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YODA Sumikazu *

マハディア方言（チュニジア）のテキスト

マハディアはチュニジア中部に位置する人口およそ4万3千人を擁する中規模の都市である。同地で用いられるアラビア語方言は、他のチュニジア都市部と同様、定住民方言であるが、次の点でチュニジアの他の定住民方言と異なる。(1) 5長母音体系、(2) 古アラビア語の歯間摩擦音の破裂音への対応。(1) はいわゆるアラビア語・マシュリク方言では一般的だが、マグリブ方言の定住民方言では他に例を見ない。また(2) はチュニジア地域でもユダヤ教徒方言では一般的である。このような特徴は既に指摘されているが、詳細な記述は行われていない(母音体系、特に語末のイマーラについては既に Yoda (2008) で概説した)。

本稿は2004年に現地で行われたフィールドワークで得たテキスト4編である。この中で文法・音韻論に関する注を付した。また特に注意すべき単語については末尾にグロサリーを付した。

Introduction

Al-Mahdīya is a Tunisian town situated in the Sahel region with about 43,000 inhabitants (National Statistics Institute, 2017)¹. The dialect spoken there is an eastern Maghribi sedentary dialect showing some features of the village dialects of the region, the most conspicuous being word-final *imāla ē*. Among the sedentary dialects of Tunisia, *Mahdāwi* dialect (*Mahdāwi* or *Mahdwi* is an adjective for al-Mahdīya and in this article the dialect of the research target is called ‘the *Mahdāwi* dialect’ or abbreviated Mah.) is characterized by a five-long-vowel system (see below) and the correspondence of the interdentalals of Old Arabic (henceforth OA) to plosives, as attested in most of the Jewish dialects of Tunisia. In this respect the dialect in question is worthy of more detailed descriptions (regarding the vowel system, the author has published an article; see Yoda (2008)).

This article is a modest collection of texts from the *Mahdāwi* dialect, accompanied by a simple grammatical sketch. In addition, more detailed data about the vowel system, especially the phonetic value of word-final *imāla ē*, are added. Some words

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¹ <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/tunisia/population-by-region/population-mahdia> (browsed 2019/03/29).

to be noted are put at the end of the article separately (indicated by the sign ¹).

1. Notes on the phonology

1.1. Vowels

The basic characteristic of the phonology of the Mahdāwi dialect is its system of five long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō* and *ū*, which is current in the Eastern dialects but exceptional among the sedentary dialects of the Maghrib area, where the three-vowel system *ā*, *ī*, *ū* is prevalent. This rare long-vowel system was mentioned by Attia (1969), but because the presentation of the phonological opposition of these vowels was somewhat unclear, a thorough understanding of the vowel system was lacking. The author of this article had the chance to conduct fieldwork in Mahdiya in 2004 and published a modest article (Yoda (2008)) about this question that confirmed and elucidated the five-long-vowel system.

Short vowels		Long vowels	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
			<i>ā</i>

A phonologically long vowel at the end of a word, which is phonetically realized as *short*, is marked as a short vowel, i.e. without macron.

katabu ‘they wrote’ (not *katabū*)

The long vowels *ē* and *ō* primarily correspond to Old Arabic (henceforth OA) *ay* and *aw*, respectively, as the majority of the Eastern dialects.

OA		Mah. ²	
<i>ay</i>	<i>bayt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>bēt</i> ‘house’
<i>aw</i>	<i>yawm</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>yōm</i> ‘day’

The OA dual ending (in oblique) *-ayn*, which functions to indicate pseudo-dual, is not an exception.

OA		Mah.	
	<i>rijlayni</i>		<i>rižlēn</i> ‘legs’

Note that this pseudo-dual ending *-ēn*, when it is followed by suffix pronoun for the 1.sg. *-ya*, is realized as *-ay*, e.g. *rižlēn* + *-ya* > *rižlayya* ‘my legs’, *wudnēn* + *-ya* > *wudnayya* ‘my ears’.

² In Tunis, both Muslim and Jewish dialects have *bīt* and *yūm*, respectively, for these words.

The phoneme *ē* originates not only from OA *ay*, but also from the following.

(1) Nominal endings *-ā* and *-āʔ* (in the pausal form)

OA	Mah.
<i>ʕaṣā</i>	<i>ʕṣē</i> ‘stick’
<i>dawāʔ</i>	<i>dwē</i> ‘medicine’

(2) The verbal ending *-ā* of 3rd radical weak verbs of the Grundstamm in the 3.m.sg. in the suffix-conjugation

OA	Mah.
<i>ʔaʕā</i>	<i>ʕṭē</i> ‘he gave’

(3) The suffix pronoun of the 3.f.sg. *-hā*.

OA	Mah.
<i>ʔaʕā</i>	<i>ʕṭē</i> ‘he gave’
<i>*yašrī-hā</i>	<i>yišrē-hē</i> ‘he buy it (f.)’

This phenomenon, called *imāla*, is broadly attested in the Sahel dialects³. The behaviours of this *imāla ē* is analysed in detail in Yoda (2008).

When any suffix is added to this ending, *ē* is realized as *ā*.⁴

<i>ʕṣē</i> + <i>-hā</i> ‘her’	>	<i>ʕṣā-ha</i> ‘her stick’
<i>dwē</i> + <i>-hā</i> ‘her’	>	<i>dwā-ha</i> ‘her medicine’
<i>ʕṭē</i> + <i>-hā</i> ‘her’	>	<i>ʕṭā-ha</i> ‘he gave her’
<i>yišrē-hē</i> + <i>-š</i> ‘(negative)’	>	<i>ma yišrē-hā-š</i> ‘he does not buy it (f.)’

In addition to the *imāla ē*, which is considered an independent phoneme, the *imāla* phenomenon applies to the feminine ending *-a*. In the Tunis dialect, its phonetic realization varies between *-a* and *-ā* (according to Singer (1983) p. 168), but in Mahdiya the latter variant reaches [-ε, -e]. The phonological conditions which trigger this strong *imāla* [-e] are rather complicated; not only the immediately preceding consonant but also the vocalic quality of the preceding syllable should be considered. Thus there are at least three conditions for the feminine ending /-a/ to be realized as [-e]:

- (1) The vowel of the syllable preceding the feminine ending is long *ā*, *ī*, *ē* or short *a*, *i* (including etymological *i* which has been lost).
- (2) The consonant immediately preceding the ending is not pharyngeal or emphatic.
- (3) The ending is not etymological *ʔalif mamdūdah* or *ʔalif maqṣūrah*.
Feminine ending [-ε ~ -e]: *bādya* ‘desert’, *fadlka* ‘joke’, *falsfa* ‘philosophy’, *hīya*

³ And in Bedouin dialects of the southern Tunisia, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2014) pp. 31-32.

⁴ Yoda (2008) p. 488.

‘she’, *lilla* ‘Madam’, *mahdwīya* ‘of Mahdiya (f.)’, *mrēgla* ‘regular (f.)’, *muškla* ‘problem’, *sikkīna* ‘knife’, *sānya* ‘field’, *xamsa* ‘five’, *yābsa* ‘dry (f.)’, *zītūna* ‘olive’, *ḥāža* ‘thing’

Feminine ending [-a]: *arb^{ca}* ‘four’, *balġa* ‘slipper’, *karḥba* ‘car’, *nāqša* ‘lacking’, *qaṣ^{ca}* ‘wooden bowl’, *qaṭṭūša* ‘cat’, *šakšūka* ‘Shakshuka (Tunisian dish)’, *‘aḍma* ‘bone’, *ḥānka* ‘bank’, *ṭanzra* ‘pot’

The ending [-ε ~ -e] is substituted by [-a] when it is followed by another word beginning with an emphatic consonant.

bnīna [-ε ~ -e] ‘tasty (f.)’ + *bnīna* > *bnīna* [-a] *ḥarša* ‘very tasty’
zawwālīya [-ε ~ -e] ‘poor (f.)’ - *zawwālīya* [-a] *ḥarša* ‘very poor’

1.2. Consonants

The consonant phonemes are as follows.

b, ḥ, d, ḏ, f, g, h, ḥ, k, l, ḷ, m, ṡ, n, q, r, ṛ, s, š, t, ṭ, w, x, y, z, ẓ, ẓ⁵

The emphatic *ḥ, g, l, ṡ, r* and *ẓ*

Their phonemic status is shown by the following minimal pairs.

b : ḥ *lbāba* ‘white part of bread’ : *l-ḥāḥa* ‘to papa’

k : g *bagra* ‘cow’ : *bakra* ‘cotton reel’
karḥar ‘he limped along’ : *garḥar* ‘he grumbled’

g : ġ *garḥar* ‘he grumbled’ : *ġarġar* ‘he gargled’

g : q *gdim* ‘he bit’ : *qdim* ‘it (m.) became old’

l : ḷ *walla* ‘he became’ : *waḷḷa* ‘by God’

m : ṡ *āmān* ‘safety’ : *āṡmān* ‘please!’

r : ṛ *ẓāri* ‘running’ : *ẓār-i* ‘my neighbour’

z : ẓ *gāz* ‘petrol’ : *gāẓ* ‘gas’

⁵ In Yoda (2008) p. 484, where the consonant phonemes are shown, *ḥ* is not treated as an independent phoneme.

OA interdentals

Among the sedentary dialects in Tunisian territory, apart from some Jewish dialects⁶, only the Mahdiyya dialect has this plosive correspondence.

OA		Mah.
<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪ūm</i>	<i>tōm</i> ⁷ ‘garlic’
<i>d̪</i>	<i>hāda</i>	<i>hāda</i> ‘this (m.)’
<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ʿaɖma</i>	<i>ʿaɖma</i> ‘bone’

2. Texts⁸2.1. *iṣ-ṣēd w-il-kalb*

(1) *tamma ṣuḷṭān, yaʿni malik, ʿand-u qṣar baḥda l-bḥar, qṣar. (2) kull... kull ṣayf*⁹, *yaʿni f-faṣl iṣ-ṣayf, yimši, yaɖhab*¹⁰ *ḡādi baṣ yṣayyif ḡādi, baṣ yʿūm f-il-bḥar yimši li-hna w-aḥna nqūlu li-xlāʿa, yitxallaʿ. (3) ʿād qbal-mā yimši, yabʿat nās, yabʿat yaʿni l-xadām wulla wu... baṣ yaʿmlu la... t-taṣlīḥāt wulla yidhnu - fhimt? - bāṣ yṣallḥu, baṣ yimši ṣ-ṣuḷṭān yalqa l-qṣar yaʿni nḏīf, naḏīf*¹¹. (4) *bʿatt*¹² *il... l-xdam mtāʿ-u, yalqāw hūma ṣēd f-il-qṣar, ṣēd, ṣēd, ṣēd... ʿasad. (5) ṣēd, nqūlu aḥnā ṣēd, ṣaydun*¹³, *ṣēd, ʿasad. (6) hūma yuqrbu l-il-qṣar baṣ ynattfu*¹⁴ *l-qṣar w-āk iṣ-ṣēd yizhir ʿlī-hum, yaʿnī yaʿmil āk iṣ-ṣawt mtāʿ-u, yuhrbu. (7) pšāw*¹⁵ *l-iṣ-ṣuḷṭān qālū-l-u mā-nažžimnā-ši nutxlu l-il-qṣar, ʿla-xāṭir il-qṣar fī-h ṣēd. (8) baʿtū-l-u ʿaskar yaʿni tlāṭa*¹⁶ *ʿaskar arbʿa ʿaskar baṣ yuqtlu-h b-il... b-in-nabla*¹, *nabla, nabla nqūlu nabla yaʿni flèche*^F, *nabla. (9) mā-nažžmū-š hūma yuqrbu w-āk iṣ-ṣēd yizhir zʿīr*¹⁷ *mtāʿ-u yizhir b-il-qwī, yuhrbu, yaʿni kī-yizhir id-dinyā zarzaḥ-ḥa*¹⁸, *nqūlu aḥnā yaʿmil āk il... fhimt-ha? (10) baʿtū-l-u myat ʿaskar kīf-kīf, mā-nažžmū-š, iṣ-ṣēd qwī barša. (11) iṣ-ṣuḷṭān kīf yḥīr fī tāriḥ, fī ḥkāyāt qbal, kīf yḥīr iṣ-ṣuḷṭān, w-ul-mūlūk kīf yaʿni, mā-ʿā-š*¹⁹, *mā-ʿā-š... ma... mā-yalqā-š ḥall, (12) ṣ-hūwa yaʿmil? yimši l-l-uzīr. (13) yqūl-l-u daḥḥar ya wzīr la... la rās-ik yfīr. (14) ʿraft-ha? daḥḥar ya wzīr la rās-ik yfīr, yaʿni yquṣṣ-l-u rās-u, yfīr, fhimt? (15) yqūl-l-u daḥḥar ya wzīr la rās-ik yfīr. (16) qal-l-u ʿand-ik tlāt-ayyām f-idē-k, tšūf-l-i*

⁶ Cohen (1975) p. 19, Behnstedt (1998) p. 58.

⁷ It is note to worthy that OA *t̪ūm* ‘garlic’ is realized as Mah. *tōm*, with *ō*. Cf. Tunis-Muslim *tūm*.

⁸ Texts 2.1. ~ 2.3. are narrated by Mr. *Muʿizz* and text 2.4. by Mr. *Mḥammad ilMsākni* born in 1966.

⁹ The speech of Mr. *Mʿizz* is rather influenced by literary Arabic. In the texts of Mr. *Mʿizz* classicisms appear frequently, e.g. interdentals *t̪*, *ɖ*, *ɖ* and the so-called diphthongs *aw* and *ay* (as in *ṣayf*, which is in the usual *Mahdāwi* dialect *ṣēf*). All these phenomena may be due to his concern for Yoda to understand the stories better.

¹⁰ Classicism (< Mah. *mšē*).

¹¹ Classicism (< Mah. *nḏīf*).

¹² *bʿatt il-...* < *bʿat il-*. About the gemination of *t*, see Yoda (2005) p. 108.

¹³ The speaker adds *tanwīn ḡammah* to a dialectal form *ṣēd* ‘lion’.

¹⁴ < *ynaḏḏfu*.

¹⁵ *pšāw* < *bšāw* < *mšāw*.

¹⁶ Classicism (< Mah. *tlāta*).

¹⁷ *zʿīr* < *zhīr* ‘roar’.

¹⁸ *zarzaḥ-ḥā* < *zarzaʿ-hā*.

¹⁹ < *ma ʿād-š*.

ħall l-ha-l-qṣar, yilzim ʿasad hādāy nuqtlū-h. (17) l-uzīr²⁰ qʿad ḥāyir... šnuww, š-yaʿmil? (18) l-ūzīr ʿand-u kalb, il-kalb hādāke yitkallim mʿa l-uzīr. (19) qāl-l-ū š-bī-k ya sīd-i māw la bās? (20) qal-l-u ya kalb-i, rā-ni maʿnā-ha... ḥāyir, w-l-malik qal-l-i šūf il-ħall l-il-ʿasad wulla rās-ik yfīr. (21) qal-l-u hāda... hādi muškult-ik? abʿat-ni l-il-qṣar w-kull yūm aʿfī-ni xārūf, ʿallūš²¹, mākla mtāʿ-i. (22) w-tawwa mā... tawwa rratth-ik²² mi-š-šēd. (23) mšē k-il-kalb²³ qʿad baħda l-qṣar, l-ixdam mtāʿ l-uzīr kull nhār yzībū-l-u ʿallūš, ʿallūš yaʿnī xārūf. (24) lħam, lħam, laħim, yaʿnī hu... maslūx w...w-yħuffū-l-u. (25) il-kalb yimši yibʿat yzī āk il-ʿasad yaqqa²⁴ l-xārūf, yāxd-u. (26) nhār l-uwwul, nhār it-tānī, nhār it-tālīt... nhār ir-rābiʿ hūwa l-ʿasad zā baš yākil il-xārūf w-l-kalb zā-h. (27) qal-l-u ya sīd-i ʿasad, mā-hūwa šulṭāl l-ġāba²⁵, hūwa yaʿnī malikk il-ġāba, l-asad. (28) qal-l-u ya sīd-i, inti šulṭāl l-ġāba, kifāš tākil-l-i risq-i, hādāka risq-i āni. (29) qal-l-u kifāš risq-i? (30) qal-l-u ādāka rā-ni nʿiss ʿa-l-qṣar hādā. (31) w-sīd-nā l-mlik kull nhār yabʿat... yabʿat-l-i xārūf. fhimt? ʿlāš tākil-l-i fī risq-i? (32) qal-l-ū-xi²⁶ inti tʿiss yaʿfī-k xārūf? (33) qal-l-u ē. (34) qal-l-u mmāla kān nixdim āni š-yaʿfī-ni? (35) qal-l-u yaʿfī-k tōr, ʿzil yaʿnī. (36) qal-l-u, ā sīd-ik yxaddim-nī-š ʿand-u? (37) hādāya yṣaddiq ʿla l-kalb. (38) qal-l-u yxaddim-nī-š ʿand-ik, sīd-u? (39) qal-l-u yxaddm-ik. imši mʿā-ya l-il-qṣar, w-taww nqābl-ik b-il-malik, b-iš-šulṭān, yxaddm-ik mʿā-h. (40) w-kānit yaʿnī ḥīle min il-kalb baš yhizz iš-šēd mʿā-h l-il-qṣar. (41) mšē l l l āk il-kalb u-l-ʿasad māšīn f-iṭ-ṭīq māšīn l-il-qṣar. (42) kī-wuṣṣlu daxxlu l š-šēd, il-bēt kif-hādi, il-bēt, yaʿnī ġurfa²⁷, (43) w-sakkar ʿlī-h il-bāb, w-sakkar hāk il-bāb hādāke b-il, b-is-sīmān w-b-il-wāḥid, wa-ḥṣul²⁸ il-ʿasad. (44) ḥṣul yaʿnī f-li... fī ḥīlit il-kalb, yaʿnī. (45) w-rtāḥ w-l... w-rtāḥ l-mal(ik)... yaʿnī l-šulṭān riā... yaʿnī mē... baš yimši l-l-qṣar mtāʿ-u... w-tħallit muškile. (46) l-asād... qʿad tlāya yyām wu-ll-arbʿa yyām. (47) yaʿnī... yxammim taʿrif-ši, yxammim yaʿnī, yxa... yfakkar. (48) qāl, ʿzab, ḥaṣṣal-ni l-kalb, yaʿnī d... hā-l-kalb. akkā-hu. (49) hūwa yxammim w-tamma fār²⁹, nqabb-il-ḥēf. (50) xraḥ yalqa l-ʿasād maʿnā-ha bdē, bdē yidʿāf. (51) yaʿnī mā-klā-š u-mā-šrab-š. (52) qal-l-u š-bī-k ya sīd-i, ya malikk il-ġāba maʿnā-ha ḥṣult? (53) qal-l-u rāw ḥaṣṣan-ni³⁰ l-kalb. bīd... bi-ttkā³¹ mtāʿ-u ḥaṣṣan-ni. (54) ḥṣul yaʿnī ḥṣul, ḥṣul, yaʿnī, maʿnā-ha ḥaṣṣan-ni yaʿnī maʿnā-ha ḥbis-ni. hākka-hu. (55) il-fār qal-l-u taww nšūf-l-ik āni ħall. (56) mšē zāb āwka baršā fīrān. (57) w-qʿadu yunqbu l-ḥēf. (58) w-fīrān uxrīn yzībū-l-u šwayye lħam w-

²⁰ About the alternation of *w* to *u*, see Yoda (2005) p. 100.

²¹ In Tunisia ʿallūš is the usual word for ‘lamb’.

²² < nratth-ek. The assimilation of *n* with *r* is attested in Tunis-Muslim: *nrudd* > *rrudd* ‘ich bege zurück’ (Singer (1980) p. 195), Tripoli-Jewish *mən rəsqu-u* > *mər rəsqu-u* ‘from his property’ and Malta *inrid* > *irrid* ‘I want’ (Cachia (1994) p. 27).

²³ < āk- < hāk-

²⁴ < yalqā.

²⁵ < šulṭān il-ġāba.

²⁶ < qal-l-u yāxi. yāx-i ‘then’ < *ya ʿax-i.

²⁷ Classicism. *ġurfa* in the Tunisian dialects in general means ‘attic’.

²⁸ About the gemination of the final consonant, see Yoda (2005) p. 108.

²⁹ This may be a kind of circumstantial construction.

³⁰ < ḥṣal-ni.

³¹ < dkā (دكا).

šwayye ʿḍamm w kādā, fhimt? (59) *naqbū-l-u nuqba kbīre f-il-ḥēf, w-xrāž il-ʿasād.*
 (60) *ʿād il-fār žē l-ʿasād qal-l-u āw āw ādāk il-kalb illi ḥašl-ik.* (61) *qal-l-u āni, id-*
dawla illi fē-hē³², il-kalb yurḥuṭ, w-il-qird, il-qird yḥill³³, w-ul-fār yḥill, mā-nuqʿud-šī
fē-hē. (62) *wuffāt il-ḥkāye, yaʿni l-dawla li fē-hē il-kalb yurḥuṭ u-lfār yḥill w-mā-*
nuqʿud-ši fē-hē.

The Hunter and the Dog

(1) There was a Sultan, namely a king, he had a castle beside the sea, a castle. (2) Every... every summer, namely in the summer season he goes there in order to spend time there, in order to swim in the sea, he goes there, we say ‘taking a vacation’. (3) Then before he went, he sent the servants or... in order to repair or to paint... you understand? ... in order to repair, (and this is) in order that the Sultan might find it in good order. (4) He sent ... his servants found a lion in the castle, a lion... (5) A lion, we say ‘*šēd*’, ‘*šaydun*’... (6) They approached the castle in order to clean it, so the lion roars toward them, namely he let out his voice, then they ran away. (7) They went to the Sultan and said, ‘We cannot enter the castle, because there is a lion in the castle.’ (8) They sent an army, namely three-four soldiers, in order to kill it with the arrow... we say ‘*nabla*’, it means ‘arrow’. (9) They could not, since when they approach, the lion roars, he roars strongly, then they ran away, namely, when he roars, he shakes the world. We say, he does... do you understand? (10) They sent a hundred soldiers, but it was the same, they could not, the lion was quite strong. (11) The Sultan, was confused by the history, the stories of the day, when he was confused, and when the kings, namely, any more... he does not find any solution. (12) What does he do? He goes to the minister. (13) He said to the minister, ‘Do something in order that your head will not roll.’ (14) Did you understand that? (The Sultan said,) ‘Do something, Minister, in order that your head will not roll’, did you understand? (15) He says to him, ‘Do something in order that your head will not roll.’ (16) He said to him, ‘You have three days, see for me solutions on behalf of the castle. The lion should be killed.’ (17) The minister was embarrassed; what? what is he going to do? (18) The minister had a dog. The dog talked with the minister. (19) He said, ‘What’s the matter with you, my master? How are you?’ (20) The minister said, ‘My dog, I am confused, since the king said to me, “Find the solution for the lion; if not, your head rolls.”’ (21) This one said, ‘Is this your problem? Send me to the castle, and every day give me a sheep, my food. (22) Now... now I make you relax from the lion.’ (23) The dog went and stayed beside the castle. And the servants of the minister bring to him a lamb every day. (24) Meat, namely, slaughtered meat, and they put it for him. (25) The dog goes to send (the meat) and that lion came and found the lamb and took it. (26) The first day, the second day, and the third day... The fourth day, the lion came to eat

³² When the preposition *fī* ‘in’ is followed by the suffix pronoun *-ha*, the vowels of these two phonemes assimilate to each other: *ē* > *fē-he*. See Yoda (2008) p. 487.

³³ *w-il-qird, il-qird yḥill* speaker’s mistake and thereafter corrects as *w-ul-fār yḥill*.

the lamb, and the dog came. (27) He said to him, ‘Mister lion’, is he the Sultan of the forest? He is namely the king of the forest. (28) He said to him, ‘You are the Sultan of the forest, but why do you eat my nourishment? This is my nourishment.’ (29) He said to him, ‘How is this “my nourishment”?’ (30) He said to him, ‘I am guarding this castle. (31) And my master king sends to me a sheep every day, you understand? Why do you eat my nourishment?’ (32) He said to him, ‘So when you watch, he gives you a lamb?’ (33) He said to him, ‘Yes.’ (34) He said to him, ‘Then if I serve (him) what will he give me?’ (35) He said to him, ‘He gives you an ox.’ (36) He said to him, ‘Oh, does your master take me into his service?’ (37) The lion trusts the dog. (38) He said to him, ‘Does he (his master) take me into his service?’ (39) He said to him, ‘He’ll take you in his service. Go with me to the castle, so I’ll get you in front of the king and he’ll take you in his service.’ (40) This was the trick of the dog in order to bring the lion to the castle. (41) The dog and the lion went on the way to the castle. (42) When they arrived, they made the lion go in the room like this, the room, (43) and he (they) shut the door against him. He (they) closed the door with cement and that one, and he caught the lion. (44) He caught, namely, with the trick of the dog. (45) And he was relaxed, the king... the Sultan was relaxed for going to his castle. And the problem was solved. (46) The lion stayed (so) three or four days. (47) He thinks... do you know what? Namely ‘thinks’. (48) He said, ‘How strange! The dog caught me, that dog, and that’s all.’ (49) When he was thinking, there was (came) a rat digging in the wall. (50) He (the rat) came out (from the hole) and found the lion, namely, begins to be feeble. (51) Namely he did not eat and drink. (52) He (the rat) said to him, ‘Master, the king of the forest, were you caught?’ (53) He said to him, ‘It was the dog who caught me. He caught me with his wise plan.’ (54) ‘*ḥṣul*’ means... , it means... the meaning of ‘*ḥaṣṣanni*’... it means ‘he confined me’³⁴. That’s all. (55) He said to him, ‘Now I look for a solution.’ (56) He went and brought many rats. (57) And they continued to dig the wall. (58) And other rats bring to him a little bit of meat and bone, etc., do you understand? (59) They pierced a big hole in the wall and the lion went out. (60) Then the rat came to the lion and said, ‘Look, that is the dog which caught you.’ (61) He said, ‘In the country where I am, there the dog ties and the monkey unties... the rat unties. I don’t stay there.’ (62) The story ended... Namely, the country where the dog ties and the rat unties, there I don’t stay.

2.2. *ḥaṭṭāb w it-tinnīn*¹

(1) *tamma... tamma... tamma ḥaṭṭāb yimši yḥaṭṭab*. (2) *kun-nhār*³⁵ *yhizz l-bhīma mtāc-u, yimši yḥaṭṭab ylimm il-ḥṭab, ybīc-u f-is-sūq w-yišri maṣnā-ha... mākla w-xubz w...*

³⁴ The speaker explains the meaning of *ḥṣul*.

³⁵ < *kull nhār*.

(3) *famma nhār w-žē taht sažara*³⁶ *kbīra, sažara mtā^c... mtā^c kařama*³⁷ *nqūlu aħnā, mtā^c it-tīn.* (4) *hūwa baš yađrab b-il-fa^s38, w-xraž-l-u ʿifrīt*³⁹, *ya^cnī ʿifrīt kbīr, nqūlu tinnīn, tinnīn kbīr.* (5) *qal-l-u fāš qā^cad ta^cmil?* (6) *qāllū řā-nī... ma^cnā-ha tufžā^c āk il... tufžā^c, ya^cnī xāf, l-ħaṭṭāb.* (7) *qal-l-u māši nāxu šwayya ḥṭab baš nbī^c-ha baš nwakkil šgār-i.* (8) *qal-l-u āni kull inhār, dži taht is-sažra, talqa kīma nqūlu, kīma nqūlu aħna ʿiśrīn dīnār, xūd-hum, w-ma-ʿā-š tqallaq-ni, xallī-ni nurqud!* (9) *xāfiř il-ʿifrīt yurqud f-iš-sažara hāki.* (10) *q^cad hāk il-ħaṭṭāb kun-nhār yimši taht-s-sažra yalqa ʿiśrīn dīnār.* (11) *yqīm hūwa w-yrawwah.* (12) *ba^cd mudda mřuđđ*⁴⁰ *il-ħaṭṭāb.* (13) *q^cadd*⁴¹ *arb^ca xams-ıyyām mřīđ.* (14) *ma-ʿā-š ʿand-u flūs baš yākul w-yuřrub.* (15) *žā l-wuld-u, wuld-u ř-šgīr řā-w šābāb.* (16) *qal-l-u ḥařra imši l-gāba, hāwka taqqa sažra kařma, imši f-il-blāša l-fūlānīya, tawwa talqa ʿiśrīn dīnār, žīb-hum w-īza.* (17) *l-ulid... l-ulid mše l-taht il... sažra.* (18) *fī-ūđ yqīm il-ʿiśrīn dīnār, đrab ʿal... ʿas-sažra b-il-fās, xraž-l-u l-ʿifrīt.* (19) *qal-l-u ř-ta^cmil?* (20) *qal-l-u řā-ni ya^cni ḥāḥa ma^cnā-ha mřīđ u-b^cat-nī baš nāxu l-ʿiśrīn dīnār w...* (21) *qal-l-u mmāla qīm ʿiśrīn dīnār w-sallim ʿla bū-k.* (22) *w-mše āk it-tinnīn māši, l-ulid ma^cnā-ha šābāb u... w-sinn mūrāḥqa ḥabb yuđḥuř ma^cnā-ha fāris, ḥabb yuđḥuř bařāl.* (23) *kī šāf l... āk it-tinnīn ma^cnā-ha ʿāqil w... xdē l-fās mtā^c-u đrab l-dayl mtā^c-u... ba^cbūš-u, nqūlu ba^cbūš-u, ba^cbūš-u w-dayl-u. qaşş il-ba^cbūš b-il-fās.* (24) *it-tinnīn yitgaššiš, dār w-nfax ʿlī-h b-in-nār, ḥařqu w-taḥřaq l-ulid, āk-il... māt wlid.* (25) *bū-h yistanna yistanna hā taww yrawwah il-ulid, hā taww yrawwah il-ulid.* (26) *ma-řawwah-š wuld-u, šadd rūḥ-u, ya^cni, šadd rūḥ-u, ya^cni, qām min fařš-u, w-mše l-il-gāba, yaqqa wuld-u maḥřūq w-yalqa l-ba^cbūš mtā^c it-tinnīn b-ižnab wuld-u.* (27) *ʿraf illā wuld-u ma^cnā-ha... kān mağ... ʿand-u ġūrūr*⁴². (28) *đrab ʿa-s-sažara mmāla xraž-l-u t-tinnīn.* (29) *qal-l-u, sāmāḥ-ni řāw wuld-i ma^cnā-ha ʿmil wullā šnuw.* (30) *qal-l-u, ałlāḥ ġālib, qal-l-u kīfāš taww ma^cnā-ha... nařza^c k-il-ʿāda ta^cřī-ni ʿiśrīn dīnār?* (31) *qal-l-u ma-nnažžmū-š nařzu k-il-ʿāda šḥāb.* (32) *qal-l-u inti kīf trā-ni, titfakkir wuld-ik, w-kīf iřrāk nitfakkir ba^cbūš-i, w-ullīḥādā*⁴³ *ma-ʿā-š nařzu šḥāb.*

The Lumberjack and the Dragon

(1) There is a lumberjack going to gather wood. (2) Every day he takes his donkey,

³⁶ Classicism. In sentence (8) the dialectal form *sažra* is found, but considering the fact that both *Takroūna* II vol. 4, p. 1992 *sužra* (*šužra*) and Singer (1980) p. 119 *šužra* show the form with the stem vowel *u*, the form *sažra* here with the stem vowel *a* may be a semi-dialectal form influenced by classical *šajarah*.

³⁷ It seems that the speaker intended *kāřma*, which is found in *Takroūna* II vol. 9, p. 3408 in the meaning of ‘figuier’, but hyper-corrected into a pseudo-Classical form *karamah*.

³⁸ Classicism (see *Takroūna* II vol. 6, p. 3053 *fās*).

³⁹ In this text the speaker uses *tinnīn* (translated as ‘dragon’) and *ʿifrīt* (translated as ‘devil’) for the same monster.

⁴⁰ About the gemination of the final consonant, see Yoda (2005) p. 108.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² < CA *ğūrūr*. In words recently introduced from classical Arabic, a short vowel *u* in an open syllable tends to be realized as a phonologically long vowel in the dialect; otherwise a short vowel in an open syllable drops out. See also *tīžāřt-u* in sentence (4) of Text 2.4.

⁴³ < CA *wa-li-hādā*.

goes to gather wood, collects firewood, sells it in the market and buys, namely food, bread and... (3) One day he came under a big tree, the tree ‘karama’, we call it so, of the fig. (4) (When) he is going to chop wood with the ax, a devil appeared, a big devil, we call *tinnīn* (i.e. dragon), a big dragon. (5) He said to him, ‘What are you doing?’ (6) He said, ‘I...’, but he was afraid, the lumberjack was afraid. (7) He said to him, ‘I am going to take some wood to sell to feed my children.’ (8) He said to him, ‘Every day I... you come under the tree, so you find, as I say, 20 dinars. Take them and don’t bother me any more, let me sleep.’ (9) Because the devil sleeps in that tree. (10) The lumberjack goes every day under this tree and finds 20 dinars. (11) He takes them and goes back. (12) After a while, the lumberjack got sick. (13) He remained sick 4 or 5 days. (14) He did not have money any more to eat and drink. (15) He went to his son, his little son is young, a youngster. (16) He said to him, ‘Go to the forest, there you will find a fig tree. Go to such-and-such a place, so you will find 20 dinars. Bring them and come back!’ (17) The son... the son went under the tree. (18) Instead of the 20 dinars, he chopped the tree with the axe, so the devil appeared. (19) He said to him, ‘What are you doing?’ (20) He said to him, ‘My father,’ namely the sick person, ‘sent me to take the 20 dinars and...’ (21) He said to him, ‘Then take the 20 dinars and say hello to your father.’ (22) The dragon went but the son, a youngster in the age of adolescence, wanted to be a hero. (23) When he found that the dragon was wise, he took his axe and hit the tail of the devil, we say ‘*ba‘būṣ*’, he cut his tail with the axe. (24) The dragon got angry, turned, and blazed away, he burned him and the son was burned. The son died. (25) His father is waiting, ‘Now my son comes back, now my son comes back...’ (26) His son did not come back. He got up from the bed and went to the forest, so he found his son burned and found the tail of the dragon beside his son. (27) He knew that his son practiced a deception. (28) He chopped the tree, so the dragon appeared. (29) He said to him, ‘Excuse me, did my son (something bad) or...?’ (30) He said to him, ‘It’s a pity.’ The other said, ‘How is going now? Can I, as always, come back and you give me 20 dinars?’ (31) The devil said, ‘We cannot become friends again as we used to.’ (32) He said to him, ‘When you see me you remember your son, and when I see you, I remember my tail, and because of this we are no longer friends.’

2.3. *Šḥa w-ul-bhīm*

(1) *šḥā*, ‘and-u *bhīm*. (2) *žā-h žār-u*, *daqq a‘lī-h il-bāb*. (3) *qal-l-u ḥ-ṛaḥḥ-i*⁴⁴ *a‘lī-ni bhīm-ik baš nimšī nžīb a‘lī-h il-ma*. (4) *šḥā qal-l-u l-bhīm mūš hūnī*, *ya‘ni l-bhīm mūš mawzūd*, *f-il-ḡāba*. (5) *žār-u qal-l-u bāhi*, *hūmā-kkikkā u-l-bhīm nahhaq*. (6) *žār-u qal-l-u*, *āw il-bhīm nahhaq*. (7) *qal-l-u yāxī tkaddib ‘abd w-tšaddaq bhīm?* *w-ḍarḥ-u*.

⁴⁴ Literally means ‘by my Lord’, which in Tunisia is used when asking someone to do something ‘please’.

Šhā and the Donkey

(1) Šhā has a donkey. (3) His neighbour came to him at the (entrance) door. (3) He said to him, ‘Please, give me your donkey in order to bring the water on it.’ (4) Šhā said, ‘The donkey is not here, (namely ‘the donkey is not found’), but in the forest.’ (5) His neighbour said, ‘Well.’ And they are talking like this, then the donkey heehawed. (6) His neighbour said to him, ‘The donkey heehawed!’ (7) He said to him, ‘Then you call the human being a liar and trust in the donkey?’ And he hit him.

2.4. Šhē⁴⁵ w-l-bhayyim

(1) *famma šhē, tamma šhē* ‘and-u bhayyim. (2) *il-bhayyim dīmā yimši bī-h is-sūq*. (3) *yitsawwaq bī-h šwayya bṣaḷ u-šwayya filfil u-šwayya tmātim u-šwayya tōm, yitsawwaq bī-h*. (4) *ā... bdē b-iš-šwayya b-iš-šwayya hattā-wēn ṭhassnit tīžārt-u*. (5) *walla ybīc l-ōla⁴⁶ mtāc hūmit-hum kull ybīh-ḥā... tōm... l-ōla mtāc l-kull cām, li ybīc l-il-ḥūma mtāc-u, kullika ybīh... ybīc-il-hum, min c-and-u hūwa*. (6) *āw famma wāḥid žār-u, famma wāḥid žār-u, sīd-i, ḥizd-u⁴⁶*. (7) *qal-l-u, šnuwwa ādi l-aḥkāya⁴⁷*? (8) *šhē tawwa l-ḥūma kullika walla ybīc-l-ha l-ōla, ma-cā-š wāklīn m-cā-h xubz*. (9) *āy qāl illā ma na-cmil-l-u cāmla⁴⁸ mtāc faṛd maṛṛa⁴⁹*. (10) *žē, sīd-i, hūwa... šhē yišri l-ōla w-hūwa yṛawwaḥ, hūwa yṛawwaḥ w-cqab-l-u fāk il-fažr, ya-cmil-l-u ḥuṛṛa*. (11) *qut-l-ik, qāl illā ma na-cmil-l-u cāmla mtāc faṛd maṛṛa, mtāc faṛd maṛṛa*. (12) *cil-l-u ḥuṛṛa f-it-tnīya li yṛawwaḥ fē-hē hu*. (13) *ayya sīd-i, fāk⁴⁹ il-fažr f-iš-šbāḥ, w-hūwa mṛawwaḥ ba-cd-mā qdē w-kull šay m-is-sūq, hu mit-caddi b-il-bhāyim w-āk il-bhayyim tāḥ*. (14) *l-ibhayyim tāḥ tiksār, tiksār min-sāq-u*. (15) *w-āk it-tōm tbazza^c, w-āk ilbṣaḷ tbazza^c w-āk iz-zrāri^c tbazz^cu*. (16) *si šhē xalla hattā-wēn ṭla^c iš-šbāḥ, žāw iž-žmā^ca*, (17) *š-bī-k ya šhē? š-bī-h ya šhē?* (18) *qal-l-hum ḥuṛṛa ḥādīya ma-na-crif-š kīfāš... tāḥ fē-hē l-bhīm*. (19) *w-āk šwayyit it-tōm kull w-šwayyit zrāri^c kull saṛqā-hā⁵⁰ ḥbayybāt raḥḥ-i*. (20) *w-hūwa hazz āk-il-bhayyim, hazz, hazzū-l-u l-bhayyim cāla kaṛṛīṭa, qāmu āk-il-bhayyim hazzū-h c-a-l-kaṛṛīṭa w-hazzū-h l-il-kūrī¹ mtāc-(u)...* (21) *q-cad si āk... šhē q-cad yžī xmuṣṭāš-in yōm willa cīsrīn yōm ydāwī fāk-il... fāk-il-bhayyim*. (22) *w-it-tīžāra mtāc-u waqfit u-d-dīya xdāt u-cṭāt, ma-cnā-ha xdāt u-cṭāt, ma-cnā-ha wallāt tmēzr-u¹ hu, mikknitt-u mīzēya*. (23) *maṛt-u qat-l-u šnuwwa tawwa-ḥnā q-cadna l-... tīžāra mtāc-na*

⁴⁵ *šhē* with the ending *ē* is a real Mah. form.

⁴⁶ < *ḥisd-u* < CA حَسَدٌ.

⁴⁷ [hka:je].

⁴⁸ [ʕamle].

⁴⁹ < *fi hāk*.

⁵⁰ When a verbal form ending with *-u*, *-āw* or *-īw* is followed by the pronoun suffix for the 3.m.sg. *-ha*, these endings are substituted by *-ā*, *-āwā*, *-īwā* respectively.

saṛqu ‘they stole’ + *-ha* > *saṛqā-ha* ‘they stole it (f.)’

yisṛqu ‘they steal’ + *-ha* > *yisṛqā-ha* ‘they steal it (f.)’

šaddu ‘they seized’ + *-ha* > *šaddā-ha* ‘they seized it (f.)’

yšiddu ‘they seize’ + *-ha* > *yšiddā-ha* ‘they seize it (f.)’

yīšrīw ‘they buy’ + *-ha* > *yīšrīwā-ha* ‘they buy it (f.)’

šrāw ‘they bought’ + *-ha* > *šrāwā-ha* ‘they bought it (f.)’

raqdit. (24) ayya-l-lāh gālib, illa ma... illā ma yabṛa l-bhayyim. (25) w-āk wxayy-na it-tāzīr l-āxīr šāḥb-u maʿnā-hā-k-il... fī ḥūmt-u, wallā-k-il-fatra-dīka⁵¹ l-xumštāš il-ʿiṣrīn yōm hūwa, hūwa ybīʿ fē-hē f-iz-zrārīʿ, irbaḥ-ḥa. (26) kī... kī brē-k-il-bhayyim⁵², ʿāwud rṣaʿ, rṣaʿ, šḥē rṣaʿ l-it-tīžāra ntāʿ-u. (27) rṣaʿ l-it-tīžāra ntāʿ-u ʿād hu yiṣrī b-irxīš, šḥē, w-ybīʿ b-il-gāli. (28) w-ḥatta kī yaqqa t-tāzīr l-āxīr, āk-illi ʿmil-l-u l-ʿamla l-uwwla⁵³, ī maʿnā-ha yṭayyaḥ li hu ybīʿ, maʿnā-ha ḥatta yiṣrī b-ʿašra ybīʿ b-aḥdāš willa b-ʿašra w-nuṣṣ, mīṣālīš⁵⁴ ybīʿ, w-l-āxīr kassar-l-u, kassar-l-u s-sūq. (29) wxayy-na ādāk qāl a sīd-i lāzim naʿmil-l-u ʿamla uxṛā-dā-šḥē mā-ū-š⁵⁴ rāṣaʿ ʿlī-ya? yilzim-ni, yilzim-ni nkassar-u. (30) hāw šḥē baʿd-mā sīd-i... baʿd ma-ṛawwaḥ nhayyir min il... m-is-sūq w-bāʿ w-kull šayy, w-l-bhayyim maṛbūṭ qaddām id-dār, yṣī āk-il... wxayy-na ādāka šāḥb-u, il-^Fcontraire^F mtāʿ-u, maʿnā-ha l-tāzīr il-mkassar. (31) ḥāk il-bhayyim yuṣṛub il-mā, w-hu ḥaṭṭ-l-u ḡabra, ḡabrit baṛḡūt, ḡabra mtāʿ āk-il-ḥāšārāt, ḥaṭṭ-l-u šwayya. (32) ḥāk il-bhayyim ṭāḥ yitlawwa, l-mṣārīn. (33) žē šḥē baš yimši ʿ-š-bāḥ l-is-sūq yalqa ḥāk il-bhayyim, mā-fi ʿīn-u balla⁵⁵, yaʿni mṛayyaḍ u-s-sxāna taqli fī-h, bāš ymūt. (34) qālū-l-u hizz... žāb-l-u ṭḥīḥ. (35) ṭḥīḥ qal-l-u maʿnā-ha ādā(h) šṛab ḥāza maṣmūma, iṣrī-l-u kaʿba bōga⁵⁵, bōga bēda, w-šarṛab-hā-l-u, w-wakkl is-sfinnārya, wakkl is-sfinnārya, taww ywallī lā bās... (36) ayya sīd-i šḥē smaʿ klām ṭḥīḥ w-šrā-l-u, šrā-l-u s-sfinnārya w-šrā-l-u l-būga. (37) tiṣām hu w-āk ṭḥīḥ, la, la, la, l-bḥīm tiṣām, fhimt? kirš-u wullāt tižri, kirš-u wullāt tižri. (38) ḥāšīlū qʿad, žbid žimʿa uxṛa. (39) w-mṛayyaḍ āk-il... hu w-āk il... wxayy-na t-tāzīr l-āxīr la yirbaḥ u... w-šḥē rāqid. (40) ayya baʿd āk-il... iž-žimʿa willa qaddāš ʿašra-yyām, brē... l-bhayyim, w-rṣaʿ sē⁵⁶ šḥē k-il-ʿāda. (41) ʿmil-l-ik yṣī ʿašra-yyām xumštāš-in yōm, kassar wxayy-na l-āxīr, wxayy-na l-āxīr it-tīžāra mtāʿ-u raqdit. (42) qāl ādā(h) šḥē yilzim-nī nirzī-h fī-h faṛd maṛṛa l... nirzī-h fī-h, maʿnā-ha, nnaḥḥī-ū-l-u l-bḥīm faṛd maṛṛa. (43) hu nhayyir šḥē hū mī-zāl mṛawwaḥ m-is-sūq w-ma-ṛḥaṭ-š il-bhayyim w-nāwi baš yuṣṭur yʿāwud yarṣaʿ ybīʿ, wxayy-na žāb il-kaṛṛīṭa, ḥāk il-bhayyim w-ṛaḥṭ-u w-ḥṛab bī-h, šṛaq-hū-l-u. (44) žē yaḍṛab ʿla šḥē⁵⁷... ʿla āk-il-bhayyim⁵⁸ mā-yalqā-ū-š. (45) tišwā hikka šḥē, tišwā, taḥrāq, maʿnā-ha bhīm-u tiṣrāq w... tišwā tišwā, kīma l-mišwi. (46) tiṣraq-l-u l-bhayyim tišwā ʿlī-h, taḥrāq ʿlī-h maʿnā-ha. (47) ayya sīd-i min ḡudwa ʿ-š-bāḥ, nāḍ šāf šāf šāf minna šāf minna mā-lqā-š il-bhayyim. (48) dār f-is-sūq, qal-l-hum rītū-š bhīm-i? yqūlu ḥūmā laʿ. (49) maʿnā-ha t-tāzīr hādāka mass-hum b-il-flūs. (50) yqūlū-l-ū, ā ayyā kull-kum qūl-l-u laʿ. (51) walla w-rṣaʿ šḥē lil... l-il-ḥūma, w-qāl ā sīd-i ayya ma-yalqā-l-ī-š bhīm-i, kān ma-yarṣaʿ-l-ī-š bhīm-i, naʿmil mtāʿ ʿamlit ḥayy, naʿmil mtāʿ ʿamlit ḥayy! (52) yimši yqūl, kān ma-tražžaʿ-l-ī-š bhīm-i, naʿmil tʿamlit ḥayy, kān mā-

⁵¹ < walla ḥāk il-fatra hādīka.

⁵² < kīf brē ḥāk il-bhayyim.

⁵³ [luwwle].

⁵⁴ < ʿamla uxṛa hāda šḥē mā-hū-š.

⁵⁵ A popular native fizzy drink; bōga bēda is clear like Seven-Up and bōga kaḥla is dark coloured like Coca Cola.

⁵⁶ sē > sī ‘mister’.

⁵⁷ It seems that the speaker intended to say ‘āk-il-bhayyim’.

⁵⁸ yaḍṛab ʿla ‘chercher qq. ou qq.ch.’, see *Takroûna* II vol. 5, p. 2318.

yražž^cū-l-ī-š bhīm-i na^cmil t^cāmlit ḥayy. (53) āk wxayy-na it-tāžir sma^c ād. (54) yqul-l-ik hādāh šhē lāzim baš ya^cmil-l-i ^camla mtā^c faṛd maṛṛa. (55) žē yšāwur šhāb-u šnuwwa? (56) qālū-l-u, fukk ^clik, ḥaṛṛa ražža^c-l-u bhīm-u, w-sayyib ^clī-na min-hum m-il-mašākil ādāh šhē, ya^cmil-š ^camlit bū-h? (57) škūn ya^crif ^clī-h šniyya ^camlit bū-h? (58) šḥar ^clī-h nhayyrīn willa tlāta, w-ba^ctālī⁵⁹ ^cmil hikka, hazz ādāk il-bhīm w-ražža^c qaddām il-bāb. (59) šhē nād iṣ-šbāḥ yalqa l-bhīm mtā^c-u. (60) rmē ^clī-h āk-iš-šwārī kull šayy w-qṣad ṛaḥḥ-i l-is-sūq, rža^c ytāžir ^cla rūḥ-u. (61) iž-žmā^ca qālū-l-u, b-ṛaḥḥ-i šhē, tawwa rža^c-l-ik bhīm-ik? (62) qal-l-hum ī rža^c-l-i l-bhīm. (63) qālū-l-u tbaqqēnā... šniyya ^camlit bū-k, kān... kān mā-rža^c-l-ik-š? kān ma-rža^c-l-ik-š il-bhīm, š... kunt š-ta^cmil? šniyya ^camlit bū-k? (64) qāl-il-hum šayy, ^camlit ḥāḥa, nišri bhīm āxir.

Šhē and the Donkey

(1) There was (a man who was called) Šhē, he had a donkey. (2) He always went to the market with the donkey. (3) With this (donkey) he traded onions, peppers, tomatoes and garlic. (4) Ah... he began bit by bit until his trade got better. (5) He finally sells the provisions for the whole of his quarter, he sells everything... garlic... the provisions for the whole year, which he sells for his quarter... he sells to them what he has. (6) There is a neighbour of his, a neighbour who envied him. (7) He said, ‘What is this story? Šhē became to sell the whole quarter the provisions, they don’t eat bread with him anymore.’ (9) He said, ‘I only do an evil deed, just one-off evil deed to him.’ (10) He came... he buys the provisions and going back. When he goes back, the neighbour follows him on that dawn and dug a hole. (11) I said to you, he said, ‘I only do evil deed to him once, just a one-off evil deed.’ (12) He dug a hole in the way where he comes back. (13) And then, in the dawn, in the morning, and he comes back after purchasing everything from the market, he was passing with his donkey and the donkey fell. (14) The donkey fell and broke the bone of its leg. (15) The garlic was scattered, the onions were scattered, and the seeds were scattered. (16) Mr. Šhē left (the donkey) until it became morning and the people came. (17) ‘What happened to you, Šhē?’ (18) He said to them, ‘This hole, I don’t know how... but the donkey fell into it.’ (19) The friends of God stole all the garlic and the seeds. (20) And he took his donkey, they took it on the trolley, they began to take the donkey on the trolley to the stable. (21) Šhē was treating the donkey for fifteen or twenty days. (22) His trade stopped. Life has its peaks and valleys. Namely he suffered misery, the misery took him. (23) His wife said to him, ‘What? Now our trade has stopped.’ (24) It’s pity, only the donkey recovers. (25) That other (brother) merchant, his friend, in his quarter and during those fifteen or twenty days, sells the seeds and profited. (26) When the donkey recovered, Šhē came back to his trade. (27) He came back to his trade, then he buys cheap and sells at a high price. (28) Until when he finds the other merchant, he who did the evil deed the first time, namely scattered what Šhē was

⁵⁹ < ba^cd tāli.

selling...Šhē was buying for ten dinars and sells for eleven or eleven and the a half dinars... anyhow he sells, and the other broke the market. (29) Our brother said, ‘Oh master, I have to do another evil deed to him, isn’t Šhē coming back against me? I have to break him.’ (30) One day after Šhē came back from the market and sold everything, whilst the donkey was tied up in front of his house, his friend, who is his enemy, namely the corrupted merchant, came. (31) While the donkey was drinking water, he put the powder of fleas, the powder of those insects, he put it in a little. (32) The donkey fell on the ground since the intestine was twisted. (33) In the morning Šhē, getting off to the market, found the donkey, he was moribund, namely sick, and the fever was boiling it, it was near to death. (34) They said to him, ‘Raise (the donkey)...’; he brought a doctor to the donkey. (35) The doctor said, ‘This donkey drank something poisoned. Buy for the donkey a bottle of Boga, white Boga, and give it, and feed carrots, so he will get better.’ (36) Šhē heard the words of the doctor, bought carrots, and bought Boga. (37) The doctor suffered from diarrhea... no, the donkey suffered the diarrhea, do you understand? He had the runs. (38) As a result he stayed ill an extra week. (39) The sick of ... the other merchant doesn’t profit nor ... and Šhē stayed sleeping. (40) Then after a week or some twenty days, the donkey recovered. And Šhē came back as usual. (41) Around ten or fifteen days, the other merchant went to ruin, the trade of the other merchant stopped. (42) He said, ‘I have to harm that Šhē once more.’ ‘*nerzī fīh*’ means that ‘I bereave the donkey once.’ (43) One day Šhē was coming back from the market, and he did not tie up the donkey. He was going to have lunch and thereafter come back and go to sell. The other merchant brought a trolley, tied the donkey up, and escaped; he stole the donkey. (44) He looked for Šhē... He looked for the donkey but didn’t find it. (45) Šhē got into a temper, breathing fire, his donkey was stolen and... ‘*tišwē*’ as grilled meat. (46) The donkey was stolen so he breathed fire, got into a temper. (47) The next day in the morning, when he got up, he looked and looked here and there, but he did not find the donkey. (48) He went around the market and said, ‘Did you see my donkey?’ They said, ‘No.’ (49) Namely the other merchant greased their palms. (50) They said to him... everyone said, ‘No.’ (51) Šhē came back to the quarter and said, ‘No one finds me my donkey, so if my donkey doesn’t come back, I do the deed of my father, I do the deed of my father.’ (52) He goes crying, ‘If you don’t return my donkey to me, I do the deed of my father, if you don’t return my donkey to me, I do the deed of my father!’ (53) Then that merchant heard. (54) He said, ‘This Šhē is going to blow me away thoroughly.’ (55) He consulted his friends, ‘What (should I do)?’ (56) They said to him, ‘That’s enough, go and return the donkey to him, and release us from the problem of whether this Šhē will do the deed of his father. (57) Who knows about him, what his father did? (58) He took patience two or three days, and then he took that donkey and returned it in front of the door (of Šhē’s). (59) Šhē woke up in the morning and found his donkey. (60) He put the baskets on it and everything and left to the market. He came back to the trade. (61) Everyone said, ‘Please Šhē, now did your donkey come back?’ (62) He said to them, ‘Yes.’ (63) They said to him, ‘It remains (a question),

what did your father... if... if the donkey didn't come back?' If the donkey did not come back, what would you do? What is your father's deed?' (64) He said to them, 'Nothing, my father's deed was to buy another donkey.'

3. Glossary

balla: *mā fi ʿīn-u balla* 'he is moribund', see *Takroûna* II vol. 1, p. 376.

faʿd marra 'thoroughly, crucially, definitively', see *Takroûna* II vol. 7, p. 2919 'd'un seul coup, définitivement, complètement, entièrement, foncièrement' and p. 3789 'd'un seul coup, définitivement'.

kūri 'stable', see Beaussier (1958) p. 883, كوري pl. كَوَارِي 'Ecurie'.

mēzir 'to put s.o. in misery' This is a verb on the pattern *CēCvC*, which, with *CōCvC*, is apparently a variant of the quadriliteral verb *CayCaC-* (and *CawCaC-*), and with the contraction of *aw*, *aw* into *ē*, *ō* (in Tunis Muslim *ī*, *ō* respectively), these verbs take the shape of a variant of Form III verbs. See Singer (1980) pp. 381-383.

mīsālīš 'don't mind' < *ma ysāl-š* 'it does not ask', see *Takroûna* II. vol. 4, p. 1750, 'impersonnel à la 3e pers.masc. sing. *ma-īsāḷš* "ça ne tire pas à conséquence"; "peu importe"; "ça ne fait rien"; "il n'a pas d'inconvénient"'.

nabla 'arrow', see Dozy (1881) II, p. 645, نَبْل 'carreau d'arbalète, fleche courte et épaisse'.

rza 'to harm', see *Takroûna* II vol. 3, p. 1494, 'frapper qq. par une perte qui l'atteint dans sa personne, dans ses intérêts, ses affections'.

tinnīn 'dragon', see Schaparelli (1871) p. 72, تَنِين Draco, Dozy (1881) II, p. 152 'tromb, colonne d'eau et d'air mue en tourbillon par le vent'.

zrāri^c 'seeds, crop', see *Takroûna* II vol. 4, p. 1664, *zārri^ca* pl. *zārri^cât*, *zrârē^c* 'semence, graine(s)'.

ʿōla 'provision', see *Takroûna* II vol. 5, p. 2745, *ʿōlā* 'provision de la maison'.

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