, economic, and migratory reasons and acted as a

³⁹⁸ This data is further evidence for reassessing the idea of two separate and independent layers of Arabization, preferring the idea of a continuum of migrations from East to West – with two phases of major confluence in the 7th and the 11th centuries – of people speaking different varieties of Arabic (Magidow 2013: 246; Magidow 2021).

prestigious variety.³⁹⁹ Nevertheless, this is only a hypothesis that is difficult to verify with data.

From a linguistic point of view, the diachronic comparison of the isoglosses showed a wider variation among and within ancient MagA (AA, SA, MLT) than expected. At least three of the – traditionally considered – more diagnostic isoglosses for classifying second-layer varieties were already spread during the first wave of Arabization. Consequently, we can assume that their diffusion in the Maghreb dates back to before the Bedouin conquests, contrary to what has been traditionally stated. Moreover, this situation leads me to argue that:

1. The high degree of linguistic variation found in AA – especially –, SA, and MLT could suggest that a ‘proto-Maghrebi’ phase was in development at the time of the first wave of Arabization. During this time, contrasting realizations of the same isoglosses were still featured, and the ‘Maghrebi’ isoglosses were still being formed;
2. This hypothesis would then confirm the theory proposed by Vanhove (1998: 98), according to which what is commonly called first-layer MagA probably was a mosaic of varieties, on which both forces of koineization and diversification – which we do not yet know – acted. For this reason, some features of the Arabic varieties that initially arrived in Maghreb survived, and others collapsed;
3. Consequently, the theory of a (Kairouani or non-Kairouani) monogenetic origin of all first-layer Arabic seems hard to support and prove. Even if ancient KA was the most prestigious variety spoken in Northern Africa, it probably was not the only one formed;
4. Moreover, the exclusion of (present-day) Libya and ancient Libyan Arabic from studies relating to the linguistic Arabization of the Maghreb has led to forgetting that ancient KA was probably not even the first variety of Arabic spoken in Northern Africa.

In conclusion, it is reasonable to suppose that ancient KA was not the first variety of Arabic spoken in Northern Africa nor the monogenetic origin of all first-layer Arabic. Consequently, W. Marçais’ theory should be considered outdated, thanks to what linguistic and socio-historical data have proved.

³⁹⁹ One of the main desiderata of Arabic historical dialectology is to engage more deeply with the sociolinguistic formation of Maghrebi varieties.

Is there a typological relationship between present-day KA and the so-called parlers kairounais? (I)

In comparing present-day KA with the *parlers kairounais*, it immediately appears that KA does not feature their main isoglosses mentioned by Caubet (Caubet 2004: 64), apart from the loss of gender distinction:

Ils [the *parlers kairouanais*] ont toutes les caractéristiques des parlers des vieilles cités du Maghreb, mais elles cumulent beaucoup d'innovations : absence d'interdentales (ni 'th', ni 'dh'), vocabulaire spécifique, parfois zézaïement (confusion des chuintantes et des sifflantes), prononciation du qaf en 'af (hamza simple ou emphatique), réduction des voyelles brèves à un seul phonème /e/ (schwa), confusion des genres à la deuxième personne du singulier (verbes, pronoms, impératifs). (Caubet 2004: 64) .

It follows that the linguistic typology of present-day KA is incompatible with that of the *parlers kairouanais*.

In addition, socio-historical data confirm this linguistic data. Even if an ancient Kairouani *koiné* had existed and spread to Northern Africa, this could have left traces in the *parlers kairouanais*, but it would not have had anything more to do with present-day KA. Indeed, the city of Kairouan was destroyed in 1057, its population mainly escaped or died, and, above all, the newcomers of Bedouin origin practically repopulated Kairouan. In this regard, Caubet (2004: 64) properly states that the prestigious ancient KA would stop being spoken in the city and that its traits may be widespread in the so-called *parlers kairouanais*.

Are the parlers kairouanais actually the local evolutions of ancient KA? (II)

Although there was a diaspora of Kairouani speakers in the cities where the *parlers kairounais* are spoken, how can we prove after all this time – with waves of Arabization, linguistic contacts, repopulations, urbanization phenomena – that the present-day so-called *parlers kairouanais* are the direct evolutions of a variety that we do not know and (maybe) so many centuries ago? How can we confirm that their common isoglosses really come from Kairouani speakers? Moreover, although this theory could somehow be plausible for the MagA spoken from Kairouan to the West, it should be investigated if it can also be applied to the 'forgotten' East of Kairouan.

Could present-day KA still be related to the variety spoken in the city during the first wave of Arabization?

As expected, the grammatical description of present-day KA cannot directly lead me to deduce conclusions – or even put forward hypotheses – about the typology of Arabic spoken in the same city fourteen centuries before. Moreover, we do not even have evidence or studies available on ancient KA. Nevertheless, present-day description, together with the linguistic and socio-historical considerations and comparisons shown above, helped shed light on some aspects.

First, the comparison of the three isoglosses has shown that KA does not always share the same realizations of ancient MagA or more ancient varieties like the JA.

Secondly, it is true that KA is a first-layer (or sedentary) variety, typologically close to that of Tunis, but this aspect raises further doubts for me from a historical and synchronic point of view. Given that starting from the 11th century, Kairouan was destroyed and repopulated by Bedouin conquerors and that even today, it is surrounded by Bedouin-type varieties of Arabic (or at least varieties with abundant Bedouin-type isoglosses), how is it possible that KA is sedentary-type? Unfortunately, not enough historical data has emerged to analyze in detail if and how the phenomena of repopulation, migrations, and linguistic contacts, as well as further waves of Arabization (?), occurred in Kairouan during the time frame that goes from the 11th to the 18th century. However, in light of the available data, I came to two hypotheses that could justify and explain why KA remained or returned to being a first-layer (sedentary) variety:

- a) ancient KA acted as a variety of prestige and was maintained even after the Bedouin repopulation, thanks to the minority of speakers who remained in the city;⁴⁰⁰
- b) after the Bedouin repopulation, there were subsequent (one or more?) wave(s) of Arabization shared between Kairouan and Tunis, of which we are not aware. This/these wave(s) could be the basis of this typological similarity between the two varieties.

According to the data summed up in this chapter, this second hypothesis (b) seems more persuasive and should confirm Magidow's idea of an Arabization of Northern Africa made of a 'continuous series of migrations from east to west' (Magidow 2013: 246).⁴⁰¹ However, there is still much research to be done on this topic.

⁴⁰⁰ Then, obviously, the variety would have evolved and transformed over time due to phenomena not yet known.

⁴⁰¹ I exclude the possibility that Tunis Arabic's current prestige could have leveled that much present-day KA.

In conclusion, for both historical and linguistic reasons, present-day KA should be excluded from the varieties of Arabic spoken in synchrony, which can allow for the outlining of productive historical-linguistic considerations relating to the Arabization of Northern Africa.

With regard to historical dialectology's topics related to ancient KA and the Arabization of Northern Africa, further investigation is required, and I have the following main outlook to fulfill:

- keep comparing diachronic and diatopic targeted phonetic and morpho-syntactic isoglosses. The first features I will analyze are the distribution and functional uses of the verb *ʔa* 'to see' and the 1SG independent personal pronoun *yāna* 'I' in MagA;
- a further, even more, in-depth investigation of the local history of Kairouan for collecting more data in order to trace as much as possible the phenomena relating to the repopulation of the city at the time of the second wave of Arabization and any other subsequent migrations or repopulations up to the 18th century.

Texts and Translations

In order to exemplify KA, ten excerpts of my interviews are reported below.

Text 1

SP21: *qurwān blād bāhya nḍīfa ən-nās yḥabbū-ha āy calme les gens sympathiques et propres tous là voilà. hāda mḥall l-ət-tižāra^{MSA} šināfa^{MSA} t-taqlīdīya^{MSA402} f-əž-žəld našnfu ž-žəld kull-u b-əl-yədd əlli tṛa fī-hum əl-kull ma šā? aḷlāh maxdūmīn b-əl-yədd šināfa^{MSA} taqlīdīya^{MSA} qayrawānīya^{MSA} tūnīsīya^{MSA} w talqā-ha m-əl-ḥarṛa žəld w mən dāxəl zāda žəld dīma f-əž-žəld kull-u žəld. ḥāža məzyāna w typique tunisien āy w yḥabbū-ha yžīw əz-zuwwār mašnā-ha ḥatta mən tūnəs m-əl-ḥarṛa w yḥabbu mašnā-ha əl-qṭāy f hāḍūma w mašnā-ha yzīdu yšazžū-na mašnā-ha w kull šayy f la xāṭər tawwa əš-šīnīyīn hāḍūma ət-tālīyīn... l-yīd əl-šamla tḥāqdət w mḥa d-dunya mašnā-ha les commerces un peu de crise mā-šād-š famma škūn yḥabb yašna f mašnā-ha əž-žəld mašnā-ha w kull šayy qāfḍīn aḥna nəxdmu bə-šwayya bə-šwayya. tawwa l-kull yḥabbu ybaddlu mašnā-ha f-əs-sūri hāda kull kull-u šarabi^{MSA} šināfa^{MSA} taqlīdīya^{MSA} šarabi^{MSA} tūnīsīya^{MSA} [...] w famma lli yəšri mən šan-na ḥatta bašd arḃa xamsa snīn yaṛṛa f yzīd yəšri kīma šār l-ək ənti hāk šrīt mən šand-i muddat arḃa xamsa snīn w rṛašt mašnā-ha l-tūnəs w l-qayrawān^{MSA403} w hāk šrīt mən šand-i [...] ⁴⁰⁴ āy yāna mən əl-qayrawān^{MSA} āšīl əl-qayrawān^{MSA} wəld əš-šayx⁴⁰⁵ [male proper name] āb šan žədd-i hākka āy šan-na mašnā-ha kīf hāḍāya twaffa əš-šayx [male proper name] hāda žədd ḥāḥa žābū-h mən tūnəs flā-l-ašnāq āy āy šīx kbīr āy yaḥna nusknu f-əl-maḥnīya⁴⁰⁶ fī wušt lə-blād wīn masžəd əl-anšār [...] mašnā-ha əl-anšār əlli žāw m-əl-makka mašnā-ha w m-əl-madīna^{MSA} hāḍūma lli našru r-rašūl šalla aḷlāh flā-hi w sallam f-hāk-əl-mudda hāḍīka žāw w dəfnu lə-hna f-əl-masžəd hāḍāka kull-u ət-turba mtāf-u kull-u fī-h əl-amwāt ma šā? aḷlāh āy nəmšīw nšallīw f-əž-žəld mašnā-ha w kull šayy šand-i wəld-i yaqra āy yaqra qra tlāta snīn fī::: ma bīn nābəl w l-ḥammāmāt fī lə-mrāzga polytechnique əl-handsa l-mašmārīya.*

⁴⁰² *t-tižāra* *š-šināfa* *t-taqlīdīya* should be rather considered borrowing from MSA. Within these texts, some other borrowings from MSA and words shared by MSA and KA do not respect the morphological syllabic patterns or the phonetic rules of KA.

⁴⁰³ Sometimes Kairouan can be pronounced according to MSA phonetical rules.

⁴⁰⁴ I asked the speaker where exactly he is from.

⁴⁰⁵ The retention of the diphthong *ay*, as well as the following not typically Tunisian traits are given by MSA influence in introducing his genealogy.

⁴⁰⁶ A neighborhood in Kairouan.

Translation

SP21: Kairouan is a beautiful, clean city, and people love it. It is a quiet city, and people are lovely and honest. This is a leather handicraft shop, and all are handmade. Everything you see is handmade, God willing. It is Tunisian Kairouani handicrafts. You find the leather outside [the bag] and inside; it is leather everywhere. It is something beautiful and typically Tunisian. Tourists want them, they come, even from Tunis or from outside, and want those items, for example, or they still support us because nowadays the Chinese in these last years... The workforce is lost in this world. The business is a bit in crisis, and no one wants to work the leather and all this stuff anymore. We remain working as much as we can. Nowadays, people want to change and want modern things, but these are traditional Tunisian Arab handicrafts! [...] There is who buys from us and, even keeps years later, comes back and keep buying, as happened to you: you bought from me four-five years ago, and you came back to Tunisia and Kairouan, and you bought from me [...] Yes, I am from Kairouan, native of Kairouan, son of the *Sheykh* [male proper name], father of my grandfather, I mean when the *Sheykh* [male proper name], grandfather of my father, died, people brought him from Tunis [to Kairouan] on their shoulders, he was a great *Sheikh*. We live in *Mahṇīya* in the city center where is the mosque *əl-anṣār*. [...] The *anṣār* are the ones who arrived from Mecca and Medina, following the Prophet – peace be upon him – at that time. They came and were buried here in the mosque. May the ground be light to the dead, as God willed. We go to pray in this mosque. I have a son who studies. He has been studying building engineering between Nabeul and Hammamet in the Mrazga region at the Polytechnic for three years.

Text 2

SP27: *wīn* [female proper name]? *šn-ahwāl-ha*?

SP24^R: [female proper name] *wəldət žābət bnayya*.

SP27: *qātt-l-i māṃma mabrūk əsm-ha* [second female proper name].

SP6: *yṣayyš-ək yṣayyš-ək* [second female proper name] *āy*.

SP27: *bṣat-l-i taṣwīra*.

SP6: *bāhi taw nabṣat-l-ək*.

SP24^R: [SP6's name] *ṣand-ək ənti*?

SP6: *āy ṣand-i taṣwīra taw nabṣat-l-ək taṣwīra b-əl-gda*.

SP24^R: [SP27's name] *ṣand-ha tāṭā-k* [SP6's name] *ṛā-hu l-whatsapp amma n-nūmru mā-nī-š ḥāfḍatt-u āna nəkdəb-š ṣlī-k*.

SP6: *ma zəlt mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u l-whatsapp.*

SP24^R: *qātt-l-i mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u b-əl-kull.*

SP27: *ʕādi ʕādi... la bās nfās-ha?*

SP6: *la bās ḥamdullāh la bās taʕbət šwayya f-əl-césarienne xāṭər ət-tānya.*

SP24^R: *aʕʕab m-əl-lūl.*

SP6: *aʕʕab m-əl-lūl qaʕdət ɓarša mawzūʕa mā-tnažžam-š tqūm mā-tnažžam-š tuqʕud ḥākka ḥāw mā-qʕadt-š bə-ḥdā-ha ɓarša āna fisaʕ žīt xāṭər ālīsyā žāya āy naržaʕ šwayya nuqʕud nṭūl ʕlā-ha šwayya.*

[...]

SP24^R: *ā [SP27's name] uǧzur āš məš āš nwarrīw-k uǧzur āš məš nwarrīw-k.*

SP27: *elle est mignonne!*

SP24^R: *elle est très mignonne tbārak allāh ʕlā-ha.*

SP27: *ma ḥlā-ha! w ma ḥla šʕar-ha allāhumma ʕalli ʕ-ən-nībbi.*

SP24^R: *šʕar-ha ki xū-ha b-əḍ-dabt.*

SP27: *māšallāh ʕlā-ha!*

SP24^R: *māšallāh ʕlā-ha allāh m-əḍ-darrīya əš-šālḥa [...] uǧzur šūf ma ḥlā-ha hna!*

SP27: *mā šā? allāh^{MSA407} tətṛabba fi ʕəzz-kum.*

SP6: *yʕayyš-ək rəbḥ-i yfaḍḍl-ək.*

SP24^R: *ḥāḍīya l-bīt mtāḥ-ḥa əl-bāb mtāʕ əl-bīt.*

SP6: *ḥadāya qbal ma...*

SP24^R: *ḥāḍīya l'entrée mtāʕ lə-clinique apparemment.*

SP6: *...qbal ma ṭrawwaḥ ḥāḍīya nhārāt-ha bəš tzi nhārāt-ha bəš ...*

SP27: *...bəš ṭrawwaḥ yūh::: ma ḥlā-ha ma ḥlā-ha!*

SP6: *...bəš ṭrawwaḥ ḥāḍra l-ha tabdīlāt-ha w šābbāt-ha w farš-ha...*

SP24^R: *māšallāh nšallāh m-əḍ-darrīya əš-šālḥa rəbḥ-i yəšlah əl-ḥāl nšallāh mtāḥ-ḥum əl-kull.*

Translation

SP27: How is [female proper name]? How is she doing?

SP24^R: [Female proper name] gave birth and had a girl.

SP27: Mum told me congratulations! Her name is [second female proper name].

SP6: Thank you, thank you, yes, [second female proper name].

⁴⁰⁷ Unlike the previous utterances, in this case, the speaker pronounces the religious formula according to the phonetic rules of the MSA.

SP27: Send me a picture.

SP6: OK, I am going to send it to you.

SP24^R: Do you have any, [SP6's name]?

SP6: Yes, I have a picture. I am going to send you a beautiful picture.

SP24^R: [SP27's name], your aunt [SP6's name] has WhatsApp, but I have not saved the number. I do not lie.

SP6: I still do not understand WhatsApp.

SP24^R: She said she totally does not understand it.

SP27: It is normal, it is normal... how was the delivery?

SP6: Well, praise be God, she got a bit tired with the cesarean because she is the second [daughter]...

SP24^R: It was more complex than the first.

SP6: It was more complex than the first. She keeps suffering; she cannot get up or sit down, that is all. I did not stay long with her, I left soon because Alessia was coming, and now I will come back and stay a bit with her.

[...]

SP24^R: [SP27's name], see what I am showing you, see what I am showing you...

SP27: She is cute!

SP24^R: She is so cute. God bless her.

SP27: How sweet she is! What beautiful hair, God send blessings upon the Prophet.

SP24^R: She has the same hair as her brother.

SP27: She looks beautiful!

SP24^R: She looks beautiful. May she be a virtuous daughter! [...] Look how beautiful she is here!

SP27: May she be raised in your love.

SP6 Thank you, may God please you.

SP24^R: This was her room, the door's room.

SP6: Here is before...

SP24^R: This seems to be the clinic entrance.

SP6: ...before going these days to...

SP27: ...to prepare... oh, how sweet she is!

SP6: ...to prepare her clothes, changes, shoes, bed...

SP24^R: God willing, may she be a virtuous daughter, and may God improve everyone's situation.

Text 3

SP9⁴⁰⁸: *famma tlāta ḥāžāt f-əž-žāməf lə-qdum: əl-məḥrāb w-əl-mənbar w-əl-aʕmda. əl-aʕmda ḥādāy kull-ha rŭmānīya [...] w-əl-mənbar ḥāḍāka ʔaqdəm mənbar f-əl-ʕālam ʕumr-u alf w mīṭīⁿ āy, mille et deux cents, alf w mīṭīⁿ, w fī-h taqrīban^{MSA} tlāta mīyāt-ən lawḥa^{MSA409} naqš tlāta mīya w mā-talqā-ši ṭnīn kīf kīf fhəmt kīfa? ən-naqš mtāʕ-u... maʕnā-ha kull wāḥda pièce unique [...] əl-murabbasāt^{MSA} ḥāḍūka əlli fūq əl-məḥrāb, ḥāḍūka, mīya w xamša w ʕašrīn, mīya w tlāṭīn qaʕʕa ḥāḍūka ḥādīya m-əl-ʕīrāq^{MSA} fī ʕahd xalīfa^{MSA} ḥārūn ər-ʕašīd əd-dawla^{MSA} l-ʕabbāsīya bağdād u::: əl-ḥarʕa fī-h āyāt qurʔānīya b-əl-xaṭṭ əl-kūfī w məxdūmīn bi māʔ^{MSA} əḍ-ḍhab ḥākka ʕlāš hūma yəlmʕu, rīt-hum? əl-kaʕba ḥāšā-k tkassrət lākən mā-ṭdūb-š mā-təṭslax-š ʕla xāṭə-ḥa bi māʔ^{MSA} əḍ-ḍhab [...] w ḥārūn ər-ʕašīd [...] yaʕrəf qīmat əž-žāməf muš ḥākkāka ʕādi fhəmt-ni? w-əž-žāməf ʕumr-u alf w-arḃʕa mīya xamsīn ḥəžri sətta mīya w sabʕīn mīlādi [...] w l-qurwān ḥīya rābʕat-əṭ-tlāt makka w-əl-madīna^{MSA} w-əl-quḍs w-əl-qayrawān^{MSA} w-əl-aʕmda ḥāḍūma mā-talqā-š ṭnīn kīf kīf muš f-əl-lūn, ən-naqš, mā-talqā-ši wāḥda tšabbəh l-uxt-ha yəstahīl taqrīb ma bīn xamsa mīya w səttīn xamsa mīya w sabʕīn ʕmūd kull əž-žāməf əl-kull mā-talqā-š ṭnīn kīf kīf f-ən-naqš, muš f-əl-lūn-ə! əl-lūn talqā-h amma ən-naqš ḥāḍīka yəstahīl talqā-ha kīf w ʔaḥsan kaʕbīn hūma ḥāḍūka ər-ʕose ḥāḍūka žāw m-əl-bḥar fī-hum ḥatta les fossiles ṭbaʕ fī-hum əl-ḥūt ḥāḍūka əl-aʕmda ḥāḍūka ḥāḍūka xallū-hum f-əl-məḥrāb, fhəmt? ḥāḍūka aʕmār-hum ālāf muš mīyāt maʕnā-ha fhəmt-ni? əṭ-ṭbaʕ fī-hum m-əl-ḥūt maʕnā-ha ər-ʕxām m-əl-bḥar ər-ʕxām maʕnā-ha mīya f-əl-mīya ḥāḍīka muš xamšīn b-əl-mīya w āxər tarmīm fī awāxər əs-səttīnāt [...] qaʕdu šabʕa walla ṭmānya šnīn yṕammu fī-h [...] lākən tarmīm xṕf maʕnā-ha mtāʕ s-ṣtaḥ muš tarmīm kbīr, ḥkāyāt xṕfa. bāhi, ṭamma šqūfāt ṭbaddlət ḥādāya ṭbaddəl lākən famma šqūfāt əd-dāxəl fī-hum ḥatta āyāt qurʔānīya ḥāḍūk qdum āyāt fī-hum naqš ʕ-ə-ʕxām w famma zāda naqš ʕ-ə-ʕxām hna kāna ʕand-ək portable? bāhi taʕṕī-ni nšawwər-l-ək lə-ktība əlli l-dāxəl ktība qdīma fā-ha ḥəkma.*

⁴⁰⁸ This speaker sporadically pronounces /s/ as the voiceless post-alveolar fricative /š/ [ʃ], e.g., *šabʕa* ‘seven’, *šnīn* ‘years’, *šqūfāt* ‘ceilings’, *xamšīn* ‘fifty’. This pronunciation is not systematic or conditioned but more likely due to phonetic articulation problems.

⁴⁰⁹ The speaker keeps the diphthong *aw* probably because he is using MSA terminology to describe the mosque’s architectural parts. However, continuing with the description, he reduces the diphthong **aw* to *ū* in the same word, as expected.

Translation

SP9: The mosque has three ancient things: the *miḥrāb*⁴¹⁰, the pulpit, and the columns. All these columns are Roman [...], and that pulpit is the most ancient in the world. It is one thousand two hundred years old, yes, *mille et deux cents*, one thousand two hundred. There are almost three hundred paintings and carvings. [They are] three hundred, and you do not find two alike, you know? Its carvings... I mean, each piece is unique [...] Those squares above the *miḥrāb*, those there⁴¹¹, are one hundred and twenty-five [years old], and [it is made up of] one hundred and thirty pieces. This one is from Irak, at the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd of the Abbasid state of Baghdad. Outside there are Quranic verses in Kufic calligraphy, gold plated. That is why they shine. Did you see them? The piece is broken – far be it from you –, but it does not come off, it does not deteriorate because it is gold plated. [...] Hārūn al-Rashīd [...] knew the mosque's value, not as you usually see it, you know... The mosque is one thousand four hundred years old, [it was built] in 50 H., i.e., 670 CE. [...] Kairouan is the fourth of the three [, i.e.,] Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Kairouan. You will not find two of those columns alike, nor in color nor decoration will you find one that looks like another. It is impossible. Among about five hundred and sixty and five hundred and seventy columns throughout the mosque, you cannot find two that are the same in decoration, but not in color, ah! You find the color, but it is impossible to find the same decoration. The best two pieces are the pink ones, which came from the sea and even contain fossils; the fishes left their mark. They left those columns in the *miḥrāb*. They are thousands of years old, not hundreds, did you understand? There are the remains of the fish. I mean, the marble came from the sea; it is marble one hundred percent, not fifty percent. The last renovation dates to the end of the 60s [...]. It took seven or eight years to renovate [...], but it was a minor renovation, just of the roof, [it was] not a significant renovation, [just] minor stuff. There are ceilings that have been changed, this one has been changed. However, there are ceilings inside that even bear Koranic verses. Those are ancient. They have verses and decorations on the marble. Or there are decorations on the marble here. Do you have a phone? Well, let me take a picture for you of the writings that are inside: they are ancient writings of wisdom.

⁴¹⁰ The *miḥrāb* is the mosque's niche that indicates the *qibla*, i.e., the direction of Mecca towards which Muslim face when praying.

⁴¹¹ Simultaneously, the speaker points out to me the element he is describing.

Text 4

SP8: [Palermo] *muš bṣīd muš bṣīd ḥatta fi les caractères muš bṣād ṣlī-na ḥatta f-əl-wzūh əd-damm kīf kīf... Ṣlāš tawwa tšūf ənti f-əs-sḥānya talqa d-damm kīf kīf f-əs-sḥānya? xāṭər lə-qṛāwa mšāw fathu əs-sḥānya Ṗandalus^{MSA} yšabbhu dīma l-ṣṛab Ṗaktar fhəmt mən wrūḥa fhəmt xāṭər Ṣand-hum əd-dirāsa^{MSA} mtāṣ-hum k-əd-dirāsa^{MSA} l-ṣṛab mtāṣ-na. Ṣan-na žāməṣ ḡādi aṣl Ṣan-na žāməṣ əl-qayrawānīyīn^{MSA} f-əl-Ṗandalus^{MSA} Ṣan-na šārəṣ kāməl əsm-u š-šārəṣ l-qayrawānī^{MSA} [...] Ṣan-na fi lli bə-ḥdā-na maṭalan^{MSA}... əž-žzār, əž-žzār kīf kīf əl-žazāʔir^{MSA} aṣl aṣl Ṣuqba bən nāfəṣ baṣtu-h f-əl-žazāʔir^{MSA} ḥatta f-əl-lūḡa mā-nəxtālfū-š kīr maṣnā-ha fhəmt? [...] nahna, lūḡat-na Ṗaqṛab m-əl-Ṣarabīya^{MSA412} əl-fuṣḥa w-ənti ki tṣalləm maṣnā-ha l-qarwi hāk tšūf-na maṣnā-ha f-əl-klām mtāṣ-na muš-na bṣād maṣnā-ha m-əl-lūḡa əl-Ṣarabīya^{MSA} ki taqṛa ktāb əl-qurʔān^{MSA} talqa rūḥ-ək qṛīb təfhəm maṣnā-ha muš mustḥaqq bəš taṣməl traduction walla hādīka šnīya aḷlāhumma ḥāža compliqué ḥarša [...] aḥna ət-twānsa rā-w Ṣan-na l'esprit ouvert, məṭfāṭhīn [...] əṭ-ṭlāyən Ṣāyšīn mṢa-na l-franṣīš Ṣāyšīn mṢā-na kull-hum w-aḥna tṣarrazna ḥarša Ṣlā-mšāra tṣarrazna Ṣlā-flām donc maṣnā-ha Ṣan-na fəkrə Ṣ-əl-ḥarṛa, fhəmt? taw ki təmši tūnsi thəzz-u l-ḥarṛa yṣīš Ṣādi židdan^{MSA} bə-lūḡt-u caractère-u yṣīš nahki bə-ṣasm-i rā-hu [...] wallāh naṣrəf škūn yahki ṭālyān w mā-yaṣrəf-š yaqṛā-h naṣrəf škūn yahki ṭ-ṭālyān ki təsmṣ-u tqūl hūwa ṭālyān wallāh w hūwa mā-yaṣrəf-š maṣnā-ha ṭ-ṭālyānīya kān tqūl-l-u əktəb-l-i kəlma ṭālyāna maṣnā-ha [...] lə-Ṣbād tkapti fhəmt-ə? la ouvert nahna muš-na... [...] naṣrəf əl-franṣi, naṣrəf əl-franṣi, naṣrəf l-īnglīzi naṣrəf əl-caractère aṣl mā-naṣrəf-š əl-franṣi ka hāw naṣrəf les caractères ma bīn ən-north w-əl-nord w-əl-waṣat w-əs-sud [...] əsmāṣ-ni Ṣlāš nāklu f-əl-kəftāzi w nāklu l-ḥārṛ ḥarša? xāṭər-na bə-ṣasm-i esprit mtāṣ-na ḥārṛ [...] šūf, īda īda ənti muxx-ək w thəbb əl-Ṣarbi w thəbb twalli Ṣarabīya lāzəm-ək ḥatta l-mākla w-əl-caractère mtāṣ əl-ṣṛab nahki bə-ṣasm-i rā-hu īda ənti mā-Ṣand-ək-ši l'esprit bəš təfhəm w bəš tākul l-ḥārṛ bəš twalli Ṣlāš lə-Ṣbād tākul əl-ḥārṛ w təfhəm Ṣlāš donc mā-fammā-š rā-hu famma des bactéries f-əl-maṣda mā-yuqtul-hum kān əl-ḥārṛ.*

Translation

SP8: [Palermo] is not far [from Tunisia], is not far. [Palermitan people] are not far from us. Even in behavior and features, the blood is the same... Look, why do you find the same blood in Spain? because Kairouaneses conquered Spain. [The inhabitants of] *al-*

⁴¹² The MSA realization is usual when referring to the *fuṣḥa*.

Andalus resemble the Arabs more than other Europeans do because they share our culture, our Arabic culture. We basically have a mosque there which is called *al-qayrawānīyīn* mosque, and we have a whole street in Andalusia which is called *al-qayrawāni* Street. [...] [It basically occurs the same with] our neighbors... the Algerians basically: *ʔUqba bin Nāfiʔ* was sent to Algeria, and even the Arabic we speak [now] does not change much, did you understand? [...] Our Arabic is closer to the *fushā*. If you study Kairouani Arabic, you notice it. I mean, the words we use are not far from the *fushā*. If you read the Koran, you find it similar [to Kairouani Arabic]; you understand it. You do not need to do the translation or anything, only if it is something very complicated. [...] We, the Tunisians, have *l'esprit ouvert*; we are open-minded. [...] Italians lived with us, French lived with us, all of them, and we watched a lot of Egyptian [productions], we have seen films, so we have an idea of abroad, you know? Nowadays, if a Tunisian goes abroad, he lives in a very normal way, with his language and his behaviors. I swear [...], I know who speaks Italian, but do not read it. I know who speaks Italian [so well that] when you hear him, [you say] 'he is Italian!' really, and he does not know Italian. If you ask him, 'write me an Italian word' [...] I mean people understand. Yes, we are open-minded; it is not that... [...] I know French, I know French, English... I basically know the character I do not only know French, I know the characters between the north, the center and the south [...] Listen, why do we eat *kāftāzi* and very spicy? Because, actually, our mind is spicy. [...] Look, if you, your head, love Arabic and want to become an Arab, you must also have Arab food and behaviors. I think that if you do not have the mind to understand, to eat spicy foods, to understand why people eat spicy foods, then it does not make sense. Moreover, some bacteria in the stomach are killed only by spicy food.

Text 5

SP7^R: *ya sīd-i*⁴¹³ *taʔrəf waqtāš sahlət? taw nqūl-l-ək tšawwəʔ āna f-əl-fətrə::: mriḏ šwayya w ʔtā-ni rəbḅ-i quwwa k-ət-trayyāt rakkbu.*

SP15: *wallāh yaʔtī-k əš-šahḥa.*

SP7^R: *əsməʔ w-ət-trayyāt subḥān allāh rəbḅ-i ḥall-l-i muxx-i w xdəmt-hum w rīgəlt-hum w ʔalʔ l-u mšalli ʔan- nībbi mənn-u w mənn-u.*

SP15: *hākka modifications əlli yətkassru... hākka ʔmalt... bāhi.*

⁴¹³ At the beginning of a sentence, *ya sīd-i* is used when the speaker is about to tell a story, or an anecdote and he addresses to a man.

[...]

SP7^R: *waqtāš tħəss bā-ha tƒarħdət əd-dār? waqt əlli ža əs-sayyəd bda yərħi bda ynađđaf bdāt əd-dār tbān...*

SP14: *tađħər, tađħər.*

SP15: *āy āy w hāđāka mā-žā-š kammal-ha?*

SP7^R: *wallāhi ža nqūl-l-ək l-lāš l-ayyāmāt l-uxrānīya rā-hu m-ər-rumđān šlaqt b-rūħ-i m-əl-ğušš rā-hu yrakkbū-l-ək mğītīn damm.*

SP15: *āš-tašməl?*

SP7^R: *āh... āš-tašməl? āy hāy rāžət-l-i.*

SP15: *bu ġaššūš!*⁴¹⁴

SP7^R: *əs-sayyəd hāđāya...*

SP14: *bu ġaššūš!*

SP15: *āy bu ġaššūš təsməf...*

SP7^R: *smaft-ni? t-tā-ni programme qāl-l-i hā-w š-tašməl-l-i hā-w š-tašməl-l-i smalt-l-u l-programme lli qāl-l-i l-lī-h [xxx].*

SP15: *žīb [male proper name] hāđāya yrakkb f-əl-ħkāyāt hāđīya yāsər [xxx-a] yāna tawwa l-lāš qutt-l-ək žīb-u? rīt-u tawwa f-əl-žāməf fi žāməf əl-anšār ya wəld-i hāđūma yətsammāw ħarḃūša quddām-u ygədd f-əl-ħāžāt l-ə-ḃā::r [male proper name] rāžəl bənt [second male proper name].*

SP7^R: *rīt-ni xū-ya? [...] āna nrakkb-ha rā-hu tawwa wallət sāhla f-and-i tšarərət hāk-əl-xyūt əlli məš nħuṭṭ-hum fi bšəđ-hum l-courant.*

SP15: *qutt-l-ək tīza xūd əl-résine...*

SP7^R: *ənšallāh ġāləb fād.*

SP15: *...əž-žəfba w laħħam-ha.*

SP7^R: *əsməf-ni mašnā-ha qutt-l-ək fād kṭur kṭur kṭur kṭur fi rumđān xū-ya šbī-k? wallīt dāyəx f-ən-nhār qult wkāy m-əš-šyām, amma bašd ma nākul əlli hīya ħāža qlīla nākul ki nəmši l-qahwa nuqfud bə-ħda l-wlād...*

SP14: *yətrahwəž.*

SP7^R: *nətrahwəž. tšaddīt l-əl-pharmacie ya wədd-i qīs-l-i d-damm. qāl-l-i xumštāš təšfa. šaddīt rās-ī, šnawwa l-ə-ħkāya hāđīya? ya wədd-i qult hāđāya yumkun āna mšīt*

⁴¹⁴The construction *bu* + noun (as well as *umm* + noun) is used in Arabic to form compound nouns. For the uses and values expressed by this construction in South Tunisian Arabic, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2008). On the specific use of *bu* + noun for naming fishes in TA, see D'Accordio Berlinguer (2022: 67–68).

m-əl-qahwa l-ġādi... ʕāwədt l-marra t-tāləṭ xumstāš təsʕa kallamt [female proper name], [female proper name] qātt-l-i ɓarra l-əṭ-ṭbīb, xtart ṭbīb mšīt-l-u f-əl-qurwān mtāš lə-qalb ʕmal-l-i taxīṭ tāš l-qalb w šāf-l-i əd-damm ɗrab-ni b-əd-dwāʔ^{MSA}... xumstāš təsʕa ɣatta ʕand əṭ-ṭbīb maɗrūb. mənn-āš lə-ħkāya hādīya? qāl-l-i qāl-l-i qāl-l-i tlāṭa ɣwāyž hūwa ɣušš, rḥāq, duxxān. qāl hūma lli ət-tlāṭa mh::: šār lə-ħkāya aɣlabīt-ha m-əl-ɣušš.

Translation

SP7^R: Listen, man, do you know when it got easier? I am going to tell you. Think of me at that time. I was a bit sick, and God gave me strength when they installed the chandeliers.

SP15: You really did well.

SP7^R: Listen, the chandeliers – glory be to God –, God opened my mind, and I worked on them and adjusted them, and they are all beautiful.

SP15: The modifications that broke... You did... good.

[...]

SP7^R: When did the house lighten up? When the man started to sand and clean, the house appeared...

SP14: It took shape.

SP15: Yes, yes, and that one did not come to finish it?

SP7^R: Honestly, he came. I tell you why. In the last days of Ramadan, I noticed that it was because of the anger. They put two suction cups on you.

SP15: What did you do?

SP7^R: Eh, ‘what did you do?’. It came bake to me.

SP15: Irascible!

SP7^R: This man...

SP14: Irascible!

SP15: Hey, irascible, listen...

SP7^R: Did you hear me? He gave me the program. He said, ‘here, it is what you do for me’ I made him the program he asked me for.

SP15: Take on [male proper name], he assembles this stuff a lot [xxx], and why did I tell you now to take him on? I saw him [just] now at the mosque, əl-anšār mosque. My son,

they do not even weigh on him,⁴¹⁵ is capable of great things, [male proper name], the husband of [second male proper name]’s daughter.

SP7^R: Do you see my brother? [...] I [can] assemble them now. It became easy for me. All these wires that I will put in each other, the current...

SP15: I told you, ‘come, take the resin...’.

SP7^R: God is the strongest.

SP15: ‘...the pipe and weld them’.

SP7^R: Listen to me, I mean, I told you that it increased, increased, increased, increased during Ramadan. Brother, what is wrong with you? I was stunned during the day. I said, ‘OK, it is because of the fast’, but after eating – what I ate was a small thing – as soon as I went to the coffee, I sat next to the boys ...

SP14: He felt woozy.

SP7^R: I felt woozy. I went to the pharmacy: ‘my dear, measure my blood pressure’. He told me [that it was] 15-9. I held my head. What is this? My dear – I said – maybe it is because I got a coffee there... I did [it again] for the third time: 15-9. I called [female proper name], and [female proper name] said, ‘go to the doctor!’. I chose a doctor, I went to him, to a cardiologist in Kairouan. He did the electrocardiogram, checked my blood [values], and gave me the medicines... 15-9. Even at the doctor, I was weak. Where does it come from? He said to me, ‘[there are] three things: anger, thinness and smoke’. He said, ‘they are the three’. Mhhh, in short, the major cause is anger.

Text 6

SP24^R: *əl-mutanaffəs^{MSA} əl-wahīd^{MSA} hīya* [her daughter’s name] *ki tkallam-ni kull yūm hādāka əl-mutanaffəs^{MSA} əl-wahīd^{MSA} mais* [name of one of her friends] *šaddət-ni qātt-l-i nhār l-kull nhār əl-kull ənti f-ət-tālīfūn nhār lə-kull ənti f-ət-tālīfūn qutt-əl-ha bə-llāhi amma xīr f-ət-tālīfūn walla nqaṭṭaš w nṛayyəs f-əl-aṣbād? mā-ni nəkalləm mša bənt-i w wfa.*

SP6: *khāw.*

SP24^R: *w āna mā-nqaṭṭaš-š yāna lə-ḥqīqa l-ḥāza l-bāhya fī-ya mā-nqaṭṭaš-š. x-ṭā-k* [SP6’s name] *hāy tasmaš fī-k? hāk šbaṣti fī-ha hād-əl-līla ṭā-k* [SP6’s name].

SP6: *āna šwayy šwayy šufnā-ha xīr mən blāš...*

[...]

⁴¹⁵ Lit., ‘they are called pills in front of him’.

SP24^R: *nahkī-l-ək hāk-ən-nhār xāl-ək*, [male name], *ṭlabt-u yži ʕašra marṛāt mā-žāwəb-nī-š taw hūwa mā-zāl* sous traitement w *mā-zāl mā-hbaṭ-l-ī-š əl-qurwān bəš yaʕməl vīzīta ʕand əl-cardiologue professeur agrégé w mā-tammā-š ṭlabt ṭlabt ṭlabt ṭlabt kəṛš-i dārət lāllāt-i*⁴¹⁶ [SP6's name] *mā-ʕand-ī-š nūmrū-ha ṭlabt* [SP14's name], *lāš*^{MSA}, *ṭlabt* [SP14's name and surname] *qutt-əl-ha* [SP14's name] *duqq-l-i ʕla* [male name] *qūl-l-u wīn-ək?* [SP14's name] *nalqā-ha fi tūnəs qult w ʕla saʕd-i w ʕla ayyām-i āš naʕməl? narʒaʕ l-*[SP14's name], *nqūl-ha ya* [SP14's name] *uxayyt-i uxayyt-i* [male name] *mā-tammā-š w nšaḷḷāh la bās amma rā-ni xāyfa w mafzūʕa* [...] *uxayyt-i waḷḷāh rā-ni mafzūʕa* [SP14's name] *uxayyt-i hākkāka w ṭlab-ni ʕād ʒa ṭlab-ni*.

SP6: *hīya qātt-l-i* [SP14's name] *rā-hi* [SP27's name] *ṭalbətt-u rā-hi* [male name] *mā-tammā-š w rā-w wallīt nuṭlub nuṭlub nuṭlub zāda mā-ḥabb-əš yhəzz ʕlā-ya*.

SP27: *ḥatta hūwa mā-tammā-š*.

SP14: *hūwa xalla ət-tālīfūn hna w mša yəšri fi kaʕba ṭābūna*.

SP6: *hākkāka āna zāda mā-fī-bāl-ī-š əlli* [SP27's name] *ṭalbət* [SP14's name] *āna kāka bəš nuṭlub fi* [SP14's name] *nqūl-ha ɓarṛa, nuqqus w šūf* [male name] *kallm-ək-ši w hūwa ʕād ṭlab*.

SP24^R: *qāl-l-ək nsīt... xallīt ət-tālīfūni mšīt nəšri fi əṭ-ṭābūna*.

[...]

S24^R: *tḍakkri? tamma līla ṭlabt-ək ṭlabt-ək ṭlabt-ək ṭlabt-ək ṭlabt-ək ṭlabt-ək w hīya tuskun w hīya tuskun fi ɓlāša f-əl-minā*^{MSA} *fā-ha kān əl-buḥayrāt*^{MSA} *w-əl-ašžā' qult bənt-i qatfū-ha wə-ṛmū-ha f-hāk-əl-ašžā' f-hāk-əl-buḥayra*^{MSA}.

SP6: *qaddāš wāḥəd ki yṭhayyər! qaddāš yšīr fī-h!*

SP27: *ṭāṭa* [SP6's name], *nudxul ndawwəš nuxruž nalqa ʕəšrīn* appels.

SP6: *ʕəšrīn* appels.

SP27: *tuṭlub-ni nhəzz ʕlā-ha, tsāmaʕ-ni ma nakṛah tabda mətḡašša*.

SP6: *waḷḷāh m-əl-fažʕa*.

SP27: *m-əl-fažʕa w āna mafzūʕa!*

SP14: *ənti qbal ma tudxul əd-dawwəš kallam-ha qūl-l-ha rā-ni dāxla ndawwəš*.

SP6: *əsmāʕ-ni hā-ni dāxla ndawwəš hā-ni dāxla l-ət-toilettes hā-ni məš nurqud hā-ni məš nqūm*.

⁴¹⁶ According to the rules described in §2.6.2, feminine nouns of the CvCCa type when suffixed by a vowel pronoun, should respect the follow syllabic change: CvCCa + v > CvCCtv. However, evidentially, this is not the case for the word *lālla* > *lāllāt-i* 'Madam'.

SP24^R: *asmaf-ni marṛāt tkallam-ni tabda qāḥda ʕ-ət-toilettes tqūl-l-i rā-ni mā-nalqā-l-ək waqt kān ndawwāš walla nuqḥud. əl-līla exceptionnellement rā-hu qulnā-l-ha qulna ma dām nashru hna...*

SP27: *sāḥāt naxdām nqūl-ha ya ma rā-ni tāḥba wallāh ya ta sāḥāt naxṭəf ən-nhār sāḥtīn nqayyəl nḥuṭṭ rās-i...*

SP6: *āy hākka hāw.*

Translation

SP24^R: My only oxygen is [her daughter's name]. When she calls me every day, that is my only oxygen. [name of one of her friends] grabbed me and said to me, 'you are on the phone all day, all day, all day on the phone'. I told her, 'it is better [that I am] on the phone or [that] I gossip about people?' I just talk with my daughter, and that is it.

SP6: That is all.

SP24^R: I do not gossip about people. The truth is that one of my qualities is that I do not gossip. Do you see that your aunt, [aunt's name], hears you? Thus, you^{FEM} enjoyed your aunt [SP6's name]'s company tonight.

SP6: I [enjoyed her] a bit, we have seen her, and it is better than nothing.

[...]

SP24^R: I tell you. The other day your uncle [male name], I called him about ten times. He did not answer me. Now he still is under treatment and has not yet go down to Kairouan to visit the cardiologist, a specialist. [However,] he was not [at home]. I called, I called, I called, I called. [It made] my stomach turn. I did not have [SP6's name]'s number. I called [SP14's name], no [answer]. I called [SP14's name and surname]. I said to her, 'knock for me at [male name]. Ask him how he is', but I found her in Tunis. I said, 'woe is me! What do I do?' I came back to [SP14's name]. I said to her, '[SP14's name], my little sister, my little sister. [male name] is not there. I hope he is fine, but I am scared and worried. [...] My little sister, I swear, I am scared, [SP14's name], my little sister', and so on.... [While I was saying that,] he called me. So, he came back and called me.

SP6: She, [SP14's name], told me: '[SP27's name] called him and he, [male name], is not there', so I started calling him too, I called, I called, I called, and he did not want to hear of answering me.

SP27: He was not even there.

SP14: He left the phone here and went to buy a piece of *tābūna*.

SP6: Exactly. Me too, I did not think that [SP27's name] called [SP14's name]. I was about to call [SP14's name] to say to her, 'go, ring [the bell] and see in case [male name] called you' and he called back.

SP24^R: He told you, 'I forgot... I left the phone [at home]. I went to buy some *ṭābūna*'.
[...]

SP24^R: Do you remember? One night, I called you, I called you, I called you, I called you, I called you, I called you, I called you, and she lives in a place near the harbor where there are only lakes and trees. I said, 'my daughter, they cut her up and threw her in those trees and lake.'

SP6: How is someone like when they get scared! What happens to him!

SP27: Uncle [SP6's name], I went into the shower, I went out, I found twenty calls.

SP6: Twenty calls.

SP27: She called me, I answered her, she yelled at me,⁴¹⁷ and she was angry.

SP6: Of course, for the fear.

SP27: For the fear, and I was scared!

SP14: You, before you go into the shower, call her, say to her, 'I am going into the shower'.

SP6: 'Listen, I am taking a shower, I am going to the bathroom, I am going to sleep, I am getting up'.

SP24^R: Listen to me. Sometimes she calls me when she is sitting on the toilet and tells me, 'I only find time for you when I take my shower or sit down'. Tonight – exceptionally – we told her that since we spent the night together here....

SP27: Sometimes I work, and I say to her, 'Mom, I am tired' I swear, aunt! Sometimes I catch up⁴¹⁸ two hours of the day to take a nap. I put my head...

SP6: And that is all.

Text 7

SP12: *hāḍāya libās^{MSA} taqlīdi, libās^{MSA} taqlīdi hāḍāya yaṭlbās fi munāsabāt^{MSA} muṣayyina əlli hūma afrāḥ w xaṣṣatan^{MSA} əṣ-ṣdāqāt. əṣ-ṣdāqāt yaṭṣamlu f-əl-žāməf. š-maḥnā-ha ṣdāq? əṣ-ṣdāq hūwa le contrat de mariage hāḍāka b-ən-nəsba l-naḥna yaṭsamma ṣdāq.*

[...]

⁴¹⁷ Lit., 'she makes me listen to what I hate'.

⁴¹⁸ Lit., 'I steal'.

SP23: *w šdāq əl-qayrawāni^{MSA} maḡrūf f-əl-ḡālam əl-ḡarbi.*

SP12: *maḡrūf ḡālam^{vanMSA}.*

SP23: *əš-šdāq əl-qayrawāni^{MSA} muš kīma əš-šdāq...*

SP12: *muš kīma l-ḡarra. fi ḡlāys uxra miṭāl^{MSA} fi tūnəs yətktəb f-əl-baladī^{vaMSA}. f-əl-qurwān qlīl əlli yəktəb f-əl-baladī^{vaMSA}. kull-ha təktəb f-əl-žāməf fi ṡahbi ža fi sīdi ṡahbi w f-əl-žāməf lə-kbīr w l-aḡlabiyya^{MSA} təsṡīn f-əl-mīya m-əl-šdāqāt [xxx] əlli hūwa contrat de mariage hādāka yətsamma šdāq yətktəb f-əl-žāməf hādīya l-labsa hādīya tətəlbəs fhəmti? yətəlbəs māli lə-ḡrūs w māli lə-ḡrūsə l-muqarḡbīn.*

SP23: *famille mtāf lə-ḡrūsə, famille mtāf lə-ḡrūs les proches lə-qrāb.*

SP12: *īda kān fə-š-šdāq w rīt ən-nās lābsa əl-labsa hādīya hādūkum rā-hum qrāb rā-hu bū-h rā-hu xū-h rā-hu ḡamm-u rā-hu xāl-u rā-hu xāl-ha walla xālt-ha fhəmt? w-yətlabsu f-əl::: nqūlu aḡna f-əl-ḡənnə.*

SP23: *f-əl-wṡīya famma soirée l-əl-ḡrūsə taṡməl sahrīya hīya soirée l-əl-ḡənnə nqūlū-l-ha l-ḡənnə l-əl-ḡrūsə taṡməl-ha.*

SP12: *l-əl-ḡrūsə, hādīka ḡərs l-əl-ḡrūsə ḡərs l-əl-ḡrūsə.*

SP23: *taṡməl-hīya l-ḡənnə w təlbəs ksāwi l-ksāwi ykūnu qayrawānīya^{MSA} maḡnā-ha tabda l-xədma mtāf l-qurwān.*

SP12: *libās^{MSA} taqlīdi.*

SP23: *əl-qarwi! law kān ksāwi ḡərs, law kān ṡarayūn^{MSA}, law kān...*

SP12: *əž-žəbba hādīka tətəlbəs zāda f-əl-ḡənnə mtāf lə-ḡrūsə maḡnā-ha fi l-fête mtāf l-ḡrūsə hādīka aḡna nqūlu əl-ḡənnə bāhi. f-əl-ḡərs kāməl mtāf əz-zūz l-aḡlabiyya^{MSA} yəlbsu complet kəswa maḡnā-ha [xxx] w tətəlbəs f-əṡ-ṡhūrāt [xxx] dīma yəlbəs-ha lli qrīb ḡarṡa lli hūwa l-famille lli hūwa l-xāl fhəmt-ni? w bqūt lə-ḡbād əlli yžīw les invités yəlbsu l-labsa l-ḡādīya famma lli yži fi sport famma lli yži fi costume, kull ḡāza... b-ən-nəsba l-əl-ḡrūs lāḡ^{MSA}. b-ən-nəsba l-līlt əl-ḡərs hādīka yəlbsu ḡādi ksāwi w kull ḡāza... fhəmt? l-ḡərs yəṡməl ḡla zūz mṡāḡəl. l-mṡāḡə l-lūla hīya... tlāṡa mṡāḡəl əš-šdāq əlli hūwa ytaṡməl f-əž-žāməf əl-contrat əlli nqūlū-h aḡna əš-šdāq w-əl-mṡāḡə əṡ-tānya əlli hīya tətsamma l-ḡənnə əlli hīya l-fête l-ḡafṡa mtāf l-ḡrūsə mḡa l-famille w yəkrīw ṡāla kbīra walla ḡāza kif mən hākka. w-əl-mṡāḡə əṡ-tāṡa əlli hūwa līlt əl-mariage. līlt əl-mariage, hādīka yəlbsu fī-ha l-ḡādi costume w kāda qlī:::l əlli yži fi žəbba līlt əl-ḡərs qlīl ḡarṡa ḡarṡa ḡarṡa ən-nās l-kull tzi fi complet. [...] hā-ni quṡ-l-ək dīma ḡatta fi līlt əl-ḡənnə īda kān rīt wāḡəd lābəs əž-žəbba l-libās^{MSA} hāda rā-hu dīma yuqrub l-əl-ḡrūsə mā-yuqrub-š l-əl-ḡrūs l-aḡlabiyya^{MSA} dīma l- aḡlabiyya^{MSA} kīma yqūlu fī-ha bū-ha xū-ha ḡamm-ha xāl-ha fə-k-n-anwāf hādāka w muš b-əḡ-ḡarūra^{MSA} yəlbəs amma l- aḡlabiyya^{MSA} yəlbsu.*

SP23: *īda mā-yħabb-əš mā-yəlbəs-š.*

SP12: *āy hā-ni qutt-l-ək muš b-əḍ-ḍarūrā^{MSA}.*

Translation

SP12: This is a traditional garment. This traditional garment is dressed in specific events, which are celebrations and especially *šdāqāt*. The *šdāqāt* take place in the mosque. What does *šdāq* mean? The *šdāq* is the *contrat de mariage*. According to us, it is called *šdāq*.

[...]

SP23: And Kairouani *šdāq* is known in the Arab world.

SP12: It is known worldwide.

SP23: Kairouani *šdāq* is not like the *šdāq*...

SP12: [It] is not like outside⁴¹⁹. In other places, for example, in Tunis, it is signed⁴²⁰ in the municipality. In Kairouan [they are] few who sign in the municipality. All are signed in the mosque, they go to *Šahbi*, to *Sīdi Šahbi*, or the Great Mosque. Most – 90% of the *šdāqāt* –, [xxx] which is the marriage contract, this is called *šdāq* [and] it is signed in the mosque. This garment is dressed, did you understand? It is dressed by the family of the groom and the family of the bride, the relatives.

SP23: The bride's family, the groom's family, *les proches*, the relatives.

SP12: If [you are] at a *šdāq* and you see people wearing this garment, those are close [to the family]. He certainly is his father, brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, her maternal uncle or maternal aunt, did you understand? And they wear it during... We say during the *ħanna*.⁴²¹

SP23: During the *wṭīya*⁴²² there is a party for the bride; she does the *sahrīya*, which is the *soirée* for the *ħanna*. We call it the *ħanna*. They do it to the bride.

SP12: ...to the bride. This is the bride's wedding, the bride's wedding.

SP23: She does the *ħanna* and wears the clothes. The clothes are from Kairouan. I mean, it is work done in Kairouan.

SP12: Traditional dress.

SP23: Kairouani! If it is wedding [there is a] outfit, if it is *tārāyūn*, if it is...

⁴¹⁹ In the sense of 'elsewhere'.

⁴²⁰ The idiom *ktəb əš-šdāq* means 'to sign' a marriage contract.

⁴²¹ The *ħanna* night is a celebration linked to the wedding and often takes place the day before it. The highlight is the laying of decorative dye, called *ħanna*, on the hands of the future bride.

⁴²² Marriage celebration for the bride's family.

SP12: This jibba is also dressed during the *ḥanna* of the bride, I mean during the *fête* of the bride. We call it *ḥanna*. So, during the ‘complete’ marriage – of both – the majority dress in casual clothes. I mean, [xxx] [the jibba] is dressed for the [parties of] circumcisions [xxx]. It is always dressed by the very close ones who are the family, the maternal uncle, did you understand me? And the rest of the people who come – the guests – dress in an ordinary outfit. There is who comes in sportswear, there is who comes in a suit, etc. Regarding the groom, no. Regarding the wedding night, they dress normally, casual. Did you understand? The marriage is done in two stages. The first stage is... in three stages: the *ṣdāq*, which is done in the mosque. The contract and we call it *ṣdāq*. The second stage is called the *ḥanna*, which is the bride’s party with [her] family. They rent a big hall or something like that. The third stage is the marriage night. During this [night, people] dress normally, [like] suits and so on. There are few who dress in the jibba on the night of the wedding. It is very, very, very rare. Everyone comes in suit. [...] I always tell you that even on the *ḥanna* night, if you see someone wearing the jibba, this dress, [it means that] he is close to the bride, not to the groom. Most always, most always, as they say, are her father, brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle... that kind of relationship. They do not necessarily wear it, but most do.

SP23: If one does not want, one does not wear [it].

SP12: Yes, as I told you, it is not mandatory.

Text 8

hādīya xadmt-i... mā-w l-qayrawān^{MSA} ixtīšās mtāḥ-ḥa l-zarḇīya w-əl-maqrūd mtāḥ l-ḥalwa. qātt-l-ək əlli yzi zāyər əl-qayrawān^{MSA} yzūr žāməḥ ūqba w baḥd yzūr l-mathaf hādāy... w-əl-maqrūd hādāy ka taw əlli yzi zāyər... duqt əl-kəftāzi walla la? mā-zāl mā-xdīt-š əl-ḥārḥ əl-ḥārḥ... maḥnā-ha mutwassəḥ? hādāya bəš taḥməl mīṭru mṛabbaḥ šhaṛ. w hādāya l-kull əš-šəkəl mən ṛās-ha əš-šəkəl xātər hī^a tabda m-əlli ṣḡīra tabda, fhəmt-ⁿⁱ? mən ḥkāyət ūmūr-ha ṭnāš-ən sna tabda təxdəm bə-šwayya bə-šwayya ṭhuṭṭ kīma nqūlu nahna schéma tašwīra hīya tanqīla nqūlu fhəmt-ni? w baḥd bə-šwayya bə-šwayya twalli kull šayy mər-ṛās-ha. taw aḷḷāhumma šalli uḡzur kull-u mər-ṛās-ha. hādīya tətamma l-ḥallūša. l-ḥallūša alwān ṭabīḥīya^{MSA} žāya mən əsm əl-xarūf^{MSA} w famma nawḥ āxər l-marḡūm ka taw ḥarša əṭ-ṭālyān yaxdu l-marḡūm w l-klīm ḥarša. hādāya mataḷan^{MSA} l-marḡūm l-xədma mtāḥ-u mən l-wṛa yətxdəm fhəmt-ni? nafs əš-šūfamma xədma nawḥīya uxra. tawwa lli xārəž ḥarša hūwa l-marḡūm w-əl-klīm hādāy. hādāy nawḥ l-klīm yəxdmū-h l-barḇar nafs ət-tissage maḥnā-ha nafs əl-xədma amma nawḥ āxər. xātər fi-h

nawṣīn mən əl-klīm fī-h ən-nawṣ k-əlli ʕla waḏhīn w fī-h ən-nawṣ wḏah ɓark əlli waḏhīn tnaḏḏəm thuyt-u par terre w taʕlq-u hāḏi əl-klīm w hāḏāya maṭalan^{MSA} ki l-marḡūm xədm-t-u ythaṭt maʕnā-ha b-əl-qāʕa walla... [...] xātər fī-h nawṣīn m-əl-klīm, fhəmti? fī-h l-klīm talqā-h k-əlli mataḷan^{MSA} l-xīt ɓarka haḏaya xədm-t-u tlāṭa xyūt aḏwəd l-xədma mtāʕ-u rīt-u? w-ət-ṭlāyən yəṣru ɓarša taʕrəf ki nqul-l-ək? təsʕa w təsṣīn f-əl-mīya yəṣru lli kīma hāḏūma ət-ṭlāyən. famma qurābat^{MSA} xamsa ālāf ʕāyla yusknu f-əl-ḥammāmāt wīn yḏīw dyūf yḏīw yəṣrīw m-əl-hna walla yḏīw k-əl sāyəḥ yḏi ət-ṭalyāni yəṣri dīma. [...] w-īḏa taʕzḏ-ək hāḏa ṣūm l-uxt-ək w-ənti tawwa qarwīya ʕād. [...] qbal hāḏāya maṭalan^{MSA} kān ən-naqš mtāʕ-u yəxdmū-h xədmət yədd hāḏāya tawwa xədmət yədd. tawwa hīya maṣhūra bə-h mən sfāqəs mtāʕ sfāqəs hīya lli taʕməl hāḏaya walla maṭalan^{MSA} yətxədmu b-əl-mākīna yḏībū-hum hāḏrīn yətxədmu hāḏūma aṣl-hum yəxdmu fī-hum lə-mṣārwa. hūma sfāqsīya yḏībū-hum f-əl-mṣāra tawwa hāḏūma rīt š-yaʕmlu yḥuyt-u əl-lūḥ direct b-əl-mākīna, fhəmt-ni? ywalli axaff hāḏāka ʕlāš xḏif hāḏāya uḡzur waḥd-ək mā-tnaḏḏəm-š thəzz-u. fhəmt šnūwa? hūma tawwa yaʕmlu ṭabqət əl-lūḥ w ʕamlu d-décor axaff ɓarša. kān thəbb nwarīw-l-ək marḡūm walla thəbb tṣūf hāḏa rā-hu lə-hna ṣūm maʕnā-ha l-uxt-i xātər tawwa l-marḡūm famma l-marḡūm xārəḏ ɓarša w famma l-klīm famma l-marḡūm. hāḏāya maṭalan^{MSA} l-marḡūm hāḏāya xədm-t-u tlāṭa aṣhūr xədm-t-u. [...] mā-hu bḏīn hāḏa tlāṭa xyūt xədma ḏwayyda ɓarša mtāʕ-u w mā-talqā-ši zūz ki bʕaḏ-hum xātər kull šuḡl yadāwi^{MSA} xātər kull šuḡl yadāwi^{MSA} mā-talqā-ši zūz yəṣbbhu l-bʕaḏ-hum.

Translation

This is my work... Indeed, the specialties of Kairouan are carpets and date makrout. She told you that a tourist who comes to visit Kairouan, visits the Uqba's Mosque, and after he visits this museum. And this makrout, as of now those who come to visit... Have you tasted the Kafteji or not? Have you not gotten the hot spicy yet... or [just] the spicy? She takes a month to do a square meter. And all these decorative patterns came from her creativity because she started as a child, did you understand? Since she was twelve years old. She started working little by little. She puts – as we say – a pattern. It is a photo, a copy, we say. Did you understand? And then, little by little, it becomes something of her imagination. Now, God send blessings [upon the Prophet], look, all come from her creativity. This one is called the *ʕallūša*⁴²³. The *ʕallūša* [has] natural colors. It comes from the name of the sheep. And there is another type: the *marḡūm*. As of now, a lot of Italians

⁴²³ *ʕallūša* means 'sheep'^{FEM}.

take the *margūm* and the *klīm*, a lot. For example, the work of this *margūm* is done from behind. Did you understand me? It is the same wool, but the type of work is different. Now what sells most is the *margūm* and this *klīm*. This one is a type of *klīm* made by the Berbers. It is the same weaving, I mean, the same work but of another type. Because there are two types of *klīm*. There is the type that is [embroidered] on both sides, and there is the type [embroidered] only on one side. The one of both sides, you can put it on the ground or hang it up. This one, for example, is like the *margūm* in its work. It is placed on the ground or... [...] Because there are two types of *klīm*, did you understand? There is the *klīm* that you find, like the one, for example, that [has] a single thread. This one is made of three threads and its work is the thinnest, did you see? The Italians buy a lot, you know. How [can] I tell you? The 99% who buy ones like this are Italians. Nearly five thousand families are living in Hammamet, when they have guests, they come to buy here, or they come like tourists. The Italians always come to buy. [...] And if you like something [I do to you] a price like for a sister and, in addition, you now are Kairouani. [...] Before this one, for example, its decoration was handmade. This is now handmade. Now she is famous for it in Sfax. In Sfax, she is who does [it]. Or, for example, they are machine-made. They bring them done. These are worked and come from the Egyptians. They are Sfaxi. They bring them to Egypt. Now you have seen how they make them. They put the plank directly in the machine, did you understand? It becomes lighter. That is why it is light. This, look, you cannot lift it by yourself. Do you understand how? They now do a layer of wood, and they do the decoration. It is much lighter. If you want, we show you the *margūm*, or if you want to see something, the price here is [like] to my sister, I mean because now the *margūm* sells a lot. And there is the *klīm*. There is the *margūm*. For example, this is a *margūm*. The working time of this is three months. [...] In fact, it is not thick [it is made with] three threads. It is very fine work. And you do not find two identical among them because it is an artisanal work, because it is an artisanal work. You do not find two that look alike.

Text 9

SP22: *amma hā-nu lə-šzāž hā-nu uǧzur lə-šzāž!*

SP23: *š-šān-na fī-h lə-šzāž?*

SP22: *āy š-šān-na fī-h? taw tži ənti tamsaḥ-hā-l-i.*

SP30: *taw našml-u āna. stanna ər-rīḥ yaṛkaḥ šwayya.*

SP31: [female proper name], *m-əd-dūr əd-dūr w mā-talqa kān mīmāt-ha lli bə-ḥdā-ha hīya lli talqā-ha.*

SP23: *ṛaḥḥ-i yfaḍḍal-ha.*

SP22: *kull-hum mən bnayyāt-i la, uxayyt-i ḥatta hādīka bənt-i qbal-hum l-kull. hādīka bənt-i qbal-hum.*

SP31: *naṣṛəf mais hādīka əd-dāyma.*

SP30: *hādīya əd-dāyma.*

SP22: *la, kull-hum dāymīn nša!!āh kull-hum daymīn, uxayyt-i.*

SP30: *ma ḥlā-hu [male proper name] žā-ni yṣannaq-ni ybūs-ni.*

SP23: *kān tṛa [female proper name] mā-hi aṭwal mənn-u hākka habbaṭ-ha mən ṛās-ha bəš ybūs-ha. škūn lli mšā-l-ha? xālt-i [second female proper name] zāda b-əl-ḥamla*

SP30: *ḥməl-ni āna zāda hākka tawwa...*

SP30: *hayya ṛaḥḥ-i yəhdi-h.*

SP22: [male proper name], *mā-rīt-ū-š.* [male proper name], *hādāka...*

SP23: [male proper name] *mā-yaqrā-š. ḥirri yətxabba fi bṣaḍ lə-ḥlāys.*

SP30: Je ne l'ai pas vu encore, *mā-rīt-ū-š.*

SP23: *lṣabt ḥlī-h w hūwa fi kəṛš-i [male proper name] mā-lṣabt šayy ḥlī-h. mənn-i ḥābla w hīya talṣab w tbūs tətfakkar-u? talṣab w tbūs tətfakkar-ə?*

SP30: *āy nətfakkar rīt-u rīt-ək f-əl-wlāda tānya zāda.*

SP30: *āy āy žāt w rāt-u ṣamnāwwəl zāda.*

SP23: *ti ḥatta f-əṭ-ṭhūr mā-k-š lə-hna ənti?*

SP30: *t-əṭ-ṭhūr la. ṛawwaḥt peut-être žumṣa qbal əṭ-ṭhūr, je crois. ḥāža hākka ayyāmāt.*

SP31: *la, waqt əlli ṭḥart-l-u ənti mā-žīt-š l-ṣām hādāka.*

SP23: *f-əl-wlāda žāt, f-əl-wlāda.*

SP31: *āy, f-əl-wlāda žāt.*

SP23: *f-əl-wlāda.*

Translation

SP22: Here, the dust! Look at the dust!

SP23: What do we care about the dust?

SP22: Of course, what do we care? Now you come to sweep me it.

SP30: I am going to do it. Wait for the wind to calm down a bit.

SP31: [female proper name], she turns and turns and only finds her mother, who is by her side. She is the one he finds.

SP23: May God please her.

SP22: They are all my daughters. Not, my little sister, even that one is my daughter before them all, that one is my daughter before them.

SP31: I know, but that one is the one who stays [always].

SP30: That one is the one who stays.

SP22: Not. They all stay, God willing. They all stay, my little sister.

SP30: How cute he is! [male proper name] came to hug and kiss me.

SP23: If you see [female proper name], she is taller than him. So, he lower her head to kiss her. Who was the one that came to her? My aunt [second female proper name], [he] also hugged [her].

SP30: He hugged me too. So, now...

SP30: May God guide him.

SP22: [male proper name], I have not seen him. That [male proper name]...

SP23: [male proper name] has no school. He is wild, he hides somewhere.

SP30: *Je ne l'ai pas vu encore*, I have not seen him.

SP23: You played with him while he was in my bump, [male proper name]. So many things you did to him! Since I was pregnant, and she played and kissed [my womb], do you remember it? You played and kissed [my womb], do you remember?

SP30: Yes, I remember I saw him. I saw you at your second birth too.

SP30: Yes, she came, and she saw him last year too.

SP23: But you were not here even for the circumcision?

SP30: For the circumcision, not. I came back maybe a week before the circumcision, I think. Something like that, some days [before].

SP31: Not. When I circumcised him, you did not come that year.

SP23: She came for the birth, for the birth.

SP31: Yes, she came for the birth.

SP23: For the birth.

Text 10

SP26: *ṛā-hu famma faṛq bīn anti ḍayyāft-ni w qutt-l-i iṛza kūl w famma faṛq āna žāyba ən-nās w dāfṣa l-flūs. bāhi yṣayyāš uxt-i. ṛā-hu famma faṛq bīn anti stadṣīt-ni w qutt-l-i iṛza anti taww^a qāṣda... [xxx] l-maqṛūd, ṛā-w ma xḍāw-h mən ṣand wāḥəd əž-ždīd tful ždīd xḍāw blāš hā-w bəš nqul-l-ək nsīt mā-qutt-l-ək-ši āna ṣahḥayyət ma ḥlā-k l-bārəḥ ḅarka āna qutt-əl-ha [female proper name] mā-taṣṣfū-hā-š [female proper name] mā-hī-ši žṣāna*

āna qult [female proper name] *dāru ḥī-ya. hayya šnu rāy-ək? āna kunt bəš nxaddəm*
[female proper name] *f-əl-maqrūd qālu-l-i mā-txaddəm-š* [female proper name] *xaddəm*
flāna w faltāna ḥand-ha sġār w hādika [female proper name] *mā-ḥand-hā-š əs-sġār u...*
šūflə-ḥbād!

SP19: [female proper name] *mā-ḥand-hā-š xədma, mā-ḥand-hā-š...*

SP26: *āy, la mā-ḥand-hā-š kṛwāt w* [female proper name] *mā-ḥand-hā-š maṣrūf w mā-*
ḥand-hā-š sġār.

SP19: *əsməf famma farq wāḥəd bīn...*

SP26: *fhəmt naḥna ḥlāš mā-nanzḥū-š fi hā-l-blād?*

SP19: *āy... wāḥəd w yətzāwəf wāḥəd yabda sākət kān ḥand-u walla mā-ḥand-ū-š mā-*
yḍāhar ḥlī-h ḥat^{ta} šayy.

SP26: *āna wallāh la, nzarri nqūl flān mā-ḥand-ū-š sġār w flān mā-ḥand-ū-š maṣārīf^{MSA}*
mā-yəsthəqq-š wallāhi la nqūl kull ḥadd yaḥlam bī-h raḥḥ-i kull wāḥəd w ḍūrūf-u.

SP19: *əsməf-ni.*

SP26: *famma nās trā-hum mā-ḥand-hā-š əs-sġār w dār-ha mək w ḥand-ha karḥba*
maḍəxma w mā-tədrī-š ḥlī-ha šnawwa famma nās amrād...

SP19: *wallāh l-wāḥəd yaḥlam ḥlī-h raḥḥ-i.*

SP26: *...kull wāḥəd ḥand-u ḍūrūf-u yāna ḥarfū-ni məš nmīl l-[female proper name] məš*
nxaddəm [female proper name] *š-ḥan-na fī-h dāru ḥī-ya kalləmt* [second female proper
name]. [second female proper name] *kəlmīn ənti mā-w aḥna mā-nəkḍab-š ḥlī-k āna*
[second female proper name] *rā-ha ḥazbət-ni ḥ-əl-āxər dāru ḥī-ya fukk ḥlī-k mən-*[second
female proper name] *āna wmūr-ha mā-rīt ḥlā-ha šayy la qātt-l-i aṭlaḥ mḥā-ya fi karḥ^{ba}. la*
qātt-l-i əmši mḥā-ya l-dā'. la, ti mā-w hādūma l-ḥāzāt l_xāybīⁿ āna.

SP19: *muš-ni sġayyṛa naḥrəf.*

Translation

SP26: There is a difference between you [who] invited me and said to me, ‘come! eat!’ and there is a difference [between] me bringing people and spending money. Thank you, my sister. There is a difference between you [who] invited me to come and said to me ‘come!’ [and] you are now seated... [xxx] [Regarding] the makrout, we took them from one new – a new guy – they took them for free, just to tell you. I forgot to tell you. Congratulations! How beautiful you are! Just yesterday, I told her, ‘[female proper name], you do not know [female proper name] she is not hungry’. I said [female proper name], and they surrounded me. So, what do you think? I was going to employ [female proper

name] for the makrout. They said to me, ‘you do not employ [female proper name]. Employ this lady and that lady, she has children, and this one, [female proper name], she has no children...’ Look at the people!

SP19: [female proper name] does not have a job, does not have...

SP26: Yes, not. [female proper name] has no rents, she has no expenses, and she has no children.

SP19: Listen, there is one difference between...

SP26: Do you understand why we do not succeed in this country?

SP19: Yes... one acts hungry, one keeps silent. If one has or has not, he does not show at all.

SP26: I swear not. I would never dare to say someone has no children and someone has no expenses, does not need. I swear I do not say [that]. Only God knows about each one, about everyone’s situation.

SP19: Listen to me.

SP26: There are people – you see them – they have no children, and they own a house, and they have a luxurious car, and you do not know how. There are sick people...

SP19: I swear, only God knows about a person.

SP26: ...Everyone has his situation. They knew that I would have been inclined to [female proper name] to employ [female proper name]. Who cares? They surrounded me. I spoke to [second female proper name]. ‘[second female proper name], two words, I do not lie to you [second female proper name]. I liked her too much’; they took me to task ‘drop it [second female proper name]’. I, it’s her business I did not see anything of her, she never told me to get in a car with me or tell me to come with me in the house, since that is the bad thing.

SP19: I am not a child, I know.

Glossary⁴²⁴

<i>(ə)lli/əlla</i> : relative marker	<i>awwəl</i> : first > <i>əl-lūl</i> /, <i>l-ūlāni</i> , <i>əl-lūla</i> ^{FEM} :
<i>ā</i> : vocative, see <i>ya</i>	the first
<i>abyaḍ</i> , <i>byuḍ</i> ^{PL} : white	<i>axḍar</i> , <i>xaxḍra</i> ^{FEM} , <i>xḍur</i> ^{PL} : green
<i>aḡlabiyya</i> ^{MSA} : majority	<i>āxəṛ</i> , <i>uxṛa</i> ^{FEM} , <i>uxṛīn</i> ^{PL} : other, another >
<i>aḥmar</i> : red	<i>ʕla-l-āxəṛ</i> : too much
<i>aḥna</i> : we	<i>āy</i> : yes
<i>aḥsan</i> ^{EL} : better, best	<i>āya</i> , <i>āyāt</i> ^{PL} : (Kuranic) verses
<i>akḥal</i> , <i>kaḥla</i> ^{FEM} , <i>kḥul</i> ^{PL} : black	<i>aywa</i> : yes
<i>akṭar...mən</i> : more...than	<i>ayy</i> : each, any
<i>akṭar</i> ^{EL} : bigger, biggest, more	<i>azraq</i> , <i>zarqa</i> ^{FEM} , <i>zruq</i> ^{PL} : blue
<i>alf</i> , <i>ālāf</i> ^{PL} : thousand	<i>aʕma</i> , <i>ʕamya</i> ^{FEM} , <i>ʕmi</i> ^{PL} : blind
<i>aḷlāhumma ʕalli</i> : God send blessings	<i>aʕnāq</i> ^{PL} : necks
upon the Prophet	<i>aʕrəž</i> , <i>ʕaržā</i> ^{FEM} , <i>ʕruž</i> ^{PL} : lame
<i>amma</i> : but	<i>bāb</i> , <i>bībān</i> ^{PL} : door
<i>āna</i> : I	<i>ḃāḃa</i> : dad
<i>āpāl</i> , <i>āpālāt</i> ^{PL} : call	<i>babbūš</i> : snails
<i>aṛbʕa</i> : four	<i>baddəl</i> , <i>ybaddəl</i> : to change
<i>aṛbʕīn</i> : forty	<i>baḡla</i> : mule ^{FEM}
<i>aṛḍ</i> : earth	<i>baḡra</i> : cow
<i>aʕfar</i> : yellow	<i>bāhi</i> , <i>bāhya</i> ^{FEM} : okay, good
<i>āšīl</i> : hailing from	<i>bāl</i> , <i>ybūl</i> : to pee
<i>āš</i> ^{INT} : what? > <i>fāš</i> ^{INT} : what?	<i>baladīya</i> ^{MSA} : municipality
<i>aʕl</i> : originally, basically	<i>bān</i> , <i>ybān</i> : to seem
<i>ašžār</i> ^{PL} : trees	<i>bānān</i> : banana
<i>aʕʕab</i> ^{EL} : difficult	<i>bankāzi</i> : bank clerk
<i>aṭraš</i> , <i>ṭarša</i> ^{FEM} , <i>ṭruš</i> ^{PL} : deaf	<i>baqiyya</i> ^{MSA} : rest
	<i>baṛbaṛ</i> : Berbers

⁴²⁴ This glossary lists the main lexical items mentioned in this dissertation and collected during the interviews carried out for this study. For greater exhaustiveness, the entries relating to numerals, days of the week, months of the year, simple and compound adverbs, particles, prepositions, and conjunctions are to be consulted in the dedicated sections in chapters four and five.

<i>bārād</i> : cold	<i>blāš</i> : without, free > <i>xīr mən blāš</i> better than nothing
<i>bārəḥ</i> > <i>əl-bārəḥ</i> , <i>mbārəḥ</i> : yesterday	<i>blāša</i> , <i>blāyṣ</i> ^{PL} : place
<i>bārək</i> , <i>ybārək ʕla</i> : to bless	<i>bnayya</i> ^{DIM} , <i>bnayyāt</i> ^{PL} : girl
<i>baṛk(a)</i> : only	<i>bnīn</i> : good, tasty
<i>baṛnūs</i> : burnous	<i>bqiyya</i> ^{MSA} : rest
<i>baṛra</i> : outside, abroad, go ^{IMP} away	<i>brəd</i> , <i>yəbrəd</i> : to get cold
<i>baṛṛād</i> : teapot	<i>brīk</i> : brik
<i>baṛṛāni</i> , <i>baṛṛānīya</i> ^{FEM} : external	<i>brūda</i> : fresh air
<i>baṛša</i> : a lot, many, much	<i>bṣal</i> : onions
<i>bās</i> , <i>ybūs</i> : to kiss	<i>bsīsa</i> : cream of shaken grains and nuts mixed with milk and oil
<i>bāš</i> : tarpaulin	<i>bṭīn</i> : thick
<i>bāṭāṭa</i> : potatoes	<i>bu</i> : father > <i>bu</i> + adjective: used to create nicknames
<i>baṭṭāl</i> , <i>baṭṭāl</i> ^{PL} : unemployed	<i>buhayra</i> , <i>buhayrāt</i> ^{PL} : lake
<i>baṭṭīx</i> : melon	<i>buṛgdān</i> : oranges
<i>bāy</i> : Bey	<i>būšāš</i> : apricots
<i>bāy</i> : bye	<i>bustāži</i> : postman
<i>bāš</i> , <i>ybīš</i> : to sell	<i>ḥwāta</i> : disco
<i>bašd</i> : after, beyond, then > <i>bašd ma</i> : after that	<i>byāḍ</i> , <i>yəbyāḍ</i> : to become white
<i>bašdīka</i> : after a while, just beyond	<i>bṣaḍ</i> + definite plural noun: some > <i>mṣa</i>
<i>bda</i> , <i>yabda</i> : to start	<i>bṣaḍ</i> : together; <i>bṣaḍ</i> + suffix pronoun: each other
<i>bəkri</i> : before, earlier	<i>bṣaṭ</i> , <i>yabṣaṭ</i> : to send
<i>bəlyūn</i> , <i>blāyn</i> ^{PL} : billion	<i>bṣīd</i> , <i>bṣād</i> ^{PL} : far > <i>bṣīd ʕla</i> : far from
<i>bənt</i> , <i>bnāt</i> ^{PL} : daughter, girl	<i>ḍāb</i> , <i>yḍūb</i> : to melt
<i>bəš</i> : to, for, in order to; future marker	<i>dabbūza</i> , <i>dbībza</i> ^{DIM} , <i>dbābəz</i> ^{PL} : bottle
<i>bəsklāt</i> : bike	<i>ḍabt</i> > <i>b-əḍ-ḍabt</i> : exactly
<i>bḥar</i> : sea	<i>dāfəš</i> , <i>dāfṣa</i> ^{FEM} : paying
<i>bi</i> : by, with, through	<i>dagla</i> : type of dates
<i>bīn</i> : between, among	<i>ḍaḡt</i> : pressure
<i>bīr</i> : spring	<i>ḍahhar</i> , <i>yḍahhar</i> : to show
<i>bīri</i> : wild	<i>ḍakkəṛ</i> , <i>yḍakkəṛ</i> : to remember
<i>bīskwīt</i> : cookie	
<i>bīt</i> , <i>byūt</i> ^{PL} : room	
<i>blād</i> : city, country	

<i>damm</i> : blood	<i>dūra</i> : walk
<i>danfīl</i> : dolphin	<i>ḏūrūf</i> ^{PL} : situations
<i>ḏāq, yḏūq</i> : to taste	<i>duxxān</i> : smoking
<i>daqq, yduqq</i> : to knock	<i>dwa, dwāyāt</i> ^{PL} : medicine
<i>dār, dyār</i> ^{PL} : home	<i>dxal, yudxul</i> : to get in
<i>dār, ydūr</i> : to go around, to turn	<i>džāž</i> : chicken
<i>ḏarūrā</i> ^{MSA} > <i>b-əḏ-ḏarūrā</i> : mandatory	<i>əḥdās</i> : eleven
<i>dāwa, ydāwi</i> : to treat	<i>əl-</i> : definite article
<i>dawla</i> ^{MSA} , <i>ḏwal</i> ^{PL} : state	<i>ənšallāh</i> : God willing > <i>nšallāh ḡāləb</i>
<i>dawwəṛ, ydawwəṛ</i> : to make something spin	<i>ʕād</i> : God is the strongest
<i>dawwəš, ydawwəš</i> : to take a shower	<i>ənṭa</i> : feminine
<i>dāxəl</i> : inside	<i>ənti</i> : you
<i>dāyax</i> : stunned	<i>əntūma</i> : you ^{PL}
<i>dāyma</i> ^{FEM} , <i>dāymīn</i> ^{PL} : staying	<i>əsm</i> : name
<i>ḏayyaf, yḏayyaf</i> : to host	<i>fāhma</i> : understanding ^{FEM}
<i>ḏāʕ, yḏīʕ</i> : to be lost	<i>fākha</i> : nuts, dried fruits
<i>dəgla</i> : type of dattes	<i>fakk, yfukk ʕla</i> + personal pronoun
<i>ḏəḡt</i> : pressure	<i>mən-</i> : to give something up
<i>dəllāʕ</i> : watermelons	<i>fakrūn</i> : turtle
<i>ḏhab</i> : gold	<i>fallāḥ</i> : farmer
<i>ḏhar, yuḏhur</i> : to appear, to take a shape	<i>famm</i> : mouth
<i>ḏīf, dyūf</i> : guest	<i>famma/mā-fammā-š</i> : there is/there is not
<i>dīma</i> : always	<i>fār</i> : mouse
<i>dīn</i> : religion	<i>farḥ, afrāḥ</i> ^{PL} : celebration
<i>dīnār</i> : dinar	<i>farḥān, farḥāna</i> ^{FEM} , <i>farḥānīn</i> ^{PL} : happy
<i>dirāsa</i> ^{MSA} : studies	<i>farḥəd, yfarḥəd</i> : to amuse
<i>ḏkar</i> : male	<i>fārīna</i> : flour
<i>dqīqa</i> : minute	<i>farq</i> : difference
<i>dra, yadri</i> : to know	<i>farš</i> : bed
<i>ḏrab</i> + suffix pron. + <i>b-əd-dwa</i> : to prescribe someone medicine	<i>fašl</i> : season
<i>ḏrab, yaḏrab</i> : to beat	<i>fažʕa</i> : fear
<i>duktūra</i> : professor ^{FEM}	<i>fəkrā</i> : idea
	<i>fəlfəl</i> : peppers
	<i>fəršīta</i> : fork

fətrə: period of time > *f-əl-fətrə*: at that time
fhəm, yəfhəm: to understand
fi: in, at > *fi* + personal pronoun: there is/are, to be made up of
fī-ha...kān: there is/are only
fīl: elephant
fīlm, aflām^{PL}: film
flān(i), flāna^{FEM}: so-and-so
flūs: money
franši: French language
franšīš: French^{PL}
frāz: strawberries
frīpāzi: second-hand clothing store clerk
frīšk: fresh
frīzīdār: fridge
ftah, yəftah: to conquer
ftūr: breakfast
fūl: beans
fūq: above
fūr: oven
furšīta: fork
fusha: Standard Arabic
gadd, ygədd (fi): can, to be able to
gādi, gādīkāya: there
gāli, gālya^{FEM}, aġla^{EL}: expensive
gāməq: dark
gamra: moon
ganna, yganni: to sing
ġarḃāl: sieve
ġarḃəl, yġarḃəl: to filter
ġarḃn: horn
ġaššəš, yġaššəš: to make somebody angry

ġaššūš > bu ġaššūš: irascible
ġaṭṭa, yġaṭṭi: to cover
gāz: gas
gāzūz: soft drinks
gda > b-əl-gda: very well
grāwš: sweet shortcrust pastry, fried and soaked in honey
graf: bald
gri: grey
ġsal, yaġsəl: to clean
ġudwa: tomorrow > *bašd ġudwa*: the day after tomorrow, *bašd ġudwtīn* the day after the day after tomorrow
ġušš: anger
ġzar, yuġzur: to see
hā- + personal suffixed pronoun: presentative
ħabb, yħabb: to want
ħabbaṭ, yħabbaṭ: to lower
hāda: this
hāḏāka: that
hādāy(a): see *hāda*
ħadd: someone > *ħatta ħadd* nobody
ħāḏər, ħāḏrīn^{PL}: ready, done, finished
hādi: this^{FEM}
hāḏīka: that^{FEM}
hādīy(a): see *hādi*
ħāḏra: preparing^{FEM}
hāḏūka: those
hāḏūkum: see *hāḏūka*
hādūma: these
ħāfda: saving^{FEM}
ħafla: celebration, party

hākka hāw, khāw, hākkāka, kāka: that is all
hākkā(ka): so; > *ka taw*: as of now
hāl, aḥwāl^{PL}: condition, situation
hall, yhall: to open
hallūf: pig
halwa: type of date
ḥamdullāh: praise be to God
ḥamla: cuddle
ḥammāmāt: Hammamet
handsa maʿmārīya: Architectural Engineering
handsa: engineering
ḥānūt: shop
haqq: right > *b-əl-haqq*: really, actually
ḥarbūša: pills
ḥārṛ: spicy
ḥāšā-k: far be it from you
ḥass, yḥass bi: to feel something
ḥaṭṭ, yḥuṭṭ: to put
ḥaṭṭa: also, even > *ḥatta marṛa*: never,
ḥatta šayy: nothing
ḥāwəl, yḥāwəl: to try
ḥāžza, ḥwāyž^{PL}, ḥwīžza^{DIM}: thing, something
ḥažra: a stone
hazz, yḥazz: to hold, to take > *hazz ʕla* + suffix pronoun: to answer someone's phone
hāžž: elderly man
ḥažž: pilgrimage
ḥažžām, ḥažžāma^{PL}: hairdresser
hba, yahbi: to crawl
hbaṭ, yḥbaṭ: to go down

ḥda > bə-ḥda: at, near
hda, yḥdi: to give (a gift) > > *ṛabb-i*
yḥdi + suffix pronoun: May God guide someone
ḥakma: wisdom
ḥanna: henna
ḥəžri: Hijri era
ḥīya: she
ḥka, yaḥki: to speak
ḥkāya, ḥkāyāt^{PL}: story, issue > *mən*
ḥkāya + noun: since, from
ḥlīb: milk
ḥlu, aḥla^{EL}: sweet
ḥmār, yḥmār: to become red
ḥməl, yaḥməl: to hug
hna: here > *l-hna*: here, to here
ḥqīqa: truth
hrīssa: hot chili pepper paste
ḥṣān: horse
ḥtall, yḥtall: to occupy
ḥtāž, yḥtāž: to need
ḥtram, yḥtram: to respect
ḥubb: love
ḥūma, ḥwam^{PL}: neighborhood
hūma: they
ḥurṛ: free
ḥūt: fish
hūwa: he
īd, īdīn^{PL}: hand > *b-īd-i*: myself
īda: if
īmām: Imam
īnglīzi: English
ixtīšāš: speciality
kādu, kādwāt^{PL}: gift

<i>kalləm, ykalləm</i> : to call	<i>kī(ma)</i> : like, as
<i>kāməl</i> : full, complete	<i>kīfās^{INT}</i> : how?
<i>kamməl, ykamməl</i> : to finish, to complete	<i>kla, yākul</i> : to eat
<i>kān, ykūn</i> : to be	<i>klām</i> : talk
<i>kān</i> : if, only > <i>īda kān</i> : if; <i>law kān</i> : if, whether	<i>klīm</i> : type of carpet
<i>kapta, ykapti</i> : to understand	<i>klīnīk</i> : clinic
<i>kār, kīrān^{PL}</i> : bus	<i>kra, kṛwāt</i> : rent
<i>kaṛhba, kṛāhāb^{PL}</i> : car	<i>kra, yākṛi</i> : to rent
<i>kaṛmūš</i> : figs	<i>krah, yakrah</i> : to hate
<i>kārīa</i> : catastrophe	<i>ktāb, ktub/ktība^{PL}</i> : book
<i>kās, kīsān^{PL}</i> : glass	<i>ktāb, yāktāb</i> : to write
<i>kaskās</i> : pot for cooking the couscous	<i>ktība</i> : inscriptions
<i>kaskəs, ykaskəs</i> : to make couscous	<i>ktur, yuḳtur</i> : to increase
<i>kaskrūt</i> : sandwich	<i>kūfi</i> : Kufic
<i>kassar, ykassar</i> : to break	<i>kūktāl</i> : cocktail
<i>kaṣba</i> : piece	<i>kull</i> : each > <i>əl-kull</i> : everything, all; <i>kull ṣayy</i> : everything, etc.; <i>kull yūm</i> : every day; <i>b-əl-kull</i> : totally
<i>kbər, yākbər</i> : to grow	<i>kūra</i> : ball
<i>kbīr, kbīra^{FEM}, kbār^{PL}, akbaṛ^{EL}</i> : big	<i>kuṛsi, kṛāsi^{PL}</i> : chair
<i>kḍab, yāḍab ʕla</i> + personal pronoun: to lie to someone	<i>kuṛsi</i> : chair
<i>kabda</i> : liver	<i>kūša</i> : bakery
<i>kāftāzi</i> : typical Kairouani dish or sandwich.	<i>kusksi</i> : couscous
<i>kaḷḷ, klayyāb^{DIM}, klāb^{PL}</i> : dog, dirty dog (dysphemism)	<i>kūžīna</i> : kitchen
<i>kālba</i> : dog ^{FEM} , scoundrel ^{FEM}	<i>l-</i> : to
<i>kālma</i> : word	<i>la bās</i> : fine > <i>la bās^{INT}</i> : how are you?
<i>kānna</i> : daughter-in-law	<i>la</i> : no
<i>kārš</i> : belly, bump	<i>lābəs</i> : dressing
<i>kārwiya</i> : caraway (spice)	<i>labsa</i> : dress
<i>kāswa, ksāwi^{PL}</i> : clothes	<i>lahḥam, ylahḥam</i> : to weld
<i>kī(f)</i> : like, as, when, as soon as > <i>kīf kīf</i> : the same	<i>lāhi</i> : busy
	<i>lākən</i> : but
	<i>lālla</i> : Madame

<i>lām</i> : blade	<i>madṛsa</i> : school
<i>lamma, ylammi</i> : to pick up	<i>maḍṛūb</i> : exhausted
<i>laymūna, līm^{PL}</i> : lemon	<i>maḥzūṣa</i> : scared ^{FEM}
<i>lāzəm</i> + suffix pronoun: to have to, must	<i>maḥlūl, maḥlūla^{FEM}</i> : open
<i>lāʔ</i> : see <i>la</i>	<i>makbūs, makbūsa^{FEM}</i> : stressed
<i>laʕb</i> : play	<i>mākīna</i> : machine
<i>lbəs, yəlbəs</i> : to wear	<i>mākla</i> : food
<i>l-əxrāni, l-əxrāniya^{FEM}</i> : the last one	<i>maktba</i> : library
<i>lḥam</i> : meat	<i>maktūb</i> : fate
<i>libās^{MSA}</i> : garment	<i>māl, ymīl</i> : to be inclined to
<i>lībi, lībīyīn^{PL}</i> : Libyan	<i>mallaḫ, mallāxa</i> : shoe repairer
<i>līla</i> : night > <i>əl-līla</i> : tonight	<i>malyūn, mlāyn^{PL}</i> : million
<i>līn</i> : until	<i>maqrūd</i> : makrout (typical Kairouani sweets)
<i>lmaʕ, yəlmaʕ</i> : to shine	<i>maqrūna</i> : noodles
<i>lqa, yalqa</i> : to find	<i>maṛḍa^{PL}</i> : illness
<i>ltəmm, yəltəmm</i> : to collect	<i>maṛgūm</i> : type of carpet
<i>lūga, lūgāt^{PL}</i> : language	<i>maṛḥāba</i> : welcome, <i>maṛḥāba bi</i> + suffix pronoun: welcome to someone
<i>lūḥ</i> : wood, plank	<i>maṛṛa, maṛṛāt^{PL}</i> : time > <i>kull maṛṛa</i> : each time, <i>ḥatta maṛṛa</i> : never, <i>maṛṛāt</i> : sometimes
<i>l-ūlāni, l-ūlāniya^{FEM}</i> : the first one	<i>māšaʕlāh</i> : God has willed it
<i>lūm</i> : blame	<i>masdūd</i> : blocked
<i>lūn, alwān^{PL}</i> : color	<i>mašhūr, mašhūra^{FEM}</i> : famous
<i>lūnāt, lūnātāt^{PL}</i> : glasses	<i>maṣṛūf, maṣārīf^{MSA.PL}</i> : expense
<i>lwāz, lwāzāt^{PL}</i> : collective van	<i>mašwī</i> : grilled
<i>lʕab, yalʕab</i> : pronoun: to play	<i>maszəd</i> : mosque
<i>mā-</i> + personal suffixed pronoun: presentative	<i>māt, ymūt</i> : to die
<i>ma bīn</i> : between	<i>maṭalan^{MSA}</i> : for instance, for example
<i>ma dām</i> : since	<i>maṭhaf</i> : museum
<i>ma(ḥa)</i> : mum	<i>maṭḥūn</i> : powdered
<i>ma</i> : water	<i>mawlūd, mawlūda^{FEM}</i> : born
<i>ma...kān</i> : only	<i>mawzūd</i> : present, existing
<i>mabrūk^{MSA}</i> : congratulations	
<i>maḍəxm^{MSA}, maḍəxma^{MSA.FEM}</i> : luxurious	

<i>mawżūfa</i> : suffering ^{FEM}	<i>mīlādi</i> : Christian Era (CE)
<i>maxdūm, maxdūmīn^{PL}</i> : worked >	<i>mīlyār, mīlyārāt^{PL}</i> : billion
<i>maxdūm b-əl-yədd</i> : hand-worked	<i>mīma</i> : grandmother
<i>maxxar</i> : late	<i>minā^{MSA}</i> : harbor
<i>mā-zāl</i> in negative sentence: not yet	<i>mitāl^{MSA}</i> : example
<i>mā-zāl</i> in positive sentence: still	<i>mītru</i> : meter
<i>mā-ḡād-š</i> : no longer	<i>mīya, mīyāt^{PL}</i> : hundred
<i>maḡda</i> : stomach	<i>mnīn^{INT}</i> : from where?
<i>maḡdnūs</i> : parsley	<i>mṛa, nsa^{PL}</i> : women
<i>mā^{MSA}</i> : see <i>ma</i>	<i>mṛabbaḡ</i> : square
<i>maḡna</i> : meaning > <i>maḡnā-ha</i> : i.e.	<i>mṛaḡla, mṛāḡl^{PL}</i> : stage, phase
<i>maḡrūf</i> : known	<i>mrāzga</i> : Mrezga region
<i>māḡūn</i> : dishes	<i>mṛīḡ, amṛāḡ^{PL}</i> : sick
<i>maḡzūn</i> : jam	<i>mṛīḡal, mṛīḡla^{FEM}</i> : OK, good
<i>məḡdayən, məḡdayna^{FEM}</i> : religious	<i>mša, yəməši</i> : to go
<i>məḡtāḡ</i> : key	<i>msaḡ, yamsaḡ</i> : to sweep
<i>məḡrāb</i> : the mosque's niche indicating the direction of Mecca	<i>msallma</i> : the one ^{FEM} who greets
<i>məḡlḡ</i> : salt	<i>mšārwa</i> : Egyptians
<i>məḡlk</i> : owner	<i>mṛar</i> : rain
<i>mən ḡkāya</i> + noun: since	<i>mtāḡ</i> : possessive marker
<i>mən</i> : from	<i>mudda</i> : period of time
<i>mənbar</i> : pulpit	<i>muḡtarəm, muḡtarma^{FEM}</i> : respectful
<i>məṛtāḡ, məṛtāḡa^{FEM}</i> : rested	<i>mūla, mmāli^{PL}</i> : owner, (only in the plural) people of a family
<i>məš</i> : future marker	<i>munāsabāt^{MSA}</i> : occasions, events
<i>məškīn</i> : pitiful, poor	<i>mungāla</i> : watch
<i>məstḡaqq</i> : needy	<i>muqarḡbīn</i> : relatives
<i>məḡḡašša^{FEM}</i> : angry	<i>muṛabbḡāt^{MSA}</i> : squares
<i>məxdūm, məxdūma^{FEM}, məxdūmīn^{PL}</i> : made	<i>muš</i> : nominal negation
<i>məzyān, məzyāna^{FEM}</i> : beautiful	<i>muškəl</i> : problem
<i>mḡarḡa</i> : spoon	<i>musləm, muslma^{FEM}, muslmīn^{PL}</i> : Muslim
<i>mḡīta</i> : suction cup	<i>mūt</i> : death
<i>mḡall</i> : shop	<i>mutanaffəs</i> : oxygen

mutwassəf: medium
muxx: brain, mind
mʕa: with
nābəl: Nabeul
naḏḏaf, ynaḏḏaf: to clean
nafs: same
naggəz, ynaggəz: to jump
naḥḥa, ynaḥḥi: to clean
naḥḥās, naḥḥāsa^{PL}: coppersmith
naḥna: see *aḥna*
naqš: engraving
nār: fire
nās: people
nawʕ, nawʕīn, anwāʕ^{PL}: type, kind
nawʕīya^{MSA}: quality, typology
nažžəm, ynažžəm: can
nḏīf, nḏīfa^{FEM}: clean
nəfs: breath, soul
nəsba > bə-n- nəsba li: according to
nhār, nhārāʕ^{PL}: day
nquş, yunquş: to reduce
nša, yansa: to forget
nšallāh: see *ənšallāh*
nşar, yənşar: to come behind
nufş: see *nuşş*
nūm: sleep
nūmru: phone number
nūr: light
nuşş: half
nzah, yanzah: to succeed in
qābəl, yqābəl: to meet
qahwa, qhīwa^{DIM}: coffe
qahwāzi: café waiter
qāl, yqūl: to say

qalb, qlayyab^{DIM}, qlūb^{PL}: heart, center, inner part
qām, yqūm: to stand up, to get up
qamḥ: wheat
qanfūd: hedgehog
qarn: century
qarra, yqarri: to teach
qarwi, qarwīya^{FEM}, qarāwa^{PL}: Kairouani, from Kairouan
qās, yqīs: to measure > *qās əd-dəmm*: to measure the blood pressure
qatṭaʕ w rayyəş fi: to gossip about someone
qatṭaʕ, yqatṭaʕ: to cut
qatṭūs, qṭīṭəs^{DIM}, qṭīṭsa^{FEM.DIM}: cat
qaṭʕa, qṭāyʕ^{PL}: piece
qāyla: afternoon
qayrawān > l-qayrawān^{MSA}: Kairouan
qayrawāni^{MSA}, qayrawānīya^{MSA.FEM}, qayrawānīyīn^{MSA.PL}: Kairouani, form Kairouan
qayyəl, yqayyəl: to take a nap
qāʕda^{FEM}: staying, sitting
qāʕʕa: ground
qbal: before > *qbal ma*: before that
qdīm, qdum^{PL}, aqdam^{EL}: ancient
qdīm, qdum^{PL}: old
qəddās^{INT}: how many? how much?
qīma: value
qlīl, qlīla^{FEM}, aqall^{EL}: little, few
qra, yaqra: to study
qrab, yuqrub: to be close to
qrāb: relatives
qrāya: study

qraʕ: pumpkin
qrīb, qrāb^{PL}, aqrab^{EL}: close to
qtaḷ, yuqtul: to kill
qtaʕ, yaqtaʕ: to cut
quddām: in front of
quds > l-quds: Jerusalem
qurwān: Kairouan
qurʔān^{MSA}: Koran
qurʔāni^{MSA}, qurʔāniya^{MSA.FEM}: Koranic
quwwa: strength
qwi: strong
qʕad, yuqʕud: to stay, to remain
ra, yra: to see
rā-: + personal suffixed pronoun:
 presentative
rabb: God
rābʕa, rābʕa^{FEM}: fourth
rakkāb, yrakkāb: to assemble
rās, rūs^{PL}: head
rasm-i > bə-rasm-i: actually
rasūl: Prophet
rawwah, yrawwah: to get home
rāy: opinion
rāyyəʕ yrayyəʕ: to tear
rāžəl, rāžəl^{PL}: man, husband
rbiʕ: spring
rbuʕ: quarter
rha, yərhi: to sand
rham, yərham > allāh yərham-u/ha:
 May God have mercy on him/her
rhāq: thinness
rīdu, rīdwāt^{PL}: curtain
rīf: mountain, countryside
rīgəl, yīgəl: to arrange

rīh: wind
rkaḷ, yarkkaḷ: to calm down
rma, yərmi: to throw
rqaḷ, yurquḷ: to sleep
rtāh, yərtāh: to rest
rūba, rwb^{PL}: dress
rūh + suffixed pronoun: reflexive
rūh: self
rukba, rkāyb^{PL}: knee
rūmāni, rūmāniya^{FEM}: Roman
rumḍān: Ramadan
rummān: pomegranates
rxām: marble
rxīš: cheap
ržaʕ, yaržaʕ: to come back
ržəl: leg
š-: interrogative marker
šabb, yšabb: to pour
šabbāk, šbābək^{PL}: window
šabbāt^{PL}: shoes
šabbəh, yšabbəh: to look alike
sabʕa: seven
šadd, yšədd: to hold
šaddaq, yšaddaq: to believe
šāf, yšūf: to see > *šāf əd-damm*: to check
 blood values
sāfər, ysāfər: to travel
šāfi: clean
šāhəb, šāhba^{FEM}, ašhāb^{PL}: friend
sāhəl, sāhla^{FEM}: easy
šahha: health > *šahha^{EXCL}*: enjoy your
 meal!; *yaʕtī-k əš-šahha*: bravo,
 compliments
šahhaḷ, yšahhaḷ: to sign

ṣahḥayyit: congratulations
sahrīya: the henna party
šākəl: shape, pattern
sākət: silent
sakkar, ysakkar: to close
šakšūka: Tunisian dish
šāla: living room, hall
šalla, yšalli: to pray
sallam, ysallam: to greet
sāmaḥ, ysāmaḥ: to forgive
šāmīya: sweet almond paste
šāmīya: sweet almond paste
samma, ysammi: to name
šams: sun
sāq, šāqīn^{PL}: foot
šāqəṭ: asshole
šaqšəq, yšaqšəq: to shake
šār, yšār: to happen
šār: in short
šarḍūk: rooster
šārəṭ: street
šarža, yšarži (fi): to charge
šāwārma: type of meat
šawwəṭ, yšawwəṭ: to take a picture
sāyəḥ: tourist
šāyx: Sheikh
šayy: thing > *kull šayy*: everything,
ḥatta šayy: nothing
sayyəb, sayyəb: to leave
sayyəd: man, mister
sāṣa, sāṣāt^{PL}: hour > *fə-sāṣa fə-sāṣa*:
 quickly
sāṣəd, ysāṣəd: to help
sbab: cause, reason

šbāḥ: morning
šbānya: Spain
šbaṣ, yəšbaṣ (fi): to enjoy someone's
 presence
šbī- + suffix pronoun^{INT}: what is up?
 what is wrong with someone?
sbītār, sbītārāt^{PL}: hospital
šbuṣ, šwābaṣ^{PL}: finger
šdāq, šdāqāt^{PL}: marriage contract
šəbbāk, šbābək^{PL}: window
səkkīna: knife
sənnā: tooth
sərwāl: pants
šəšxān: traditional jewellery of gold
səttā: six
šfa, yəšfi: to heal
sfannārya: carrot
sfāqəs: Sfax
sfāqsi, sfāqsīya^{FEM}: Sfaxi, from Sfax
šfār yəšfār: to become yellow
šgār: children
šgīr, šgīra^{FEM}, šgār^{PL}, šgāyyər^{DIM},
šgāyyra^{FEM.DIM}: little
shal, yəshal: to simplify
šḥam: fat
šḥan: plate, dish
šḥar, šḥūr^{PL}: month
šar, yəšar: to spend the night together
šḥīḥ: right
sī(di): sir, man (informal) > *ya sīd-i*: it
 is used to introduce to a man a story or
 an anecdote to tell him
šīf: summer
šīfa: characteristic

sīgāru: cigarettes
šināʕa^{MSA}: workmanship
šīni, šīnīyīn^{PL}: Chinese
šītān: devil
šīx: see *šāyx*
škāra: sack
skun, yuskun: to live
škūn: someone > *škūn*^{INT}: who?
skut, yuskut: to stop talking
šlah, yušluḥ: to fix, to be helpful
slāma > *b-əs-slāma*: goodbye;
ʕ-as-slāma: hello
šlāta: salade
šlāq, yəšlāq: to notice
sma: sky
smaʕ, yəsmāʕ: to hear, to listen to >
smaʕ fi + suffix pronoun: to listen to
 someone
smīd: semolina
sna, snīn^{PL}: year
šnaʕ, yašnaʕ: to make, to produce
šnīya^{INT}: what?^{FEM}
šnūwa^{INT}: what?
šqaf, šqūfāt^{PL}: ceilings
šra, yəšri (fi): to buy
šrab, yušrub: to drink
šta: winter
stadʕa, yəstadʕa: to invite
stafād, yəstfād: to profit from, to enrich
štaḥ: roof
stahfəd, yəstahfəd: to save

stānəs, yəstānəs: to get used to
stanna, ystanna: to wait
staqbəl, yəstabəl: to receive
štar: half
staržaf, yəstaržaf: get back to
stasləm, yəstasləm: to become Muslim
stawṭan, yəstawṭan: to settle
staʕād, yəstʕād: to get back
staʕməl, yəstaʕməl: to use
staʕrəf, yəstaʕrəf: to acknowledge
sthāqq, yəsthāqq: to need
stīlu, stīlwāt^{PL}: two pens
subḥān allāh: glory be to God
šūf: wool
šugl: work
šūm: price
sūq: market
sūri: modern, western, French
 (language, characters)
sūsa: Sousse
suʔal^{PL}: questions
šwayya: a little, some, a few >
bə-šwayya: slowly
sxāna: heat, fever
sxūn, sxān^{PL}: hot
šyām: fast
sʕad: luck > *saʕd-i wə-ʕla ayyām-i*: woe
 is me
šʕar: hair
sʔəl, yəsʔəl: to ask
ṭā(ṭā): aunt⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ This term is not just used for the relative, but it can be also used to endear a female person.

tāb, yṯīb: to be cooked
ṭabbāl, ṭabbāla^{PL}: drummer
tabdīl, tabdīlāt^{PL}: change of outfits
ṭabīṯīya^{MSA.FEM}: natural
ṭābūna: terracotta oven, typical
 Tunisian bread baked on the walls of a
 traditional terracotta oven.
taḥt: under
tāksi, tāksīyāt^{PL}: taxi
ṭālāt, ṭālta^{FEM}: third
talfza, ṭlāfāz^{PL}: television
talfza: television
tālīfūn, tālīfūnāt^{PL}: call, phone
ṭālyān(i), ṭālyān(iy)a^{FEM}, ṭlāyān^{PL}:
 Italian
ṭamma/mā-ṭammā-š: see *famma/mā-*
fammā-š
tamr: dates
ṭāni, ṭānya^{FEM}: second
tanqīla: copy
ṭanžra, ṭnāžar^{PL} pot
taqlīdī^{MSA}, taqlīdīya^{MSA.FEM}: traditional
taqrīban^{MSA}: approximately
ṭarayūn^{MSA}: Kairouani traditional dress
tārīx: date, history
tarmīm: renovation
taṣwīra: picture
taw(wa), tawīka: now
ṭāwla: table
ṭāws: peacock
tāxi, tāxīyāt^{PL}: taxi
taxīlī: electrocardiogram
tāy: tea
tāy: the

ṭayyāb, yṯayyāb: to cook
tāṯāb, tāṯba^{FEM}: tired
ṭbaddəl, yəṭbaddəl: to be changed
ṭbaṯ, yəṯbaṯ: to imprint, to stamp
ṭbāṯ: print
ṭbīb, ṭubba^{PL}, ṭbība^{FEM}: doctor > *ṭbīb*
mtāṯ lə-qalb: cardiologist
ṭḍārāb, yəṯḍārāb: to fight each other
ṭdāwa, yṯdāwa: to be treated
taktāb, yəṯktāb: to be written
ṭalbās, yəṯlbās: to be dressed
tāṯa: nine
tāṯslax, yəṯslax: to be detached
tāxdām, yəṯxdām: to be worked
tāṯmāl, yəṯṯmāl: to be done
ṭfāhām, yəṯfāhām: to understand each
 other
ṭfāhām, yəṯfāhām: to understand each
 other
ṭfakkar, yəṯfakkar: to remember
ṭfāqəd, yəṯfāqəd: to be lost
ṭfarḥəd, yəṯfarḥəd: to have fun
ṭfarṯaž, yəṯfarṯaž ṯla: to watch
ṭful, wlād^{PL}: boy
ṭgadda, yəṯgadda: to have lunch
ṭgaššəš, yəṯgaššəš: to get angry
ṭgaṯṯa, yəṯgaṯṯa: to be covered
ṭhar, yəṯhar: to circumcise
ṭhārəq yəṯhārəq: to get burnt
ṭhāsəb, yəṯhāsəb ṯla: to deal with
ṭhāwəl, yəṯhāwəl: to transform himself
ṭhayyar, yəṯhayyar: to be confused
ṭhūr, ṭhūrāt^{PL}: circumcision
tīkyāt: tickets

tīqa: trust
tižāra^{MSA}: trade, commerce
tkalləm, yətkalləm: to speak
tkassər, yətkassər: to be broken
tkayyəf, yətkayyəf: to smoke
tḷab, yuṭḷab (fi): to call by phone
tlāqa, yətlāqa: to meet each other
tlāta: three
tlaṣ, yaṭlaṣ: to get in
tḡmānya: eight
tnaffəs, yətnaffəs: to breathe
tnahḥa, yətnahḥa: to be removed
tnīn: two
tqābəl yətqābəl: to meet each other
tqallaq, yətqallaq: to be bothered
tṛabba, yəṭṛabba: to be raised
tṛahwəž, yəṭṛahwəž: to stagger
tṛahwəž, yəṭṛahwəž: to grow dizzy
tranwīša: little slice
tṛayya, tṛayyāt^{PL}: chandelier
tṛayyah, yəṭṛayyah: to rest
tšaddəd, yəṭšaddəd: to persist
tsāmah, yətsāmah: to be apologized
tsamma, yətsamma: to be called
tšarṛaṭ, yṭšarṛaṭ: to put a condition
tšaržə, yəṭšaržə: to be charged
tšawwəṛ, yəṭšawwəṛ: to think, to image
tslax, yətslax: to come off, to be detached
tuffāḥ: apples
tūl: straight
tum: garlic
tūnəs: Tunis, Tunisia

tūnīsi^{MSA}, *tūnīsīya*^{MSA.FEM}: Tunisian, from Tunisia
tūnsi, tūnsīya^{FEM}, *twānsa*^{PL}: Tunisian, from Tunisia
twāfəq, yətwāfəq: to get along
twaffa, yətwaffa: to be died
tḡwāl, yəṭḡwāl: to become long
twaxxar, yətwaxxar: to go backwards
twāzən, yətwāzən: to be balanced
tḡwīl, tḡwīla^{FEM}, *aṭwal*^{EL}: long, tall
txabba, yətxabba: to hide
tžāwaf, yəṭžāwaf: to pretend to be hungry
tzawwəž, yəṭzawwəž: to marry
tšadda, yəṭšadda: pass by
tšārək, yṭšārək: to argue each other
tšašša, yəṭšašša: to have a dinner
tšāwəd, yəṭšāwəd: to be repeated
tšāwən, yṭšāwən: to be helped
umm, ummār^{PL}: mother
ustād, ustāda^{FEM}: professor
uxt, xwāt^{PL}, *uxayya*^{DIM}: sister
vīzīta: medical examination
w: and
wāfəq, ywāfəq: to agree
wahd + suffix pronoun: alone
wāḥəd, wāḥda^{FEM}: one, a person
wahīd^{MSA}: only
wakkəl, ywakkəl (fi): to feed someone
wallā(hi): really, I swear
walla, ywalli: to become, to be, to start
walla: or
waqt: time > *waqt əlli*: when
waqtās^{INT}: when?

<i>warqa, wṛīqa</i> ^{DIM} : paper	<i>xaddəm, yxaddəm</i> : to employ
<i>warra, ywarri</i> : to show	<i>xāl</i> : maternal uncle
<i>waṣat</i> ^{MSA} : middle	<i>xāla</i> : maternal aunt
<i>wassax, ywassax</i> : to dirty	<i>xalīfa</i> ^{MSA} : Caliph
<i>waxxaṛ, ywaxxaṛ</i> : to be late, to move backward	<i>xalla, yxalli</i> : to let
<i>wədd</i> : dear	<i>xallaṣ, yxallaṣ</i> : to pay
<i>wəld</i> : boy	<i>xamsa</i> : five
<i>wəqf, yāqəf</i> : to stop	<i>xārəž</i> : coming out
<i>wəzn</i> : weight	<i>xarūf</i> ^{MSA} : sheep
<i>wilāya</i> ^{MSA} : Prefecture	<i>xaṣṣatan</i> ^{MSA} : specifically
<i>wīn</i> ^{INT} : where?	<i>xātəṛ/ʕla xātəṛ</i> : because, due to
<i>wkāy</i> : ok	<i>xatṭ</i> : calligraphy
<i>wlāda</i> : birth	<i>xāyəb, xāyba</i> ^{FEM} , <i>xāybīn</i> ^{PL} : bad
<i>wlayyəd</i> : boy	<i>xāyfa</i> ^{FEM} : scared
<i>wləd, yūləd</i> : to give birth	<i>xayyət, yxayyət</i> : to sew
<i>wmlāt</i> : omelette	<i>xda, yāxu</i> : to take
<i>wmūr</i> ^{PL} : affairs	<i>xdəm, yaxdəm</i> : to work
<i>wqəf, yāqəf</i> : to stand, to stop	<i>xədma, xdam</i> ^{PL} : work > <i>xədmət yədd</i> : handmade
<i>wra > l-wra</i> : behind	<i>xfāf, yaxfāf</i> : to become light
<i>wṛāta</i> : inheritance	<i>xfīf, xfīfa</i> ^{FEM} , <i>xfāf</i> ^{PL} , <i>axaff</i> ^{EL} : light
<i>wṛūba</i> : Europe	<i>xīr</i> : better
<i>wsāf, yūsāf</i> : to become larger	<i>xīl, xyūt</i> ^{PL} : wires, threads
<i>wṣəl, yūṣəl</i> : to arrive	<i>xraž, yuxruž</i> : to go out
<i>wṣīf</i> : black (skin color)	<i>xrīf</i> : autumn
<i>wṭīl, wətla</i> : hotel	<i>xtaf, yaxtaf</i> : to steal
<i>wṭīya</i> : wedding celebration for the bride's family	<i>xtār, yaxtār</i> : to choose
<i>wuṣt</i> : middle, center	<i>xtlaf, yaxtlaf</i> : to be different
<i>wzah, wzūh</i> ^{PL} : face, side	<i>xu</i> : brother
<i>wzaṣ, yūzaṣ</i> : to feel pain	<i>xubz, xbīza</i> ^{DIM} : bread
<i>wzən, yūzən</i> : to weigh	<i>xūx</i> : peach
<i>x-</i> : interrogative/exclamative marker	<i>ya</i> : oh (vocative)
<i>xabba, yxabbi</i> : to hide	<i>yabbəs, yyabbəs</i> : to dry
	<i>yadāwi</i> : handmade

<i>yāǧurt</i> : yogurt	<i>žbəd, yəžbəd</i> : to draw (blood)
<i>yāna</i> : see <i>āna</i>	<i>ždīd, ždīda^{FEM}, ždua^{PL}</i> : new
<i>yāsəṛ</i> : too much	<i>zəḅḅ</i> : dick
<i>ybas, yībās</i> : to dry	<i>žabba</i> : jibba (typical long coat)
<i>yabda</i> : to be	<i>zabda</i> : butter
<i>yədd</i> : hand	<i>zabla</i> : rubbish
<i>yəstaḥīl</i> : to be impossible	<i>žədd, ždūd^{PL}</i> : grandfather
<i>yūm, ayyāmāt^{PL}</i> : day; <i>ayyām</i> : life >	<i>žədda</i> : grandmother
<i>l-yūm</i> : today	<i>žəld</i> : skin, leather
<i>yumkun</i> : maybe	<i>žəfba</i> : pipe
<i>yfayyš-ək</i> : thank you	<i>zhar</i> : rose
<i>ža, yži</i> : to come	<i>židdan^{MSA}</i> : very, much, a lot
<i>žāb, yžīb</i> : to bring, to give birth	<i>zīt</i> : oil
<i>zād, yzīd</i> : to add	<i>zītūn</i> : olives
<i>zāda</i> : also	<i>žīfān, žīfānīn^{PL}</i> : hungry
<i>žalṭa</i> : stroke	<i>žmāfa</i> : group
<i>žāməf</i> : mosque	<i>žra, yəžri</i> : to run
<i>žanb > bə-žanb</i> + suffixed personal pronun: next to someone/something	<i>žtmaf yəžtmaf</i> : to meet, to gather
<i>žānəb > b-žānəb</i> : next to	<i>žumfa</i> : week
<i>zanqa</i> : narrow street	<i>zūz</i> : two
<i>zār, yzūr</i> : to visit	<i>žwayyəd, žwayyda^{FEM}, ažwəd^{EL}</i> : thin
<i>žār, žīrān^{PL}</i> : neighbor	<i>žzār</i> : Algerians
<i>zarḅīya</i> : carpet	<i>žfān, žfāna</i> : hungry
<i>žāri</i> : typical Tunisian soup	<i>ḡabbāsi, ḡabbāsīya</i> : Abbasid
<i>žarṛa, yžarṛi</i> : dare	<i>ḡabd, ḡbād^{PL}</i> : person
<i>žāwəb, yžāwəb</i> : answer	<i>ḡāda</i> : tradition, habit
<i>žāwəb, yžāwəb</i> : answer (the phone)	<i>ḡadda, yḡaddi</i> : to pass
<i>žāy, žāya^{FEM}</i> : next, coming	<i>ḡaddəl, yḡaddəl</i> : to be fair
<i>žāyəb, žāyba^{FEM}</i> : bringing	<i>ḡādi, ḡādīya^{FEM}</i> : normal, normally
<i>zāyər, zuwwār^{PL}</i> : tourist	<i>ḡaḡla</i> : muscle
<i>žazāʔir^{MSA}</i> : Algeria	<i>ḡahd</i> : era, period
<i>zazzār, zazzāra^{PL}</i> : butcher	<i>ḡālam</i> : world
<i>žafba</i> : pipe	<i>ḡālamīyan^{MSA}</i> : worldwide
	<i>ḡalləm, yḡalləm</i> : to teach

<i>ʕallūš</i> : lamb	<i>ʔandalus</i> ^{MSA} > <i>l-ʔandalus</i> ^{MSA} : al-Andalus
<i>ʕallūša</i> : sheep	
<i>ʕām</i> : year	<i>ʕannaq</i> , <i>yʕannaq</i> : to hug
<i>ʕamla</i> : workforce	<i>ʕaqrəb</i> : scorpion
<i>ʕamm</i> : paternal uncle	<i>ʕarabi</i> ^{MSA} , <i>ʕarabīya</i> ^{MSA.FEM} : Arabic
<i>ʕamma</i> : paternal aunt	<i>ʕarbi</i> , <i>ʕrab</i> ^{PL} : Arabic, traditional
<i>ʕamnāwwəl</i> : last year	<i>ʕarbi</i> : traditional, homemade (food)
<i>ʕand</i> : at, ago, > <i>ʕand</i> + suffix pronoun: ago, to have; <i>š</i> + <i>ʕand</i> + suffix personal pronoun + <i>fī</i> : who cares ?	<i>ʕarbīya</i> : Arabic language
<i>ʕaryān</i> : naked	<i>ʕarrəs</i> , <i>yʕarrəs</i> : to marry
<i>ʕāš</i> , <i>yʕīš</i> : to live	<i>ʕla</i> : on > <i>ʕla-l-aqall</i> : at least
<i>ʕašfūr</i> , <i>ʕšīfər</i> ^{DIM} : bird	<i>ʕlam</i> , <i>yaʕlam</i> : to know
<i>ʕašra</i> : ten	<i>ʕlaq</i> , <i>yaʕlaq</i> : to hang up
<i>ʕaṭrašīya</i> : rose geranium	<i>ʕlāš</i> ^{INT} : why?
<i>ʕaṭšān</i> : thirsty	<i>ʕmal</i> , <i>yaʕməl</i> : to do, to make
<i>ʕāwəd</i> , <i>yʕāwəd</i> : to repeat	<i>ʕmūd</i> , <i>aʕmda</i> ^{PL} : columns
<i>ʕāwən</i> , <i>yʕāwən</i> : to help	<i>ʕmur</i> , <i>aʕmār</i> ^{PL} : age
<i>ʕāyar</i> , <i>yʕāyar</i> : to insult	<i>ʕnəb</i> : grapes
<i>ʕāyla</i> : family	<i>ʕrab</i> : Arabs
<i>ʕāyš</i> : living	<i>ʕraf</i> , <i>yaʕrəf</i> : to know
<i>ʕayyəš</i> , <i>yʕayyəš</i> : to thank, to make someone live (God)	<i>ʕrūs</i> : groom
<i>ʕayyət</i> , <i>yʕayyət</i> : to yell	<i>ʕrūsa</i> : bride
<i>ʕazūza</i> : old woman	<i>ʕša</i> : dinner
<i>ʕdam</i> : eggs	<i>ʕša</i> : stick
<i>ʕərq</i> , <i>ʕrūq</i> ^{PL} : vein	<i>ʕsal</i> : honey
<i>ʕərs</i> : wedding	<i>ʕsar</i> , <i>yʕašar</i> : to squeeze
<i>ʕəšra</i> : long-standing friendship	<i>ʕšīr</i> : juice
<i>ʕəšrīn</i> : twenty	<i>ʕšīya</i> : afternoon
<i>ʕəzz</i> : love, affection	<i>ʕta</i> , <i>yaʕti</i> : to give
<i>ʕīf</i> : thin, weak	<i>ʕwīna</i> : plums
<i>ʕīn</i> , <i>ʕīnīn/ʕyūn</i> ^{PL} : eye	<i>ʕžāž</i> : dust
<i>ʔinsān</i> ^{MSA} : human being	<i>ʕžəb</i> , <i>ʕžəbt</i> + suffixed personal pronoun: to like

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABBREVIATIONS	7
SYMBOLS USED FOR TRANSCRIPTION	9
HYPHEN	10
PREFACE	11
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES	13
INTRODUCTION	14
I. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO KAIROUAN AND ITS ARABIC VARIETY	19
1.1 THE CITY OF KAIROUAN	20
1.1.1 A Historical-Geographical Overview	20
1.1.2 Urbanization, Migrations, and Population Composition	25
1.1.2.1 Possible linguistic outcomes of social processes in Arabic-speaking contexts	30
1.2 CHOICE OF THE TOPIC AND OBJECTIVES	32
1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	35
1.3.1 Terminological Issues and Transcriptions	37
1.4 STATE OF RESEARCH	39
	329

1.4.1 The Arabization of Northern Africa and the Classification of MagA	39
1.4.2 Sedentary Urban TA	40
1.4.2.1 <i>Le parler de Kairouan-ville. Étude phonologique et phonétique</i> by Belhassen Badreddine	41
1.4.3 Other varieties of TA	43
1.4.4 Maghrebi and Tunisian Arabic Dictionaries	44
1.5 METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION	45
1.5.1 Informants' profiles	49
II. CHAPTER TWO: PHONOLOGY	54
2.1 CONSONANTS	55
2.1.1 Etymological <i>qāf</i> /q/	56
2.1.2 Interdental phonemes	58
2.1.3 Etymological <i>hamza</i>	59
2.1.4 Phoneme /b/	60
2.1.5 Phoneme /h/	60
2.1.6 Phoneme /ž/	60
2.1.7 Emphatics	61
2.1.8 Phonemes /r/ and /r̄/	62
2.1.9 Glides /w/ and /y/	62
2.1.10 Phonemes /p/ and /v/	63
2.1.11 Other phonetic remarks	63
2.2 VOWELS	64
	330

2.2.1 Long vowels	64
2.2.1.1 Allophones of /ā/	66
2.2.1.2 <i>Imāla</i>	66
2.2.1.3 Allophones of /ī/	67
2.2.1.4 Allophones of /ū/	67
2.2.2 Short vowels	67
2.2.2.1 Allophones of /a/	68
2.2.2.2 Allophones of /u/	69
2.2.2.3 Allophones of /ə/	69
2.2.3 Quantitative oppositions	70
2.2.4 Phonemes and allophones overview	70
2.2.5 Historical remarks	70
2.2.6 Anaptyctic vowels	71
2.3 DIPHTHONGS	72
2.4 SYLLABIC STRUCTURES	74
2.5 STRESS	74
2.6 MORPHOPHONOLOGY	76
2.6.1 Monosyllabic words	76
2.6.2 Polysyllabic words	77
2.7 VERBAL NOUN	78
2.8 PHONOTACTICS	78
2.8.1 Assimilation	78
2.8.1.1 Progressive assimilation	78
2.8.1.2 Regressive assimilation	79

2.8.1.3 Mutual assimilation	81
2.8.1.4 Sibilants harmony	81
2.8.2 Dissimilation	81
2.8.3 Haplology	81
2.8.4 Metathesis	82
2.8.5 Gemination	82
2.8.6 Elision	83
2.8.7 Pharyngealization	83
III. CHAPTER THREE: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY	85
3.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE VERB	86
3.0.1 General remarks on augmented patterns	88
3.1 PATTERN I	90
3.1.1 The regular root $C^1C^2vC^3$	90
3.1.1.1 $C^1C^2\partial C^3, y\partial C^1C^2\partial C^3$ ($\partial; \partial-\partial$)	90
3.1.1.2 $C^1C^2aC^3, yuC^1C^2uC^3$ ($a; u-u$)	91
3.1.1.3 $C^1C^2aC^3, yaC^1C^2aC^3$ ($a; a-a$)	92
3.1.1.4 $C^1C^2aC^3, y\partial C^1C^2aC^3$ ($a; \partial-a$)	93
3.1.1.5 $C^1C^2aC^3, yaC^1C^2\partial C^3$ ($\partial; a-\partial$)	93
3.1.1.6 $C^1C^2uC^3, yuC^1C^2uC^3$ ($u; u-u$)	94
3.1.2 The Geminate root $C^1vC^2C^3$	95
3.1.3 The assimilated root $C^1(w/y)C^2vC^3$	96
3.1.4 The hollow root $C^1C^2(w/y)C^3$	98
3.1.5 The defective root $C^1C^2C^3(y)$	100
3.1.6 Irregular verbs	103
	332

3.1.6.1 The verbs <i>kla</i> and <i>xḏa</i>	103
3.1.6.2 The verb <i>ra</i>	105
3.1.6.3 The verb <i>ža</i>	105
3.2 PATTERN II	106
3.2.1 The regular root $C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$	107
3.2.2 The geminate root $C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$	108
3.2.3 The assimilated root $C^1(w/y)vC^2C^2vC^3$	109
3.2.4 The hollow root $C^1aC^2C^2(w/y)vC^3$	110
3.2.5 The defective root $C^1aC^2C^2a$	112
3.3 PATTERN III	113
3.3.1 The regular root $C^1āC^2vC^3$	113
3.3.2 The assimilated root $wāC^2vC^3$	114
3.3.3 The hollow root $C^1āC^2(w/y)∂C^3$	115
3.3.4 The defective root $C^1āC^2a$	116
3.4 PATTERN IV	117
3.5 PATTERN V	117
3.5.1 The regular root $tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$	118
3.5.2 The geminate root $tC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$	119
3.5.3 The assimilate root $tC^1(w)aC^2C^2vC^3$	119
3.5.4 The hollow root $tC^1aC^2(w/y)C^2vC^3$	120
3.5.5 The defective root $tC^1aC^2C^2C^3a$	121
3.6 PATTERN VI	122
	333

3.6.1 The regular root $tC^1\bar{a}C^2vC^3$	123
3.6.2 The assimilated root $tC^1(w)\bar{a}C^2vC^3$	124
3.6.3 The hollow root $tC^1\bar{a}C^2(w/y)vC^3$	125
3.6.4 The defective root $tC^1\bar{a}C^2a$	126
3.7 PATTERN VII	126
3.8 PATTERN VIII	127
3.8.1 The regular root $C^1tC^2aC^3$	127
3.8.2 The geminate root $C^1taC^2C^3$	128
3.8.3 The hollow root $C^1t\bar{a}C^3$	129
3.9 PATTERN IX	129
3.10 PATTERN X	129
3.10.1 The regular root $staC^1C^2vC^3$	130
3.10.2 The geminate root $stC^1aC^2C^3$	131
3.10.3 The assimilate root $st\bar{a}C^2vC^3/stawC^2vC^3$	131
3.10.4 The hollow root $staC^1\bar{a}C^3$	133
3.10.5 The defective root $staC^1C^2a$	133
3.11 PATTERN IX/XI	134
3.11.1 The regular root $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$	135
3.11.2 The geminate root $C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3$	135
3.11.3 The assimilated root $C^1(w)C^2\bar{a}C^3$	136
3.11.4 The hollow root $C^1C^2(w/y)\bar{a}C^3$	136
	334

3. 12 MIXED PATTERNS	137
3.12.1 The verb <i>stanna</i>	137
3.13 THE <i>T</i> -PATTERN	137
3.13.1 The regular root	138
3.14 QUADRILITERAL ROOTS	139
3.14.1 Regular roots	139
3.14.2 The pattern $C^1\bar{t}C^3\partial C^4$	140
3.14.2 Defective roots	141
3.14.3 <i>t</i> -passive pattern	142
3.15 THE COPULA <i>yabda</i>	143
3.16 FUTURE MARKERS	143
IV. CHAPTER FOUR: NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL MORPHOLOGY	146
4.1 NOUN	147
4.1.1 Gender	147
4.1.1.1 Unmarked feminine nouns	147
4.1.1.2 Invariable adjectives	148
4.1.2 Number	148
4.1.2.1 Dual	148
4.1.2.2 Pseudo-dual	149
4.1.2.3 Plural	150
4.1.2.3.1 External plural in <i>-īn</i>	150
4.1.2.3.2 External plural in <i>-a:</i>	151
4.1.2.3.3 External plural in <i>-āt:</i>	151
4.1.2.3.4 Combined plural	151
	335

4.1.2.3.5 Uncountable nouns vs. single unit	152
4.1.2.4 Singular Patterns	152
4.1.2.4.1 Biliteral	153
4.1.2.4.2 Triliteral	153
4.1.2.4.3 Quadriliteral	157
4.1.2.4.4 Quinquiliteral roots	158
4.1.2.4.5 Prefixed <i>m-</i>	158
4.1.2.4.6 Prefixed <i>t-</i>	158
4.1.2.4.7 Prefixed adjectives <i>a-</i>	158
4.1.2.4.8 Suffix <i>-i</i>	159
4.1.2.4.9 Suffix <i>-īya</i>	159
4.1.2.4.10 Suffix <i>-ān</i>	159
4.1.2.4.11 Suffix <i>-āni</i>	159
4.1.2.4.12 Suffix <i>-žī</i>	159
4.1.2.5 Internal plural patterns	159
4.1.2.5.1 Prefixed	161
4.1.2.5.2 Suffixed	161
4.1.2.6 Diminutive	162
4.1.2.7 Elative	163
4.2 DEFINITENESS AND INDEFINITENESS	164
4.2.1 Analytic and synthetic genitive	166
4.3 PRONOUNS	167
4.3.1 Personal pronouns	167
4.3.1.1 Independent personal pronouns	167
4.3.1.2 Suffix personal pronouns	169
4.3.1.2.1 Direct object suffixes	171
4.3.1.2.2 Indirect object suffixes and double suffixation	172
4.3.1.2.3 Possessive suffixes	173
4.3.1.3 Combination of two personal pronouns	173
4.3.1.4 Copula	174
4.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives	175
	336

4.3.3 Relative marker	177
4.3.4 Interrogative Pronouns	180
4.3.5 Reflexive Pronouns	182
4.3.6 Reciprocal Pronouns	183
4.3.7 Indefinite Pronouns	183
4.3.7.1 <i>āxər</i>	183
4.3.7.2 <i>bfaḍ</i>	184
4.3.7.3 <i>ḥadd</i>	184
4.3.7.4 <i>ḥāža</i>	184
4.3.7.5 <i>šayy</i>	185
4.3.7.6 <i>flān</i>	185
4.3.7.7 <i>kull</i>	185
4.3.7.8 <i>wāḥəd</i>	186
4.4 NUMERALS	187
4.4.1 Cardinal	187
4.4.2 Ordinal	190
4.4.3 Days of the week	191
4.4.4 Months and seasons of the year	192
4.4.5 Fractions	192
4.4.6 Percentages	193
4.4.7 Hours	193
V. CHAPTER FIVE: ADVERBS, PARTICLES, PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS	194
5.1 ADVERBS	195
5.1.1 Temporal	195

5.1.1.1 <i>bārəḥ</i>	195
5.1.1.2 <i>baʕd</i>	195
5.1.1.3 <i>bəkri</i>	196
5.1.1.4 <i>tawwa</i>	196
5.1.1.5 <i>dīma</i>	197
5.1.1.6 <i>mā-zāl</i>	197
5.1.1.7 <i>sna</i>	198
5.1.1.8 <i>sāʕāt</i>	198
5.1.1.9 <i>šbāḥ</i>	198
5.1.1.10 <i>ʕumr</i>	199
5.1.1.11 <i>mā-ʕād-š</i>	199
5.1.1.12 <i>ʕām</i>	199
5.1.1.13 <i>gudwa</i>	200
5.1.1.14 <i>qbal</i>	200
5.1.1.15 <i>līla</i>	200
5.1.1.16 <i>maḥra</i>	201
5.1.1.17 <i>nhār</i>	201
5.1.1.18 <i>waqt</i>	202
5.1.1.19 <i>yūm</i>	202
5.1.2 Local	202
5.1.2.1 <i>ḥarra</i>	202
5.1.2.2 <i>bʕīd, baʕdīka</i>	203
5.1.2.3 <i>dāxəl</i>	203
5.1.2.4 <i>tūl</i>	203
5.1.2.5 <i>gādi</i>	203
5.1.2.6 <i>fūq</i>	203
5.1.2.7 <i>quddām</i>	204
5.1.2.8 <i>qṛīb</i>	204
5.1.2.9 <i>hna</i>	204
5.1.2.10 <i>wra/tāli</i>	204
5.1.2.11 <i>wuṣt</i>	204
5.1.2.12 <i>wṭa</i>	204
5.1.2.13 <i>yṣār</i>	205

5.1.2.14 <i>ymīn</i>	205
5.1.3 Modal and degree	205
5.1.3.1 <i>ḥarṣa</i>	205
5.1.3.2 <i>ḥarka</i>	206
5.1.3.3 <i>blāš</i>	206
5.1.3.4 <i>bāl</i>	206
5.1.3.5 <i>žəmla</i>	207
5.1.3.6 <i>ḥatta</i>	207
5.1.3.7 <i>ḥāšīlu</i>	207
5.1.3.8 <i>b-əl-ḥaqq</i>	207
5.1.3.9 <i>xaşşatan</i>	208
5.1.3.10 <i>zāda</i>	208
5.1.3.11 <i>fīsaʿ</i>	208
5.1.3.12 <i>šwayya</i>	208
5.1.3.13 <i>b-əḏ-ḏabt</i>	209
5.1.3.14 <i>b-əl-gda</i>	209
5.1.3.15 <i>taqrīb</i>	209
5.1.3.16 <i>kaḏa</i>	209
5.1.3.17 <i>b-əl-kull</i>	209
5.1.3.18 <i>kāməl</i>	210
5.1.3.19 <i>kīf kīf</i>	210
5.1.3.20 <i>bə-llāh</i>	210
5.1.3.21 <i>hākka, hakkāka</i>	210
5.1.3.22 <i>yāsəṛ</i>	211
5.1.3.23 <i>yumkun</i>	211
5.1.4 Interrogative	211
5.1.4.1 <i>ʕlāš, šbī-</i>	211
5.1.4.2 <i>qaddāš</i>	212
5.1.4.3 <i>kīfāš, kīf</i>	212
5.1.4.4 <i>waqtāš</i>	213
5.1.4.5 <i>wīn, fīn</i>	213
5.2 PARTICLES	214
	339

5.2.1 Genitive marker	214
5.2.2 Affirmation	214
5.2.2.1 <i>āy</i>	215
5.2.2.2 <i>āywa</i>	215
5.2.2.3 <i>nʕam</i>	215
5.2.2.4 <i>wallā(hi)</i>	215
5.2.2.5 <i>wkāy</i>	215
5.2.3 Negation	215
5.2.3.1 <i>la, la la, lāʔ</i>	215
5.2.3.2 <i>mā-...</i>	216
5.2.3.3 The circumfix <i>mā-...-š(i)</i>	217
5.2.3.4 The nominal negation <i>muš</i>	218
5.2.4 Question markers	218
5.2.4.1 <i>-əʔ</i>	218
5.2.4.2 <i>-š(i)</i>	219
5.2.4.3 <i>x-</i>	219
5.2.5 Exclamative particles	220
5.2.5.1 <i>ti, t-</i>	220
5.2.5.2 <i>ya, ā</i>	221
5.2.6 The marker <i>fī</i>	221
5.2.7 Existential particle	222
5.2.8 Presentatives	223
5.2.8.1 <i>ṛā-</i>	223
5.2.8.2 <i>hā-</i>	225
5.2.8.3 <i>mā-</i>	225
5.3 PREPOSITIONS	226
5.3.1 <i>b-</i>	226
5.3.2 <i>baʕd</i>	227
	340

5.3.3 <i>blāš</i>	227
5.3.4 <i>ma bīn</i>	227
5.3.5 <i>taḥt</i>	228
5.3.6 <i>ḥatta</i>	228
5.3.7 <i>bə-ḥda</i>	228
5.3.8 <i>ḍədd</i>	228
5.3.9 <i>ʕla</i>	228
5.3.10 <i>ʕand</i>	229
5.3.11 <i>mən gīr</i>	230
5.3.12 <i>fūq</i>	230
5.3.13 <i>fī</i>	230
5.3.14 <i>qbal</i>	231
5.3.15 <i>quddām</i>	231
5.3.16 <i>kīma, kīf</i>	231
5.3.17 <i>l-</i>	232
5.3.18 <i>mʕa</i>	232
5.3.19 <i>mən</i>	232
5.3.20 <i>b-ən-nəsba l-</i>	233
5.3.21 <i>wṛa</i>	233
5.3.22 <i>fī wuṣṭ</i>	233
5.4 CONJUNCTIONS	234
5.4.1 Coordinating	234
	341

5.4.1.1 <i>amma</i>	234
5.4.1.2 <i>la...la...</i>	234
5.4.1.3 <i>lākən</i>	234
5.4.1.4 <i>w-</i>	235
5.4.1.5 <i>walla</i>	235
5.4.2 Subordinating	235
5.4.2.1 <i>əlli</i>	235
5.4.2.2 <i>bəš</i>	236
5.4.2.3 <i>baʕd ma</i>	236
5.4.2.4 <i>ʕla xāṭər</i>	236
5.4.2.5 <i>ma dām</i>	237
5.4.2.6 <i>raǧm</i>	237
5.4.2.7 <i>ʕībāra</i>	237
5.4.2.8 <i>ʕād</i>	237
5.4.2.9 <i>hādāka ʕlāš</i>	238
5.4.2.10 <i>ma ġīr ma</i>	238
5.4.2.11 <i>qbal ma</i>	238
5.4.2.12 <i>ida kān</i>	238
5.4.2.13 <i>law kān</i>	239
5.4.2.14 <i>kīma</i>	239
5.4.2.15 <i>kīf</i>	239
5.4.2.16 <i>līn</i>	240
5.4.2.17 <i>waqt əlli</i>	240
5.4.2.18 <i>wīn</i>	240
VI. CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS	242
6.1 CONCLUSIONS ON THE GRAMMAR DESCRIPTION OF KA	243
6.1.1 Classification of KA	243
6.1.2 What does the linguistic variation identified in KA consist of and where does it come from?	245
6.1.3 Sociolinguistic variation and leveling	246
	342

6.1.4 Gender- and aged-related variation	249
6.1.5 Closing remarks and outlook (I)	249
6.2 IS THERE A NON-KAIROUANI FIRST-LAYER ARABIC?	250
6.2.1 The monogenetic origin of first-layer Arabic and the so-called <i>parlers kairouanais</i>	251
6.2.1.1 Socio-historical considerations	252
6.2.1.2 Linguistic considerations	254
6.2.2 The role of Maltese, Andalusí, Sicilian, and Judeo-Arabic	256
6.2.2.1 The etymological <i>qāf</i>	258
6.2.2.2 The etymological interdental fricatives	260
6.2.2.3 The etymological diphthongs * <i>ay</i> and * <i>aw</i>	263
6.2.2.4 Conclusions	267
6.2.3 What about the Maghreb east of Kairouan?	267
6.2.4 Closing remarks and outlook (II)	269
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS	274
Text 1	274
Translation	275
Text 2	275
Translation	276
Text 3	278
Translation	279
Text 4	280
Translation	280
Text 5	281
Translation	283
Text 6	284
Translation	286
	343

Text 7	287
Translation	289
Text 8	290
Translation	291
Text 9	292
Translation	293
Text 10	294
Translation	295
BIBLIOGRAPHY	315
Online References	328
TABLE OF CONTENTS	329
RÉSUMÉ DE LA THÈSE	346
ABSTRACT/RÉSUMÉ	377

RÉSUMÉ DE LA THÈSE

Sigles et abréviations

AA	Arabe andalou	MSA	arabe standard moderne
ART	article défini	N	nom
C	consonne	OA	arabe ancien
DE	Allemand	P-	préfixe
DEM	démonstratif	PL	pluriel
DIM	diminutif	pron.	pronom
EL	élatif	R	locuteur originaire du <i>rīf</i> et des provinces du gouvernorat
EN	Anglais	S	singulier
EXCL	exclamatif	S-	suffixe
FEM	féminin	SG.F	singulier féminin
FR	Français	SG.M	singulier masculin
IT	Italien	SA	arabe sicilien
IMP	impératif	SIC	dialecte sicilien
INT	interrogatif	TA	arabe tunisien
JA(Vs)(variétés)	judéo-arabes	v	voyelle brève
KA	arabe kairouanais	̄	voyelle longue
lit.	littéralement	*	forme reconstruite
M	musulman		limite de la syllabe
MASC	masculin	:::	allongement emphatique
MA	arabe musulman	[xxx]	mot non intelligible
MagA	arabe maghrébin		
MLT	maltais (standard)		

Systeme de transcriptions

b	[b]	occlusive bilabiale sonore
ɸ	[bʁ]	occlusive bilabiale emphatique sonore
p	[p]	occlusive bilabiale sourde
m	[m]	nasale bilabiale sonore
ɱ	[mʁ]	nasale bilabiale emphatique sonore
w	[w]	approximante labio-vélaire sonore
f	[f]	fricative labio-dentale sourde
v	[v]	fricative labio-dentale sonore
t	[θ]	fricative interdentale sourde
ð	[ð]	fricative interdentale sonore
ɖ	[dʁ]	occlusive alvéolaire emphatique sonore
ɗ	[ðʁ]	fricative interdentale emphatique sourde
t	[t]	occlusive alvéolaire sourde
ɖ	[tʁ]	occlusive alvéolaire emphatique sourde
d	[d]	occlusive alvéolaire sonore
n	[n]	nasale alvéolaire sonore
s	[s]	fricative alvéolaire sourde
ʃ	[sʁ]	fricative alvéolaire emphatique sourde
z	[z]	fricative alvéolaire sonore
ʒ	[zʁ]	fricative alvéolaire emphatique sonore
ʒ	[ʒ]	fricative post-alvéolaire sonore
ʃ	[ʃ]	fricative post-alvéolaire sourde
l	[l]	approximante latérale alvéolaire
ɭ	[lʁ]	approximante latérale alvéolaire emphatique
r	[r]	vibrante alvéolaire sonore
ɾ	[rʁ]	vibrante alvéolaire emphatique sonore
y	[j]	approximante palatale sonore
k	[k]	occlusive vélaire sourde
ɸ	[kʁ]	occlusive vélaire emphatique sourde
g	[g]	occlusive vélaire sonore
x	[x]	fricative vélaire sourde
ɣ	[ɣ]	fricative vélaire sonore
q	[q]	occlusive uvulaire sourde
ħ	[ħ]	fricative pharyngale sourde
ʕ	[ʕ]	fricative pharyngale sonore
ʔ	[ʔ]	occlusive glottale sourde
h	[h]	fricative glottale sourde

Introduction

Cette thèse vise à fournir une description linguistique rigoureuse de la phonologie et de la morphologie de l'arabe parlée dans la ville de Kairouan en Tunisie. De plus, elle vise à contribuer au débat en cours sur la réévaluation de la classification traditionnelle de l'arabe maghrébin (Caubet 1998; Benkato 2019; D'Anna 2020; Guerrero 2018; Mion 2014, 2015, 2018; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Pereira 2018), remettant en question la validité de l'origine monogénétique de l'arabe maghrébin à partir de l'arabe parlé à Kairouan entre le VII^e et le XI^e siècle (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) et la théorie de David Cohen sur les « parlers kairounais » (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65).

En effet, en 1925 William Marçais avait défini la ville de Kairouan comme la « mère des cités du Maghreb » (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219) et l'arabe kairouanais ancien comme la première variété de l'arabe parlée dans la région (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII). À partir de ce moment, l'arabe kairouanais ancien a été considéré comme l'origine de toutes les variétés de première couche pendant près d'un siècle (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII; W. Marçais 1950: 219; Singer 1984: 9; D. Cohen 1988: 106; Caubet 2004: 64; Aguadé 2018: 39). Puis, cette théorie a été affinée par David Cohen, qui a proposé un sous-groupe de variétés de première couche, en les appelant « parlers kairouanais » (Caubet 2000: 76; Caubet 2004: 64–65). Selon D. Cohen, ces variétés devraient être l'évolution linguistique locale de l'arabe kairouanais ancien.

Comme l'arabe parlé à Kairouan n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une étude rigoureuse, cette thèse vise à combler le vide en décrivant l'arabe parlé actuellement dans la ville de Kairouan et à surmonter le paradoxe selon lequel ni les données historiques ni linguistiques n'ont jamais vérifié la théorie de W. Marçais.

La thèse se divise en six chapitres. Le premier offre une aperçue (socio)historique et géographique sur la ville de Kairouan et sur la composition de sa population, présentant également le cadre théorique dans lequel cette thèse s'insère et la méthodologie utilisée pour collecter et analyser les données. Les chapitres suivants portent sur la phonologie, la morphologie verbale et nominale, les adverbes, les particules, les prépositions et les conjonctions. Le dernier chapitre illustre mes conclusions et mes perspectives de recherche.

Cette étude se referme sur une annexe de dix textes oraux transcrits et traduits, une bibliographie, et un glossaire qui collecte le vocabulaire transcrit dans le corps de la thèse, et d'autres mots fréquemment utilisés lors des entretiens.

Premier chapitre : Introduction à Kairouan et à son parler

Ce chapitre s'ouvre sur une description géographique de la ville de Kairouan, et sur une identification des phases historiques les plus marquantes de son passé. L'objectif est de rendre compte des phénomènes de migrations et d'urbanisation (du XVIII^e et du XX^e siècle) qui ont contribué au fil du temps aux déplacements des populations en direction de la ville ou en-dehors. Si je me focalise aussi sur certains aspects socio-historiques plus récents, c'est pour parvenir à une description linguistique fidèle de l'arabe kairouanais parlé aujourd'hui. De fait, il est avéré que certains événements migratoires sont à l'origine des phénomènes de contacts linguistiques qui expliquent la plupart des aspects de variation que j'ai identifiés dans mon corpus, et que j'analyse dans les chapitres suivants. C'est pourquoi j'insiste sur la présentation de la société kairouanaise, ainsi que sur les dynamiques et les conséquences des contacts linguistiques que je crois avoir été possible au sein de la ville à partir du XVIII^e siècle. Force est de constater que ces mêmes conséquences sociolinguistiques s'observent dans d'autres contextes arabophones similaires au cours des derniers siècles. (Miller et al. 2007).

Dans ce même chapitre, je consacre certains paragraphes à la présentation de la méthodologie que j'ai envisagée pour la réalisation de ma recherche et, notamment, pour la collection et l'analyse des données linguistiques. Pour parvenir à la description phonologique et morphologique de l'arabe kairouanais, je envisage une approche méthodologique fonctionnaliste couramment utilisée dans les études les plus solides de la dialectologie descriptive et comparative de l'arabe maghrébin MagA (Stumme 1896 ; Ph. Marçais 1956 ; D. Cohen 1975 ; Singer 1984 ; Caubet 1993 ; Ph. Marçais 1977 ; Vicente 2000 ; Pereira 2010 ; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a ; Guerrero 2015). Cette approche est intégrée à l'approche sociolinguistique variationniste (Messaoudi 2001 ; Miller et al. 2007 ; Bassiouney 2009 ; Messaoudi 2019 ; Al-Wer & Horesh 2019 ; Al-Wer et al. 2022) qui se base sur différents paramètres sociolinguistiques, tels que l'âge, le sexe et l'origine des locuteurs. Cette approche mixte me permet de mieux comprendre la relation entre la variété que je décris et son contexte d'utilisation.

En ce qui concerne la collecte des données, mon corpus est formé par les transcriptions des entretiens enregistrés sur le terrain (ethno-textes et questionnaires). Ces données sont analysées en tenant compte de la variation diachronique et sociolinguistique des locuteurs interviewés, et sont comparées au seul travail antérieur, qui porte sur l'arabe de Kairouan et qui est, notamment, la thèse de doctorat de Belhassen Badreddine (1977a ; 1977b) sur la phonétique et phonologie de l'arabe parlé à Kairouan.

Ensuite, je présente en détail les caractéristiques sociolinguistiques des informateurs, et la façon avec laquelle j'ai mené les entretiens avec eux. Chacun d'eux est présenté par un code (par exemple, SP1, SP2, etc.) qui l'identifie de manière anonyme. Les informations sociolinguistiques

résumées ci-dessous comprennent leur genre et leur âge, mais ils sont aussi présentés dans ma thèse leur lieux de naissance, croissance et résidence, leur origine familiale et les langues parlées.

Code du locuteur	Genre M	Genre F	âge 20-29	âge 30-39	âge 40-49	âge 50-59	âge 60-69	âge 70-79
SP1	x					x		
SP2		x			x			
SP3	x					x		
SP4 ^R	x			x				
SP5	x					x		
SP6		x					x	
SP7 ^R	x						x	
SP8	x				x			
SP9		x					x	
SP10	x				x			
SP11	x							x
SP12	x							x
SP13	x				x			
SP14		x				x		
SP15	x					x		
SP16	x				x			
SP17 ^R		x	x					
SP18 ^R		x	x					
SP19		x				x		
SP20	x						x	
SP21	x						x	
SP22		x					x	
SP23		x		x				

SP24 ^R		x				x		
SP25		x					x	
SP26		x		x				
SP27		x	x					
SP28 ^R		x				x		x
SP29		x		x				
SP30		x		x				
SP31		x					x	

Toujours au sein de ce chapitre, je présente l’approche théorique sur laquelle repose ma recherche (Mion 2015 ; Taine-Cheikh 2017 ; Mion 2014a ; 2015 ; 2018 ; Guerrero 2018 ; Pereira 2018 ; Benkato 2019 ; D’Anna 2020 ; Bettega & Morano 2022 ; Naddari 2023), et je dresse un état de l’art en rapport avec les études disponibles sur les parlers tunisiens (Stumme 1896 ; Singer 1984 ; D. Cohen 1964 ; 1975 ; Ritt-Benmimoun 2011 ; 2014a ; 2020). En outre, je problématise la théorie d’approche orientaliste formulée par W. Marçais en 1925 (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII ; W. Marçais 1950: 219). Celle-ci porte sur le rôle linguistique joué par la ville de Kairouan au moment de la première couche d’arabisation – de la deuxième moitié du VII^e au début du XI^e siècle – et la théorie des « parlers kairouanais » de David Cohen (Caubet 2000: 76 ; Caubet 2004: 64–65). Dans mon sixième chapitre, je me ressers de cette réflexion, et je la problématise à nouveau, à la lumière de la description de l’arabe kairouanais que je fournis en amont.

Les quatre chapitres qui suivent décrivent le système phonétique, phonologique, morphologique, verbal et nominal, ainsi que les adverbes et les particules du discours de l’arabe kairouanais.

Deuxième chapitre : Phonologie

Le deuxième chapitre se compose de huit paragraphes principaux qui portent sur la description des consonnes, des voyelles, des diphtongues, des structures syllabiques, de l’accent, des noms verbaux, et de certains aspects morpho-phonologiques et phonotactiques de l’arabe kairouanais.

En ce qui concerne la section consacrée aux consonnes, je décris tout d’abord le système consonantique dans son intégrité, qui se compose comme il suit :

	Occlusive		Fricative		Nasale	Approximante latérale	Approximante	Vibrante
	sourde	sonore	sourde	sonore	sonore	sonore	sonore	sonore
Bilabiale	p	b (b)			m (ṁ)			
Labiodentale			f	v				
Interdentale			ṫ	ḏ ḏ				
Alvéolaire	t (t ^s) ṭ	d (d ^s)	s ṣ	z (z)	n	l (l)		r ṛ
Post-alvéolaire			š	ž				
Palatale							y	
Vélaire	k (k)	g	x	ġ				
Labiovélaire							w	
Uvulaire	q		(χ)					
Pharyngale			ħ	ʕ				
Glottale	(ʔ)		h					

Puis je me focalise sur les phonèmes consonantiques qui présentent des éléments dignes de mention car ils s'éloignent d'autres variétés d'arabe tunisien et/ou maghrébin.

Au sujet du système vocalique, je décris l'ensemble des phonèmes et leurs allophones, leur évolution historique et le phénomène de l'*imāla*. Le tableau ci-dessous résume les phonèmes longs et brefs de l'arabe de Kairouan.

	Phonèmes longs et brefs		
	Antérieur	Centrale	Postérieur
Haute	ī		ū/u
Moyenne		ə	
Basse		ā/a	

Le tableau ci-dessous résume les allophones longs et brèves de l'arabe de Kairouan.

	Voyelles longues			Voyelles brèves		
Phonèmes	ā	ī	ū	a	ə	u
Allophones	[ɛː]/[ɑː]/[aː]	[iː]/[iː]	[uː]/[uː]	[a]/[ɑ]/[ɐ]	[ə]/[ɪ]/[i]/[ʊ]	[u]/[ʊ]

Enfin, je m'attarde sur le cas des diphtongues, aussi bien sous l'angle synchronique, que du point de vue de la monophthongaison des diphtongues étymologiques **aw* et **ay* en *ū* et *ī*. L'ensemble des diphtongues identifiées est présenté ci-dessous :

Voyelle longue	<i>āw</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>īw</i>	
Voyelle brève	<i>aw</i> (> <i>ū</i>)	<i>ay</i> (> <i>ī</i>)	<i>ayy</i>	<i>aww</i>

En ce qui concerne les structures syllabiques propres à l'arabe kairounais, toutes les combinaisons suivantes sont possibles :

C \bar{v} : *bā|hi* « OK », *bu* « père », *ġā|di* « là », *ma* « eau », *xu* « frère » ;

CvC: *baṛ|baṛ* « Berbères », *dəg|la* « type de dattes », *kam|məl* « il a fini », *yəb|da* « il a commencé », *yā|kul* « il mange » ;

C \bar{v} C: *bāb* « porte », *lūn* « couleur », *māk|la* « nourriture », *māt* « il est mort », *qāl* « il a dit » ;

CC \bar{v} : *ḥkā|ya* « histoire », *klī|nīk* « clinique », *ktī|ba* « inscriptions », *lqa* « trouver », *mša* « il est allé » ;

CCvC: *bḥar* « mer », *štar* « moitié », *ktəb* « il a écrit », *qbal* « avant », *štaḥ* « toit » ;

CC \bar{v} C: *blād* « pays », *bnīn* « savoureux », *kbār* « grand^{PL} », *klīm* « type de tapis », *škūn* « qui » ;

CvCC: *bənt* « fille », *faṣl* « saison », *kəlb* « chien », *məst|ḥaqq* « nécessaire », *ṣabb* « il a versé » ;

C \bar{v} CC: *ḥāṛṛ* « épice », *hāzz* « vieil homme », *hāzz* « prenant » ;

CCvCC: *ltəmm* « il a rassemblé », *fhəmt* « j'ai compris », *šṛəbt* « j'ai bu ».

Après avoir présenté les règles d'accentuation de l'arabe kairouanais, je fournis un aperçu des transformations syllabiques qui se vérifient dans des mots en monosyllabes ou en polysyllabes suffixées.

Le chapitre se conclut sur une description du nom verbal et des phénomènes phonotactiques, tels que l'assimilation, la dissimilation, l'haplologie, la métathèse, la gémination, l'élision et la pharyngalisation.

Troisième chapitre : Morphologie verbale

Le troisième chapitre décrit la morphologie verbale. Après une introduction générale au verbe en arabe de Kairouan, quatorze paragraphes traitant des conjugaisons de tous les types de verbes trilitères (sains, sourds, assimilés, concaves et défectueux), à la première forme et aux formes dérivées (II, III, V, VI, VIII, IX/XI), se succèdent. Je distingue également les formes doublement dérivées (X + V), la forme passive préfixé en *t-* et le verbe quadrilitère. De surcroît, j'examine les verbes anciennement hamzeés de racine (*√rʔy, √zyʔ*, √ʔkl, *√ʔxd). Pour chaque verbe conjugué, je donne, dans la mesure du possible, la conjugaison suffixale, la préfixale, impérative et les participes masculin et féminin actif et passif. Je donne ci-dessous la description et les déclinaisons de la deuxième forme à titre d'exemple.

La deuxième forme se caractérise par la gémination de la C² de la racine et son schéma est C¹vC²C²vC³, yC¹vC²C²vC³ et C¹vC²C²a, yC¹vC²C²i pour les verbes défectueux.

La première voyelle des formes préfixées et suffixées est toujours *a*, tandis que la deuxième voyelle peut être *a* ou *ə*. Cette voyelle est *a* lorsque C² ou C³ est une pharyngale, un emphatique ou le *q* uvulaire : *naḏḏaf*, *ynaḏḏaf* « nettoyer », *ṣaddaq*, *yṣaddaq* « croire », *qaṭṭaʕ*, *yqaṭṭaʕ* « couper ». Sinon, cette voyelle est *ə* : *kassər*, *ykassər* « casser », *naggəz*, *ynaggəz* « sauter », *xaddəm*, *yxaddəm* « employer ».

Les schémas des participes sont *mC¹aC²C²vC³*, *mC¹aC²C²C³a^{FEM}*, *mC¹aC²C²C³in^{PL}*.

Les valeurs sémantiques (Ph. Marçais 1956: 175–207) exprimées par la deuxième forme en arabe de Kairouan sont les suivantes :

- causatif : *dawwəʔ*, *ydawwəʔ* « faire tourner quelque chose », *habbaʔ*, *yhabbaʔ* « abaisser » ;
- intensif : *kassar*, *ykassar* « casser », *qaṭṭaʕ*, *yqaṭṭaʕ* « couper », *naggəz*, *ynaggəz* « sauter » ;
- dénominatif : *dawwəš*, *ydawwəš* « prendre une douche », *ganna*, *yganni* « chanter » ;
- délocutif : *kalləm*, *ykalləm* « appeler », *salləm*, *ysalləm* « saluer », *ṣalla*, *yṣalli* « prier ».

Selon la description ci-dessus, la racine régulière présente deux schémas qui sont C¹aC²C²əC³, yC¹aC²C²əC³ (*a-ə*) et C¹aC²C²aC³, yC¹aC²C²aC³ (*a-a*). Un exemple du paradigme est présenté ci-dessous :

C¹aC²C²vC³, yC¹aC²C²vC³ *ṣaddaq*, *yṣaddaq* « croire »

	Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale	Impératif
3SG.M	<i>ṣaddaq</i>	<i>yṣaddaq</i>	

3SG.F	<i>şaddqət</i>	<i>tşaddaq</i>	
2SG	<i>şaddaqt</i>	<i>tşaddaq</i>	<i>şaddaq</i>
1SG	<i>şaddaqt</i>	<i>nşaddaq</i>	
3PL	<i>şaddqu</i>	<i>nşaddqu</i>	
2PL	<i>şaddaqtu</i>	<i>tşaddqu</i>	<i>şaddqu</i>
1PL	<i>şaddaqna</i>	<i>yşaddqu</i>	

Participes

SG.M	<i>mşaddaq</i>
SG.F	<i>mşaddqa</i>
PL	<i>mşaddqīn</i>

Un exemple de la conjugaison du verbe géminé est la suivante :

$C^1aC^2C^2vC^3$, $yC^1aC^2C^2vC^3$ *şahḥah*, *yşahḥah* « signer »

	Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale	Impératif
3SG.M	<i>şahḥah</i>	<i>yşahḥah</i>	
3SG.F	<i>şahḥət</i>	<i>tşahḥah</i>	
2SG	<i>şahḥaht</i>	<i>tşahḥah</i>	<i>şahḥah</i>
1SG	<i>şahḥaht</i>	<i>nşahḥah</i>	
3PL	<i>şahḥu</i>	<i>yşahḥu</i>	
2PL	<i>şahḥahtu</i>	<i>tşahḥu</i>	<i>şahḥu</i>
1PL	<i>şahḥahna</i>	<i>nşahḥu</i>	
	Participes		
SG.M	<i>mşahḥah</i>		
SG.F	<i>mşahḥa</i>		
PL	<i>mşahḥīn</i>		

Un exemple de la conjugaison du verbe assimilé est la suivante :

$yaC^2C^2vC^3$, $yyaC^2C^2vC^3$ *yabbəs*, *yyabbəs* « sécher »

	Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale	Impératif
3SG.M	<i>yabbəs</i>	<i>yyabbəs</i>	
3SG.F	<i>yabbsət</i>	<i>tyabbəs</i>	
2SG	<i>yabbəst</i>	<i>tyabbəs</i>	<i>yabbəs</i>
1SG	<i>yabbəst</i>	<i>nyabbəs</i>	
3PL	<i>yabbsu</i>	<i>yyabbsu</i>	
2PL	<i>yabbəstu</i>	<i>tyabbsu</i>	<i>yabbsu</i>
1PL	<i>yabbəsna</i>	<i>nyabbsu</i>	

Un exemple de la conjugaison du verbe concave est la suivante :

$C^1aC^2wwvC^3$, $yC^1aC^2wwvC^3$, *şawwəṛ*, *yşawwəṛ* « prendre une photo, dessiner »

	Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale	Impératif
3SG.M	<i>şawwəṛ</i>	<i>yşawwəṛ</i>	
3SG.F	<i>şawwṛət</i>	<i>tşawwəṛ</i>	
2SG	<i>şawwəṛt</i>	<i>tşawwəṛ</i>	<i>şawwəṛ</i>
1SG	<i>şawwəṛt</i>	<i>nşawwəṛ</i>	
3PL	<i>şawwṛu</i>	<i>yşawwṛu</i>	
2PL	<i>şawwəṛtu</i>	<i>tşawwṛu</i>	<i>şawwṛu</i>
1PL	<i>şawwəṛna</i>	<i>nşawwṛu</i>	
Participes			
SG.M	<i>mşawwəṛ</i>		
SG.F	<i>mşawwṛa</i>		
PL	<i>mşawwṛīn</i>		

Un exemple de la conjugaison du verbe défectueux est la suivante :

$C^1aC^2C^2a$, $yC^1aC^2C^2i$ *şadda*, *yşaddi* « passer »

	Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale	Impératif
3SG.M	<i>ʕadda</i>	<i>yʕaddi</i>	
3SG.F	<i>ʕaddāt</i>	<i>tʕaddi</i>	
2SG	<i>ʕaddīt</i>	<i>tʕaddi</i>	<i>ʕadda</i>
1SG	<i>ʕaddīt</i>	<i>nʕaddi</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕaddāw</i>	<i>yʕaddīw</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕaddītu</i>	<i>tʕaddīw</i>	<i>ʕaddāw</i>
1PL	<i>ʕaddīna</i>	<i>nʕaddīw</i>	
	Participes		
SG.M	<i>mʕaddi</i>		
SG.F	<i>mʕaddyā</i>		
PL	<i>mʕaddyīn</i>		

Quatrième chapitre : Morphologie nominale et pronominale

Dans le quatrième chapitre je décris la morphologie nominale qui est répartie dans les catégories grammaticales du nom, de la détermination/indétermination, des pronoms et des nombres. La section qui porte sur le nom établi un catalogue des schèmes nominaux du singulier, du pluriel et des diminutifs relevés dans le parler arabe de Kairouan. J'énumère les schèmes les plus caractéristiques de ce parler, tels que les schèmes bilitères, trilitères, quadrilatères, pentalitères, suffixés et préfixés. Je résume ci-dessous quelques exemples de schémas nominaux trilitères en arabe kairounais.

Le schéma $C^1aC^2C^3$ correspond principalement à l'équivalent en arabe ancien $C^1aC^2C^3$: *faʕq* « différence », *faʕš* « lit », *nafs* « même », *naqš* « gravure », *nawʕ* « type », *qalb* « cœur », *qamḥ* « blé », *raḥḥ* « Dieu », *šayy* « chose », *waqt* « temps », *xaṭṭ* « calligraphie », *ʕahd* « ère, période », *ʕamm* « oncle paternel », *wažh* « visage ».

Le schéma $C^1aC^2C^3a$ correspond principalement au schéma de l'arabe ancien $C^1aC^2C^3a$: *fažʕa* « peur », *ḥafla* « fête, célébration », *ḥamla* « câlin », *kaʕba* « morceau », *labsa* « robe », *marra* « fois », *maʕda* « estomac », *qahwa* « café », *qaʕa* « morceau », *zanqa* « rue étroite ». Il comprend également le schéma de l'arabe ancien $C^1aC^2C^3āʔ$, qui est utilisé pour les formes féminines d'adjectifs qui expriment des couleurs ou des défauts physiques : *zaʕqa* « bleue^{FEM} », *xaḍra*

« verte^{FEM} », *kaḥla* « noire^{FEM} », *taṛša* « sourde^{FEM} », Un exemple d'un adjectif féminin de racine défectueuse est *ʕamya* « aveugle^{FEM} ».

Dans cette partie, je m'attarde également sur le genre (masculin et féminin), le nombre (singulier, duel et pluriel), ainsi que sur les degrés du nom (diminutif, comparatif et superlatif).

Dans la partie sur la détermination et l'indétermination, j'étudie les stratégies linguistiques utilisées pour définir un nom (à travers l'article, les pronoms suffixes, l'annexion directe et indirecte), ou pour le maintenir à l'état indéterminé. Ensuite, je distingue les formes et les usages des pronoms. Parmi eux, je présente :

- les pronoms personnels indépendants

1SG	(y) <i>āna</i>	1PL	(y) <i>aḥna, naḥna</i>
2SG	<i>anti</i>	2PL	<i>antūma</i>
3SG.M	<i>hūwa</i>	3PL	<i>hūma</i>
3SG.F	<i>hīya</i>		

- les pronoms personnels suffixes

1SG	-i/-ya, -ni	1PL	-na
2SG	-ək/-k	2PL	-kum
3SG.M	-u/-h, -hu, -w	3PL	-hum
3SG.F	-ha, -hi		

- les pronoms démonstratifs

	Proximité	Distance
MASC	<i>hāḍa, hāḍāy, hāḍāya</i>	<i>hāḍāka</i>
FEM	<i>hāḍi, hāḍīy, hāḍīya</i>	<i>hāḍīka</i>
PL	<i>hāḍūma</i>	<i>hāḍūka, hāḍūk, hāḍūkum</i>

- les pronoms interrogatifs *škūn, škūnu, škūni* « qui ? » ; *āš?, š-...?* « quoi ? » ; *šnīya/šnūwa, (šnawwa), šnu, šn-* « quoi ? comment ? » ; *āna* « laquelle ?, laquelle ?, lesquelles ? » ;
- les pronoms relatifs *alli/lli/alla* « qui, quoi », *škūn* « qui » ;
- les pronoms réfléchis *ṛūḥ-, ṛwāḥ-, b-īd-i, nafs* ;
- les pronoms indéfinis *āxər, bʕaḍ, ḥadd, ḥāža, šayy, flān, kull, wāḥəd*.

Dans les paragraphes suivants de ce chapitre j'énumère et explique l'utilisation des nombres cardinaux et ordinaux. À cet égard, voici la liste des nombres cardinaux de 1 à deux milliards et les ordinaux de 1 à 10.

Les nombres cardinales

1	<i>wāḥad, wāḥda</i>	11	<i>ḥdāš</i>	21	<i>wāḥad w ʕašrīn</i>
2	<i>ṭnīn/zūz</i>	12	<i>aṭnāš</i>	22	<i>ṭnīn w ʕašrīn</i>
3	<i>tlāṭa</i>	13	<i>ṭlaṭṭāš</i>	23	<i>tlāṭa w ʕašrīn</i>
4	<i>aṛbʕa</i>	14	<i>aṛbaʕṭāš</i>	30	<i>tlāṭīn</i>
5	<i>xamsa</i>	15	<i>xmuṣṭāš</i>	40	<i>aṛbʕīn</i>
6	<i>satta</i>	16	<i>səṭṭāš</i>	50	<i>xamsīn</i>
7	<i>sabʕa</i>	17	<i>sbaʕṭāš</i>	60	<i>səṭṭīn</i>
8	<i>ṭmānya</i>	18	<i>ṭmunṭāš</i>	70	<i>sabʕīn</i>
9	<i>təsʕa</i>	19	<i>tsaʕṭāš</i>	80	<i>ṭmānīn</i>
10	<i>ʕašʕa</i>	20	<i>ʕašrīn</i>	90	<i>təsʕīn</i>
100	<i>mīya</i>	1 000	<i>alf</i>	1 000 000	<i>malyūn</i>
101	<i>mīya w wāḥad</i>	2 000	<i>ālfīn</i>	2 000 000	<i>zūz mlāyn</i>
102	<i>mīya w ṭnīn</i>	3 000	<i>tlāṭ ālāf</i>	3 000 000	<i>tlāṭa mlāyn</i>
200	<i>mītīn</i>	4 000	<i>aṛbʕ ālāf</i>	4 000 000	<i>aṛbʕa mlāyn</i>
300	<i>tlāṭa mīya</i>	5 000	<i>xams ālāf</i>	5 000 000	<i>xamsa mlāyn</i>
400	<i>aṛbʕa mīya</i>	6 000	<i>səṭt ālāf</i>	6 000 000	<i>satta mlāyn</i>
500	<i>xamsa mīya</i>	7 000	<i>sabʕ ālāf</i>	7 000 000	<i>sabʕa mlāyn</i>
600	<i>satta mīya</i>	8 000	<i>ṭmāny ālāf</i>	8 000 000	<i>ṭmānya mlāyn</i>
700	<i>sabʕa mīya</i>	9 000	<i>təsʕ ālāf</i>	9 000 000	<i>təsʕa mlāyn</i>
800	<i>ṭmānya mīya</i>	10 000	<i>ʕašʕ ālāf</i>	1 000 000 000	<i>bālyūn/mīlyār</i>
900	<i>təsʕa mīya</i>	11 000	<i>ḥdāš alf</i>	2 000 000 000	<i>zūz blāyn/ zūz mīlyārāt</i>

Les nombres ordinales

	SG.M	SG.F
1	<i>awwəl, l-ūl</i>	<i>l-ūla</i>
2	<i>ṭāni</i>	<i>ṭānya</i>
3	<i>ṭāləṭ</i>	<i>ṭālṭa</i>
4	<i>ṛābəʕ</i>	<i>ṛābʕa</i>
5	<i>xāməs</i>	<i>xāmsa</i>
6	<i>sādəs</i>	<i>sādsa</i>
7	<i>sābəʕ</i>	<i>sābʕa</i>
8	<i>ṭāmən</i>	<i>ṭāmna</i>

9	<i>tāsəf</i>	<i>tāsfa</i>
10	<i>ʕāšəf</i>	<i>ʕāšra</i>

Finalement, je referme ce chapitre avec un paragraphe qui liste et explique l'expression des mois, des jours, des fractions et des pourcentages.

Les noms des jours de la semaine

Lundi	<i>(nhār) ət-tnīn</i>
Mardi	<i>(nhār) ət-tlāta</i>
Mercredi	<i>(nhār) l-aṛbfa</i>
Jeudi	<i>(nhār) lə-xmīs</i>
Vendredi	<i>(nhār) l-žumfa</i>
Samedi	<i>(nhār) əs-səbt</i>
Dimanche	<i>(nhār) l-aḥad</i>

Les noms des mois de l'année

Janvier	<i>žānfi</i>
Février	<i>fivri</i>
Mars	<i>mārs</i>
Avril	<i>avrīl</i>
Mai	<i>māy</i>
Juin	<i>žwān</i>
Juillet	<i>žwīlya</i>
Août	<i>ūt</i>
Septembre	<i>səptambəf</i>
Octobre	<i>uktübəf</i>
Novembre	<i>nūvambəf</i>
Décembre	<i>dīsambəf</i>

L'heure

	Du matin	Du soir
1	<i>mā(di) sāfa mtāf əl-līl</i>	<i>mā(di) sāfa mtāf əl-qāyla</i>
2	<i>mā(di) sāftīn mtāf əl-līl</i>	<i>mā(di) sāftīn mtāf əl-qāyla</i>
3	<i>mā(di) tlāta mtāf əṣ-šbāḥ</i>	<i>mā(di) tlāta lə-ʕšīya</i>

4	<i>l-aṛbʕa mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>l-aṛbʕa mtāʕ lə-ʕšīya</i>
5	<i>l-xamsa mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>l-xamsa mtāʕ lə-ʕšīya</i>
6	<i>l-səтта mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>l-səтта mtāʕ lə-ʕšīya</i>
7	<i>l-sabʕa mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>l-sabʕa mtāʕ lə-ʕšīya</i>
8	<i>tmānya mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>l-tmānya mtāʕ lə-ʕšīya</i>
9	<i>təsʕa mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>təsʕa mtāʕ əl-līl</i>
10	<i>ʕašʕa mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>ʕašʕa mtāʕ əl-līl</i>
11	<i>lə-ḥdāš mtāʕ əṣ-ṣbāḥ</i>	<i>lə-ḥdāš mtāʕ əl-līl</i>
12	<i>nuṣṣ nhār</i>	<i>nuṣṣ əl-līl</i>

Cinquième chapitre : Adverbes, particules, prépositions, conjonctions

Le cinquième chapitre est divisé en quatre paragraphes principaux qui visent à décrire – avec des exemples extraits de mon corpus – les adverbes, les prépositions, les conjonctions et les particules principales et plus répandues dans le parler kairounais. Le premier de ces paragraphes présente les adverbes :

- de temps, *bārəḥ, baʕd, bəkri, tawwa, tawwa, mā-zāl, sna, sāʕāt, ṣbāḥ, ʕumr, mā-ʕād-š, ʕām, ʕudwa, qbal, līla, marra, nhār, waqt, yūm* ;
- de lieu, *ḥarra, bʕīd, dāxəl, tūl, ʕādi, fūq, quddām, qṛīb, hna, wra/tāli, wuṣt, wta, yṣār, ymīn* ;
- de manière et de quantité, *ḥarša, ḥarqa, blāš, bāl, žəmla, ḥatta, ḥāšīlu, b-əl-ḥaqq, xaṣṣatan, zāda, fīsaʕ, šwayya, b-əḏ-ḏabṭ, b-əl-gda, taqṛīb, kaḏa, b-əl-kull, kāməl, kīf kīf, bə-llāh, hakkā(ka), yāsəṛ, yumkun* ;
- et les adverbes interrogatifs *ʕlāš, šbī-, qaddāš, kīfāš, waqtāš, wīn/fīn*.

Je présente ci-dessous la description de l’adverbe *nhār* à titre d'exemple pour le reste des adverbes mentionnés :

ən-nhār « pendant la journée »

sāʕāt naxtəf ən-nhār sāʕtīn nqayyəl « parfois je vole deux heures de la journée pour faire une sieste ».

nhārāt-ha « ces jours »

hāḏīya nhārāt-ha bəš tzi nhārāt-ha bəš tṛawwah ḥāḏṛa-l-ha tabdīlāt-ha w ṣābbāt-ha w farš-ha « ces jours étaient dédiés à préparer ses vêtements, ses changements, ses chaussures et son lit »

hāk-ən-nhār « ce jour-là »

āk-ən-nhār xāl-ək, [prénom masculin], *ṭlabt-u yzi ʕašʕa marṛāt mā-žāwəb-nī-š* « l'autre jour, ton oncle [prénom masculin], je l'ai appelé une dizaine de fois. Il ne m'a pas répondu ».

nhār l-kull « toute la journée »

nhār l-kull nhār lə-kull ənti f-ət-tālīfūn « toute la journée, toute la journée tu es au téléphone ».

la nhār « même pas un jour »

la nhār qāl-l-i ya [prénom féminine] *ğatfi rās-ək* « même pas un jour il ne m'a dit, '[nom propre féminin], couvre ta tête' ».

Le paragraphe sur les particules décrit :

- la marque d'annexion *mtāf* ;
- les particules utilisées pour exprimer l'affirmation *āy, āywa, nšam, waļļā(hi), wkāy* ;
- les particules utilisées pour exprimer la négation *la, mā-...-š(i), muš, mā-... šayy, mā-... ḥatta šayy, mā-... ḥadd, mā-... ḥatta ḥadd, mā-... ḥatta wāḥəd, mā-... ḥāža, mā-... ḥatta ḥāža, mā-... kān, šumr-... mā-... ;*
- les marques interrogatives *-ə?, -š(i), x-* ;
- les marques exclamatives *ti/t-, ya/ā* ;
- la marque *fi* ;
- l'existentiel *famma/mā-fammā-š* ;
- et les trois présentatifs *rā-, hā- et mā-*.

Le paragraphe suivant liste les prépositions simples et composés *b-, bašd, blāš, ma bīn, taht, ḥatta, bə-ḥda, ḡədd, šla, šand, mən ġīr, fūq, fi, qbal, quddām, kīma, kīf, l-, mša, mən, b-ən-nəsba l-, wra, fi wušt*. Je présente ci-dessous la description de la préposition *šand* « chez, auprès, en possession de » à titre d'exemple pour le reste des prépositions analysés.

La préposition *šand* a plusieurs significations. Elle correspond à la préposition « chez », par exemple dans le cas de *ḥatta šand ət-ṭīb maḡrūb* « j'étais faible même chez le médecin ». Elle exprime la durée « il y a, ça fait » lorsqu'on demande « quand ? » ou « depuis quand ? » : *hūma mšu šand-hum xamsīn sna* « ils sont partis il y a cinquante ans », *šand-u yumkun aqall m-əl-šām* « ça fait peut-être moins d'un an ».

De plus, *šand* exprime la possession et peut être considéré comme équivalent au verbe « avoir », par exemple, *šand-i tašwīra* « j'ai une photo », *šand-ək portable?* « as-tu un téléphone? », *šand-i wəld-i* « j'ai un fils ». Dans cette utilisation, *šand* peut également se trouver à la forme négative: *mā-šand-ək-ši* l'esprit « tu n'as pas l'esprit », *mā-šand-ī-š nūmīū-ha* « je n'ai pas son numéro », *mā-šand-ū-š sgār* « il n'a pas de fils ». Avec le suffixe de la première personne du pluriel *-na*, la préposition devient *šan* : *šand + na > šan-na* : *šan-na fəkra š-əl-ḥarra* « nous avons une idée de l'étranger ».

Forme positive

Forme negative

1SG	<i>ʕand-i</i>	1PL	<i>ʕan-na</i>	1SG	<i>mā-ʕand-ī-š</i>	1PL	<i>mā-ʕan-nā-š</i>
2SG	<i>ʕand-ək</i>	2PL	<i>ʕand-kum</i>	2SG	<i>mā-ʕand-ək-š</i>	2PL	<i>mā-ʕand-kum-š</i>
3SG.M	<i>ʕand-u</i>			3SG.M	<i>mā-ʕand-ū-š</i>		
		3PL	<i>ʕand-hum</i>			3PL	<i>mā-ʕand-hum-š</i>
3SG.F	<i>ʕand-ha</i>			3SG.F	<i>mā-ʕand-hā-š</i>		

Finalement la dernière section présente les conjonctions de coordination *amma*, *la...la...*, *lākən*, *w-* et *walla* et les conjonctions de subordination *əlli*, *bəš*, *baʕd ma*, *ʕla xātəṛ*, *ma dām*, *raġm*, *ʕt̄bāra*, *ʕād*, *hādāka ʕlāš*, *ma ġīr ma*, *qbal ma*, *ida kān*, *law kān*, *kīma*, *kīf*, *līn*, *waqt əlli*, *wīn*. Je présente ci-dessous la description de la conjonctions (*ʕla*) *xātəṛ* « parce que » à titre d'exemple pour le reste des prépositions analysés.

La forme *xātəṛ* sans la préposition *ʕla* est la plus attestée dans l'arabe de Kairouan comme le montrent les exemples suivants : *taʕbət šwayya f-əl-césarienne xātəṛ ət-tānya* « elle était un peu fatiguée avec la césarienne parce qu'elle est la deuxième [fille] », *āna fīsaʕ zīt xātəṛ ālīsiya žāya* « je suis parti bientôt parce que Alessia arrivait », *ənti f-əs-sbānya talqa d-damm kīf kīf f-əs-sbānya xātəṛ lə-qrāwa mšāw faḥu əs-sbānya* « tu trouves le même sang en Espagne parce que les Kairouanais ont conquis l'Espagne », *ʕlāš nāklu f-əl-kəftāzi w nāklu l-ḥārṛ ɓarša? xātəṛ-na bə-ṛasm-i* esprit *mtāʕ-na ḥārṛ* « pourquoi mangeons-nous du *kəftāzi* et très épicé ? Parce que, en fait, notre esprit est épicé ».

Sixième chapitre : Conclusions

Le sixième et dernier chapitre de ma thèse se divise en deux parties. La première propose un aperçu conclusif au sujet de la typologie linguistique de l'arabe kairouanais, que je définis comme une variété typologiquement très proche de celle de Tunis. Il en ressort que les isoglosses du parler kairouanais contemporain sont conformes à ceux des parlers dits « sédentaires citadins » (W. Marçais 1950), comme je le montre ci-dessus.

Isoglosses typiques de l'arabe tunisien sédentaire selon W. Marçais (1950: 207–210)	Arabe kairouanais
Réalisation du <i>qāf</i> étymologique comme /q/	✓
Monophthongisation en <i>ī</i> et en <i>ū</i> des diphtongues étymologiques * <i>ay</i> et * <i>aw</i>	✓
Redoublement du <i>-t</i> dans les verbes à la troisième personne féminine du singulier et	✓

dans le participe féminin, lorsqu'ils sont suivis d'un suffixe commençant par une voyelle	
Schéma CCvC	✓
Formes diminutives C ¹ C ² ɾC ³ əC ⁴	
Perte de la distinction de genre à la deuxième personne dans les verbes et pronoms personnels indépendant	✓
Reconstruction d'une voyelle longue dans les verbes défectueux	✓
Coïncidence des formes du participe actif et passif dans les formes verbales augmentés	✓
Utilisation de la forme passive en <i>t-</i>	✓
Vocabulaire typique	✓

Toutefois, l'arabe kairounais atteste à la fois d'une entrée progressive des isoglosses dite « bédouines » que j'ai seulement trouvée dans le parler de certains locuteurs qui sont nés et qui ont grandi dans la ville de Kairouan, mais qui viennent de familles originaires de zones rurales de migration (*rīf*), dans lesquelles les variétés d'arabe parlées peuvent être classifiées comme *villageois* et bédouines. Je considère ce phénomène comme le résultat des contacts linguistiques provoqués par les vagues d'exode rural amorcées à partir du XVIII^e siècle en direction de Kairouan. Il s'explique aussi par la composition sociale actuelle de sa population. Cependant, ce contact interdialectal ne semble pas conduire actuellement à des effets de « bédouinisation » du parler kairounais, comme cela arrive dans d'autres contextes arabophones (Miller et al. 2007). En revanche, l'arabe kairounais reste très reconnaissable dans ses caractéristiques linguistiques aussi bien selon les résultats de mon étude que selon la perception des locuteurs de la communauté interviewée.

Par rapport à mes perspectives de recherche, je me dédierai à :

- une analyse approfondie des catégories lexicales, grammaticales et fonctionnelles des quatre principaux verbes de perception visuelle utilisés en arabe de Kairouan (*ra*, *šāf*, *ġzur*, et *tfarraž ʕla*) ;
- la description syntaxique systématique de l'arabe de Kairouan, incluant les catégories de l'accord, de l'aspect, de la négation, de la coordination, de la subordination, de la modalité et les phrases conditionnelles ;

- une enquête supplémentaire ciblée sur les phénomènes de variation sociolinguistique liés au genre et aux jeunes locuteurs en interviewant des groupes plus nombreux de locuteurs ;
- une enquête sociolinguistique ciblée sur les locuteurs d'origine rurale afin de mieux comprendre les phénomènes qui sont en cours de se développer dans le domaine des contacts inter-dialectaux dans l'arabe de Kairouan.

Dans la deuxième partie de ce dernier chapitre, je reviens sur la remise en question de la théorie monogénétique de l'origine kairouanaise des variétés d'arabe maghrébin de première couche. De cette façon, mon étude s'insère dans le débat en cours sur la réévaluation de la classification traditionnelle de l'arabe maghrébin (Mion 2014 ; 2015 ; 2018 ; Taine-Cheikh 2017 ; Guerrero 2018 ; Pereira 2018 ; Benkato 2019 ; D'Anna 2020). Dans le cadre de cette problématique, je remets en cause la validité de l'origine monogénétique kairouanaise de l'arabe maghrébin de première couche (W. Marçais & Guîga 1925: XXXIII ; W. Marçais 1950: 219) et la définition des « parlers kairouanais » proposée par David Cohen (Caubet 2000: 76 ; Caubet 2004: 64–65). Afin de mieux cerner la démonstration linguistique, je m'intéresse aux événements historiques et sociaux majeurs qui ont accompagné le début des deux prétendues couches d'arabisation au Maghreb entre le VII^e et le XI^e siècle. En outre, je compare trois isoglosses de l'arabe de première couche : la réalisation du *qāf* étymologique, les fricatives interdentes et les diphtongues **aw* et **ay*. J'analyse leur développement diachronique et leur distribution synchronique dans des variétés actuellement parlées au Maghreb, mais aussi dans d'autres, plus anciennes, telles que l'arabe andalou et sicilien, le maltais et certaines variétés judéo-arabes. À ce propos, il semble que certaines réalisations phonétiques considérées comme typiquement de « deuxième couche » étaient en réalité déjà répandues dans des variétés dites de « première couche », en montrant une variation linguistique encore plus présente que prévu. Par conséquent, je suppose que leur diffusion au Maghreb remonte avant les conquêtes bédouines, contrairement à ce qui a été traditionnellement affirmé. De plus, cette situation me conduit à soutenir que :

1. la variation linguistique trouvée en arabe andalou - en particulier -, en arabe de Sicile et en maltais pourrait suggérer qu'une phase « proto-maghrébine » était en développement au moment de la première vague d'arabisation. Pendant cette période, des différentes réalisations des mêmes isoglosses étaient encore présentes, et les isoglosses « maghrébines » étaient encore en formation à cette époque ;

2. cette hypothèse confirmerait alors la théorie proposée par Vanhove (1998 : 98), selon laquelle ce qui est communément appelé arabe maghrébin de première couche était probablement une mosaïque de variétés, sur lequel agissaient à la fois des forces de koinésation et de diversification.

Pour cette raison, certaines caractéristiques des variétés arabes qui sont arrivées initialement au Maghreb ont survécu, et d'autres sont disparues ;

3. par conséquent, la théorie d'une origine monogénétique (kairouanaise ou non kairouanaise) de l'arabe de première couche semble difficile à être soutenue et montrée. Même si l'ancien arabe de Kairouan était la variété la plus prestigieuse parlée en Afrique du Nord, elle n'était probablement pas la seule formée ;

4. de plus, l'exclusion de la Libye (actuelle) et de l'arabe libyen ancien des études relatives à l'arabisation linguistique du Maghreb a fait oublier que l'ancien arabe de Kairouan n'était probablement même pas la première variété d'arabe parlée en Afrique du Nord.

En conclusion, il est raisonnable de supposer que l'ancien KA n'était pas la première variété d'arabe parlée en Afrique du Nord ni l'origine monogénétique de tout l'arabe de première couche. Par conséquent, la théorie de W. Marçais devrait être considérée comme obsolète, grâce à ce que les données linguistiques et socio-historiques ont prouvé dans cette thèse.

En plus, la typologie linguistique de l'arabe kairouanais actuel est typologiquement incompatible avec celle des « parlers kairouanais » et les données socio-historiques confirment cette hypothèse. Même si une ancienne koinè kairouanaise avait existé et s'était répandue en Afrique du Nord, cela aurait pu laisser des traces dans les parlers kairouanais, mais cela n'aurait plus rien à voir avec le 'arabe kairouanais actuel. En effet, la ville de Kairouan a été détruite en 1057, sa population a principalement fui ou est morte, et surtout, les nouveaux venus d'origine bédouine ont pratiquement repeuplé Kairouan (Caubet 2004: 64). Bien qu'il y ait eu une diaspora de locuteurs kairouanais dans les villes où les variétés kairouanais sont parlés aujourd'hui (Fes Tlemcen, Nedroma, Tunis, Sefrou, Algiers, Malte), comment pouvons-nous prouver après tout ce temps - avec des vagues d'arabisation, des contacts linguistiques, des repeuplements, des phénomènes d'urbanisation - que ces parlers actuels sont les évolutions directes d'une variété que nous ne connaissons ? Comment pouvons-nous confirmer que leurs isoglosses communs proviennent vraiment de locuteurs kairouanais ?

En conclusion, comme prévu, la description grammaticale de l'arabe parlé aujourd'hui à Kairouan ne peut pas directement me permettre de déduire des conclusions - ou même de formuler des hypothèses - sur la typologie de l'arabe parlé dans la même ville il y a quatorze siècles. Néanmoins, la description faite à présent, associée aux considérations linguistiques et socio-historiques et aux comparaisons présentées ci-dessus, a aidé à éclairer les aspects que j'ai résumé dans ces conclusions.

En ce qui concerne les sujets de dialectologie historique liés à l'ancien arabe kairouanais et à l'arabisation de l'Afrique du Nord, c'est évident que des études supplémentaires sont nécessaires pour améliorer notre connaissance sur l'évolution de l'arabe maghrébin. Pour cela, je me dédierai à :

- continuer la comparaison des nouvelles isoglosses phonétiques et morphosyntaxiques en diachronie et en diatopie. Les premières d'entre elles que j'analyserai seront la distribution et les fonctions du verbe *ra* « voir » et du pronom personnel indépendant de première personne du singulier *yāna* « je » en arabe maghrébin ;

- mener une enquête plus approfondie sur l'histoire locale de Kairouan pour collecter plus de données afin de retracer autant que possible les phénomènes liés au repeuplement de la ville au moment de la deuxième vague d'arabisation et à d'autres migrations ou repeuplements ultérieurs qui se sont succédés jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle.

Textes et traductions

Afin d'illustrer plus clairement l'arabe kairouanais, je rapport ci-dessous deux extraits de mes entretiens.

Texte 1

SP21 : *qurwān blād bāhya nḏīfa ən-nās yḥabbū-ha āy* calme les gens sympathiques et propres tous là voilà. *hāda mḥall l-ət-tižāra^{MSA} šināʿa^{MSA} t-taqlīdīya^{MSA} f-əž-žəld naʃnʿu ž-žəld kull-u b-əl-yədd əlli tṛa fī-hum əl-kull ma šāʔ aḷlāh maxdūmīn b-əl-yədd šināʿa^{MSA} taqlīdīya^{MSA} qayrawānīya^{MSA} tūnīsīya^{MSA} w talqā-ha m-əl-ḥarṛa žəld w mən dāxəl zāda žəld dīma ʕ-əž-žəld kull-u žəld. ḥāza məzyāna w typique tunisien āy w yḥabbū-ha yžīw əz-zuwwār maʕnā-ha ḥatta mən tūnəs m-əl-ḥarṛa w yḥabbu maʕnā-ha əl-qtāyʕ hāḏūma w maʕnā-ha yzīdu yšəzzʕū-na maʕnā-ha w kull šayy ʕla xāṭəṛ tawwa əš-šīnīyīn hāḏūma ət-tālīyīn... l-yīd əl-ʕamla tḑāqḑət w mʕa d-dunya maʕnā-ha les commerces un peu de crise mā-ʕād-š famma škūn yḥəbb yaʕnaʕ maʕnā-ha əž-žəld maʕnā-ha w kull šayy qāʕdīn aḥna nəxdmu bə-šwayya bə-šwayya. tawwa l-kull yḥəbbu ybaddlu maʕnā-ha f-əs-sūri hāda kull kull-u ʕarabi^{MSA} šināʿa^{MSA} taqlīdīya^{MSA} ʕarabi^{MSA} tūnīsīya^{MSA} [...] w famma lli yəšri mən ʕan-na ḥatta baʕd arḃʕa xamsa snīn yarḑaʕ yzīd yəšri kīma šār l-ək ənti hāk šrīt mən ʕand-i muddat arḃʕa xamsa snīn w rḑaʕt maʕnā-ha l-tūnəs w l-qayrawān^{MSA} w hāk šrīt mən ʕand-ī [...]āy yāna mən əl-qayrawān^{MSA} āšīl əl-qayrawān^{MSA} wəld əš-šayx [prénom masculin] āb ʕan žədd-i hākka āy ʕan-na maʕnā-ha kif hāḏāya twaffa əš-šayx [prénom masculin] hāda žədd bāḃa žābū-h mən tūnəs ʕlā-l-aʕnāq āy āy šīx kbīr āy yaḥna nusknu f-əl-maḥnīya fī wušt lə-blād wīn masʒəd əl-anšār [...] maʕnā-ha əl-anšār əlli žāw m-əl-makka maʕnā-ha w m-əl-madīna^{MSA} hāḏūma lli naʕru r-raʕūl ʕaḷḷa aḷlāh ʕlā-hi w saḷlam f-hāk-əl-mudda hāḏīka žāw w dəfnu lə-hna f-əl-masʒəd hāḏāka kull-u ət-turba mtāʕ-u kull-u fī-h əl-amwāt ma šāʔ aḷlāh āy nəmšīw nʕallīw f-əž-žāməʕ maʕnā-ha w kull šayy ʕand-i wəld-i yaqra āy yaqra qra tlāta snīn fi::: ma bīn nābəl w l-ḥammāmāt fī lə-mrāzga polytechnique əl-handsa l-maʕmārīya.*

Traduction

SP21 : Kairouan est une belle ville propre et les gens l'adorent. C'est une ville tranquille et les gens sont charmants et honnêtes. Voici une boutique d'artisanat du cuir, où tout est fait à la main. Tout ce que vous voyez est fait à la main, inshallah. Il s'agit d'un artisanat tunisien kairouanais. Vous trouvez du cuir à l'extérieur [du sac] et à l'intérieur ; c'est du cuir partout. C'est quelque chose de beau, typiquement tunisien. Les touristes les veulent, ils viennent, même de Tunis ou d'ailleurs, et veulent ces articles, par exemple, ou ils nous soutiennent toujours car avec les Chinois ces dernières années... La main-d'œuvre se perd dans ce monde. Le secteur traverse une petite crise et personne ne veut plus travailler le cuir et tout ça. Nous continuons à travailler autant que possible. Maintenant, les gens veulent du changement et veulent des choses modernes, mais celui-ci c'est de l'artisanat arabe tunisien traditionnel ! [...] Il y a des gens qui achètent chez nous et, même des années plus tard, reviennent et continuent à acheter, comme vous [l'avez fait] : vous avez acheté chez moi il y a quatre, cinq ans, et vous êtes revenu en Tunisie et à Kairouan, et vous avez acheté chez moi [...]. Oui, je suis de Kairouan, natif de Kairouan, fils du Cheikh [prénom masculin], père de mon grand-père, je veux dire lorsque le Cheikh [prénom masculin], grand-père de mon père, est mort, les gens l'ont ramené de Tunis [à Kairouan] sur leurs épaules, il était un grand cheikh. Nous habitons à *Maḥnīya* dans le centre-ville où se trouve la mosquée *al-anṣār*. [...] Les *anṣār* sont ceux qui sont arrivés de La Mecque et de Médine, suivant le Prophète - que la paix soit sur lui - à cette époque-là. Ils sont venus et ont été enterrés ici dans la mosquée. Que la terre leur soit légère, comme Dieu l'a voulu. Nous allons prier dans cette mosquée. J'ai un fils qui étudie. Il étudie le génie civil depuis trois ans entre Nabeul et Hammamet dans la région de Mrazga à l'École Polytechnique.

Texte 2

SP27 : *wīn* [prénom féminine]? *šn-aḥwāl-ha?*

SP24^R: [prénom féminine] *waldət žābət bnayya*.

SP27: *qātt-l-i māma mabrūk əsm-ha* [deuxième prénom féminine].

SP6: *yḥayyš-ək yḥayyš-ək* [deuxième prénom féminine] *āy*.

SP27: *bḥat-l-i taṣwīra*.

SP6: *bāhi taw nabḥat-l-ək*.

SP24^R: [prénom SP6] *ḥand-ək anti?*

SP6: *āy ḥand-i taṣwīra taw nabḥat-l-ək taṣwīra b-əl-gda*.

SP24^R: [prénom de SP27] *ḥand-ha ṭāṭā-k* [prénom de SP6] *ṛā-hu l-whatsapp amma n-nūmru mā-nī-š ḥāḥḍatt-u āna nəkḍəb-š ḥlī-k*.

SP6: *ma zəlt mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u l-whatsapp*.

SP24^R: *qātt-l-i mā-nī-š fāhmatt-u b-əl-kull.*

SP27: *ʕādi ʕādi... la bās nfās-ha?*

SP6: *la bās ḥamduḷlāh la bās taʕbət šwayya f-əl-césarienne xātəṛ ət-tānya.*

SP24^R: *ašʕab m-əl-lūl.*

SP6: *ašʕab m-əl-lūl qaʕdət ɓarša mawzūʕa mā-tnažžam-š tqūm mā-tnažžam-š tuqʕud hākkā hāw mā-qʕadt-š bə-ḥdā-ha ɓarša āna fīsaʕ žīt xātəṛ ālīsya žāya āy naržaʕ šwayya nuqʕud nṭūl ʕlā-ha šwayya.*

[...]

SP24^R: *ā [prénom de SP27] uǧzur āš məš āš nwarriw-k uǧzur āš məš nwarriw-k.*

SP27: elle est mignonne!

SP24^R: elle est très mignonne *tbārak aḷlāh ʕlā-ha.*

SP27: *ma ḥlā-ha! w ma ḥla šʕar-ha aḷlāhumma ʕalli ʕ-ən-nībbi.*

SP24^R: *šʕar-ha ki xū-ha b-əḍ-ḍabt.*

SP27: *māšaḷlāh ʕlā-ha!*

SP24^R: *māšaḷlāh ʕlā-ha aḷlāh m-əḍ-ḍarrīya əš-šālḥa [...] uǧzur šūf ma ḥlā-ha hna!*

SP27: *mā šā? aḷlāh^{MSA} tətṛabba fi ʕəzz-kum.*

SP6: *yʕayyš-ək rəbḅ-i yfaḍḍl-ək.*

SP24^R: *hādīya l-bīt mtāḥ-ha əl-bāb mtāʕ əl-bīt.*

SP6: *hadāya qbal ma...*

SP24^R: *hādīya l'entrée mtāʕ lə-clinique apparemment.*

SP6: *...qbal ma tṛawwaḥ hādīya nhārāt-ha bəš tzi nhārāt-ha bəš ...*

SP27: *...bəš tṛawwaḥ yūh::: ma ḥlā-ha ma ḥlā-ha!*

SP6: *...bəš tṛawwaḥ ḥādīya l-ha tabdīlāt-ha w šābbāt-ha w farš-ha...*

SP24^R: *māšaḷlāh nšaḷlāh m-əḍ-ḍarrīya əš-šālḥa rəbḅ-i yəšlah əl-ḥāl nšaḷlāh mtāḥ-ḥum əl-kull.*

Traduction

SP27 : Comment va [prénom féminin] ? Comment se porte-t-elle ?

SP24^R : [Prénom féminin] a accouché et a eu une fille.

SP27 : Maman m'a dit félicitations ! Elle s'appelle [deuxième prénom féminin].

SP6 : Merci, merci, oui, [deuxième prénom féminin].

SP27 : Envoie-moi une photo.

SP6 : D'accord, je vais te l'envoyer.

SP24^R : As-tu quelque chose, [nom de SP6] ?

SP6 : Oui, j'ai une photo. Je vais t'envoyer une belle photo.

SP24^R : [Nom de SP27], ta tante [nom de SP6] a WhatsApp, mais je n'ai pas enregistré son numéro. Je ne mens pas.

SP6 : Je ne comprends pas WhatsApp.

SP24^R : Elle a dit qu'elle ne comprenait pas du tout.

SP27 : C'est normal, c'est normal... comment s'est passée l'accouchement ?

SP6 : Eh bien, loué soit Dieu, elle s'est un peu fatiguée avec la césarienne car c'était la deuxième [fille]...

SP24^R : C'était plus complexe que le premier.

SP6 : C'était plus complexe que la première. Elle continue de souffrir ; elle ne peut ni se lever ni s'asseoir, c'est tout. Je ne suis pas restée longtemps avec elle, je suis partie tôt parce que Alessia arrivait, et maintenant je reviendrai et resterai un peu avec elle. [...]

SP24^R : [Nom de SP27], regarde ce que je te montre, regarde ce que je te montre...

SP27 : Elle est mignonne !

SP24^R : Elle est tellement mignonne. Que Dieu la bénisse.

SP27 : Comme elle est douce ! Quels beaux cheveux, que Dieu envoie des bénédictions sur le Prophète.

SP24^R : Elle a les mêmes cheveux que son frère.

SP27 : Elle est magnifique !

SP24^R : Elle est magnifique. Qu'elle soit une fille vertueuse ! [...] Regarde comme elle est belle ici !

SP27 : Qu'elle soit élevée dans ton amour.

SP6 : Merci, que Dieu te plaise.

SP24^R : C'était sa chambre, la chambre de la porte.

SP6 : Voici avant...

SP24^R : Cela semble être l'entrée de la clinique.

SP6 : ... avant de partir ces jours-ci pour...

SP27 : ... pour préparer... oh, comme elle est douce !

SP6 : ... pour préparer ses vêtements, ses changements, ses chaussures, son lit...

SP24^R : Inchallah, qu'elle soit une fille vertueuse, et que Dieu améliore la situation de chacun.

Glossaire⁴²⁶

abyaḍ, *byuḍ*^{PL} : blanc

⁴²⁶ Cette liste est la première page de mon glossaire finale qui collecte le vocabulaire transcrit dans le corps de ma thèse, et d'autres mots fréquemment utilisés lors des entretiens.

aġlabiyya^{MSA} : majorité
aḥmar : rouge
aḥna : nous
aḥsan^{EL} : meilleur, le meilleur
akḥal, kaḥla^{FEM}, *kḥul*^{PL} : noir
akṭar...mān : plus...que
alf, ālāf^{PL} : mille
amma : mais
āna : je
āpāl, āpālāt^{PL} : appel
arḃa : quatre
arḃān : quarante
arḃ : terre
aṣfar : jaune
āṣīl : originaire de
ās^{INT} : quoi ? > *fās*^{INT} : quoi ?
aššār^{PL} : arbres
aṣḥab^{EL} : difficile
aṭraš, ṭarša^{FEM}, *ṭruš*^{PL} : sourd
awwāl : premier > *al-lūl/, l-ūlāni, al-lūla*^{FEM} : le premier
axḏar, xaḏra^{FEM}, *xḏur*^{PL} : vert
āy : oui
ayy : chaque
azraq, zarqa^{FEM}, *zruq*^{PL} : bleu
aṣma, ṣamya^{FEM}, *ṣmi*^{PL} : aveugle
aṣnāq^{PL} : cous
bāb, bībān^{PL} : porte

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Table de matières

SIGLES ET ABRÉVIATIONS	347
SYSTÈME DE TRANSCRIPTIONS	348
INTRODUCTION	349
PREMIER CHAPITRE : INTRODUCTION À KAIROUAN ET À SON PARLER	350
DEUXIÈME CHAPITRE : PHONOLOGIE	352
TROISIÈME CHAPITRE : MORPHOLOGIE VERBALE	355
QUATRIÈME CHAPITRE : MORPHOLOGIE NOMINALE ET PRONOMINALE	358
CINQUIÈME CHAPITRE : ADVERBES, PARTICULES, PRÉPOSITIONS, CONJONCTIONS	364
SIXIÈME CHAPITRE : CONCLUSIONS	362
TEXTES ET TRADUCTIONS	368
GLOSSAIRE	371
RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES	372
TABLE DE MATIÈRES	376

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Ch. Pereira





L'ARABE PARLÉ À KAIROUAN (TUNISIE) : VERS UNE REÉVALUATION DE L'ARABISATION DU NORD DE L'AFRIQUE

Résumé

Cette thèse comble un vide dans le domaine de la dialectologie maghrébine, en proposant, pour la première fois, une description en synchronie de la phonologie et de la morphologie de l'arabe parlé à Kairouan, en Tunisie. Elle présente et analyse les résultats de plusieurs enquêtes menées à l'occasion de recherches de terrain. Mon approche fonctionnaliste se base sur le modèle des études en dialectologie maghrébine comparée les plus solides et consiste à analyser l'arabe kairouanais en le comparant à d'autres variétés d'arabe qui lui sont géographiquement et typologiquement proches. Je me sers également de l'analyse variationniste des données linguistiques qui consiste à prendre en considération les différents paramètres sociolinguistiques des locuteurs. Cette étude s'insère également dans le débat sur la réévaluation de la classification traditionnelle de l'arabe maghrébin. Dans le cadre de cette problématique, je remets en cause la validité de l'origine monogénétique kairouanaise de l'arabe maghrébin de première couche et la définition des « parlers kairouanais » proposée par David Cohen. Afin de mieux cerner la démonstration linguistique, je m'intéresse aux événements historiques et sociaux majeurs qui ont accompagné le début des deux couches d'arabisation au Maghreb (VII^e - XI^e siècle). En outre, j'analyse le développement diachronique et la distribution synchronique de trois isoglosses de l'arabe de première couche aussi bien dans des variétés anciennes que dans des autres actuellement parlées au Maghreb. En somme, la description grammaticale de l'arabe kairouanais, la focalisation socio-historique sur le passé de la ville, ainsi que la comparaison diachronique et diatopique que je mène dans cette étude contribuent à montrer la faiblesse de l'origine monogénétique kairouanaise de l'arabe maghrébin de première couche. **Mot clés** : dialectologie maghrébine, arabe tunisien, Kairouan, sociolinguistique, linguistique historique.

THE ARABIC SPOKEN IN KAIROUAN (TUNISIA): TOWARDS A REASSESSMENT OF THE ARABIZATION OF THE NORTHERN AFRICA

Résumé en anglais

This dissertation provides a comprehensive description of the phonology and morphology of the Arabic variety spoken in the city of Kairouan (Tunisia). The phonological and morphological description results from the analysis of narrative texts and questionnaires I collected during field research. My description is based on the functionalism methodological approach commonly applied in the most significant studies of descriptive and comparative Maghrebi Arabic dialectology. This approach also includes comparative remarks on geographically and typologically related varieties of Arabic. Moreover, I embrace the variationist analysis based on different sociolinguistic parameters. Furthermore, this dissertation aims at contributing to the debate about the reassessment of the traditional classification of Maghrebi Arabic. It questions the validity of the monogenetic origin of first-layer Maghrebi Arabic from ancient Kairouani Arabic and David Cohen's theory on the *parlers kairouanais*. In doing so, this study focuses on the major historical phases and social phenomena occurring in the Maghreb (7th - 11th centuries) in correspondence with the beginning of the two so-called waves of Arabization. From a comparative point of view, I analyze the diachronic development and the synchronic distribution of three isoglosses in first-layer Arabic across present-day and more ancient varieties. This socio-historical focus and diachronic and diatopic comparison of this study contribute to showing the weakness of the Kairouani monogenetic origin of first-layer Maghrebi. **Keywords**: Arabic Dialectology, Tunisian Arabic, Kairouan, Sociolinguistics, Historical Linguistics, Northern Africa Arabization.