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Preface and acknowledgment

My journey to the Arabic language started on a sunny summer day on a terrace in Croatia. I had just graduated from school as I was travelling through Europe with a close friend, when I realized that I would soon have to register myself to a study program. I laid down on a sun lounger and started googling. Since I had barely any idea about the academic landscape in Germany and most universities seemed to have rather strict or even already closed application processes, and the university of Bamberg presented itself as having an extremely late registration deadline and several language programs, I quickly decided that Bamberg would be the city I would like to spend the next years in. While applying, I discovered that it was one of few universities where one could have a major and two minors within the same BA-program. Impulsively, I added “Oriental Studies” to my application to Romance and Slavic Studies.

A few years later, after changing my major to Arabic Studies and spending immersive times in Morocco and Egypt, I realized that beyond the infamous ocean of grammar and verbal forms, there was more about Arabic. I hereby want to thank Dr. Peter Konerding, who was the first person to introduce me to the world of Arabic dialects, who noticed and understood my interest and who was also the first one to recommend me to pursue my studies in Vienna.

In Vienna, I was introduced very soon to the amplex of Arabic dialects by the two outstanding teachers and colleagues, Assoz.-Prof. Dr. Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun and Prof. Dr. Stephan Procházka. It is Prof. Dr. Procházka who presented and soon employed me in his extended-ERC-granted project WIBARAB “What is Bedouin Arabic?” in which I discovered the world of working in academics and learnt everything I would not learn in class. Moreover, it is also Prof. Dr. Procházka who opened the way to my journey and fieldwork in Sudan, a country I had been dreaming of visiting for many years.

I owe the topic of my thesis to my former fellow student Gunda, who proposed me to write my thesis about the dialect of the Rašāyda in Sudan, as she was working on the Rašāyda in Saudi-Arabia and Kuwait. I therefore want to thank my colleague and friend Maria Rebecca Zarb who took over the PhD project on the Rašāyda of the Arabian Peninsula and with whom I deeply enjoyed researching and discussing linguistic and cultural contents. I hereby also want to thank my colleague Laura Stocker, a historian who had a big impact on the non-linguistical research of this thesis, as well as Reem who demystified unintelligible recordings. And lastly, I am immensely thankful for Prof. Dr. Stefan Reichmuth, who himself conducted fieldwork with Rašāyda in Sudan in the 1970s and who had the huge kindness of sending all his cassette-recordings to the WIBARAB-team.

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The Rašāyda! The very first encounter I had with the Rašāyda was through a car window – after calling countless times and trying to reach any Rašīdi in vain and wondering whether I would ever meet any Rašāyda, Prof. Awad took his daughter and me to a spontaneous drive to the Rašāyda-populated village of Mwēs in the hope of randomly encountering someone. In fact, it did not take a long time until we met two Rašīdi brothers, Rāšid and Rašīd, standing in front of their house. We had a short conversation throughout the car window, got offered some water, exchanged numbers, and left the village.

After several unsuccessful attempts to contact the two brothers – I was randomly driven home by one of them one month later, but I never saw the other one again – the *zaṣīm*, the local authority of Mwēs, answered to Prof. Awad and came to the university guesthouse to meet us – my first recording was taken (cf. U_1)! Still, the next week passed with no sign of any Rašāyda. It is when despair began to rise and the night began to fall, that I got to know the kind ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz, by chance on the streets. He was very interested in my story and promised me to do everything he could to get me in touch with Rašāyda; and indeed, the next day at 8 AM, he picked me up and walked with me to the other end of the town where a certain Rašīdi, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Nāfīʿ, was known to be the founder and director of a primary school. We entered his school, met him, he had phone call in a very unusual dialect I immediately recognized from the meeting with the *zaṣīm*, and two days later, we attended the *dīwān aḡ-ḡiyūf* of Mwēs together with Prof. Awad, his daughter, and a friend (cf. M_1; Q_1-3).

After this very intense and eye-opening afternoon, again, two or three weeks passed until I was able to finally meet and establish personal contacts with Rašāyda of my age. And again, everything happened by chance. I was sitting in a bank of Shendi when a guy who saw me at a marriage weeks before recognized me and told me he knew about Rašāyda that had shops on the *sūq* of Shendi. He immediately brought (and left) me there: A tire shop, a perfume shop, and a supermarket within the same building, all managed by Rašāyda of Mwēs. This is where my personal journey with the Rašāyda started: I came there every day, we worked, talked, and laughed, I made recordings (Sh_1-6), they brought me to Mwēs and to their lands outside of the village (cf. HB_1-3), I finally managed to get in touch with Rašāyda. I therefore want to thank Ḥamīd Rāšid, Ḥamīd Salāma, Aḥmad, Aḥmad Muḥammad, ʿAbdalla, ʿAbdalla

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Lastly, and from the bottom of my heart, I want to thank my wife Laura, who was always there, to listen to my doubts even when the connection made it unbearable, and to give me emotional support in the long-lasting process of transcribing the recordings and writing this thesis. I finally also want to express my gratitude to my parents who themselves were not able to study, and always supported me in my choices, even in such atypical fields of study.

List of abbreviations

Languages

CA	Classical Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
RA	Rašīdi Arabic (Sudan)
SA	Sudanese Arabic

Linguistics

F.	Feminine
M.	Masculine
PL.	Plural
SG.	Singular
C	consonant
v	short vowel
V	long vowel

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1 Introduction

1.1 Historical background

1.1.1 The Rašāyda: An overview

Today, a great number of smaller or larger tribal groups calling themselves Rašāyda are found in most of the countries around the Red Sea, notably Sudan, Eritrea, Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Jordan, Palestine and Israel, as well as in Kuwait. According to many members of the Rašāyda interviewed in Sudan and beyond, the Rašāyda are as scattered as that there are branches in every single Arabic country. Albeit thinkable, the presence of Rašāyda descending from or related to the Naǧdi Banī Rašīd could not be found proven beyond the countries boarding the Red Sea and Kuwait.

The different Rašāyda groups do not build a social or political unit. Some, but not all of them, claim common genealogical descent (Young 1997). The lack of consent about whether they share a common lineage or not, distinguishes the Rašāyda from other larger tribal confederations, such as the ʿAniza or the Šammar.

In recent times, a ‘process of “awakening” to a common past’ (Anfinset et al., 2022: 63) has been emerging among Rašāyda communities in different countries. Also, academic research from historians, linguists, and social anthropologists all lead to the one-million-dollar-question: Are the different Rašāyda groups historically related and if yes, how? (Anfinset et al. 2022).

According to the anthropologist William Young, one way of how to draw at least some conclusions to this question is to compare the name of the sub-lineages among different Rašāyda groups or the alliances with other tribal groups. There are many common names among the sub-lineages of the Rašāyda in Kuwait and those of the Banī Rašīd in Saudi Arabia (out of 22 clan Rašāyda names in Kuwait, 19 are identical with those Banī Rašīd in Saudi Arabia). According to Young it is thus “almost certainly, this is evidence that the Kuwaiti Rašāyda were originally part of the Banī Rašīd of western Saudi Arabia” (Young: Banī Rašīd).

Regarding the Rašāyda in Sudan, there is no common group names with those in the Arabian Peninsula. The names of the three “core branches” of the Rašāyda in Sudan (the *Barāṭīx*, the *Zunaymāt* and the *Barāfiṣa*) are not found beyond Sudan. However, the Rašāyda in Sudan and the Rašāyda in Kuwait are both allies to the ʿAwāzim: “*agrab nās lē-hun al-iṣrēnāt, al-ʿawāzim, kida*” – ‘the people closest to them are the al-iṣrēnāt, the al-ʿAwāzim, such’ (quote by S. b. R., the leader of the Rašāyda of Mwēs (cf. U_1 and acknowledgment) from an untranscribed recording in SA)). Young comments that they “surely must have a common origin” (Young 2002: 102).

Finding a “historical truth” to the question of the relation between different Rašāyda groups is to some degree obstructed by the tension between discourse and social practice inherent to the tribal system.

1.1.1.1 *The tribal system*

The tribal system is built on a segmentary organization. Each tribal lineage is made up of families and individuals who trace their descent from a common (mostly male) ancestor, be it imaginative figures or a person having existed. These lineages are then grouped into larger segments, creating a (hierarchical) structure based “on the prevailing idiom of unilineal genealogy” (Gingrich 2015: 646).

The ideological discourse of a common descent is crucial since it provides stability to an otherwise highly fluid and flexible system. In that sense, social affinity between members of the same tribal segment is often conceived and justified in genealogical terms. Therefore, whether kinship relationships are real or imagined does not always matter.

In the words of Stefan Leder, adherence to strict genealogy is often “challenged, and sometimes superseded, by the affinity established through locality and cohabitation” (Leder 2015: 56).

The practiced flexibility facilitates the merging of tribal groups, which often adopted the name of the dominant group and explains why Rašāyda communities even within the same geography have different origins. Since social affinity is justified in genealogical terms, narratives about tribal origins and about genealogical relations between groups must remain flexible, and thus inconsistent.

1.1.1.2 *Debates about the Rašāyda’s history and origin*

Among the Rašāyda, debates about their history and origin seem especially tense, that is more tense than with regard to other tribal groups, where differences on the question of origin – at least to the best of my knowledge – are often not a problem per se. The tension regarding the Rašāyda might be related to the “*Hutaym* issue”:

In the late 19th and early 20th century, many members of the Rašāyda, particularly those in the Arabian Peninsula, were often collectively declared as “*Hutaymi*” (also “Pariah” tribes) (Murray 1935; von Oppenheim 1967). In this context, the term *Hutaym* had a predominantly pejorative meaning: “To call a man a Hiteimi is an insult, even if he is one” (Murray 1935: 268). Young explains: “derived from the adjective *ahtam*, the word ‘*hutaym*’ literally meant ‘a man whose two front teeth are broken off at the roots: “*al-rajul ... inkasarat thanāyāhu min uṣūlihā*” (Young 1997: 78).

In that sense, *Hutaym* seemed to be an umbrella term for Bedouin groups with lower-ranking social or political status (Young 1997: 78), tribal groups that became socially discredited for different reasons and lost their independence. Thus, they often became subject to tribute payments to other tribal groups (*xuwwa*), as is the case for the Rašāyda in Kuwait, known for having been the clients of the Muṭayr for many years (Ingham 1979: 24). This low-ranking social status is again expressed in genealogical terms: *Hutaym* stands for tribes with “no origin”, which is negatively distinguished from supposedly “real

Arabs”. Such racialized stereotypes on the “Hutaym” are often reproduced by European authors who described them as “racially” and “culturally” different from other “Arab Bedouin” (see, for example, von Oppenheim 1967: 117-119). Other “Hutaym” tribes are for instance the Zubaydīya, Shararat, the Muṭayr of Egypt, the Azaiza, the Qazāyza and the Solubba (or Sleib) (von Oppenheim 1967: 121). It is no surprise that at least two of the mentioned tribes, the Zubaydīya and the Qazāyza are both located in present-day Sudan. In fact, the Zubaydīya, allegedly originating from Zabīd in the Yemeni Tihāma, are supposed to have mingled with the Rašāyda and entered Sudan together – “*ʔal-ḡizu ʔalli sācin fī šarg as-sūdān žāy min al-yemen šabr as-sifun, sifun zubēyda*” ‘the part that is living in Eastern Sudan came from Yemen by the boats, boats of the Zubāyda’ (cf. M_1) – are often mistaken as Rašāyda; according to the personal experience of the author, many Sudanese regard the Zubaydīya and the Rašāyda as “one”. In the case of the Qazāyza, they are less known amongst non-Rašāyda in Sudan and consider themselves a subtribe of the Rašāyda. In fact, the great majority of the Rašāyda of Mwēs, most of the informants of the 2023-fieldwork, identify themselves as Qazāyza.

In the context of modern state formation and the profound transformation of tribal order in the 20th century, certain “Hutaym” tribes successfully transcended their socially perceived “inferior” positions, which was, for example, realized through strategic alliances with specific state elites or by attaining an elevated economic status. The ʕAwāzim, for instance, as inhabitants of the borderlands between Saudi-Arabia and Kuwait, successfully allied themselves first to Ibn Saʕūd and later to the aš-Šabāḥ, the ruling family of Kuwait. According to von Oppenheim, they also gained considerable resources from smuggling businesses during, and in the aftermath of World War I (von Oppenheim 1943: 151). The increasing prestige and independence of groups marked as “Hutaym” came along with growing efforts to establish genealogical narratives about a common descent (von Oppenheim 1967: 122).

To the question whether the “Hutaym” are a tribe, Young states that “the term [Hutaym] tells us nothing about the genealogical identities of the people so designated” (Young 1997: 79). He further says that while it is obvious that the Hutaym in modern times are a socio-political category, it might be that it was before a tribal group name (Young: “Issues in reconstructing the history of the al Rashāyidah”).

The term “Hutaym” does usually not appear as a tribal (ancestral) name in Arab genealogies, one exception is Muḥammad Sulaymān aṭ-Ṭayyib who seeks to prove that there existed a tribe named Banī Hutaym in early Islamic times (aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997: 458-507).

According to Young (1997: 77), the Hutaym are documented as an administratively defined “tribe” (here: *tāʔifa*) in 16th-century Ottoman tax records from Palestine, specifically from Gaza. Young suggests that the inclusion of the term in the Ottoman tax records might imply the existence of a community self-identifying as “Hutaym”, yet he does not delve into this possibility. Personally, I think that the Ottomans might have adopted this name from “outsiders”, that is people not necessarily affiliated with the Hutaym community.

It can be concluded that, the fact that the Rašāyda have been designated as “Hutaym” says nothing about their descent or their origin. However, it is an indicator about their historically low-ranking social position within a larger tribal landscape of the Arab East during the 19th and early 20th century. This might have been one “push-factor” for their migration to Sudan (cf. 1.1.2.3.3.1).

Moreover, the various and frequently conflicting theories regarding the descent of the Rašāyda may be connected to the historically lower socio-political status of many of these communities. This is because the genealogies of traditionally privileged tribal groups were more systematically and cohesively documented.

1.1.1.3 Theories of descent

1.1.1.3.1 *Qaḥṭān* and *ʿAdnān*

According to traditional Arab genealogy, all tribal lineages trace back to two apical (imagined) ancestors, namely *Qaḥṭān* and *ʿAdnān*. In that sense, all tribes of Arab origins usually trace their descent back to one of them. With regard to the Rašāyda opinions whether they are descendants of *Qaḥṭān* or *ʿAdnān* are not unanimously.

- 1) One of the most common theories is that the Rašāyda (or the Banī Rašīd) are descendants from the pre-Islamic ʿAbs tribe. The ʿAbs were part of the Ġaṭafān tribal confederation (which were allies of the Qurāyš, the tribe of the Prophet Muḥammad). They are a tribe of ʿAdnān descent (al-Xiyārī 2013 and aṭ-Ṭayyib 1996: 540).
- 2) Some genealogists relativize this theory, considering the fluidity of tribal structures which led to frequent merging of groups from different origins. Rabaḥ Mubārak Maḍkar ar-Rašīdī, for example, states that the above theory of descent from the ʿAbs tribe applies to most, but not all Rašāyda groups. He claims that the contemporary Rašāyda groups are thus both of ʿAdnāni and Qaḥṭāni origin.
- 3) There are also claims that the alleged descent of the Rašāyda from the ʿAbs tribe is a false assumption. Instead, they are supposedly descendants of the Tayy? and Ġadhām (or Ġidhām) tribes, which are from the Qaḥṭān. This is for example claimed by Muṭair Miġbil aš-Šarīka ar-Rašīdī 2020: 28. His books treats mainly the Rašāyda from Kuwait; one reason for claiming Qaḥṭāni, respectively Tayy?, descent for the Rašāyda might be that the author seems keen to establish a close genealogical relationship between the Rašāyda and the Banī Xālid, who also partially claim to be from the Tayy?.

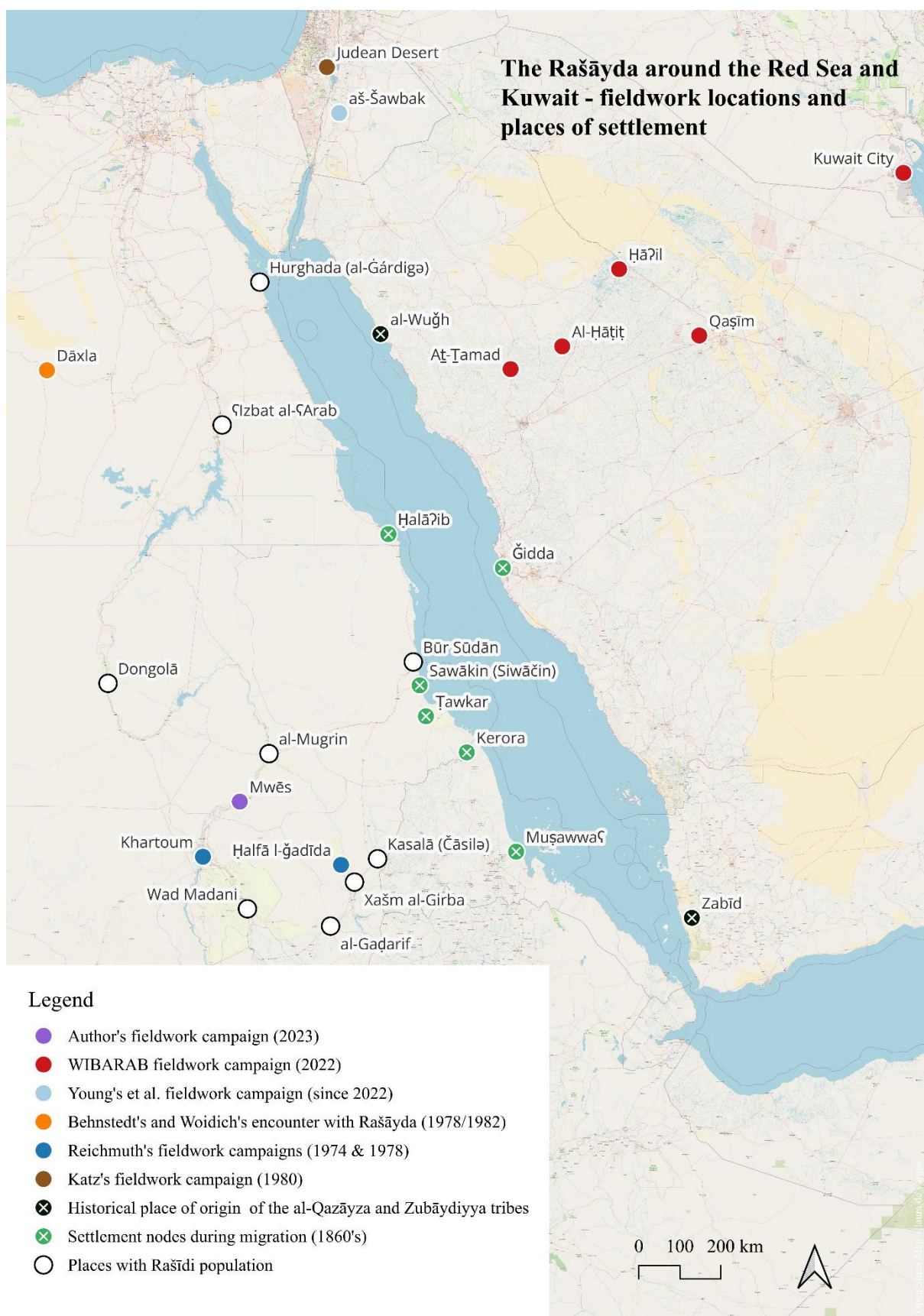
1.1.1.3.2 Hārūn ar-Rašīd

The prevalent theory for the Banī Rašīd or Rašāyda in Sudan are that they are descendants of Rašīd az-Zawl, the son of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd (r. 170–193/786–809) (Behnstedt&Woidich: 2023).

This theory mainly applied to the three “core groups” of the Rašāyda in Sudan, namely the Barāṭīx, the Zuneymāt and the Barāfiša, further subdivided into clans, lineages, and families (Young 2024: 343). However, it is not accepted by all tribal members. It is remarkable, since it is rather uncommon for tribal groups to claim descent from an actual historical figure. And it goes further: As Rašīd az-Zawl’s wife was called Zabīda (Agius 2012: 209), the hypothesis recurs that this is the reason why the Rašāyda in Sudan are commonly also called Zubāydīya, or occasionally Banī Zabīd, being the “children” of Rašīd and Zabīda. Yet, this idea remains very unlikely, both in respect to the historical comment by one of my informants outlined above (cf. 1.1.1.2) as well as regarding the argumentation of the historian Yusuf Fadl Hasan, who suggests that Rašāyda and the Zabīdiyya formed a new tribe during their simultaneous migration from the Ḥiğāz to Sudan (Dirāsāt fī tāriḫ as-Sūdān, 177-79, cited in Young 1997: 83).

1.1.2 The Rašāyda in Sudan

1.1.2.1 Geographical distribution and socio-economic foundations



Map 1: The Rašāyda around the Red Sea and Kuwait – fieldwork locations and places of settlement.
(Copyright by the author)

Explanations to the map:

The symbols with a cross represent historical accounts: Black are the two only concrete places mentioned as original areas of sub-groups of the Rašāyda, al-Wuḡh being the origin of the al-Qazāyza and Zabīd of the tightly related Zubāydīya (cf. 1.1.1.2; M_1). Northern and Central Naḡd, the consensually agreed original area of the Banī Rašīd is not separately marked in the map as it corresponds with the four red-dotted locations in Saudi-Arabia. Green is the port of *Ġidda* (Jeddah) the Rašāyda supposedly sailed from, and the alleged towns of arrival along the African coast.

The remaining white spots are various locations of Rašīdī settlement mentioned in the data. For better visualization, two villages of the Nile Valley (*at-Tukna* and *az-Zeydāb*) are left out here, they can be found on the map of Rašāyda settlements (cf. 1.2). Since many members of the Rašāyda pursue a (semi)nomadic lifestyle until today, the white dots in Eastern Sudan only represent the main towns around which the Rašāyda scatteredly live. Regarding the Red Sea Coast, there is evidence of dispersed and Rašāyda settlement roughly between Hurghada and Eritrea. Unfortunately, precise information lack to define the exact locations along the coast, especially in the case of Eritrea.

1.1.2.1.1 Red Sea Coast

The settlement area of Rašāyda on the coast is all along the Sudanese shore, from the Egyptian to the Eritrean border, comprising the towns of Port Sudan (Būr Sūdān), Sawākin (*Siwāčīn* in RA (cf. R1B)), Ṭawkar and Kerora (cf. R1B). Regarding the borders with Egypt and Eritrea, it is no doubt that the settlement area goes beyond these, as both Egypt and Eritrea are home to a significant Rašāyda population. As the title of Hanafi's article implies – “Those who ignore borders” (Hanafi 2019) – these two borders represent more the borders of the scope of this thesis than the borders of the Rašāyda's settlement area. Historical as well as present-day socio-economic activities include fishing, dhow-building, trade and smuggling, mostly livestock, tobacco, weapons and humans, across the Red Sea as well as to Egypt and Eritrea (Agius 2012: 176). Albeit the Rašīdī population along the shore is not nomadic they are known for living in tent settlements, especially along the roads connecting the coastal towns.

A remarkable event in the present-day history of the Rašāyda in Sudan is the foundation of the Rašāyda Free Lions (*al-ḡusūd al-ḥurra*), an armed group or militia that was founded in reaction to the confiscation of 400 vehicles by the Sudanese government, that were gifted to the Rašāyda by the Kuwaiti government in reaction to their support in the Gulf War of 1991. As a matter of fact, the Rašāyda maintain(ed) very tight relations with several Kuwaiti parliamentaries, who happened to be Rašāyda, too. Founded by Mabrūk Mubārak Salīm ar-Rašīdī, certainly the most prominent Rašīdī in Sudan, in 1999, the militia allied with the Beja people with whom they share land, or in whose original territories of Coastal Sudan they live, and who also suffer from the Sudanese governmental negligence. The Free Lions stopped their

activity in 2006 after peace and economic negotiations with the Sudanese government. Consequently, the founder ar-Rašīdi was instored as the Minister of Education and of Agriculture of the Nile Valley State and later as the Statal Minister of Transport and Infrastructure, which he held office until 2018 (YouTube (2)). I was told that he embodied a crucial role in the infrastructural development of the Nile Valley, notably the rural areas; as a matter of fact, he is regarded as a local entity in the Nile Valley and his efforts are highly appreciated, both among Rašāyda and Sudanese people. His engagement can be seen as a crucial factor for the high esteem of the Rašāyda of the Nile Valley by the Sudanese society and for their granted access to economic and professional opportunities, especially in comparison to members of the tribe in other parts of the country.

1.1.2.1.2 Eastern Sudan

The present-day geographical and cultural core-area of the Rašāyda in Sudan is commonly considered to be the steppe hinterlands of Eastern Sudan, namely the region around the urban centers Kasalā (*Čāsila* in RA (cf. R1B)), Ḥalfā l-ğadīda and Xašm il-Girba). I had the impression that Kasalā is commonly referred to as the “capital of the Rašāyda”. Socio-economic activities comprise livestock, mainly camel breeding, trade and smuggling (especially at the border with Eritrea). According to Agius the “inland” Rašāyda were, however, not involved in slave trade (Agius 2012: 176). Most of the Rašāyda living in the East are semi-nomadic, settling in tents along the roads connecting urban centers and partially and seasonally moving through the steppes with their livestock. Since I was unfortunately not able to visit this part of the country, my knowledge is based on literature and testimonies by William Young and members of the Rašāyda I met in other regions.

1.1.2.1.3 Nile Valley

The Nile Valley is the youngest of the different regions of Rašāyda settlement in Sudan. The reasons for that might be the longer distance from the original settlement locations, the coast and the eastern steppes, the higher population density and therefore the lack of space for the traditional activities as semi-nomadic living and livestock holding. Yet, this is at the same time the main reason why many Rašāyda families from the east started moving to the Nile Valley or sent their children to live there with recently moved relatives. Life in the desert and the steppes is tough, many Rašāyda sought and seek an easier lifestyle. Therefore, since the early 1970's, many families gradually started to move down the valley of the Ṣaṭbara River until the Nile town of Ṣaṭbara and settled in small villages, namely al-Mugrin, next to Ṣaṭbara along the Ṣaṭbara River, and at-Tukna and az-Zeydāb, along the Nile south of the town of ad-Dāmīr (cf. 1.2). In fact, two informants claim that one of their grandparents that came to Sudan from Egypt is buried in az-Zeydāb (U_1).

The other and most recent Rašāyda-settlement of the Nile Valley is the village of Mwēs, approximately 150km south of the nucleus of ṢAṭbara and ad-Dāmir, and 5km south of the town of Shendi. Mwēs and Shendi are the two places where I conducted my fieldwork. This movement started in the 1980's and is still going on, as more and more Rašāyda from the east buy or build houses there. I personally met several men born in the 1990's who grew up in tents nearby Kasalā and that were then sent by their families to live with relatives in Mwēs for more opportunities and an easier life.

As the Rašāyda of the Nile Valley live in houses in villages by the Nile, their lifestyle slightly differs from that of their relatives in other parts of the country. They usually work in agriculture, breed camels and organize public racings - "*t-tarwa l-haywānīyā wa-t-tžāra wa-z-zirāʿa*" 'livestock, trading and cultivating' (M_1). Nonetheless, smuggling is also an important source of income.

As mentioned before, many Rašāyda of the Nile Valley perform in academic positions, such as engineers, teachers, lawyers, and local politicians, which is usually not the case in the other regions of Sudan. This disparity has a huge impact on how the Rašāyda are regarded and on their status within the Sudanese society, whereas the Rašāyda in Eastern and Coastal Sudan are often primarily pejoratively called smugglers and not forming part of the Sudanese society.

1.1.2.1.4 Khartoum and other

As it is the case with the Nile Valley, many Rašāyda decided to leave their (semi-)nomadic life behind and move to city. It is known that many Rašāyda in Khartoum adopt a rather "urban" lifestyle, moreover, many members decide to marry Sudanese people which is extremely uncommon in the other rural areas. I was told that an estimated 95% of the Rašāyda in Sudan do not marry outside the tribe and that these are the same 95% who keep their dialect alive by speaking it at home and teaching it to their children.

Lastly, some Rašāyda are also believed to live around the towns of Wad Madani and al-Gaḍārīf, which are situated along the main road connecting Khartoum and Eastern Sudan, as well as in Dongolā, the capital of the Northern State and nodal point between Egypt and the Sudanese Nile Valley State (between ṢAṭbara and Khartoum). Nevertheless, the exact locations of the Rašāyda in Sudan, the size of the population and their socio-economic activities might have surely changed in consequence of the ongoing war, ravaging the entire country since April 2023.

1.1.2.2 Social constitution

The different Rašāyda groups in Sudan do not form a social or political unit. According to Young, they can best be described as "Genealogical Canopy", based on an "overarching genealogical and mythological framework that they use to hook [...] disparate narratives [about their origin] together" (Young 1997: 72). Young suggests that historically the Rašāyda in Sudan build a "social formation that

was forged under the unrelenting pressures of European colonial expansion, on the one hand, and the Mahdist rebellion of the 1880s, on the other” (Young 1997: 72). In his article “From many, one”, he describes how by the late 19th and early 20th century, the Rašāyda communities, many of which had migrated to Sudan in the previous decades, came increasingly between the front lines of the expanding British imperial powers and the Mahdist rebels and were increasingly pushed into the frontier zone between the Mahdist state and Ethiopia. “It is reasonable to suggest that this concentration of the ‘Hedjazean Bedouin’ into one location did much to unite them and form a single society” (Young 1997: 90).

However, the fact that they are from different origins does not imply the absence of political, social or economic connections between the different Rašāyda communities in Sudan. Young thus also emphasizes that “as a socially constructed reality, the [Rashāyidah] tribe had both a material base and an abstract component that were creatively joined together by its members and re-joined in a new way with every new generation” (Young 1997: 72).

The Rašāyda in Sudan have three “core” groups, namely the Bfarāṭīx, the Zuneymāt and the Barāṣiṣa. Furthermore, there are three affiliated or “administratively associated” groups, who are said to have come to Sudan together with the Rašāyda (Young 2002: 102). These are the ṢAwāzim, the Qazāyza and the Iṣraynāt (for details see Young: Kinship and History).

1.1.2.3 *Migration to Sudan*

The historical circumstances surrounding the migration of the Rašāyda from the Ḥiğāz to Sudan, or Eastern Africa in general, are not entirely clear. Hereafter a summary of the most important conclusions drawn by different historians on the Rašāyda’s migration to Sudan.

1.1.2.3.1 Date

- The Period between the 9th and the 15th century saw several large-scale waves of Arab migration to Sudan. Some historians assume that some of the ancestors of contemporary Rašāyda communities in Sudan had already arrived with early migrations to East Africa (al-Rašīdī 1998: 913).
- During the mid to late 19th century, a substantial influx of Bedouin communities originating from the Ḥiğāz, Nağd, Egypt, and neighboring regions migrated to Eastern Sudan. Frequently, these groups integrated with other recently arrived or preexisting tribal communities in the region.

1.1.2.3.2 Migratory routes

1.1.2.3.2.1 Crossing the Red Sea

Rašāyda coming from the Nağd migrated probably from the ports of “Muwaylih and El Wejh and Jiddah (Agius 2012: 172). In fact, I was told during my fieldwork that the origin of the Qazāyza is the area around the northern Ḥiğāzi coastal town of al-Wuğh (written El Wejh above).

Tribal elders recount that they crossed the Red Sea in 1871 and from there they migrated to the Eastern desert (the Baja desert). They settled in Kasalā and from there spread into the Eastern provinces of Sudan (ar-Rašīdī 1998: 915f.). As previously stated, it is believed that the Rašāyda did neither travel along the Ḥiğāzi coast nor cross the Red Sea alone, it is rather certain that they were part of a bigger migratory movement of several tribes, ethnic groups and populations of Western Saudi-Arabia. According to M. S. ar-Rašīdī, there were three major migrations across the Red Sea: A first journey to al-Ḥalāʾib, the disputed area between Egypt and Sudan, in 1869, a second one to Sawākin, and the third one to Eritrea, both in 1882. Unfortunately, he does not mention from which harbor(s) of the Arabian Peninsula these routes started (YouTube (1)). Indeed, it cannot be said with certainty that “they” traveled southwards until a certain harbor point in order to cross the sea and that “they” attached themselves to other groups and mingled with them – in my opinion, it is rather adequate to say that “they” did mainly not exist, but rather that the Rašāyda per se are a mix of the Nağdi *Banī Rašīd* and several other tribes and groups encountered along the way, until they entered Sudan as one group, as the local population perceived them.

1.1.2.3.2.2 Egypt

The second hypothesis suggests that the Rašāyda did not cross the Sea but moved northwards to Southern Jordan and the Sinai until the Nile Valley or the Egyptian Red Sea Coast which they then continued southwards until Sudan, “*gabəḷ ḥafr ǧanāt is-swēs*” and “*gabəḷ mā yḥafrōn is-sadd al-ḥālī*” – ‘before the digging of the Suez Canal’ and ‘before they digged the High Dam’ (U_1), which they allegedly entered in 1906. Indeed, most of the Rašāyda of Mwēs have very close family members in both Eastern Sudan and Upper Egypt, notably in the village of *ʿIzbat al-ʿArab* nearby the town of Kom Ombo (U_1, M_1), as well as in Hurghada (*al-Ġārdigə*) (U_1).

Apart from the Rašāyda related to my informants, it is known that there are also Rašāyda living in the Libyan desert, knowingly in the Egyptian Oasis of Dāxla, as described by Behnstedt and Woidich in their unpublished article (Behnstedt&Woidich 2023). This grouping is the only attested Rašāyda group west of the Nile.

I personally believe that both hypotheses are true. Yet, I do presume that a bigger and perhaps more significant amount of people came to Sudan by crossing the Red Sea. Linguistically, it seems that a few specific details of the Arabic dialect described in this work shares a few very distinct features only known in specific varieties of the extreme South-West of Saudi-Arabia and the Northern Tihāma (cf. 2.1.2.5; 2.3.1.4.1). A counterargument to the second hypotheses is that it cannot be excluded that the settlements in Upper Egypt and Hurghada were reached via Sudan, moreover, when taking into account

that there is no evidence of Rašāyda having ever lived in the Sinai, a region known for an impressive density of different tribes.

1.1.2.3.3 Reasons for migration

It is very likely that the migration of the Rašāyda in the mid to late 19th century was part of a larger migratory movement, an east- and westward emigration, of Rašāyda communities and various other ethnic and social groups from the Nağd and Ḥiğāz. This led to a larger-scale and sustained transformation of the tribal landscape in the Arab Peninsula during this period, influenced by several entangled events and developments.

1.1.2.3.3.1 Political

- Ottoman Imperial Expansion: Expanding Ottoman influence in the southern frontiers of the empire that led to the restriction of Bedouin autonomy and increasing state control. Conflicts with other regional powers arose, as in 1871: Major conflict with the Ašraf. Some sources suggest that the Rašāyda came between the frontlines.
- Wahhabi persecution: The rise of Wahhabi power was related to new tax burdens for tribal populations, political violence and land seizures on certain tribal communities (Agius 2012: 175).

1.1.2.3.3.2 Economic

Integration into Global economy and British imperial expansion: Expanded trade networks and new economic opportunities officiated as “pull factors” for Bedouin migrations: “It was a time when the Red Sea maritime world was changing dramatically: with the advent of the steamship and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Red Sea became an important corridor connecting the Mediterranean with the Western Indian Ocean. When the Rashāyidah arrived in Sudan, Suakin was a thriving island-town” (Agius 2012: 171). Allegedly, the Rašāyda were therefore involved into different forms of trade which might have appeared far more lucrative to many of them than the harsh lifestyle of the desert.

1.1.2.3.3.3 Ecological

It is assumed that extended periods of drought and climatic disasters were “push-factors” for large-scale Bedouin emigrations from Ḥiğāz and Nağd during this period. Sudan promised fertile land and pastures: “The stories are many and often conflicting, but in the end, they all agree that for the Rashāyidah, Sudan was the land that offered new pastures for their cattle, and importantly, economic and political security” (Agius 2012: 175).

1.1.2.3.4 Summary

It seems historically most accurate to assume that the present-day distribution of the Rašāyda in Sudan results from multiple waves of migration by Bedouin groups originating from Naǧd, Ḥiǧāz, Egypt, and other regions over an extended period. Such large-scale migratory movements of Arabic-speaking tribal groups to Sudan have been documented at least since the 9th century. However, the last significant migratory wave, occurring in the mid to late 19th century, played a pivotal role in shaping their present-day presence in Sudan. This migratory wave can be linked to the profound political, social, and economic changes in the original habitats Rašāyda in the Arab East with the establishment of modern imperial states and the initial wave of globalization, increasingly integrating the region into a global market economy. This migration was further influenced by ecological disasters.

1.1.3 State of the art

1.1.3.1 Non-linguistic data

1.1.3.2 Academic literature on the Rašāyda

Selected References (19th to early 20th century):

- Dickson, Harald Richard Patrick. 1949. *The Arab of the Desert: a Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- MacMichael, Harold A. 1922. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. Volume One. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Murray, G.W. 1935. *Sons of Ishmael: a study of the Egyptian Bedouin*. London: George Routledge & Sons.
- von Oppenheim, Max 1943. *Die Beduinen. Vol. 2: Die Beduinenstämme in Palästina, Transjordanien, Sinai, Hedjaz*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- --- 1952. *Die Beduinen. Vol. 3: Die Beduinenstämme in Nord und Mittelarabien und im 'Irāk*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- --- 1967. *Die Beduinen. Vol. 4: Die arabischen Stämme in Chuzistan (Iran). Pariastämme in Arabien*. Wiesbaden. Otto Harrassowitz.

Content:

Travelogues, ethnographic and historiographic literature and tribal encyclopedias (not specifically on the Rašāyda. The Rašāyda appear in these studies mostly mentioned as 'Hutaym' (cf. 1.1.1.2).

Context:

Colonial/imperial expansion comes along with an increasing scientific interest into people and territories of the steppe regions in the West Asia and North Africa. Knowledge is intrinsically linked to economic and political interests of European colonial powers (all of the above authors were fully or partially employed as colonial officers or government informants). The notions on Bedouin or tribal populations are mostly essentialist, racialized and often discriminatory. The ‘tribe’ is perceived as the antithesis of the modern state and modernity in general; tribal lore and genealogies and Arab/Bedouin purity discourses are often uncritically reproduced and portrayed as historical truth.

However, many of these authors lived among different tribal groups for long time periods, spoke their dialect and were very well-informed about the social, political and economic organization of the Bedouin population.

Selected academic literature after 1950:

- Agius, Dionisus A., 2012. ‘The Rashayda: Ethnic Identity and Dhow Activity in Suakin on the Red Sea Coast.’ *Northeast African Studies* 12 (1), 169-216.
- Anfinset, Nils; Manger, Leif Ole; Shunnaq, Mohammed Suleiman and Young, William C. 2022. ‘Can a Local Descent Group Become an International Network? Research on the Rashāyidah in Five Countries’, *Can a Local Descent Group Become an International Network? Research on the Rashāyidah in Five Countries*.
- Bushra, E. 2005. ‘Local-Level Political Dynamics in Kassala State: The Rashayda’. Miller, C. (ed.): *Land, Ethnicity and Political Legitimacy in Eastern Sudan: Kassala and Gedaref States*. Cairo: Centre d’études et de documentation économiques, juridiques et sociales (CEDEJ), 277–307.
- Calkins, Sandra. 2009. ‘Transformed Livelihoods in the Lower Atbara Area: Pastoral Rashayda – Responses to Crisis’. *Nomadic Peoples* 13 (1), 45–68.
- Calkins, Sandra. 2014, ‘Gaining Access to Land: everyday Negotiations and Rashaida ethnic Politics in North-eastern Sudan’. Gertel, Jörg; Rottenburg, Richard and Calkins, Sandra (ed.): *Disrupting territories: land, commodification & conflict in Sudan*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 180-205.
- Hanafi, Rawan Abdalla Mohammed. 2019. ‘Those Who Ignore Borders – the Rashaida in Sudan’. *Borderland Dynmaxis in East Africa. Cases from Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA). 185-197.
- Young, William C. 1997. ‘From Many, One: The Social Construction of the Rashāyida Tribe in Eastern Sudan’. *Northeast African Studies* 4(1). 71-108.

- --- 1999. “‘The Bedouin’: Discursive identity or sociological category? A case study from Jordan’. *Journal of Mediterranean studies* 9 (2). 275–299.
- --- 2002. *The Rashaayda Bedouin. Arab Pastoralists of Eastern Sudan*. Mason, Ohio: CEBGAGE Learning.
- --- undated. Compare Banī Rashīd clans in Saudi Arabia w Rashāyidah clans in Kuwait (unpublished).
- ---. undated. Issues in reconstructing the history of the al Rashāyidah (unpublished).

Content:

Specific case studies on different Rašāyda groups in specific places; studies embedded into broader historical contexts. William C. Young officiates as the most important scholar who studied the Rašāyda.

Context:

Decolonization; Increasing academic reflection on previous notions and portrayals of Bedouin populations; Critical assessment of the ‘tribe’ as a larger comparative category.

From 1960 to 1990:

- It is widely agreed that the ‘tribe’ can only be defined within the specific historical context
- increasing number of case studies on specific Bedouin tribal groups; Narratives of state/tribe, tribal/modern, Bedouin/sedentary dichotomies are replaced by narratives that emphasized interaction and adaption.

Recent scholarly trends:

- Trans-national, international connections and relationships > The Rašāyda as international network. (Anfinset et. alt.)
- The ‘material turn’/Environmental history: Relationship between pastoralist land use/ political marginalization/ climate crisis etc. (Calkins, ‘Transformed Livelihoods’ and ‘Gaining access to land’).

1.1.3.2.1 Arab Genealogies/Tribal encyclopedias (Mawsūfāt qabāʾil)

The Rašāyda appear in the works of aṭ-Ṭayyib, a well-known Egyptian expert on tribal history and Arab genealogies:

- aṭ-Ṭayyib, Muḥammad Sulaymān. 1996. *Mawsūʿat qabāʾil al-ʿArab: buḥūṭ maydānīya wa-taʾrīḫīya*. Al-Mujallad aṭ-ṭānī, al-ḡuzʾ al-ʾawwal; aṭ-ṭabʿa ṭ-ṭānīya muzayyada wa-munaqqaha. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī.
- aṭ-Ṭayyib, Muḥammad Sulaymān. 1997. *Mawsūʿat qabāʾil al-ʿArab: buḥūṭ maydānīya wa-taʾrīḫīya*. Al-Mujallad aṭ-ṭālīt, aṭ-ṭabʿa l-ʾūlā. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī. 458-507.

Content:

Tribal histories and genealogies.

Context:

ʿilm al-ansāb (science of genealogy) exists as a long-standing scholarly Arab tradition since the late 7th /early 8th century; Tribal encyclopedias (*Mawsūʿat qabāʾil*) as a more recent phenomenon (mid-20th century) in relation to modern states administration and new categorization of rural/mobile populations; political mobilization and ‘revival’ of tribalism in many Arab states since the 1970s (claiming ancestry from the prophet).¹

1.1.3.2.2 Rašāyda Historiography by Rašāyda

- Ar-Rašīdī, Rabāḥ Mubārak Maḍkar. 1998. *Qabīlat ar-Rašāyda*. Al-ḡuzʾ al-ʾawwal. Kuwait: Maktabat ʿulūm al-ʾanṣāb.
- Aš-Šarīka Ar-Rašīdī, Muṭair Miḡbil. 2020. *Ar-Rašāyda wa-mašādir rāʾida*. Maktabat Nūr.
- Al-Xiyarī, Maṣīḍ Ruwayšid Muršid. 2013. *Aš-ṣaḥīḥ fī tarīḫ wa-ʾanṣāb*. Qabāʾil banī rašīd al-ʿabssīya. al-ḡuzʾ al-ʾawwal. Unknown Publisher.

Content: Indigenous historiography (that is historiographic works from authors claiming descent from the Rašāyda): mostly a mixture between historiographical accounts, records of tribal lore, poetry and of tribal genealogies. This is a broader phenomenon with exists with regard to a great number of tribal groups or confederations and gained in popularity since the 1970s.

Context:

Political mobilization and ‘revival’ of tribalism in many Arab states since the 1970s; Urbanization and mass education, ‘re-definition’ of Bedouin/tribal identities and their relations to other societies. Thanks to the literacy, people began to write down the history of ‘their tribe’.

¹ Cf. Szombathy, Zoltán. 2003. *The Roots of Arabic Genealogy: A Study in Historical Anthropology*. Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies.

1.1.3.3 *Linguistic data*

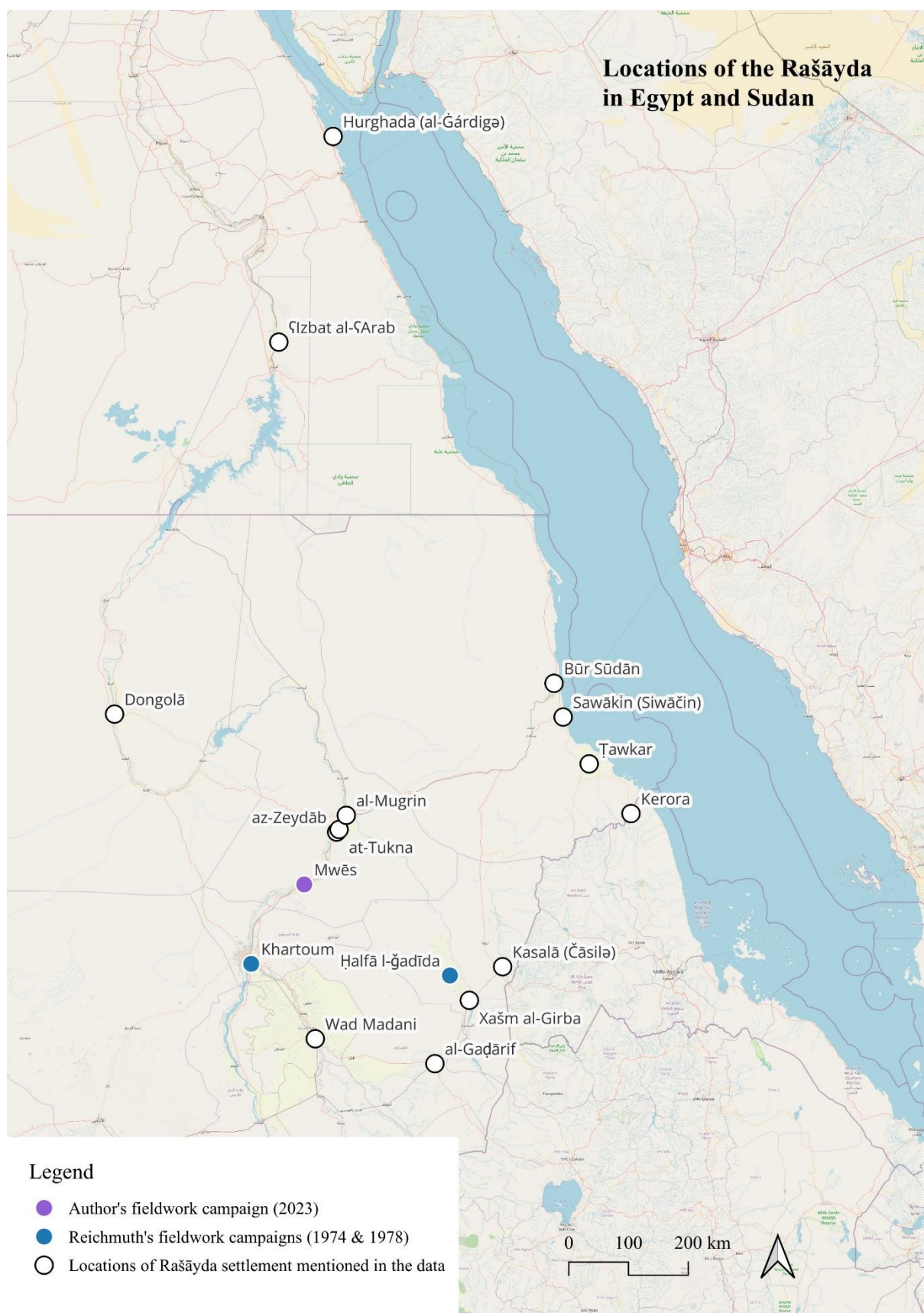
A linguistic work explicitly dedicated to any dialect of the Rašāyda does not exist, yet. The Rašāyda and their speech are though mentioned in related contexts. Bruce Ingham, for instance, claims that RA is very similar to the dialect of the Muṭayr (Ingham 1979: 24) that should be classified as central Naḡdi (Ingham 1982). Ingham also describes the Rašāyda as having retained their Naḡdi dialect even after more than a century of migration. Johnstone (1967) describes the Rašīdi dialect around Kuwait as belonging to the ṢAnazi dialects within the North Arabian classification.

Beyond the Arabian Peninsula, the speech of the Rašāyda in the Judean Desert is explored in an article by Katz (1980), which is often used and referred to by Rosenhouse (1984) and recently re-assessed by Angeliki Sigourou in her dissertation about the negation in Bedouin varieties of Jordan and Palestine (2023). Linguistic data, especially lexicon, from the Rašāyda in Egypt is presented in an unpublished manuscript by Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich (Behnstedt&Woidich 2023) as well as in the *Wortatlas der Arabischen Dialekte* (Behnstedt&Woidich 2011-2021). Lastly, Young's anthropologically focussed work is closely tied to language; whilst his recent book "The Animal Names of the Arab Ancestors" from 2024 depicts a wide range of etymologies related to the Rašāyda, his Rašāyda-dedicated monograph from 2002 holds a glossary of specifically RA terms that already reveal phonological and morphological phenomena.

1.2 Methodology and area covered

As pointed out in the historical section (cf. 1.1.2.1), the Rašāyda in Sudan live in mainly three different areas: Traditionally along the Sudanese coast and in the eastern steppes around Kasalā, more recently in the Nile Valley from ṢAṭbara to Shendi, and punctually scattered in Dongolā, Khartoum and other towns along the main roads connecting the urban centres mentioned above.

The dialect description being at the core of this thesis officiates as the result of two very different fieldwork campaigns: My own campaign conducted in February 2023 in Shendi and Mwēs (cf. 1.2.1), and Stefan Reichmuth's campaign in Ḥalfā l-ḡadīda in 1978 (cf. 1.2.2).



Map 2: Locations of the Rašāyda in Egypt and Sudan. (Copyright by the author)

1.2.1 *The campaign in Shendi and Mwēs (2023)*

My very first fieldwork campaign forms part of the linguistic project WIBARAB (“What is Bedouin type Arabic?”) of the University of Vienna. I had the immense opportunity to spend six weeks in Sudan, which I mostly spent in the town of Shendi.

Whereas some recordings were done during a ceremonial welcome *dīwān* in the village of Mwēs or while walking through the Rašāydas’ gardens, others were taken by chance in their shops in Shendi, on the street or in the car – therefore the range of recordings comprises poems and historical accounts as well as everyday conversations or phone calls among friends and family members. The most productive recordings usually emerged out of spontaneous situations, therefore, methods as questionnaires, games etc. were not taken into account. Due to the thorough conservation of traditions, I was not given the opportunity to meet female members of the tribe – even in company of a female Sudanese friend the social circumstances would not change – therefore, this preliminary work states male speech, only. Another difficulty was the constant tendency of my informants to accommodate their speech to mine or to the Sudanese surroundings, oftentimes to interested Sudanese friends that assisted the recording sessions. Luckily, the difference between Sudanese and Rašīdi-Arabic is striking enough to recognize such tendencies.

1.2.2 *The campaign in Ḥalfā l-ğadīda (1978) by Stefan Reichmuth*

The data collected by Stefan Reichmuth arises from encounters with Rašāyda during his years spent in Sudan while conducting fieldwork with the Šukriyya tribe sharing some lands with the Rašāyda (Reichmuth 1993). Since the Rašāyda were not the focus of his work, he did not publish anything about them or their dialect, yet, he had the very great idea to record many of his encounters in cassettes, which he kindly offered to the WIBARAB-team. Therefore, Reichmuth’s recordings are, in fact, eight hours of various cassette-recordings comprising traditional songs, music and chants as well as daily conversation. The cassettes being digitalized, I was able to transcribe and analyze most of the spoken parts (cf. 5.2). From the very beginning of my work with Reichmuth’s recordings, I realized that there is a strikingly huge similarity between his recordings and mine, both topic-wise as well as dialect-wise. As a matter of fact, it took me a fair amount of time to find differences in the speech, that may not be conditioned by the present surrounding nor the other speakers but that shall be a genuine difference between the dialect of the Rašāyda in Eastern Sudan in the 1970s and the dialect of the Rašāyda in the Nile Valley in the 2020s, 50 years later. The only genuine difference between these two regional Rašāyda varieties might indeed be the difference in the vowel quality of /a/: while the Nile Valley variety tends to keep the /a/ or to raise it to /u/, for instance *baṣal* > *buṣaḷ* “onion”, the Eastern variety tends to centralize /a/, as well as

other short and unstressed vowels, to /ə/, for instance the pronunciation of the city Kasalā: *Čāsila* in Mwēs (Sh_1) and *Čāsila* in Kasalā (cf. R2A). Since, besides noticing this difference within the data, I was told about it in Mwēs, I do believe that it is a case of regional variation, thus, no genuine difference between the two varieties that is due to time can be stated.

The following map shows the locations of both fieldwork campaigns as well as the locations of Rašāyda settlements in Sudan and Egypt elicited in the data.

1.2.3 Transcription rules

In this study a mainly phonemic transcription is used. The transcription is based on the transliteration used in the EALL (De Jong&Edzard 2011) with few additional signs for particular RA phonemes. These are:

Used symbol	IPA
č	[tʃ̥]
ř	[ɾ]
ž	[ʒ]

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Consonantal phonemes

The following chart displays the consonants of RA in transcription. The symbols in brackets are allophones of RA phonemes that occasionally occur due to the phonemic environment or the consonant cluster².

	Bilabia l	Labio- dental	Dental	Alveo- lar	Postal- veolar	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn- -geal	Glottal
Plosive	b (b)		t d ɾ				j	k g			ʔ
Nasal	m		n								

² For further details about /(l)/, cf. 2.1.2.6.

Trill			r (r)							
Tap/Flap			r (r)		ř					
Fricative		f	t̤ d̤ d̤	s z ʂ	š	ž	y	ġ x	ħ ʕ	h
Approx.			l (l)				w			

The consonants missing in the chart the alveolo-palatal affricate /č/³ and its sparsely occurring voiced counterpart (/ǵ/)⁴. In very few cases, the phonemes /g/, /k/ and /t/ can be palatalized⁵. Other exceptionally occurring phonemes are the uvular plosive /q/ (cf. 2.1.2.7; M_1; R3B), the uvular fricative [ɣ] (cf. 2.1.2.7; U_1), and the retroflex fricative /ʂ/ (cf. 2.1.2.5; R1A) and affricate [dʒ] (cf. 2.1.2.3; M_1).

The phoneme /r/ is usually realized as a monovibrant tap/flap; in specific positions, mostly word-initial and word-final, it can also be realized as a trill. The emphatic realization /r̥/ is very loose, it seems to depend mainly on the phonetic environment but also on the speaker; Rašāyda, for instance, is occasionally both realized with and without an emphatic /r/. Due to a lack of clarity, this matter will not be discussed any further.

2.1.2 Diachronic developments

2.1.2.1 The glottal stop /ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/, or *Hamza*, in RA is most productive in word-initial positions where it is mostly retained.

<i>ʔal-ʔafrāḥ</i> (M_1)	“the wedding ceremonies”	<i>mā-fī ʔaǧānib</i> (M_1)	“there is no foreigners”
<i>yawm ʔinn-u žīna</i> (M_1)	“the day that we arrived”	<i>mīša ʔil-maṣar</i> (R3B)	“he went to Egypt”

³ Cf. 2.1.2.5.

⁴ Cf. 2.1.2.7.

⁵ For /gi/, cf. 2.1.2.3; HB_1; Sh_1, for /ki/ cf. 2.1.2.5; HB_1; Sh_4 and for /ti/, cf. 2.3.1.6; Sh_5.

In medial positions, it is usually not retained and therefore leads to phonological changes. Due to the 2.1.2.7 lack of occurrences, generalizations cannot easily be drawn, yet, two changes can be noted:

The short vowel preceding the Hamza is lengthened and the Hamza is dropped, i. e.: /-vʔC-/ > /-VC-/.

* <i>naʔxuḍ</i>	➤ <i>nāxuḍ</i> (U_1)	“we take”
* <i>taʔnīn</i>	➤ <i>tānīn</i> (R3B)	“suspicious (PL.)”
* <i>yaʔkul</i>	➤ <i>yākul</i> (U_1)	“he eats”
* <i>ǧiʔnā</i>	➤ <i>žīna</i> (<i>Sh</i> _5)	“we came”

In intervocalic positions, the Hamza is substituted by /w/ or /y/, depending on the following vowel, i. e.: /-Vʔi-/ > /-Vyī-/ and /-Vʔu-/ > /-Vwu-/.

* <i>gāʔil</i>	➤ <i>gāyil</i> (R3B)	“saying”
* <i>mutafāʔul</i>	➤ <i>mətfāwul</i> (M_1)	“hopeful”

Yet, in formal contexts, speakers tend to retain the intervocalic Hamza, as in *magrūʔa* (M_1) “corralled (F.)⁶” or *muʔakkidīn* (M_1) “certain (PL.)”.

The Hamza is usually not retained in final positions but in pausal positions, for instance *lā* and *laʔ* “no” and *žā* and *žaʔ* ~ *žāʔ* “he came”. The vowel preceding the Hamza tends to be short. Again, in formal contexts, speakers will try to retain it in every position.

2.1.2.2 Reflexes of the interdentalals

In RA, in most other Arabic varieties of the Arabian Peninsula or originating from it, the interdentalals /ḍ/ and /ṭ/ are retained and the CA phonemes /ḍ/ and /ṭ/ merge to /ḍ/.

/ḍ/

<i>hāḍḍēla</i> (M_1) ⁷	“these”	<i>čīḍa</i> ~ <i>čīḍ'ī</i> (R3_B)	“like this”
<i>ʔaxaḍna</i> (M_1)	“we took”	<i>laḍīḍa</i> (HB_1)	“tasty”

⁶ Literally „being read“, *magrūʔ(a)* means that a person has been chosen for marriage and is now not available anymore (M_1). Young translates with “being corralled” (henceforth used), i. e. “locked-in” or “caged” (Young 2002: 144).

⁷ Cf. 2.4.1.5.

/t/

<i>sāṣa tñēyn</i> (R1A)	“two o’clock”	<i>mawrūtā</i> (M_1)	“inherited”
<i>nhār it-tāni wa-talātīn</i> (R1A)	“the 32 nd day”	<i>ḡat-tarwa l-ḡaywānīyā</i> (M_1)	“the livestock”

/d/

<i>ḡabḡāt</i> (M_1)	“officers”	<i>ḡaḡ-ḡēyf</i> (M_1)	“the guest”
<i>muṣḡdam ḡal-jizāyza</i> (M_1)	“the majority of the al-Qazāyza”	<i>tiḡrab</i> (HB_2)	“you hit”

2.1.2.2.1 Interdental phenomena

In very specific cases, dentals are realized as interdentalals.

/d/ > /ḡ/

RA: <i>baṣdēn</i> ~ <i>biṣdēn</i>	➤ <i>baṣḡēn</i> (annot.)	“afterwards”
SA: <i>ṣadīla</i>	➤ <i>ṣaḡila</i> (R3_B)	“fine”
SA: <i>kadi</i>	➤ <i>il-kaḡi</i> (M_1)	“this one”

/d/ > /ḡ/

CA, SA: <i>ṣabdalḡa</i>	➤ <i>ṣabḡalḡa</i> (annot.)	Abdallah (ṣAbdalḡāh)
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In addition to the becoming interdental, /d/ becomes emphatic due to the emphatic /l/.

/t/ > /ṭ/

CA, SA: <i>saṣadat</i>	➤ <i>saṣadāt-na</i> (R1A)	“she helped us”
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/ṭ/ > /ḡ/

SA: <i>ṣaṭbara</i>	➤ <i>ṣaḡbara</i> (U_1)	Atbara (ṣAṭbara)
CA: <i>ṣaṭbāṣ</i>	➤ <i>ṣaḡbāṣ-na</i> (M_1)	“our traits”

In addition to becoming interdental, the emphatic /ṭ/ assimilates to the following /b/ and becomes voiced.

A clear and straight explanation for this phenomenon is hard to be found. Yet, the tendency to fricativize non-fricatives is common in many languages, for instance from Latin to Spanish or from Ancient Greek to Modern Greek. In cases where the interdentalization happens alongside the assimilation, the reason

2.1.2.3.1 The phoneme [ʒ] or /ž/

The phoneme [ʒ] describes the voiced retroflex fricative, i. e. the retroflex equivalent of the phoneme /ʒ/, the common reflex of *ǧ in the Maghreb or in Damascus and many other parts of the Arab-speaking world.

As [ʒ] is by far the most frequent realization of the three and since the transcription system of this thesis is not based on IPA but on the DMG, I decided to transcribe it with /ž/. Moreover, /ž/ in Arabic linguistics usually describes the phoneme [ʒ], which does not even occur once in the data.

Onset:	<i>žanāyin</i> (HB_1)	“gardens”
	<i>ħalf⁸ iž-židīdā</i> (R1A)	“Ḥalfā l-ğadīdā”
	<i>žīna</i> (Sh_5)	“we came”
	<i>žinē</i> (M_1)	“Pounds”
	<i>žumāl ʕabd in-nāṣar</i> (R1A)	“Ǧamāl ʕAbd an-Nāṣir”
Onset intervocalic:	<i>ħāžāt</i> (R3B)	“things”
	<i>tižawwaz</i> (R1B)	“you (M.) marry”
	<i>nīžir</i> (Sh_2)	“mortar”
	<i>yīži</i> (R1B)	“he comes”
Coda:	<i>taxarriž</i> (R1A)	“you (M.) leave”
	<i>fa-l-xalīž</i> (M_1)	“in the Gulf”
	<i>tažza</i> (R3B)	“she fleeces”

2.1.2.3.2 The phoneme [ɽ] or /ř/

This phoneme is the tap or flap equivalent of the previous phoneme [ʒ]. It is also the retroflex version of the monovibrant /r/, known from e. g. Hindi/Urdu or Portuguese (Wikipedia (3)).

It is very remarkable that Stefan Reichmuth, who had already transcribed some of his data by hand, consistently transcribed the reflexes of *ǧ with /ř/, a phoneme of Czech phonology and a letter of the Czech alphabet. This Czech /ř/ corresponds to the IPA phoneme [ɽ], the raised alveolar non-sonorant trill (Wikipedia (1)). “It sounds like a simultaneous [r] and [ʒ], and some speakers tend to pronounce it as [rʒ], [rʒ], or [ɽʒ]” (Wikipedia (2)), which applies very much to many realizations of *ǧ in RA, that also sound like something inbetween [r] and [ʒ].⁹ I therefore decided to transcribe the retroflex tap [ɽ] with /ř/.

Onset:	<i>řawz</i> (R3B)	“husband”
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⁸ In daily speech, the /a/ (*ā) of the name *Ḥalfā* is often dropped.

⁹ Interestingly, the Czech letter /ř/ is used for the retroflex tap [ɽ] in some dialects of Romani, which is the exact same phoneme as in RA (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%98>).

	<i>řībna</i> (HB_2)	“we brought”
	<i>řīt</i> (R1A)	“I came”
Onset intervocalic:	<i>fanāřīl</i> (Sh_2)	“cups”
	<i>tīřūn-na</i> (Sh_1)	“you (PL.M.) bring us”
	<i>yīřīn</i> (R1B)	“they (F.) come”
Onset before or after elided consonant (CA *Cvǧ, *ǧvC):	<i>řlayd</i> (R1A)	“Žulayd” (male name)
	<i>třīb</i> (M_1)	“you (M.) bring”
	<i>iř-řnē</i> (R1B)	“the Pounds”

2.1.2.3.3 The phoneme [ɾ] or /r/

In some cases, the voiced retroflex tap [ɽ] shifts towards the alveoles and becomes [ɾ], the voiced alveolar tap and very same phoneme as *r (except in frontal positions¹⁰).

Onset:	<i>mitrūwza</i> (R3B)	“married”
	<i>rēt</i> (Sh_5)	“you (M.) came”
Onset before or after elided consonant (CA *Cvǧ, *ǧvC):	<i>rmāṣa</i> (R3B)	“group”
	<i>trūz-la-h</i> (R3B)	“you (M.) marry him”
Onset intervocalic:	<i>tərīb</i> (R3B)	“you (M.) bring”
	<i>tərūn</i> (annot.)	“you (PL.M.) come”

Other reflexes for *ǧ very occasionally found in the data are [j] /j/ and [dʒ] /ǧ/. Both phonemes usually occur in terms directly borrowed from the corresponding variety: /j/ is the reflex of *ǧ in SA (Bergman 2002: 2) and occurs therefore in rather Standard utterances like *jinūb ifrīǧiy* (HB_1) “South African” and *rijla* (HB_1) “purslane” being a typical plant of Sudan; /ǧ/ occurs for instance in *ṣahd iǧ-ǧāhili* “the pre-Islamic era” (M_1), directly borrowed from Standard Arabic. In very few cases, *ǧ is realized as a palatalized /g/, i. e. [gʲ], as in *gʲərgʲīr* (HB_1) “rocket”.

The example lists expose that the different realizations of *ǧ seem to be neither conditioned by their syllabic position nor by their phonetic environment. Therefore, the same speaker might deliberately use different reflexes in the same sentence. Different realizations of the same word as *žīnē* “Pounds” and *iř-řnē* “the Pounds” or *řīt* “I came”, *rēt* “you (M.) came” and *žīna* “we came” illustrate the allophonic nature of *ǧ in RA.

¹⁰The *r in initial positions, as in RA, is vibrant, i. e. a trill, meanwhile in other positions it is usually monovibrant, i. e. a tap or flap. As in most other Arabic varieties and languages (for instance in German or Spanish), the realization of *r in RA is also allophonic.

2.1.2.4 Reflexes of *ġ

In RA, *ġ is always realized as /ġ/. No exception could be found. Examples of *ġ in different phonetic and syllabic positions are *áġala* (HB_1) “cheaper”, *il-ġanam* (R2A) “the sheep”, *tabġēn* (Sh_1) “you (F.) want”, *ṣuġr is-sinn* (M_1) “young age”.

2.1.2.5 Reflexes of *k

The reflexes of *k in RA are /k/ and [t͡ʃ] depending on their phonetic environment.

The phoneme [t͡ʃ] is the voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate (Wikipedia (4)). Since its postalveolar equivalent [t͡ʃ̠], annotated as /č/ and occurring in most affricating dialects of Arabic does not exist in RA and since the transcription system of this thesis is not based on IPA but on the DMG, I decided to transcribe [t͡ʃ] with /č/.

The following chart shows the distribution of the two phonemes /č/ and /k/ depending on their phonetic environment.

Phonetic environment	/č/	/k/
*k + a/ā	<i>čam</i> (M_1) “how much” <i>čāsilā</i> (R2A) “Kasalā” <i>mičān</i> (R3B) “place” <i>ṣasčariye</i> (R1A) “military”	-
*k + ə/i/ī	<i>čibīrā</i> (HB_1) “big” <i>čəbri</i> (annot.) ¹¹ “bridge” <i>čisúw</i> (R1B) “cloth” <i>misčīna</i> (R3B) “poor (F.)” <i>nāčil</i> (R2A) “we eat” <i>nḥašši</i> ¹² (M_1) “we tell” <i>Suwāčīn</i> (R2A) “Sawākin”	-
*k + u/ū	-	<i>-ku(w)</i> (U_1) Bound Pers. Pro. 2.PL.M <i>kull~kəll</i> (R1B) “all” <i>kuštīnir~kuštīnēr</i> (HB_1) “Kitchener”

¹¹ This is a good example to show that loanwords, in that case from SA *kubri*, which is itself borrowed from Turkish/Ottoman, also undergo these processes.

¹² Here, the phoneme /š/ describes the IPA phoneme [ʃ]; /č/ is deaffricated.

		<i>yikūn</i> (HB_2) “they (M.) are”
<i>i/ī/y + *k</i>	<i>fī-č</i> (R3B) “in you” <i>(hā)ḏīčə</i> (HB_2) “that (F.)” <i>ičtib!</i> (annot.) “write (M.)!”	<i>fī-k</i> “in you (M.)” (Sh_6) <i>aḷḷāh yubārik fī-k</i> (R1A) “May God bless you”
<i>a/ā + *k</i>	<i>rāčba</i> (R3B) “riding (F.)” <i>yīnfačč</i> (R3B) “it is undone”	<i>(hā)ḏāk</i> (M_1; Sh_3), <i>hāḏēlāk</i> (annot.) “this (M.), that (M.)”
<i>u/ū/w + *k</i>	-	<i>šandūk</i> (R3B) “boat”
<i>C + *k</i>	<i>zinč</i> (R1A) “zinc”	<i>aḥāwil-hā-lī-k</i> (R3B) “I change them for you” <i>bint-k</i> (M_1) “your (M.) daughter” <i>šarāb-k</i> (R1A) “your (M.) people”
<i>*k + C</i>	<i>ḥišm</i> ¹³ (R1A) “reign”	-

In two cases, *nḥašši* and *ḥišm*, /č/ gets deaffricated, therefore the transcription /š/. In both cases, the deaffrication happens to facilitate the pronunciation, i. e. the gemination of /č/ in **nḥačči* and the unusual consonant cluster /čm/ in *ḥičm*.

Another exceptional realization of **k* is /k/, the palatalized /k/. It seems to occur before /i/ only: *afakikīr* “I look” (Sh_1), *il-ḥāl-kīn* “alone (2.PL.F.)” (Sh_4), *kīḏa* (HB_1) “like this”, *mrakikiz* “specialized” (M_1). Behnstedt & Woidich state this phoneme as the only reflex of **k* (in frontal positions) for the Rašāyda of Dāxla. As for the palatalized /g/ as reflex of **q* (cf. 2.1.2.7), I suppose that /k/ is the stage preceding the contemporary affricated /č/ in RA.

As mentioned above, the distribution and realization of **k* as /k/ or /č/ is conditioned by the phonemic environment: Usually, **k* remains /k/ before and after /u/, before and after all other vowels **k* is affricated. Whenever **k* is directly preceded or followed by a consonant, which is rarely the case, it seems to depend on the vowel of the syllable or on the personal pronoun. In fact, affrication determines the gender of bound personal pronouns: Although preceded by /i/, **fī-k* remains *fī-k* “in you (M.)” whereas *fī-č* “in you (F.)” officiates as the feminine equivalent. Thus, in the cases of personal pronouns, the affrication becomes phonemic. Another example and exception to the vowel rules are the forms *abū-k* “your (M.) father” and *abū-č* “your (F.) father” (annot.), semantically distinct by the affrication.

In a few cases, the affrication of /k/ triggers change of the consonant before: *šisčiri* (MSA *šaskarī*) becomes *šiščiri* (R1A) “military”.

¹³ Ibid.

2.1.2.6 Reflexes of *l

As in many Arabic dialects, *l can optionally be realized as an emphatic /l/ in specific emphatic or ‘darker’ environments, as in *búṣaḷ* (HB_1) “onions”, *ržāl* “men” (R3B) and *ságaḷ* “aloe vera” (R2A) or in all the names and flosques including *-alla*, as *ʕabdalḷa* (verb,numbers), *bismiḷḷāh* (Sh_5), *ḥayyākallā* (HB_3) and many more. In addition to that, in very few cases, the emphatic /l/ tends to be even further velar, i. e. [ɮ] ~ [ɮʰ]. Due to the lack of occurrences and certainty, both versions are transcribed /l/. The forms that are found most in the data are reflexes of *ʕalašān “because, in order to”. The /l/ has the tendency to be emphatic, *ʕālšān* (R3B), in one case, the velarization goes even further and tends towards [w]: *ʕāwšān* (R3B).

In specific, mostly frontal environments, /l/ can be exposed to another phenomenon: palatalization. Examples are *bi-ḥāwil-hā-lī-k* (R3B) “I will change them for you”, *il-ḥālī-ku* (Sh_4) “alone (2.PL.F.)” and *sālīk* (M_1) “Sālik”. Even the /l/ in the name of the town Ḥalfā l-ḡadīda is palatalized once: *ḥalīf* (R1A).

2.1.2.7 Reflexes of *q

The reflexes of *q in RA are /g/ and /j/ alongside several other phonemes varying due to the speaker or the phonetic environment.

The phoneme /j/ represents the voiced palatal plosive [ɟ], the exact reflex of *ḡ in the surrounding Sudanese varieties (Bergman 2002: 3).

Phonetic environment	/g/	/j/	other
*q + a/ā	<i>gālō-l-i</i> (U_1)	<i>jāḥdīn, jāḥadēn</i> (R1A,	<i>ḡāda</i> (M_1) “tribesmen”
	“they told me”	Sh_5) “we are staying”	<i>ḡarya</i> (R1A) “village”
	<i>Gazāyza</i> (annot.)	<i>jašš</i> (HB_1; R2A)	<i>ḡāḥid</i> (U_1)
	“Qazāyza”	“grass” ¹⁴	“I am staying”
		<i>mā tjabīl</i> (R1B)	<i>staḡárraw</i> (M_1)
		“you can’t”	“they settled”
		<i>yitijaddamūn</i> (R1A)	<i>yḡawwūm-ha</i> (R1A)
		“they progress”	“they give them
*q + ə/i/ī	<i>il-ḡaṣab</i> (R1A)	<i>jibīlā</i> (M_1; R2A)	<i>ližīna</i> (R1A) “we found”
	“the sugarcane”	“tribe”	<i>rizjə</i> (M_1) “living”
		<i>mā jidir</i> (R3B) “he could	

¹⁴ Behnstedt&Woidich 2010: 451-453.

		not”	
		<i>yijīf</i> (M_1) “he stands”	
		<i>Jizāyzə</i> (U_1) “Qazāyza”	
		<i>šijīj</i> (M_1) “brotherly”	
*q + u/ū/ō	<i>gumna</i> (R1A) “we started” <i>lāgō</i> (Sh_5) “they found” <i>únguḷab</i> (R1A) “he made a coup”	<i>bíju</i> (annot.) “they became” <i>líjuw</i> (R3B) “they found”	<i>gǧubāyil</i> (U_1) “tribes”
a/ā + *q	<i>ḥagg-at</i> (HB_2) GEN.EXP.F. <i>nyāg</i> (R2A) “she-camels” <i>yagra</i> (Sh_6) “he reads”		<i>tagrīban</i> (M_1) “around”
ə/i/ī + *q	<i>mā təgdar</i> (M_1) “you cannot”	<i>manāṭij</i> “regions” (U_1) <i>ṭarīj</i> “way” (U_1)	<i>ižtināṣ</i> (R1A) “conviction”
u/ū/ō + *q	<i>sūg</i> (M_1) “market”		
C + *q or *q + C	<i>šarg</i> (M_1) “east” <i>únguḷbat</i> (R1A) “she made a coup”		<i>ktalāw</i> (R2A) “they killed”

The distribution of *q as /g/ or /j/ is conditioned by the phonemic environment and follows very similar rules to the distribution of *k: Usually, *q is /g/ before and after /u/, as well as in final positions after /a/, /ā/, /u/, /ū/ and after consonants. In most other cases, *q is realized as /j/. As pointed out analyzing the distribution of the reflexes of *k, it seems once again that the switch to a new sound, i. e. /č/ for *k and /j/ for *q is conditioned by central and especially frontal vowels.

As for the usual reflexes /g/ and /j/, the five other realizations found in the data – /gǧ/, /ǧ/, /ǧǧ/, /k/, /ž/ – can be explained by their phonetic environment, some of them found in the speech of one single speaker only. Whilst /gǧ/ (*gǧubāyil* “tribes“, *gǧultī-l-u* (U_1) “I told him“) and /ž/¹⁵ (*ližīna* “we found“, *ižtināṣ* (R1A) “conviction”) can be understood as personal variations of one speaker, i.e. idiolects, the reflex /ǧ/ was found in both sets of data. /ǧ/ represents the alveolo-palatal affricate [d͡ʒ], i. e. the voiced version of the affricated reflex of *k, also found in the form *ǧakātrə* (M_1) “doctors” (cf. 2.3.1.6).

I wonder whether the affricate /ǧ/ may be the earlier realization of *q and the reflex /j/ developed through the influence of the Sudanese /j/ for *ǧ. Yet, the contrary development could also be likely as /j/ is probably the stage after the palatalized /g/, as it was found in Dāxla (Behnstedt&Woidich 2023). The reflex /ǧ/ could also be the result of a general tendency to affricate the velar /g/ and /k/.

¹⁵Note that /ž/ describes the phoneme [z] (cf. 2.1.2.3.1).

The few forms presenting the two other realizations /ğ/ and /k/ are certainly borrowings from SA: While *q in SA has both reflexes /g/ and /ğ/ as in *ğarya* “village”, *tagrīban* “around” or *ğāda* “tribesmen”, *qatala is always realized with an initial /k/. In cases like *tagrīban* “around, *stağárraw* “they settled”, being vocabulary from a rather formal context, it is also likely that it is borrowed from MSA, yet pronounced as in SA due to the uncertainty about Standard Arabic and its pronunciation and writing. I can in fact witness from my own experience in Sudan and in written contact with Sudanese that the interchangeability and confusion of /ğ/ and /q/ in spoken SA (Bergman 2002: 3) leads to uncertainty about the writing. I do believe that this confusion won’t be different for the Rašāyda in Sudan, especially considering the frequent lack of access to education.

Lastly, it is very interesting to observe that in all three cases, the wide range of possible reflexes of *ğ, *k and *q develops a strong tendency to be realized as retroflexes or palatals. Whereas most affricating dialects present the postalveolar reflexes /č/ for *k and /ǰ/ for *q, RA presents an alveolo-palatal [tʃ] for *k and most frequently a palatal /j/ for *q. The postalveolar /ʒ/, described by Behnstedt and Woidich as the reflex of *ğ in the RA of Dāxla (Behnstedt&Woidich 2023), switches in most cases to its retroflex equivalents [ʒ] and [ɟ].

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Short vowels – Phonemes and allophones

The short vowels in RA are: /a/, /i/ and /u/.

The Schwa, /ə/, is an allophone to all three short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/, both in unstressed and stressed positions. There are no minimal pairs caused by the Schwa. Its realization is influenced both by the phonetic environment and by the speaker, the quality varies from [ə] to [ɪ] but is mostly [ə]. In fact, it can be cautiously generalized that Rašāyda in Eastern Sudan have a stronger tendency to centralize /a/ and /i/ to Schwa than the Rašāyda of the Nile Valley. The latter do indeed name this observation as a distinctive feature between the two regional communities.

2.2.1.1 Lowering and Raising

In specific phonetic contexts, the short vowels are lowered or raised. The directions of lowering and raising are the following:

/a/ > /i/

<i>silīm</i> (R1A)	“kind”	<i>midāris</i> (M_1)	“school”
<i>jibīlā</i> (M_1)	“tribe”	<i>jizāyza</i> (U_1)	“Qazāyza”

<i>mičān, mičāyin</i> (M_1)	“place, places”	<i>čitīrīn</i> (R2A)	“many (PL.)”
<i>/a/ > /u/ (> /ə/)</i> ¹⁶			
<i>búgar, bəgar</i> (R2A)	“cows”	<i>buhāyim</i> (M_1)	“livestock”
<i>žunāyn</i> (HB_2)	“gardens”	<i>fuwāčih</i> (M_1)	“fruits”
<i>žumāl ʕabd an-nāṣar</i> (R1A)	<i>Čamāl ʕAbd an-Nāšir</i>	<i>žumāʕa</i> (R1A), <i>žamāʕat-na</i> (R3B)	“community”
<i>Buğdād</i> (annot.)	“Baghdad” (Bağdād)	<i>žuwwāz</i> (M_1)	“marriage”
<i>gubāyil</i> (U_1), <i>gəbāyil</i> (R1B)	“tribes”		

<i>/u/ > /i/ (> /ə/)</i> ¹⁷			
<i>sumrān, səmrān</i>	“Sumrān”	<i>šikrīya</i> (R1B)	“Šukrīya”
<i>il-ʔirdin</i> (annot.)	“Jordan”	<i>kill, kəll</i>	“all”
<i>ʕimān</i> (annot.)	“Oman”	<i>mīškila</i> (R1A)	“problem”
<i>sifun</i> (M_1)	“ships”	<i>isbūʕ</i> (R1A)	“week”
<i>čəbri</i> ¹⁸ (annot.)	“bridge”	<i>žiwwāz</i> (R1B) ¹⁹	“marriage”

2.2.2 Final /-a/

The raising of the final /-a/, the Imāla in general, is not common to the surrounding Sudanese varieties, neither is it in RA. Yet, some speakers in Reichmuth’s data tend to raise the /-a/ to /-e/ as in *il-mádrase ž-židīde* (R1A) “the new school” or *lābse* (R1B) “wearing (SG.F.)”.

Besides that, the general tendency to realize unstressed short vowels as Schwa, especially in RA in Eastern Sudan, oftentimes leads to the realization of the final /-a/ as /-ə/ as in *jibīlə* (M_1) “tribe” or *zīman il-mahdīyə* (R1B) “the era of the Mahdi”.

2.2.3 Long vowels – Phonemes and allophones

The long vowels in RA are /ā/, /ī/ and /ū/.

¹⁶ Mostly in Eastern Sudan. Whenever it was recorded in the Nile Valley, the speakers appeared to have grown and socialized in Eastern Sudan.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ This is a good example to show that loanwords, in that case from SA *kubri*, which is itself borrowed from Turkish/Ottoman, also undergo these processes.

¹⁹ Raising of the already raised form *žuwwāz*.

As in many other Arabic varieties, /ē/ and /ō/ can be the realizations of the CA diphthongs *ay and *aw (cf. 2.2.4).

*ay > /ē/

<i>šēx</i> (R1A; R1B; M_1)	“Sheikh, man”	<i>mītēn</i> (R1B)	“two hundred”
<i>wēn</i> (R1A)	“where”	<i>ēš</i> , <i>wēš</i> ²⁰ (R1B)	“what”
<i>tagrēn</i> ²¹ (Sh_6)	“you (F.) read”	<i>zēn</i> (annot.)	“beautiful”

*aw > /ō/

<i>yōm</i> (U_1)	“day”	<i>hōl</i> (R1B)	“astronomic year”
<i>gōl</i> ²² (U_1)	“herd”		

As the chart demonstrates, /ō/ as the realization of the CA diphthong *aw mostly occurs in very daily words, in borrowings from SA or in rather formal terms that are pronounced like in SA. The genuine RA realization is /aw/ as in CA (cf. 2.2.4).

2.2.3.1 Lowering and Raising

In specific phonetic and morphological positions, /ī/ and /ū/ are lowered to /ē/ and /ō/.

/ū/ > /ō/

<i>aṭlagō-na</i> (R1A)	“they released us”	<i>maṣrōf</i> (R1B)	“known”
<i>lā yitaḡālaṭōn</i> (M_1)	“they don’t disagree”	<i>gā’lō-li</i> (U_1)	“they told me”

As the chart shows, the /ū/ of the 3. Person PL. perfective and imperfective suffix (-ū ~ ūn) is commonly lowered to /ō/ when followed by an attached pronoun. The same phenomenon occurs in the neighboring dialect of the Šukriyya (Reichmuth 1983: 283). In analogy to that, the same happens also to the /ū/ of the 3. Person PL. imperfective suffix (-ūn).

Moreover, some speakers very occasionally lower /ū/ to /ō/, as *maṣrōf* “known” or *tšōf* “you see” (R1B).

/ī/ > /ē/

<i>taṣṭē-hin</i> (HB_2)	“you (SG.M.) give them”	<i>rabb yijawwē-han</i> (R2A)	“God may give them strength”
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²⁰ As reflex of CA *ayy(i) šayyʔ(in).

²¹ CA *taqraṭīna* > *tagrayn* > *tagrēn*.

²² Behnstedt&Woidich 2011: 241.

<i>tabġēn</i> (Sh_1)	“you (F.) want”
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2.2.4 Diphthongs

In most cases, RA conserved the CA diphthongs *ay and *aw. In the case of /ay/~/ey/, there is a tendency towards the longing of the vowel, /ēy/. This might be interpreted as “halfway” to monophthongization (ey > ēy > ē). These are all cases of free allophonic variation as no minimal pairs between the different realizations could be found.

/aw/

<i>š-lawn-k?</i> (Sh_5)	“how are you?”	<i>yawm</i> (Sh_5)	“day”
<i>hawš</i> (HB_3)	Name of a village (cf. HB_1-3); name of the courtyard of local houses	<i>mawz</i> (annot.)	“banana”

Furthermore, /aw/ is also the common suffix for the 3.PL. perfective, as in *nzilaw* (M_1) “they went down”. The suffix -aw tends to /uw/ in specific phonetic environments, for instance *gāmuw* (R3B) “they stayed”.

/ay/~/ey/~/ēy/

<i>bayt</i> (annot.), <i>bēyt</i> (R1B, R3B)	“house”	<i>mašayna</i> (Sh_5)	“we walked”
<i>zinēymāt</i> (R1B)	Zunaymāt	<i>taʔaššáyna</i> (Sh_5)	“we had dinner”
<i>beynāt-hum</i> (U_1)	“between each other”	<i>lēymūn</i> (HB_1)	“lemon”
<i>čēyf</i> (R3B)	“how”	<i>lēyl</i> (R3B)	“night”
<i>sāša tnēyn</i>	“two o’clock”	<i>itnēn</i> (Sh_7)	“two”

In addition to /aw/ and /ay/, very few occasions of the diphthongs /iy/ and /uw/ could be found. They both occur in the personal pronouns of the 3.SG., (*i*)*hiy* and (*ú*)*huw*; -*huw* ~ *uw* can also occur as the direct object suffix of the 3.PL. as in *kəll-uw* “they all” (R3B) (cf. 2.4.1.3).

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Stress patterns

As in most Arabic dialects, a word, or rather a phonetic unit, is stressed on the syllable with the long vowel, if it does not have any, stress is on the syllable with the diphthong, if it has more than one long vowel, stress is usually on the last syllable with the long vowel. If a phonetic unit has neither long vowel nor diphthong, the syllable before a heavy sequence is stressed. And finally, if none of the mentioned applies, stress is on the penultimate syllable²³. An exception in RA, as in many varieties of the Sinai (De Jong 2000; 2011)²⁴, is the form CvCvC, usually stressed on the ultimate syllable, i. e. *ṣarāb* (R3B) “people”, *laḥám* (HB_2) “meat”, *mahár* (R1B) “dowry”, *xašéb* (R1A) “wood” and many more. Interestingly, I found occurrences of stressed 1st person bound pronoun *-i* – which is very typical in SA (Dickins 2008) but usually non-existing in RA and Peninsular Arabic – in combination with CaCáC-forms only, i. e. *ṣarab-i* (R1A) “my people” and *walad-i* (M_1) “my son”.

2.3.1.1 The stressed definite article

The stressed definite article is a phenomenon previously described by De Jong in his descriptions of the Sinai dialects (De Jong 2000; 2011) and occasionally occurring in Pensinsular dialects as Bedouin varieties of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012) or the dialect of Ḥāʾil in the Naǧd (Prochazka 1988). To the best of my knowledge and according to the comparative database on dialectal features of the research group WIBARAB (University of Vienna), RA seems to be the only variety on the African continent stating a stressed definite article.

The phenomenon occurs when a form does neither have a long vowel or diphthong nor a heavy sequence (cf. 2.3.1) and the heavy sequence is therefore built with the article. This applies to the schemes:

	Cv	<i>ál-ma</i> (M_1, HB_1)	“the water”
	CCv	<i>íš-šta</i> (R2A)	“the winter”
	CvC	<i>ál-bil</i> , <i>il-bil</i> ²⁵ (R1A, R1B, M_1, R2A)	“the camel”
		<i>ál-hal</i> ²⁶ (annot.)	“the family”
al +	CvCv	<i>ál-mara</i> (M_1)	“the woman”
	CvCvC	<i>ál-baḥar</i> (R1A, R1B)	“the sea”
		<i>ál-walad</i> (M_1)	“the boy”
		<i>il-ġanam</i> (R2A)	“the sheep”

²³ Cf. De Jong 2011: 132-134.

²⁴ For instance, in the dialects of the *Mzēnah* and *Baniy Wāṣil* (cf. De Jong 2011: 133).

²⁵ One speaker (R1B) uses the form *al-ilbil* „the camels”, where the stressed article has become lexicalized.

²⁶ Cf. 2.3.1.2.

Since the heavy sequence applies to a phonetic unit, the stressed definite article often also occurs in combination with a preposition or even other words part of the phonetic unit.

<i>f-ʿad-dərət</i> (R1A)	“in the harvest season”
<i>f-il-baḥar</i> (R1B)	“on the sea”
<i>f-ə-l-ḥabaš</i> (R1B)	“in Ethiopia/Eritrea ²⁷ ”
<i>l-il-ṣarab</i> (R1B)	“for the people”
<i>ʔabú-l-walad</i> (M_1)	“the father of the boy”

In some cases, the stressing of the article provokes a change in the syllable structure of the previous word (henceforth marked by a dot).

<i>nisímmi.h-ál-bil</i> (R2A)	“we call it the camel”
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In one case, the same stress pattern occurs without an article. The speaker repeats the utterance *inšāaʔlā tīmm bāni* (R1A) “hopefully the construction is done”. *Timm* is particularly heavily stressed, as if it was the article to the CvCv-structured *bāni*.

2.3.1.2 The gahawa-syndrome

The gahawa-syndrome is a phonotactic phenomenon well-described by Rudolf De Jong in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (De Jong 2007) and re-assessed by Stephan Procházka (Procházka: forthcoming). It can be grouped into five types according to the syllabic structure and the position of the guttural. Types that do not occur in RA are marked with a dash.

Type I	ʔáGCaC	> ʔáGaCaC	<i>ʔágla</i> > <i>ʔágala</i> (HB_1) “more expensive”
		> ʔaGáCaC	<i>ʔágla</i> > <i>ʔagála</i> (HB_1) “more expensive”
			<i>ʔaḥmar</i> > <i>ʔaḥámar</i> (R1B) “red”
			<i>ʔaxḍar</i> > <i>ʔaxáḍar</i> (cooking, R2A) “green”
		> GáCaC	<i>ʔil-baḥar al-ḥámar</i> ²⁸ (R1B) “the Red Sea”
Type II	CaGCa	> CáGaCa	-
		> CaGáCa	<i>qaṣadū</i> > <i>gaṣádaw</i> (R1A) “they stayed”

²⁷ Although the names *irítriya* and *īsyūbya* are common, too, Ethiopia and especially Eritrea are often referred to as *al-ḥabaš*, both in RA and SA.

²⁸ One single occurrence.

			<i>naʕǵa</i> > <i>naʕáz̥a</i> (R2A) “ewe”
		> CGáCa	<i>qahwa</i> > <i>ghawa</i> (M_1) “coffee” <i>šahrēn</i> > <i>šharēn</i> (M_1) “two months”
Type III	CaGCVC	> CaGaCVC	<i>taqlīm</i> > <i>taǵalīm</i> (HB_1) “pruning”
		> CaGáCVC	-
		> CGaCVC	<i>maxtūm</i> > <i>mxatūm</i> (HB_2) “sealed”
Type IV	yaGCvC	> yáGavC	<i>ʔaqraʔ</i> , <i>taqraʔ</i> , etc. > <i>ʔágara</i> ~ <i>ʔágəra</i> , <i>tágara</i> ~ <i>tágəra</i> , <i>yágara</i> ~ <i>yágəra</i> etc. (Sh_1) “I/you/he/etc. read/s” <i>naqʕud</i> > <i>nágaʕid</i> (R1A) “we stay” <i>yaʕwúḍ-kum</i> > <i>yiʕawúḍ-ku</i> ²⁹ (Sh_5) “he compensates you”
		> yvGáCvC	<i>yitʔakbar</i> > <i>yitaʔákbar</i> ³⁰ (HB_1) “it grows” <i>yaʕmil</i> > <i>yiʔámil</i> ³¹ (R2A) “he does”
		> yGáCvC	<i>tʕazim</i> (R1A) “you invite”
Type V	CaGC	> CáGac	-
		> CvGáC	<i>baʕád</i> “after” (R3B), <i>baʕád-ha</i> (R1B) “after it” <i>laḥám</i> (HB_2) “meat” <i>mahár</i> (R1B) “dowry” <i>ʔahál-hu</i> ³² (R1B) “their family”
		> CGaC	-

Chart of the different types of the gahawa-syndrome. G represents the guttural consonant, i. e. *ǵ, *h, *ḥ, *x, *ʕ and *ʔ.

2.3.1.3 Resyllabification

²⁹ Due to the bound pronoun, the stress shifts to the penultima of the phonetic cluster.

³⁰ Example does not fit exactly to the scheme due to the quadriradical verb structure (cf. 2.6.1.2.10).

³¹ For the transformation of /ʕ/ to /ʔ/ cf. 2.3.1.4.1.

³² Cf. 2.3.1.3.

Besides the Type V pattern for the gahawa-syndrome form *ʔahál* “family”, *CA *ʔahl* also occurs as *hal*. This might be the result of a resyllabification process which is also found in other forms, not applying to the gahawa-syndrome, i. e. the RA forms of CA **ʔahl* “family” and **ʔism* “name”. In a first step, the ʔvCC structure obtains an epenthetic vowel between the two consonants, in a second step, the first vowel together with the Hamza is dropped and only CvC remains.

In the case of **ʔahl*, both forms – *ʔahál* and *hal* – are used in RA, whereas in the case of **ʔism*, the alleged form *sim* only occurs once, in combination with *w-* “and”: *wu-sim-na* (R2A) “and our name”. It is therefore also possible that the initial /ʔ/ is dropped, as in the case of *hal*; also, considering the form *b-ísim-a* (R2A) “with his name with a dropped Hamza in front of the form *ʔísim* ~ *ʔisím*.”

In the case of *bil* (R1B) “camels”, the CA form **ʔibil* already has the pattern of the first step, perhaps this is the reason why *bil* is the only existing form of **ʔibil* in RA. It is very likely, that the tendency of stressing the ultimate syllable in CvCvC-patterns influences the mentioned changes; yet, conclusions are weak due to the lack of examples. The chart below tries to display the paradigms of resyllabification.

ʔvCC	ʔvCvC	CvC
* <i>ahl</i>	<i>ʔahál</i>	<i>hal</i>
* <i>ʔism</i>	<i>ʔísim</i> ~ <i>ʔisím</i>	<i>sim</i>
	* <i>ʔibil</i>	<i>bil</i>

Both the ʔvCvC and the CvC pattern are prone to the stressed definite article, examples are *bēyt ál-hal* (R1B) “the house of the family” and *íl-bil* “the camels” (R1A).

The chart below lists all other resyllabified forms of these three words found in the data.

ʔahál-hu; *ʔahál-u* (R1B) “their family”, *li-hál-ha* (R1B) “for her family”

bil-na (R2A) “our camels”, *bi-bíl-na* (R2A) “with our camels”, *yaşrah fí-l-bil* “he tames the camels” (R2A)

wu-sim-na (R2A) “and our name”, *ʔisím-na* “our name” (R2A), *ʔisím-ha* (R1B) “her name”

2.3.1.4 Intervocalic phenomena

2.3.1.4.1 Glottalization of *ʕ

Both Reichmuth’s and the authors data present a very rare feature in Arabic dialectology, previously only found in Tihāma Arabic (Behnstedt 2016: 8f.): the realization of *ʕ as a glottal stop /ʔ/. This phenomenon seems to occur in intervocalic positions only, i. e. -vʕv- > -vʔv-, whereas there isn’t any constraint in Tihāma Arabic (Behnstedt 2016: 9). Yet, the intervocalic glottalization of /ʕ/ is rather

unusual and doesn't seem to follow a specific pattern, it is deliberately used by most speakers. All occurrences in the data are listed below:

<i>fī-ha ʔawāzim</i> (R1B)	“there's ʕAwāzim”
<i>šaʔār</i> (M_1)	“poets”
<i>taʔaššayna</i> (Sh_5)	“we had dinner”
<i>yiʔámil</i>	“he does”

The phenomenon occurs as well in the cardinal numbers 11-19, where the intervocalic *-ʕašar is transformed to -ʔaš: *ʔiḥidáʔaš*, *iṭnāʔaš* etc. (cf. 2.5.5.1).

The form **sāʕa* “hour” states an atypical “in-between”-pronunciation: *sāʕha* (R1B) and *sāʔa* (HB_2). Since the Rašāyda of Sudan travelled southwards, perhaps until the Northern Tihāma, and aligned with the Zubāyda being originally from Zabīd, which is in the very center of the Tihāma and also in the center of the area of glottalization of /ʕ/ (Behnstedt 2016: 8), it is likely that the glottalization of /ʕ/ was taken into RA through contact. It is thinkable that the phenomenon used to be more frequent and that its frequency declined due to geographical isolation and contact with Sudanese varieties. Unfortunately, the lack of data doesn't allow us more evidence.

2.3.1.4.2 Intervocalic elision of *h and elision of *h of bound pronouns

As in other Arabic dialects (especially Levantine and qeltu-dialects), the initial /h/ of personal, mostly bound, pronouns is often less pronounced, IPA [h], and mostly elided. In most of the cases it occurs in intervocalic environments, as for instance in German: *Ehe* [e:ə].

CA	RA
<i>bi-ha</i>	<i>b-ā</i> (R3B), <i>b-a</i> (M_1)
<i>bi-hu</i>	<i>b-a</i> (M_1)
<i>bi-hum</i>	<i>b-u ~ b-ū</i> ³³ (R1A)
<i>qālat la-hu</i>	<i>gālit l-á</i> “she told him” (R3B)
<i>qālat la-hu</i>	<i>gālāt l-a</i> “she told him” (R3B)
<i>fī-ha</i>	<i>fa-h</i> (HB_1) “in it”
<i>fī-hin</i>	<i>fī-hin</i> , <i>fī-in</i> (cooking, R3B) “in them”
<i>la-ha</i>	<i>l-ā</i> (R1B) “for her”
<i>laqaynā-hum</i>	<i>ližīn'ā-w</i> (R1A) “we found them”

³³ Translation for the forms of *b-* with bound pronoun are not provided due to very different translation options due to the respective context.

al-ʕulūm mā-hiya
taqallab-hin

al-ʕulūm mā-iy (Sh_5)³⁴ “what’s the news?”
tigillib-in (HB_2) “you stir them”

The elision of /h/ occurs also in intervocalic environments without any (bound) pronouns.

?

darāʕūš (R3B) “?”

In some cases, the elision leads to a shift of the stress in order to distinct forms, e. g.

yaqra-ha

yagr-á (M_1) “he corrals her”

in opposition to *yágra* „he reads” (Sh_6, cf. 2.6.1.1.6). Lastly, the /h/ in the pronoun „because” (M_1) is mostly hard to hear and sometimes simply not pronounced.

2.3.1.5 Sibilants phenomena

As in most Arabic varieties, when there are different sibilants in consequent syllables something tends to happen. Examples from the data and their hypothetical phonetic changes are:

Metathesis from CA to RA	RA
*svǧǧ- > svǧǧ- > švǧǧ- > švzz-	
*siǧn	<i>šizin</i> (R2A) “prison”
*?	<i>šizlān</i> (R1B) “imprisoned?”
*saǧǧalū	<i>šazzalāw</i> (U_1) “they recorded”
*z_ǧ > ž_z	
*tazawwaǧ > tǧawwaz > tǧūz > trūz	<i>trūz-la-h</i> (R3B) “he gave him to marry”
*zawwāǧ	<i>žuwwāz</i> (M_1) “marriage”
*mutazawwaǧ	<i>mitǧawwiz</i> (R3B) “married”
*tazawwaǧt	<i>tiǧawwizt</i> (M_1) “I married”

The phonetic change of /ǧ/ to /r/ is due to the preceding /t/ (cf. 2.1.2.3.3).

Hypothetical phonemic shifts:

*švǧ- > švǧ- > švj- > švd-	<i>šidira</i> < *šaǧara (HB_1) “tree”
*ǧašǧār > ǧašǧār > ǧašjār > ǧašyār > šyār >	<i>šyāra</i> < *ǧašǧār (HB_1) “trees”

³⁴ Cf. 2.4.1.1.

Interestingly, the form *šyāra* ~ *šyāra* is so far attested in further varieties of RA, i. e. Egypt (Behnstedt&Woidich 2023), Kuwait and Saudi-Arabia (Zarb: forthcoming). The realization of *ǧ as /y/ is rather uncommon in all varieties of RA and might thus be lexicalized due to the sibilant environment.

2.3.1.6 The syllabic metathesis of dentals and /k/ aka the “taka-čika-phenomenon”

One of the most curious phenomena I encountered in both Reichmuth’ and my own data is the syllabic metathesis of dentals and /k/. This phenomenon occurs when a syllable with a dental as onset, i. e. -dv(C)- or -tv(C)-, is followed by a syllable with a /k/ as onset that is expected to be affricated, i. e. -kv(C)-. Instead of /k/ being affricated, the affrication shifts to the preceding syllable, /d/ shifts to /ǧ/ and /t/ shifts to /č/, and /k/ stays the same. According to the phonetic environments required for affrication in RA (cf. 2.1.2.5), the nucleus, i. e. the vowel, cannot be /u/. A formula for this phenomenon could look like the following:

$$v = /a/, /e/, /i/$$

$$-d/tv(C)- + -kv(C)- \quad > \quad -ǧ/čv(C)- + -kv(C)-$$

This phenomenon is certainly a further stage/product of the frequently palatalized dentals in front of /i/, as in *māṭit* “she died” (Sh_5) or in the form *tikallam* ~ *ṭikallam* “speak!”, which is found in the in-between-stage *tičallim* (U_1) to the metathesized stage *čikallim* (U_1, R3B).

CA	RA (expected)	RA (with metathesis)	translation and recording
<i>dakātir</i>	<i>dačātir</i>	<i>ǧakātir</i> ~ <i>ǧakātrə</i> ³⁵ (M_1)	“doctors”
<i>taḍkuru</i>	<i>tiččar</i>	<i>čidkar</i>	“you set”
<i>atakallam!</i>	<i>itičallim!</i>	<i>čikallim!</i> (U_1; R3B)	“speak!”
<i>ittakal-la-ka</i>	<i>ittičal-la-k</i>	<i>ikčikál-la-k</i> (R1B)	“he trusted you”

2.4 Morphology

2.4.1 Pronouns

³⁵ As /č/ represents the phoneme [tɕ], /ǧ/ analogically represents the alveolo-palatal affricate [dʒ] (cf. 1.2.3).

2.4.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns in RA are the following:

	SG.	PL.
1.	<i>ana~āna</i>	<i>hinna</i>
2.	M. <i>ant</i>	<i>antu</i>
	F. <i>anti</i>	<i>antin</i>
3.	M. <i>úhuw~huw</i>	<i>úhum</i>
	F. <i>ihiy~hiy</i>	<i>ihin</i>

2.4.1.2 Negated personal pronouns

	SG.	PL.
1.	<i>mā-ni</i>	N/A
2.	N/A	N/A
3.	<i>mā-hū ~ mā-huw</i>	N/A
	<i>mā-hi ~ mā-iy</i>	N/A

Example sentences are:

<i>ʔāl-walad mā-ni bāg-aṣṭī-h (M_1)</i>	“I don't want to give him [my daughter]”
<i>il-mádrase hāḍi mā-hū l-ṣiyyāl bess</i> (R1A)	“this school is not only for boys”
<i>ṣand il-ḥakūme da- huw mā-huw iẓtināṣ</i> (R1A)	“the government doesn't have- it doesn't have conviction”
<i>hāḍi ṣaḡrab walla mā-hi ṣaḡrab?</i> (Sh_6)	“is this a scorpion or is it not a scorpion?”

In regard to the congruences of the examples *il-mádrase hāḍi mā-hū* and *il-ḥakūme da- huw mā-huw*, where the 3.SG.M. form *mā-hū ~ mā-huw* is used to refer to a feminine, it is thinkable that the masculine form can work as a communis.

2.4.1.3 Possessive and object pronoun suffixes

Possessive and object suffixes		SG.		PL.
		After a vowel	After a consonant	
1. SG.	Pos.	-i	-y	-na
	Obj.	-ni	-ni	
2. SG.	M.		-k	-ku ~ -kuw
	F.	-ič	-č	-čin
3. SG.	M.	-a ~ -ə	-h	-hu ~ -huw ~ -um ~ -ū ~ -w ³⁶
	F.		-ha	-hin ~ -in

Remarks and selected examples:

- The only difference between the possessive suffixes, employed after nouns and prepositions, and object suffixes, employed after verbs, is the suffix of the 1.SG.: *-ni*, as in *ʔaʕtē-ni!* (annot.) “give me!”.
- In the case of a noun with the pattern CaCaC, a noun that also gets a stressed definite article, the 1.SG. possessive pronoun is stressed, as in SA (Dickins 2008): *walad-í* (...) “my son” (cf. 2.3.1.1).
- An irregular case of the 1.SG. possessive pronoun is the form *axw-īy* (M_1) “my brother”.
- The suffix for the 2.SG.M is always and only *-k*. A vowel is never added, which leads to rather unusual consonantal clusters as *bint-k* (M_1) “your daughter”, *walad-k* (M_1) “your boy” or *š-lawn-k?* ~ *š-lawwun-k?* (annot., Sh_5) “how are you?”.

2.4.1.4 Indirect object suffixes

		SG.		PL.	
		After a vowel	After a consonant	After a vowel	After a consonant
1.		<i>-l-i</i>		<i>-l-na</i>	
2.	M.	<i>-l-k</i>	<i>-il-k</i>	<i>-l-ku</i>	<i>-il-ku</i>

³⁶ -w occurred only once, after a long vowel: *ližīnā-w* (R1A) “we found them”.

	F.		-l-ič		-l-čin	-il-čin
3.	M.		-l-a ~ -l-ah		-l-hu	-il-hu
	F.	-l-ha	-il-ha		-l-hin	-il-hin

Usually, the stress is on the last syllable before the suffix; after a consonant and before a CC-cluster, i. e. in the 2.SG.M. and in the plural forms, the suffix starts with a stressed /i/.

2.4.1.5 Demonstratives

Demonstrative forms used in RA are the following:

	Proximal/ Near deixis		Distal/ Far deixis	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
SG.	<i>hāḍa</i>	<i>hāḍi</i>	<i>hāḍāk</i>	<i>hāḍič~hāḍičə</i>
PL.	<i>hāḍēl~hāḍēla</i>		<i>hāḍēlāk</i>	

Due to the lack of data regarding feminine forms, it is unclear whether the plural forms *hāḍēl ~ hāḍēla* and *hāḍēlāk* officiate as a communis or whether they are only masculine.

<i>hāḍēla nzīlaw ṣabra-</i> (M_1)	"these came down via-"
<i>hāḍēl min xīlān-i</i> (M_1)	"these are from my uncles"
<i>ʔana bāgi bint-k hāḍi</i> (M_1)	"I want this daughter of yours"
<i>hāḍāk yagr-á</i> (M_1)	"this one corrals her"
<i>ʔinna názi ʔal-bayt hāḍi</i> (M_1)	"so if we enter this house"
<i>hāḍi ʔumāʔim (...) wu-hāḍa žaržūr</i> (HB_2)	"these are tomatoes (...) and this is arugula rocket"
<i>ʔaṭ-ṭāsə hāḍičə hināk</i> (HB_2)	"that cup over there"

2.4.1.6 Interrogative pronouns

- *man ~ min* "who"

As in CA, the pronoun for “who” in RA is *man*, oftentimes also pronounced *min*. It occurs for instance in the expression *tīḡrab fī-hin ʕilā man tigūl bass* (HB_2) “you hit it until one says ‘enough’”.

- *ʔēš ~ wēš; wuš* “what”

The forms *ʔēš* and *wēš* are very uncommon in Sudan, where the prevalent forms are usually forms like *šinu*. Both *ʔēš* and *wēš* are common in the Ḥiḡāz and parts of the Naḡd (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 43, 74, 76).

<i>ʔatašamməs yaʕni ʔēš?</i> (M_1)	“I get outcasted means what?”
<i>wēš ysawwūn?</i> (R1B)	“what do they do?”

The form *wuš* is used in specific utterances as:

<i>wuš lawn-k?</i> (Sh_5)	“How are you?”
<i>wuš žēnsit-k?</i> (annot.)	“what is your ethnicity?”

- *alli(h)ēš-šnu* and *lāyš ~ lāyiš* “why”

This unusual form for “why” seems to be a combination of the relative pronoun *alli-* and the interrogative pronoun *ēš* “what”, followed by the same pronouns in Sudanese: *šnu*. The /h/ inbetween the construction might be a so-called *Hiatus-Tilger*³⁷, a „neutral” consonant to link the two parts, it could perhaps also be there in analogy to the /h/ of the bound pronoun *-hu ~ huw*, frequently attached to the relative pronoun. Remarkably, the /h/ is not very pronounced, indeed, it is sometimes not hearable or just disapperaded (cf. 2.3.1.4.2).

Once, the form *lāyš ~ lāyiš* (from CA **li-ʔayyi šayʔin*) occurs: *žēt lāyiš ahnī?* “why did you come here?” (R1A).

2.4.1.7 Indefinites

- *ayyāši* “anything”

The form *ayyāši* occurs once, in the context of the coffee ceremony. The speaker explains that the first thing that the guest is offered is coffee, *gabl ayyāši* (M_1), there is coffee. Since it is the only occurrence in the data, the semantics remains deductable, only. I suppose that it is a reflex or a grammaticalized form of **ayyu šayʔ*, “anything”, similar to the French expression “avant toute chose” (“before anything”) describing what happens at very first.

³⁷ German terminology.

- *ḥad, wāḥid* “one”

<i>mamnūṣ wāḥid y'axəšš (...)</i>	<i>wāḥid yixarağ</i>	“it is forbidden that one enters (...) [or]
(R1A)		one leaves”

This particle occurs once in a plural form: *wāḥadīn* (R2A). The stress is on the last syllable. It can be translated “some”.

- *šayyin* “some”

<i>šayyin min maṣar, wu-šeyyin mi-l-širāg</i>	“some are from Egypt, and some are
(R2A)	from Iraq”

- *šin* “what”

<i>mā ḥinna šarfīn mā-šin-nsawwi</i>	(R1A) “we didn’t know what to do”
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2.4.1.8 Relative pronoun

The relative pronoun in RA is *alli~illi*, the quality of the vowel does not seem to be specifically conditioned. Examples are:

<i>ḥal-ḡizu ḥalli sācīn fī šarg as-sūdān</i>	(M_1) “the part that is living in Eastern Sudan”
<i>ḥana ḥalli žuwwazt al-bint</i>	(M_1) “I, who married the girl”
<i>ḥaḍ-ḡēyf ḥilli yāža</i>	(M_1) “the guest who comes”
<i>ḥinna ntasāwig-il-ha iš-šēy ḥilli baḡēt-ha</i>	“we buy them the things that they want”
(M_1)	

A bound pronoun (cf. 2.4.1.3) can be attached to the relative pronoun. It can occur in headless clauses or be attached even when there already is a head. It is always followed by a nominal clause.

- *ḥalli-hūw šawāylīya wu-žāṣalīya wu-ḥassānīya wu-qawāla wu-šabābda*
 “that are the *Šawāylīya* and *Ğaṣālīya* and *Ḥassānīya* and *Qawāla* and *šAbābda*” (M_1)
 > -*hūw* (3.PL.M.) refers to the previously mentioned *gabāyla ḥaš-šmāl* “the tribes of the North”
- *walād-k šīnd-a ḥagg šal-ēh yisawwi ḥilli-huw al-šāmm* (M_1)
 “your son has the right to do what is the General Law”
 > -*huw* (3.SG.M) refers to *ḥagg* “right”
- *kānat šīnda-na šādāt u-tagālīd ḥalli-hiy ḥinna nsammī-ha l-līšib* (M_1)

“we had customs and traditions that we call ‘the play’”

> *-hiy* (3. SG.F.) refers to *ṣādāt u-tagālīd* “customs and traditions”

Moreover, the relative pronoun can be nominalized, i. e. be at the beginning of a sentence:

- *ʔilli-huw xaššaw la-š-šmālīyā* (M_1)

“The ones who arrived to the Northern State”

- *ʔalli yžīb āl-ma la-l-mašrūṣa kull-u* (HB_1)

“The one [the irrigation canal], that brings the water to all of the land”

- *ʔalli gaṭṭaṣna ṣāla l-mlāḥ dilwān* (HB_1)

“The one [the pepper], that we've just cut into the sauce now”

2.4.1.9 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in RA is *al-il-ḥāl* + bound pronoun. It is the most common reflexive pronoun in the Levant as well as in various parts of the Arabian Peninsula, notably in Nağd, and the Egyptian oasis of Baḥarīya (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 390, 394). According to the context, the pronoun can be translated by “myself/yourself etc.”, “on my own/your own/etc.” or “alone”.

- *ʔal-māra mā timši l-duktūr al-ḥāl-ha (...) ʔu-mā timši s-sūg al-ḥāl-ha* (M_1)

“the woman doesn't go to the doctor herself (...) and she doesn't go to the market herself”

- *ḥinna ḥarīm-na yilṣabīn-na ʔil-ḥāl-hin fī ʔafrāḥ-hin*

“our women dance (for us?) on their own on their weddings”

- *anti žīti ʔil-ḥāl-ič*

“you (F.) came on your own”

- *hāḍīk il-ḥāl-ha* (R3B)

“that [girl over there] is alone”

2.5 Nouns

2.5.1 Number

2.5.1.1 Singular

Masculine

Patterns of masculine nouns, and nouns in general, are very diverse and will not be discussed in-depth in the following. The chart below lists frequently recurring nouns of different patterns.

<i>walád</i> (M_1)	“boy”	<i>čalām</i> (R1A)	“speech”
<i>bāxər</i> (R1A)	“ship”	<i>isbūʕ</i> (R1A)	“week”
<i>ḍān</i> (HB_2)	“lamb”	<i>ḍull</i> (M_1)	“shadow”

Feminine

As usual in Arabic, the feminine is marked by an attached /-a/ to nouns ending on a consonant and /-ya~yya/ to nouns ending on -i ~ ī (*Nisba*). The quality of the final /-a/ varies between /a/, /ə/ and /e/ (cf. 2.2.2).

<i>ḥakūma</i> (R1A)	“government”	<i>ṣasčariye</i> (R1A)	“military”
<i>ṭarīḡa</i> (R1A)	“method”	<i>šinīyā</i> (HB_2)	“tray”

2.5.1.2 Dual

To form the dual in RA the suffix /-ēn/ is attached to the Singular. For the feminine, the /t/ of the *tāʔ marbūṭa* is pronounced. The suffix /-ēn/-tēn/ is the same as CA *-ayn(i)/-tayn(i) whereas the diphthong /ay/ is monophthongized to /ē/ (cf. 2.2.4).

<i>šharēn</i> (M_1)	„two months“	<i>mītēn</i> (R1B)	„two hundred“
<i>naḡarēn</i> (R3B)	„two persons“	<i>yāwmēn</i> (R2A)	„two days“

2.5.1.3 Plural

2.5.1.3.1 Sound plurals

In RA, as in all other Arabic varieties, the CA sound plurals *-ūn(a) (PL.M.) and *-āt(u) (PL.F.) became /-īn/ and /-āt/.

-īn

<i>xamsīn</i> (Sh_3)	„fifty“	<i>šarab šaddīn</i> (R1A)	„nomadic people“
<i>mawżūdīn</i> (M_1)	„present (PL.)“	<i>žāyyīn</i> (R2A)	„coming (PL.)“
<i>waṭaniyyīn</i> (R2A)	„citizens“		

-āt

<i>mabnīyāt</i> (R2A)	„buildings“	<i>ḥeywānāt</i> (R2A)	„animals“
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<i>wāḥāt</i> (R2A)	„oases“	<i>ṣalāgāt</i> (R1A)	„relations“
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2.5.1.3.2 Broken plurals

As in CA, the patterns for broken plurals are very diverse. The charts below outline the some of the most recurring ones.

CuCāyīC, CaCāCiC	<i>buhāyim</i> (R2A)	“livestock”
	<i>gubāyil</i> (R2A)	“tribes”
	<i>mičāyin</i> (R1B)	“places”
	<i>darāhim</i> (R1A)	“Dirhams”
	<i>ṭumāṭim</i> (HB_1)	“tomatoes”
CaCāCīC	<i>sanādīč</i> (R1B)	“boats”
	<i>tagālīd</i> (M_1)	“traditions”
ʔaCCāC	<i>ʔaṭbāṣ</i> (M_1)	“traits”
CiCuC	<i>sifun</i> (M_1)	“ships”
CCūC, CiCūC	<i>ždūd-na</i> (R1A)	“our grandfathers”
CuCāC	<i>ṣuḡār</i> (HB_1)	“small (PL.)”
	<i>kubār</i> (HB_1)	“big (PL.)”

Very prominent plural patterns for tribes are CaCāyCa, CaCāCCa and CaCāCīC (cf. Young 2024: 344):

CaCāyCa, CaCāCCa	<i>rašāyda, barāṣa, qazāyza</i> (R1B)
CaCāCīC	<i>barāṭīx, žalādīn, marāzīg, bsli manāṭīx</i> (R1B)

A duplication of a radical occurs in the formation of the plural of *bil* “camel”:

CuCūC	<i>bulūl</i> (R2A)	“camels”
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The plural of *ʔab “father” is built in analogy to the plural of ʔumm “mother” (*ʔummahāt*):

ʔvCCahāt	<i>ʔabbahāt</i> (R2A)	“fathers”
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A very peculiar plural form is *īyyāwma* which is not clear how to be defined. It is likely to be an alternative plural of *yawm*, perhaps with a slightly distinct meaning. Since no other plural form for *yawm* is found in the data, it could also be its regular plural.

<i>īyyāwmit maṣīr mašēyt</i> (R1A)	“the Egyptian days, I went”
<i>baṣad īyyāwma gālū: ...</i> (R1A)	“after some days, they said: ...”

2.5.2 Construct state

The construct state in RA works the same as in CA, in which the first, or the possessed, noun is considered morphologically definite without an article. In accordance with CA, the second noun or possessor may or may not have an article.

<i>dīwān aḍ-ḍiyūf</i> (annot.)	<i>the space where the guests are welcomed</i>
<i>ḡull əl-gibīlā</i> (M_1)	“the shadow of the tribe”
<i>ḡingilāb ḡabbūd</i> (R1A)	“Abbūd’s coup”

Whenever the possessed noun ends on /-a/, usually feminine nouns, and the first sound of the next word is a consonant, a /t/ is added. In the case of a vowel, the /-a/ before the /t/ is dropped.

<i>gibīlt ar-ṛašāyda</i> (M_1)	“the Rašāyda tribe”
<i>mangat ṣendi</i> (HB_1)	“the Shendi Mango”
<i>māntagat ḡaswān</i> (U_1)	“the region of Aswān”
<i>mazraḡat Ḥamīd</i> (HB_2)	“Ḥamīd’s farm”
<i>ṛašāydat ṣarg as-sūdān</i> (M_1)	“the Rašāyda of Eastern Sudan”
<i>sanat ḡalf-u-tisṣumīyā wu-sittā</i> (M_1)	“the year 1906”

It is obvious that the rules do not follow written but phonetic nature, as the loanword *manga* “mango” would not be written with a *tāḡ marbūṭa* in CA nor perhaps in SA, which is necessary to be attached a /t/ in CA.

2.5.3 Diminutive

Three cases of diminutives were encountered in the data. Generalizations about the patterns are thus not very senseful; yet it seems that the diminutive in RA has the pattern CuCayyiC as in CA, with the

difference that /u/ is raised or elided and the diphthong with geminated approximant /y/ is also exposed to phonetic and phonotactic changes. Semantically, it is either used to diminish or to emphasize its meaning.

<i>biniyyāt</i> (R1A)	“(small/young) girls”
<i>gəlēylīn</i> (R1B)	“few (PL.)”
<i>grāybat-l-a</i> (R1B)	“closest to him”

2.5.4 Elatives

Unfortunately, the data does only provide very few elative forms. In general, they seem to follow the same rules and patterns as in CA. The same ʔaCCaC -pattern is also employed for most of the colors.

$\text{CvCīC} > \text{ʔaCCaC}$

<i>ʔakṭar nās</i> (R1B)	“most people”
<i>ʔaḥsan laḥam</i> (HB_2)	“the best meat”
<i>hnūk ʔakbar</i> (HB_2)	“over there they are bigger”

When the second and the third radical are the same, the elative pattern is ʔaCaCC :

<i>ašadd al-ḥurs</i> (M_1)	“the strongest caution”
----------------------------	-------------------------

A very commonly used form (in Reichmuth’s data), that seems typical to RA and atypical to other known varieties, is the elative *ʔaščal*. It can be translated with “most (of)” or “the majority (of)” and it can be attached a bound pronoun.

<i>zirāṣaw ʔaščal zirāṣa hū d-dʿaxən</i> (R1B)	“they cultivated, most cultivation was millet”
<i>ʔaščal il-gubāyil-</i> (R1B)	“most of the tribes”
<i>wa-ṛ-ṛašāyda wallāhi ʔaščal-hu yaṣni mitraḥḥilīn</i> (R1B)	“and the Rašāyda, by God, most of them are nomads”

As, to the best of my knowledge, this form does not seem to occur in other varieties, the etymology is only deductable – I suppose that the positive, *šakl*, (which does not occur in the data), has a similar meaning than **šayʔ* or *šayyin* (R2A) in RA: “some”. Thus, the elative of “some” could thinkably be “most”.

2.5.5 Numerals

2.5.5.1 Cardinal numbers

The following chart shows the cardinal numbers in RA from 1 to 21 as well as the hundreds until 1000. The numbers were enquired during a dedicated session during my fieldwork. Occurrences of numbers within a sentence, i. e. with a noun, are annotated below.

	isolated
1	<i>wāḥid</i>
2	<i>īṭnēn~īṭnēyn</i>
3	<i>ṭalāṭə</i>
4	<i>aṛbaʕə</i>
5	<i>xamsə</i>
6	<i>sittə</i>
7	<i>sábaʕə</i>
8	<i>ṭumāniyə</i>
9	<i>tisʕə</i>
10	<i>ʕašara</i>
11	<i>iḥidáʔəš</i>
12	<i>īṭnāʔəš</i>
13	<i>ṭalāttāʔəš</i>
14	<i>aṛbaʕtāʔəš</i>
15	<i>xamstāʔəš</i>
16	<i>sittāʔəš</i>

17	<i>sabaʕtāʔəʃ</i>
18	<i>tumāntāʔəʃ</i>
19	<i>tisaʕtāʔəʃ</i>
20	<i>ʔiʃrīn</i>
21	<i>wāḥid-u-ʔiʃrīn</i>
100	<i>mīyyə</i>
200	<i>mīytēn</i>
300	<i>tuḷt(ə)mīyyə</i>
400	<i>ʔurbuʕmīyyə</i>
500	<i>xumsmīyyə</i>
600	<i>sitt(ə)mīyyə</i>
700	<i>subuʕ(ə)mīyyə</i>
800	<i>tumunmīyyə</i>
900	<i>tisəʕmīyyə</i>
1000	<i>alf</i>

In the case of the numbers from 11-19, the CA form of the number with *tāʔ marbūʔa* + *ʕaʕara* transformed to the number + *áʔəʃ~āʔəʃ* (11 and 12) and number + *tāʔəʃ* (13-19). Very remarkable is the realization of *ʕ as /ʔ/ (Hamza) in intervocalic positions, as treated in 2.3.1.4.1. Interestingly, this realization also occurs for the number 20, *ʔiʃrīn*, in the recorded enumeration of all numbers, whereas in spontaneous speech, *ʕ is still pronounced /ʕ/.

Occurrences of cardinal numbers within sentences:

istağarraw fa- fī maṣar̥ talāʔa wu-xamsīn “they settled in- in Egypt 53 years”
sana (M_1)

sanat ʔalf-u-tisʕumīyā wu-sittā dxálaw as-sūdān (M_1)

“[in the] year 1906 they entered Sudan”

xad-na wāḥid-w-ʔalaṭīn yōm (R1A)

“he gave us 31 days”

hādēl ʔalāṭa mḥāwir (M_1)

"these are three pillars

sāʕa ʔnēyn (R1A)

“two o’clock”

2.5.5.2 Ordinal numbers

1 st	<i>l-awwal</i>
2 nd	<i>aṭ-ṭānī</i>
3 rd	<i>aṭ-ṭālīṭ</i>
4 th	<i>aṭ-ṭābiʕ</i>
5 th	<i>al-xāmis</i>
6 th	<i>as-sādis</i>
7 th	<i>as-sābiʕ</i>
8 th	<i>aṭ-ṭāmin</i>
9 th	<i>at-tāsiʕ</i>
10 th	<i>al-ʕāšīr</i>
11 th	<i>al-ʔiḥdāʕāš</i>
12 th	<i>al-ʔiṭnāʕāš</i>
13 th	<i>aṭ-ṭalāttāʔāš</i>
14 th	<i>al-ʔaṭbaʕtāʕāš</i>
15 th	<i>al-xamstāʕāš</i>
16 th	<i>as-sittāʕāš</i>

17 th	<i>as-sabaṣṭāṣṭ</i>
18 th	<i>at-tumāntāṣṭ</i>
19 th	<i>at-tiṣṭāṣṭ</i>
20 th	<i>al-ṣiṣrīn</i>

Paradigm of the ordinal numbers from 1-20.

Occurrences of ordinal numbers within sentences:

nhār il-wāhiḍ-talāṭīn (R1A) “the 31st day”

nhār it-tāni wa-talāṭīn (R1A) “the 32nd day”

2.6 Verbs

2.6.1 Inflection

	perfective – suffix inflection	Imperfective – prefix inflection
1. SG	<i>-t</i>	<i>a-</i>
2. SG. M.	<i>-t</i>	<i>tv-</i>
F.	<i>-ti</i>	<i>tv- ... -īn~ēn</i>
3. SG. M.	<i>-</i>	<i>yv-</i>
F.	<i>-at</i>	<i>tv-</i>
1. PL.	<i>-na</i>	<i>nv-</i>
2. PL. M.	<i>-tu</i>	<i>tv- ... -ūn~ōn</i>
F.	<i>-tin</i>	<i>N/A³⁸</i>
3. PL. M.	<i>-aw</i>	<i>yv- ... -ūn~ōn</i>
F.	<i>-án</i>	<i>yv- ... -ín</i>

Inflectional prefixes and suffixes of the perfective and imperfective.

2.6.1.1 Form I

³⁸ Probably *tv- ... -ín*.

2.6.1.1.1 Sound verbs

2.6.1.1.1.1 Perfective

Sound verbs can be grouped into three types.

Type I: CaCaC

Type II: CiCiC ~ CəCəC

The grouping is based on the vowels: For the 3.SG.M., verbs of Type I have the vowel /a/, verbs of Type II have the vowel /i/, sometimes realized /ə/. Additionally, there might be a Type III, comprising verbs that have two different vowels, for instance /a/ and /i/. Since the data do only provide one single example for this pattern – *nížah* “he succeeded” (M_1) – the prevalence of this group cannot be stated with certainty.

Since the data do not provide full paradigms of the same verb, the following chart can be understood as full verb paradigm deduced from various verbs collected from the data.

	Type I	Type II	
1.SG.	<i>ana</i>	<i>čibírt</i> (Q_3)	“I grew”
2.SG.M.	<i>ant</i>		
2.SG.F.	<i>anti</i>		
3.SG.M.	<i>úhuw</i>	<i>gəḍəb</i> (R1A)	“he stayed”
3.SG.F.	<i>íhiy</i>	<i>əmbítt</i> (HB_1)	“it grew”
1.PL.	<i>ḥinna</i>	<i>gašádna</i> (R1A)	“we stayed”
		<i>daxalna</i> (R1A)	“we entered”
		<i>simiṣna</i> (R1A)	“we heard”
2.PL.M.	<i>antu</i>		
2.PL.F.	<i>antin</i>		
3.PL.M.	<i>úhum</i>	<i>tláṣaw</i> (M_1)	“they went up”
		<i>ržaṣu</i> (M_1)	“they came back”

	<i>dxálaw</i> (M_1)		<i>“they entered”</i>
	<i>zráṣaw</i> (R1B)		<i>“they cultivated”</i>
	<i>ktálaw</i> (R3B)		<i>“they killed”</i>
	<i>gaṣádaw</i> (R1A)		<i>“they stayed”</i>
		<i>nzilaw</i> (M_1)	<i>“they went down”</i>
3.PL.F.	<i>ihin</i>	<i>zarṣán-nu</i> (HB_1)	<i>“they planted them”</i>

Due to the lack of other conjugated forms of this verb, the irregular verbal form *əmbítt* (CA **anbatat*) (HB_1) “it grew” cannot be assigned to either type with certainty.

The form *gaṣádaw* (R1A) “they stayed” does not have the common 3.PL.M.-pattern CCaCaw but CaCáCaw due to the gahawa-syndrome (cf. 2.3.1.2).

2.6.1.1.1.2 Imperfective

Sound verbs can be grouped into two types.

Type I:	<i>yaCCaC</i> ~ <i>yiCCaC</i> ~ <i>yəCCaC</i> (~ <i>yəCCəC</i>)
Type II:	<i>yaCCiC</i> ~ <i>yiCCiC</i> (~ <i>yəCCəC</i>)

Again, the grouping is based on the vowels: For the 3.SG.M., verbs of Type I always have /a/ as stem vowel, verbs of Type II do not. For both types, the first vowel can vary due to the phonetic environment.

Some speakers tend to realize /i/ as /ə/, as in *yargəṣín* (R1B) vs. *yirgiṣín* (M_1) “they dance”. In forms like *mā nəgdər* “we cannot” (R1A) (instead of *nagdar* or *nigdar*) and *ḥa-nəḡḥər* (R1A) “we will appear” (instead of *naḡḥər* or *niḡḥər*), the Schwa can both be an allophone of /a/ and of /i/. Therefore, the pattern *yəCCəC* is grouped to both types.³⁹

Since the data does not provide full paradigms of the same verb, the following charts can be understood as full verb paradigms deducted from various verbs collected from the data.

1.SG.	<i>ana</i>		
2.SG.M.	<i>ant</i>	<i>tažraḥ</i> (Sh_2)	<i>“you sip”</i>

³⁹ Beyond the realm of verbs, /ə/ in RA is both used as an allophone of /a/ and of /i/, for instance in *dərət* (R1A) instead of SA *darat*, the harvest season in SA, or as an allophone to the Nisba /-a/, as in *čīṭīrə* (R1B) “many (PL.)”. For further information see cf. 2.2.1.

		<i>taṣḥan</i> (Sh_2)	“you grind”
		<i>čídkar</i> (M_1)	“you remember”
		<i>talbas</i> (R1B)	“you wear”
		<i>təgdar</i> (M_1)	“you can”
2.SG.F.	<i>anti</i>		
3.SG.M.	<i>úhuw</i>	<i>yarfaʕ</i> (M_1)	“he throws”
3.SG.F.	<i>íhiy</i>	<i>taṭlaʕ</i> (M_1)	“she goes up”
		<i>tarkab</i> (M_1)	“she rides”
1.PL.	<i>ḥinna</i>	<i>ḥa-nəḍḥar</i> (R1A)	“we will appear”
		<i>mā nəḍḍar</i> (R1A)	“we cannot”
2.PL.M.	<i>antu</i>		
2.PL.F.	<i>antin</i>		
3.PL.M.		<i>yilʕabūn</i> (M_1)	“they play”
	<i>úhum</i>	<i>yəlʕabūn</i> (R1B)	
		<i>yjadmūn</i> (M_1)	“they present”
3.PL.F.	<i>ihin</i>	<i>yilʕabín-na</i> (M_1)	“they play us”

Paradigm of Type I verbs.

1.SG.	<i>ana</i>	<i>(a)ḍkur-ək</i> (M_1)	“I remind you”
2.SG.M.	<i>ant</i>	<i>taktib</i> (Sh_1)	“you write”
2.SG.F.	<i>anti</i>		
3.SG.M.	<i>úhuw</i>	<i>yímčín</i> (M_1)	“it can”
		<i>yilʕawúḍ-ku</i> ⁴⁰ (Sh_5)	“he compensates you”
3.SG.F.	<i>íhiy</i>		
1.PL.	<i>ḥinna</i>		
2.PL.M.	<i>antu</i>		
2.PL.F.	<i>antin</i>		

⁴⁰ The pattern yvCvCcC-ku instead of yvCCvC-ku is due to the gahawa-syndrome (cf. 2.3.1.2).

3.PL.M. *úhum*

3.PL.F. *ihin* *yirgişin* (M_1) “they dance”
yargəşin (R1B)

 Paradigm of Type II verbs.

2.6.1.1.1.3 Imperatives

Imperatives are formed equally no matter of the verb type. Imperative patterns are iCCiC~iCCuC~əCCəC for the SG.M. and CaCCu for the PL.M. Since the data do not provide any example of an imperative form of Type I, the respective pattern cannot be stated with certainty – it is probably aCCaC or iCCaC. Due to the lack of female informants, feminine forms could not be found in the data.

Imperatives	M.	F.
SG.	<i>ičtib!</i> “write!” (annot.) <i>inšid!</i> “look for it!” (R1A) <i>əhrəž maɣ-a!</i> “talk to him!” (HB_3) <i>işbur!</i> “be patient!” (R3B) <i>aşlím-na!</i> “teach us!” (R1B)	N/A
PL.	<i>harbū-l-hu</i> “let them escape!” (R1A)	N/A

2.6.1.1.1.4 Participles

Participles are formed equally no matter of the verb type.

	Active participle		Passive participle	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
SG	<i>jāʕid/gāʕid</i> (U_1) „sitting“	<i>rāčba</i> (R3B) „riding“	<i>mačtūb</i> (annot.) „written“	<i>mawrūta</i> (M_1) „inherited“
PL	<i>jāʕdīn</i> (R1A) „sitting“		<i>mawžūdīn</i> (M_1) „present“	

2.6.1.1.2 Geminated verbs

Geminated (C2=C3)

Geminated verbs, i. e. verbs where C2 and C3 are the same consonant, can be grouped into three types due to the vowel in the imperfective; /a/, /i/ or /u/. The perfective vowel is always /a/.

Verbal forms encountered in the data are:

Type I: CaCC – yCaCC

Perfective:	3.PL.M.	<i>xáššaw</i> (R3B, U_1) ⁴¹	“they entered”
	3.SG.M.	<i>lamm</i> (R3B)	“he collected”
Imperfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>yixášš</i> (R3B)	“he enters”

Type II: CaCC – yCuCC

Perfective:	3.PL.M.	<i>ḥaššú-hu</i> (HB_1)	“they mowed them”
		<i>xáššaw</i> (R3B, U_1)	“they entered”
		<i>mā-ḥaṭṭō-hin</i> (R1A)	“they didn’t take them”
Imperfective:	1.SG.	<i>mā-xušš</i> (M_1)	“I don’t enter”
	2.SG.M.	<i>ṭḥuṭṭ-ən</i> (HB_2)	“you put them/it”
		<i>tšubb-um</i> (HB_2)	“you pour them”
		<i>lā txušš</i> (M_1)	“you don’t enter”
	3.PL.M.	<i>yḥuṭṭūn-ha</i> (R1B)	“they put them/her”

Type III: CaCC – yCiCC

Perfective:	1.PL.	<i>ḥabbeyna</i> (Q_1)	“we liked”
	3.SG.M.	<i>tamm</i> (M_1)	“it resulted”
	3.SG.F.	<i>tammāt</i> (M_1)	“she resulted”
Imperfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>ttimm</i> (M_1)	“it is completed”

2.6.1.1.3 Hamzated verbs

In RA, the original Hamza and the following /a/ disappeared, the CA perfective pattern *ʔaCaC is CaC. In the imperfective, the short vowel with Hamza, i. e. yaʔCvC, merged into a long vowel (cf. 2.1.2.1): yāCvC. Verbal forms encountered in the data are:

(ʔa)CaC – yāCvC

- (ʔa)kal? - yākil~yākul “to eat”

⁴¹ The verb *xášš* „to enter” in the imperfective is both found as Type I and Type II: *yixášš* (R3B) and *txušš* (M_1).

Imperfective:	2.SG.M.	<i>tākul</i> (HB_1)
	3.SG.M.	<i>yākul</i> (U_1), <i>yākil</i> (R2A),
	1.PL.	<i>nāčil</i> (R2A)
	3.PL.F.	<i>yāklin</i> (R2A)
Imperative:	SG.M.	<i>kul</i> ~ <i>kəl!</i> (annot.)

- *(ʔa)xaḏ - yāxuḏ~yāxiḏ~yēxaḏ* “to take”

Perfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>xaḏ</i> (R3B)
	1.PL.	<i>wu-xaḏna</i> , <i>axaḏna</i> (M_1),
	3.PL.M.	<i>xāḏaw</i> (U_1, M_1),
Imperfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>yēxaḏ</i> (R1A), <i>yāxiḏ-ha</i> (R1B)
	1.PL.	<i>nāxuḏ</i> (U_1), <i>nāxiḏ</i> (R2A)

2.6.1.1.4 Primae w/y

The first consonant of verba primae infirmae is either /w/ or /y/ (the latter is unfortunately not attested in the data).

waCaC – yuCíC

Perfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>wáṣal</i> (M_1, R1A)	“it reached”
	3.PL.M.	<i>wáṣ(a)law</i> (M_1)	“they reached”
Imperfective:	2.SG.M.	<i>turíd</i> (HB_3)	“you come”
	3.SG.F.	<i>tirid</i> (R2A)	“she comes”
	3.SG.F.	<i>tuṣil</i> (R3B),	“she reaches”

waCaC – yūCiC

Imperfective:	2.SG.M	<i>tūhib</i> (R2A)	“you gift”
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2.6.1.1.5 Mediae w/y

Verba mediae infirmae (hollow verbs); i. e. verbs with either /w/ or /y/ as second radical, can be grouped into three types due to the quality of the vowel in the imperfective.

Type I: CaC – yCaC

Pronoun	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>	<i>ʔaxāf</i>
<i>ant</i>	N/A

<i>anti</i>	<i>itxāfīn/taxāfīn</i>
<i>úhuw</i>	<i>yixāf</i>
<i>ihiy</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>hinna</i>	<i>nxāf</i>
<i>antu</i>	<i>itxāfūn</i>
<i>antin</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>úhum</i>	<i>yixāfūn</i>
<i>ihin</i>	<i>yixāfīn</i>

Imperfective conjugation of the verb *xāf* – *yixāf* (Sh_6).

A further form encountered in the data is:

Imperfective:	2.SG.M	<i>timāl</i> (R3B)	“you gather money”
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Type II: CāC – yCīC

Perfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>šār</i> (M_1)	“it became”
		<i>bāš</i> (R3B)	“he sold”
	1.PL.M.	<i>širna</i> (R1B)	“we became”
		<i>šišna</i> (M_1)	“we lived”
Imperfective:	3.PL.M.	<i>šāraw</i> (U_1)	“they became/developed”
	2.SG.M	<i>tajīf</i> ⁴² (HB_1)	“you remove”
	3.SG.M.	<i>yibīš</i> (R3B)	“he sells”
		<i>yijīf</i> (M_1)	“he stands”
Active Participle:	SG.M.	<i>fāyit</i> (R3B)	“dying”

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>		
<i>ant</i>		<i>tārīb</i> (R3B)
		<i>tīīb</i> (M_1)
<i>anti</i>		
<i>úhuw</i>		

⁴²Note that in RA, as in SA, CA **waqafa* – *yaqifu* is not a primae infirmae verb anymore but transformed to a mediae infirmae verb: **qāf* – *yiqīf* (Dickins 2008).

<i>ihiy</i>	<i>jābat</i> (R3B)	
<i>hinna</i>	<i>žibna</i> (R1A)	<i>ba-nžīb</i> (R1A)
	<i>řibna</i> (HB_2)	<i>ha-njīb</i> (M_1)
<i>antu</i>	<i>žibtu</i> (R1A)	
<i>antin</i>		
<i>úhum</i>	<i>žābō-l-hu</i>	<i>yīžībūn</i> (R1B)
	<i>žībū-l-ha</i> (R1B)	
<i>ihin</i>		
Active participle SG.M.	<i>žāyīb-ha</i> (R3B)	
Imperative SG.M.	<i>žīb!</i> (HB_1)	

Full verb paradigm of the mediae infirmae verb *žāb* – *yžīb* “to bring”.

Type III: CāC – yCūC

Perfective:	3.SG.F.	<i>kānat</i> (M_1)	“she was”
		<i>gāmət</i> (R3B)	“she became”
	1.PL.	<i>səgn ál-bil</i> (R1A)	“we rode the camels”
		<i>gumna</i> (R1A)	“we became”
Imperfective:	3.PL.M.	<i>gāmu/gāmaw</i> (R3B)	“they became”
	2.SG.M.	<i>tfūt</i> (HB_1)	“you miss”
	3.SG.M.	<i>ygūm</i> (HB_1)	“it grows”
	3.PL.M.	<i>yīšūfūn</i> (U_1)	“they see”

gāl – ygūl “to say”

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>	<i>gələt</i> (R3B)	<i>agūl-li-č</i> (R3B)
<i>ant</i>		<i>tgūl</i> (M_1)
<i>anti</i>		
<i>úhuw</i>	<i>gāl</i> (R3B)	<i>ygūl</i> (M_1)
<i>ihiy</i>	<i>gālīt</i> (R3B)	<i>tgūl</i> (M_1)
<i>hinna</i>	<i>gālna</i> (R1A)	<i>ngūl-l-a</i> (M_1)
<i>antu</i>		<i>tgālōn</i> (annot.)

*antin**úhum**gālu* (U_1)
gālō-l-i (U_1)*yigūlu-l-ha* (M_1)*ihin*

Full verb paradigm of the mediae infirmae verb *gāl – yigūl* “to say”.

The imperative SG.M. is *gūl*. In combination with an indirect pronoun, the /ū/ loses its length, as in *gul-l-a!* (HB_2) “tell him!”. Female or plural imperatives are not attested.

The only participle encountered in the data is the active participle M.: *gāyil* (R3B).

2.6.1.1.6 Defective verbs

Defective verbs, or *verba tertiae infirmae*, can be grouped into two types based on their morphology. The two possible perfective patterns are CaCa and CiCa, the two possible imperfective patterns are yaCCa and yaCCi. Whilst CiCa seems to occur with yaCCi only, thus Type I, CaCa is transformed to both yaCCa, Type IIa, and yaCCi, Type IIb. In specific phonetic contexts, the prefix vowel /a/ of the imperfective is raised to /ə/ or /i/. There are further conjugational differences between the types, as for instance the pattern for the 1.SG. CvCvC vs. CvCvyt, that will not be discussed any further.

Unlike in CA, the verb *gara – yagra* “to read” is a defective verb in RA; example forms of its conjugation are listed below. In most cases, a Schwa can be heard between /g/ and /r/; this is caused by the gahawa-syndrome (cf. 2.3.1.2).

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>	<i>gareyt, garēt</i> (annot.)	<i>ḡagəra</i> (Sh_6)
<i>ant</i>		<i>tagra ~ tágəra</i> (Sh_6)
<i>anti</i>		<i>tagrēn</i> (Sh_6)
<i>úhuw</i>	<i>gara</i> (R3B)	<i>yagra ~ yágəra</i> (Sh_6)
<i>ihiy</i>		<i>tagra ~ tágəra</i> (Sh_6)
<i>hinna</i>	<i>garayna</i> (annot.)	<i>nagra ~ nagəra</i> (Sh_6)
<i>antu</i>	<i>garaytu</i> (annot.)	<i>tagrōn ~ tagərōn</i> (Sh_6)
<i>antin</i>		
<i>úhum</i>	<i>gáraw</i> (annot.)	<i>yagrōn</i> (Sh_6)

*ihin**yagrán* (Sh_6, R1A)

The only participle forms encountered are the SG. passive participle forms *magrū?* (M.) (M_1) and *magrūʔa* (F.) (M_1) “corralled/read”.

Further verbal forms encountered in the data are:

Type I: CíCa – yaCCi

Perfective:	1.SG.	<i>bijit</i> (M_1)	“I became”
	1.SG.	<i>mšeyt</i> (M_1)	“I walked”
	3.SG.M.	<i>bija</i> (M_1)	“it became”
	3.SG.M.	<i>míša</i> (R3B)	“he walked”
	3.PL.M.	<i>lijuw</i> (R3B)	“they found”
	1.PL.	<i>məšayna</i> (Sh_5)	“we walked”
	3.PL.M.	<i>mášaw, mišaw</i> (R3B)	“they (M.) walked”
Imperfective:	1.PL.	<i>mā nibgi</i> (M_1)	“we don’t stay”
Imperative:	SG.M.	<i>mā tamši!</i> (R3B)	“don’t go!”

Type IIa: CaCa – yaCCa

Perfective:	3.SG.F.	<i>bağēt</i> (M_1)	“she wanted”
Imperfective:	3.SG.M.	<i>tagra</i> (Sh_6)	“you read/she reads”
	3.SG.F.	<i>tažza</i> (R3B)	“she fleeces”

Type IIb: CaCa – yaCCi

Perfective:	1.PL.	<i>ğadayna</i> (R1A)	“we became”
	3.PL.M.	<i>rmaw</i> (R3B)	“they threw”
Imperfective:	1.SG.	<i>abni</i> (R1A)	“I build”
	1.PL.	<i>nabni</i> (R1B)	“we build”
		<i>nərži</i> (R1A)	“we stroll around”
	3.PL.M.	<i>yabn-u</i> (R1B)	“he builds them”

2.6.1.1.6.1 Double-weak

Two double-weak verbs, i. e. verbs where both the second and third radical is weak, are encountered in the data: *ra – yara* “to see” and *ža ~ žā – yāža ~ yīži* “to come”. Whilst the perfect pattern is always Ca~Cā, the imperfective can either have a short vowel, yiCi (Type I), or a long vowel yāCa or yīCi (Type II).

Type I: Ca – yaCa~yiCi

Imperfective:	2.SG.M.	<i>tara</i> (Q_2) <i>tiri</i> (R1B)	“you see”
Imperative:	SG.M.	<i>ar-na!</i> ⁴³ (Sh_6)	“look at us!”

Type II: Ca – yāCa~yīCi

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>	<i>žīt</i> (Sh_5; R1A; Sh_4)	
<i>ant</i>	<i>žīt</i> (Sh_5) <i>rēt</i> (Sh_5)	<i>tīži</i> (R1B)
<i>anti</i>	<i>žīti</i> (Sh_4)	
<i>úhuw</i>	<i>žā</i> (R3B, HB_1) <i>ža</i> (Sh_4)	<i>yīži</i> (R2B) <i>yāža</i> (M_1) <i>yžī-ku</i> (R1A)
<i>ihiy</i>	<i>žāt</i> (Sh_4)	
<i>hinna</i>	<i>žīna</i> (R1A; M_1)	<i>nažī-k</i> (R1A) <i>nžī-ku</i> (R1A)
<i>antu</i>	<i>žītu</i> (Sh_4)	<i>tīžu</i> (Sh_1) <i>tīrūn</i> (Sh_1) <i>tərūn</i> (Sh_1) <i>trūn</i> (Sh_1)
<i>antin</i>	<i>žītin</i> (Sh_4)	
<i>úhum</i>	<i>žaw</i> (R1A; U_1) <i>žāw</i> (Sh_4)	<i>yīžūn</i> (R3B; R1B)
<i>ihin</i>	<i>žan</i> (Sh_4) <i>žīn</i> (R1B; R2A)	<i>yīžín</i> (R1B) <i>yīrīn</i> (R1B)
Active participle	M.	F.
SG	<i>žāy</i> (Sh_1)	<i>žāyyat-k</i> (R1A)
PL	<i>žāyyīn</i> (Sh_1)	N/A

Full verb paradigm of the double defective verb *ža* ~ *žā* – *yīži* ~ *yāža* “to come”.

⁴³ More imperative constructions can be found in the transcription Sh_6.

2.6.1.2 Derived patterns

2.6.1.2.1 Form II

Form II is characterized by the gemination of C2. The pattern (i. e. in the following sections: 3.SG.M perfective – 3.SG.M. imperfective) is: CaCCaC ~ CaCCiC ~ CiCCiC – yCaCCiC ~ yaCaCCiC ~ yiCaCCiC ~ yiCiCCiC.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>gaḍḍibáw-na</i> (R1A)	“they gathered us”	<i>rawwahna rihla</i> (Sh_5)	“we went on a trip”
<i>gaḥḥalaw</i> (R3B)	“they closed”	<i>gaṭṭaṣna</i> (HB_1)	“we cut”
<i>ḡiyyírtu</i> (U_1)	“you changed” (2.PL.M.)	<i>kəssárt</i> (M_1)	“I broke”
<i>šazzaláw</i> (U_1) ⁴⁴	“they (M.) recorded”		

Examples for the imperfective:

<i>nmattil</i> (U_1)	“we enact”	<i>nuraḥḥib</i> (Sh_5)	“we welcome”
<i>aṣálləm-ha</i> (R3B)	“I tell it”	<i>yaṣárrib</i> (M_1)	“he arabizes”
<i>yfaččir</i> (R3B)	“he sees”	<i>yifassir</i> (M_1)	“he explains”
<i>tigillib-in</i> (HB_2)	“you stir them”		

Imperative:

The pattern for the imperative is CaCCaC ~ CaCCiC for the SG.M., CaCCCi for the SG.F. and CaCCCu for the PL.M.

	M.		F.	
SG.	<i>rawwah!</i> (annot.)	“go!”	<i>mā tšallmī</i> (R3B)	“don’t tell!”
PL.	<i>rawwahu</i> (R1A)	“go!”	N/A	
	<i>sallmū-ni</i>	„give me in trust!”		

Hamzated:

Participle PL.M.	<i>muṣakkidīn</i> (M_1)	“certain”
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⁴⁴ From MSA *saḡalla.

Tertiae infirmae (CaCCa - yCaCCi)

Examples for the perfective:

<i>warreyt-ū</i> (U_1)	“you showed them”
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Examples for the imperfective:

<i>ysammi</i> (R2A)	“it is called”	<i>nhašši</i> ⁴⁵ (M_1)	“we tell”
<i>nsammī-ha</i> (M_1)	“we call her”	<i>axall-i-č</i> (R3B)	“I let you (SG.F.)”
<i>ysawwi</i>	“he does”	<i>rabb yijawwē-han</i>	“May God give them
<i>nsawwi</i>	“we do”	(R2A)	strength”
<i>ysawwūn</i>	“they do”		

2.6.1.2.2 Form III

Form III is characterized by an /ā/ between C1 and C2. The pattern is: CāCaC – yCāCiC.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>gābalnā-hu</i> (R1A)	“we met them”	<i>šādafnā-hu</i> (R1A)	“we coincided them”
<i>sāšadāt-na</i> (R1A)	“it helped us”		

Examples for the imperfective:

<i>tujālis</i> (Q_2)	“you sit”	<i>bi-ḥāwil-hā-lī-k</i> (R3B)	“I will change it for you”
<i>txālīf</i> (M_1)	“it differs”		

Primae infirmae:

Active	SG.F.	<i>mwāšla</i> (R1A)	“arrived”
participle:			

Tertiae infirmae:

Examples for the perfective:

<i>lāgō</i> (Sh_5)	“they found”
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2.6.1.2.3 Form IV

⁴⁵ *nhačči, cf. 2.1.2.5.

Form IV is characterized by an initial /ʔa/. The pattern is: aCCaC – yaCCiC. Unfortunately, the data does not provide any example of a Form IV verb in the imperfective except forms of *aʕtā* – *yaʕti* and the form *awʕī-k* “I recommend you” (Q_2) that occurred in poetry.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>aftarna</i> (Sh_5)	“we had breakfast”	<i>iftāhit</i> (R3B)	“?”
<i>adfaʕt</i> (M_1)	“I paid”	<i>aʕlagō-na</i> (R1A)	“they released us”

Mediae infirmae:

<i>agamna</i> (Sh_5)	“we prepared”	<i>mā ʕlag-ha</i> (R3B)	“he did not divorce”
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Tertiae infirmae:

<i>awʕī-k</i> (Q_2)	“I recommend you”
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Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective
<i>ana</i>		<i>aʕti</i> (M_1) <i>aʕtī-k</i> (R1B)
<i>ant</i>		<i>taʕtē-hin</i> (HB_2) <i>taʕtī-h</i> (HB_1)
<i>anti</i>		
<i>ūhuw</i>	<i>aʕta</i>	<i>yaʕti</i>
<i>ihiy</i>		
<i>hinna</i>	<i>aʕtaynā-hu</i> (M_1)	<i>naʕtī-h</i> (R1A)
<i>antu</i>		
<i>antin</i>		
<i>ūhum</i>		
<i>ihin</i>		

Imperative	M.	F.
SG	<i>aʕtē-ni!</i> (R3B) <i>aʕtī-ha!</i> (R3B)	N/A
PL	<i>aʕtū-na!</i> (R1A)	N/A

Paradigm of the Form IV tertiae infirmae verb *aʕta* – *yaʕti* “to give” as found in the data.

2.6.1.2.4 Form V

Form V is Form II extended by the prefix *t-*. The pattern is: taCaCCaC ~ tiCaCCiC ~ itCaCCiC – yatCaCCaC ~ yitCaCCaC. The maṣdar is taCaCCuC.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>tiḡawwīzt</i> (M_1)	“I married”	<i>tiyessir</i> (R2A)	“it became easier”
<i>taṡāllamow</i> (M_1)	“they learned”	<i>itharriř ṡayy</i> (R1B)	“something is misunderstood”

Examples for the imperfective:

<i>ataṡammas</i> (M_1)	“I get outcasted”	<i>taharriḡ</i> (U_1)	“you talk”
<i>itaḡawwīl-in</i> (R3B)	“I change them”		

The imperative (SG.M.) pattern is ?itCaCCiC.

<i>čikallim!</i> (R3B, U_1) ⁴⁶	“speak!”
<i>itwannis!</i> (U_1)	“chat!”

Tertiae infirmæ (taCaCCa–?):

<i>taḡaṡṡayna</i> ⁴⁷ (Sh_5)	“we had dinner”
<i>tawáṡṡaw</i> (M_1)	“they became aware”

Maṣdar:

<i>tamassuk</i> (M_1)	“the sticking”
<i>tugaḡḡab</i> (R1A)	“the settling”

Participle:

<i>mitmassik-in</i> (SG.M.) (M_1)	“sticks to them”
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The prefix ?it-:

The data provides a handful of very uncommon forms: Form V and Form VI forms that can be extended by the prefix *?it-*. The pattern is ?ittaCaCCaC for the perfective, imperfective forms are not found.

⁴⁶ Irregular imperative due to phonotactic changes (cf. 2.3.1.6).

⁴⁷ *ṡ is indeed a glottal stop /ʔ/, cf. 2.3.1.4.1.

<i>al-ʔittaʕállamaw fī-hu wáṣalaw al-ǧimmə</i> (M_1)	“the ones who got educated in them [the schools] reached the peak”
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2.6.1.2.5 Form VI

Form VI is Form III extended by the prefix *t-*. The pattern is: taCāCCaC~tiCāCCiC – yit(a)CāCaC.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>tuṣāhurna</i> (M_1)	“we intermarried”
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Examples for the imperfective:

<i>lā yitaǧālaṭōn</i> (M_1)	“they do not disagree”	<i>nitijāsīm</i> (R3B)	“we section”
<i>ntasāwig</i> (M_1)	“we drive”	<i>yithāwanu b-a</i> (M_1)	“to disregard it”

Mediae infirmae (taCāyaC > taCāCa – ?):

<i>taʕāšna</i> (M_1)	“we cohabitated”
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The prefix ʔit-:

As is the case for Form V, Form VI can also be extended by the prefix *ʔit-*. In the case of Form VI, there are three forms that suit this category. Interestingly, all three examples are in the imperfective, they all express a certain reflexivity, passivity or both. Moreover, they are all in the 3.PL., which is a common form for the passive in SA, for instance *katal-ó* “he got killed” (literally: “they killed him”) (Manfredi 2010: 60). Morphologically, the Form VI prefix *yit-* (**yitsābagin*) is transformed to *ʔitti-*: *ittisābagin*.

<i>hāda l-ʔittisāmū-h, ʔē, rašāydat šarg as-sūdān</i> (M_1)	“These are the ones called, eh, the Rašāyda of Eastern Sudan”
<i>wa-ǧāda ʔittižādalōn fī ma-bēyn-um</i> (M_1)	“and helmsmen arguing with each other”
<i>ʔeywa wu-yamšin iż-žimāl ittisābagin</i> (R1B)	“Yes, and the camels go to be competed against each other”

2.6.1.2.6 Form VII

Form VII is characterized by the prefix /ʔin/. The pattern is: ínCaCaC – yínCiCiC. The vowel quality can change due to the phonetic environment, e. g. /i/ switches to /u/ as in *úngaḷab* (R1A) due to the /g/ and emphatic /l/. The stress shifts to the penultima in most other persons, e. g. *úngaḷab* (3.SG.M.) and *unǧlúbat* (R1A). While some verbs, as *úngaḷab* – *yíngilib*, have a genuine translation not occurring in any other form, for other verbs Form VII semantically represents the passive of a Form I verb: *kasar* – *yaksir* (“to break”) in Form VII means “to be broken”, e. g. *yínčisir al-ʕāni* “the truce is broken” (M_1).

Examples for the perfective:

<i>unglúbat, úngaḷab, unglúbaw</i> (R1A)	“she overturned”, “it overturned”, “they overturned”
<i>ndamážna</i> (M_1)	“we mingled”

Examples for the imperfective:

<i>yínčisir</i> (M_1)	“it is broken”
<i>al-ṣalāgāt ingaṭašt-in</i> (R1A)	“the relations, they got cut”
<i>nabi nángalis fī-ha</i> (R1A)	“we want to be sat/positioned there” ⁴⁸

Mediae infirmae (N/A – yanCāC ~ yinCāC):

<i>tangād-il-hā, yingādu-l-hā</i> (M_1)	“they are driven to it”
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Geminated roots (N/A – yinCaCC):

<i>yínfačč</i> (R3B)	“it is dissolved”
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2.6.1.2.7 Form VIII

Form VIII is characterized by the infix *-t-*. The pattern is: iCtaCaC – yíCtaCaC ~ yíCtaCiC ~ yíCtiCiC.

Examples for the imperfective:

<i>yihṭafilūn</i> (R1B)	“they celebrate”	<i>b-ištaḡalan</i> (annot.)	“they (F.) work”
<i>tixtilif</i> (U_1)	“it differs”	<i>yīštamdūn</i> (R2A)	“they rely”

Primae infirmae:

<i>ittāžahu</i> (M_1)	“they aimed”
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Tertiae infirmae (perfective):

<i>wi-ntahā</i> (R1A)	“it ended”
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Tertiae infirmae (imperfective):

<i>ištari</i> (HB_1), <i>nīštiri</i> (R2A)	“I buy”, “we buy”
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⁴⁸ The correctness of the translation is uncertain. In the text (R1A), the speakers mention a school that is being constructed, they hope that it will be completed soon since they want to “*nángalis fī-ha*”. I suppose that they want either to work there or “be set” as parents of children going there. In any case, the form *ingalas* would officiate as the passive of **galas* “to sit”, which is usually not productive in RA. Furthermore, it would be the only occurrence of a **ğ* realized /g/.

Geminated roots (iCtaCC – N/A):

<i>iḥtillu</i> (R1A)	“they occupied”
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Active participle:

<i>miḥtafḍīn</i> (PL.M.) (M_1)	“keeping”
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2.6.1.2.8 Form IX

The data does not provide any examples of Form IX. Due to the limited amount of data, it remains unclear whether the form has disappeared or not.

2.6.1.2.9 Form X

Form X is characterized by the prefix ?ista-. The pattern is: istaCCiC ~ istaCCaC – yistaCCiC ~ yistaCCaC.

Examples for the perfective:

<i>mā-staḥmil/r</i> (R2A)	?
<i>mā-staḥ(a)ḍār-ha</i> (Q_1)	“I don’t remember her”

Geminated roots:

<i>wi-stalamm-ha</i>	“he received it” (R3B)
<i>wi-staḡárraw</i>	“they settled” (M_1)

2.6.1.2.10 Quadriradical verbs

The data provides two quadriradical forms. While the first verb form found in the data is the rather common neologism describing the act of drinking coffee: *tigahwa* “you drink coffee” (M_1)⁴⁹, the two other ones are slightly more complex. The form *nitlaxbiṭ-u* “we mix it altogether” (HB_2) is a *t*-prefixed form of the quadriradical verb *laxbaṭ – yilaxbiṭ* “to mix”; the form *yita?ákbar* “it grows” (HB_1) is likely also a *t*-prefixed form of a presumably quadriradical verb; yet the pattern might have changed from yitCvCCvC (as in *nitlaxbiṭ*) to yitvC’vCCvC due to the gahawa-syndrome caused by the glottal stop (cf. 2.3.1.2).

⁴⁹ A full verbal paradigm of this neologism is found for instance in De Jong 2011: 271.

2.7 Adverbs

The following section will outline a selection of different adverbs found in the data.

2.7.1 Demonstrative adverbs

- *dilwān* ~ *dilwāni* “now”

The adverb for “now”, *dilwāni*, is not found anywhere else in Sudan, which makes it a typical word to recognize speakers of RA. In very few cases, the /d/ is converted to an interdental /ḏ/ (*ḏilwāni* (U_1), perhaps a product of hyperbedouinization (cf. 2.1.2.2.1) or due to the original construction (*(hā)ḏa/ḏi l-ʔān(i)* (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 265f.). According to the Wortatlas, the form *ḏilwān* is also partially found in North-Western Saudi-Arabia and Southern Jordan; *dilwān* is attested in the speech of the ʕAzāyza in Upper Egypt (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 265, 267, 269).

Occasionally, mostly in rather formal speech and contexts, the MSA form *al-ʔān* can also be encountered, for instance in M_1 when the speaker lectures all the guests about the history of the tribe.

- *ihnī* ~ *əhnī* ~ *hnī* ~ *hīnī* “here”

The cluster (v)CCī for the SA *hina* ~ *hini* is not attested elsewhere in Sudan (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 163); it is, however, found in several locations all around the Arabian Peninsula, in the Negev or in the speech of the Bdūl of Southern Jordan (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 160, 163)

- *əhnūk* ~ *hnūk* “there”

The form *hinūk* and a long /ū/ as the second vowel in CA **hunāka* appear to be unique to certain areas of Eastern Sudan, except for one other location that is Ġāzān in the very South-West of Saudi-Arabia where the form *hnūk* is attested (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 182-184). This alleges to the geographical origin and the historical migration routes of the Rašāyda.

2.7.2 Interrogative adverbs

- *wēn* “where”

As in many other Arabic varieties, for instance SA, CA **ayna* became *wēn*. It can be attached bound pronouns in order to emphasize the subject, for instance *wēn-hu ʕarāb-k?* (R1A) “where are they,

your people?”. In combination with the preposition *min*, the *w* is dropped: *min-ēn?* “from where?” (R1A).

- *míta* “when”

Míta is the only variant for CA **matā* that is encountered in the data. The form is not found elsewhere in Sudan – reflexes like *mtēn*, *mitēn*, *bitēn* are common – but in several regions of the Peninsula, notably in the Southern Ḥiğāz and in very punctually in villages in Southern Upper Egypt (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 103f., 117).

- *kāyf* ~ *čayf* ~ *čēyf* ~ *čēf* “how”

A lot of variation is found due to the diphthong. Whilst the Sudanese *kēf* is used in Sudanese context or in presence of non-Rašāyda, the most common form seems to be *čēyf*.

- *čam* “how many/how much”

Besides being the CA interrogative adverb **kam*, *čam* has also the quantitative meaning of “some”, “several” or “plenty”, as in *fī čam arwāya* “there’s several tales” (M_1).

2.7.3 Adverbs of time

- *tawwa* ~ *tawwā* ~ *tawwī* “still, just now”

The adverb *tawwa* ~ *tawwā* ~ *tawwī*, known for instance as the word for “now” in Libyan and Tunisian Arabic (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 265, 270-272), has three occurrences in the data, each one is semantically a bit different. As described in the Wortatlas, **taww* in the eastern part of the arabophone world describes something that happened or happens shortly before or shortly after “now” (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 271), which agrees with the examples in the data:

<i>rabbn_inšāa!!lā yğawwūm-ha tawwī</i> (R1A)	“Our Lord will hopefully give it liveliness from now on”
<i>l-ḥadd sana talbas əl-b’ərqaš tawwā, bašdēn</i> (...) (R1B)	“until a year she still wears the Burka, then (...)”
<i>hāda tawwa fa-n-muwwāra</i> (HB_1)	„this is still abloom”

Tawwa ~ *tawwā* ~ *tawwī* in RA seems to be the same Naḡdi *tawwa* described by Saad A. Sowayan (Sowayan 1992). It is often attached a pronominal suffix, as found in one of the *qaṣīdas*:

<i>wald-k tawwā-k ṣaḡīr</i>	“your son is still young”
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2.7.4 Adverbs of manner

- *čīda* ~ *čīd’ī* “like this”

<i>fī wagt əmḥaddad čīd’ī</i> (R3B)	“in a limited time like this”
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- *ča* ~ *čī* “so on”

<i>nərži wu-ča</i> (R1A)	“we stroll around and so on”
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2.7.5 Adverbs of quantity

- *ba-l-ḥēl* ~ *bi-l-ḥēl* and *jawwi* “very (much)”

Besides the Sudanese *šadīd* (M_1), the intensifiers *ba-l-ḥēl* ~ *bi-l-ḥēl* and *jawwi* are employed, too. As it is the case in many neighboring varieties, for instance in Šukriyya Arabic or in Naḡdi varieties, *ba-l-ḥēl* ~ *bi-l-ḥēl* is usually used in positive context, or to emphasize positive things (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 355):

<i>maṣeyt maṣər kitīr, bi-l-ḥēl</i> (R1A)	“I went to Egypt a lot, very much”
<i>w-āna, wu-mdarrisīn kəll-huw. bi-l-ḥēl</i> (R1A)	“And I, and they are all teachers. Very much”

Jawwi, CA **qawwī*, is also found in the Tihāma and in Egypt (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 354f.), an example is:

<i>čān mašhūr! aywa, jawwi!</i>	“He was famous!” “Yes, very!” (HB_2)
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2.8 Prepositions

- *b-* ~ *ba-* ~ *bi-* “with”

The quality of the vowel can change to /a/ when in back phonetic environments.

<i>ʔal-kīlu ba-ṣāli</i> (HB_1)	“the kilo is expensive”
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<i>ʔalli ʔinna miḥtafḍīn b-a</i> ⁵⁰ (M_1)	“the one we are sticking to”
<i>ʔītu bi-d-darāhim</i> (R1A)	“you came with the money”
<i>ḡadāyna t-tuḡaḍḍab b-u</i> (R1A)	“we started the settling in them”
- <i>bēyn ~ bēynāt ~ mā bēyn</i> “between, among”	
<i>ḡāda ʔittiḡādalōn fī ma-bēyn-um</i> (M_1)	“tribesmen argued between themselves”
<i>mašāčīl baynāt-hum</i> (U_1)	“problems among each other”
- <i>fī</i> “in”	
As it is the case with <i>bi-</i> , the quality of the vowel can change to /a/ when in back phonetic environments.	
<i>ʕašān gurūš fa-h</i> (HB_1)	“because there is money in it”
<i>ʔafaččīr fī-k</i> (Sh_1)	“I look at you (SG.M.)”
<i>fa-n-nār</i> (HB_2)	“on the fire”
<i>fī-nā ḍəḇāḥ</i> (M_1)	“amongst us there are officials”
<i>fī-l-lūḡa</i> (R1A)	“in the language”
- <i>fī baṭn</i> “inside”, “in the core of”	
This preposition occurs only in combination with <i>bēt ~ bēyt ~ beyt</i> . The same expression is also found in the dialect of the Šukriyya (Reichmuth 1983: 210).	
<i>il-marah fī- fī- fī baṭn al-beyt</i> (R3B)	“the woman is in- in- inside the house”
- <i>gabul ~ gabəl</i> “before”	
<i>mā gabəl ʔal-ʔislām</i> (M_1)	“before Islam”
<i>gabəl ḥafr ḡanāt is-swēs</i> (U_1)	“before the digging of the Suez Canal”
- <i>il- ~ li- ~ la-</i> “to, towards”	
<i>ʔal-māra mā timši l-duktūr al-ḡāl-ha</i> (M_1)	“the woman doesn’t go to the doctor alone”
<i>xaššaw min as-suḡūdīyā ʔil-maṣar</i> (M_1)	“they went from Saudi-Arabia to Egypt”
<i>ʔalli yḡīb āl-ma la-l-mašrūṣa kull-u</i> (HB_1)	“the one that brings the water to all of the land”
<i>min al-yemen li-s-sūdān</i> (M_1)	“from Yemen to Sudan”

⁵⁰ For the assimilation of *bi-* and *h*, cf. 2.3.1.4.2. 2.3.1.4.2

- *ḥadd ~ l-ḥadd ~ li-ḥadd*

li-ḥaddi⁵¹ sana (R1B) “until a year”
yitaḥakbar tabga ḥadd ič-čibīre (HB_1) “it grows until it becomes the big one”

- *ḥin* “via”

ḡāw ḥan ṭarīj ḥin ḥaḍbara (U_1) “they came on the way through ḥAṭbara”

- *l- ~ li-* “for”

ḡana bāḡi bint-k ḥāḍī l-wlad flān (M_1) “I want your daughter for the boy of so-or-so”
li-māddat šahar (R1B) “for one month”

- *miḥ ~ maḥ* “with”

Both *maḥ* and *miḥ* are found in the data, *miḥ* seems to be the genuinely Rašīdi version. It is mostly found with attached pronouns.

ḡahrəḡ māḥ-a! (HB_3) “talk with him!”
ḡəḍəb miḥ-na (R1A) “he stayed with us”
ḥāḍēla miḥ-ḥu⁵² šīḥr (M_1) “they bring poetry”
bāḡī-k čikallim miḥ-e (U_1) “I want you to talk with me”
miḥ-k (R3B) “with you”

- *min* “from”, “of”

In combination with the definite article, the construction *min al* is often constrained to *mi-l-*.

wa-lākin ḡaktār-hum min wēn? (R2A) “But where are most of them from?”
ḡaktār-hum mi-l-ḥiḡāz (R2A) “Most of them are from the Ḥiḡāz”

- *yam ~ yamm* “to”, “close to”, “nearby”, “next to”

ḡāw yam Siwāčīn wi-Thawkar (R1B) “they came nearby Sawākin and Tawkar”
ḡana msāfir yam (...) yam l-xarṭūm (Sh_1) “I travel next to (...) to Khartoum”

- *yamb* “next to”

šweyya šweyya ḡaww yamb id-dīriyat čāsila (R1B) “slowly slowly they arrived to the region of Kasalā”

- *zay ~ zayy ~ zey ~ zeyy* “like”, “as”

⁵¹ Epenthetic /i/.

⁵² /ḡ/ and /h/ are assimilated to /ḥḥ/.

<i>yaʕni ɾāšid, zay ar-ɾašāyda</i> (HB_2)	It means ɾāšid, like the ɾašāyda
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2.9 Conjunctions

- *bass ~ bess ~ bəss* “only“, „but“, „enough”

Whereas *bass ~ bess ~ bəss* is the only form to express “only”, “but” is usually represented with reflexes of **lākin*. However, sometimes *bass ~ bess* is employed, also to express “enough”.

<i>žamīla bass mā ɾāʕam</i> (HB_1)	“beautiful but it’s not food”
<i>ʕilā man tigūl bass</i> (HB_2)	“until one says enough”
<i>ʔil-mádrase hāḍi mā-hū l-ʕiyyāl bess</i> (R1A)	“the school is not only for boys”

- *in-čān ~ ič-čān* “if”

<i>ʔič-čān mā-hu ɾšidi mā yižawwuz-</i> (R1B)	“if he is not (a) Rašidi, he does not marry-”
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- *lamman* “when”

<i>mahar lamman tižawwizt ʔalfēn arbáʕ</i> (...) (M_1)	“the dowry, when I married in 2004 (...)”
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- *law* “if”, “whether”

<i>law ʔibn al-ʕamm at-tāni mū šijij</i> (M_1)	“if your second cousin is not brotherly”
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- Further conjunctions are:

<i>hatta</i> (M_1)	“until”	<i>walla</i>	“or”
<i>lāčīn</i> (U_1)	“but”	<i>ʕālšān</i> ~ <i>ʕālšān</i> (R3B)	“so that”
<i>w- ~ wu- ~ wə- ~ ʔū-</i>	“and”		

2.9.1 Particles

2.9.1.1 Article

The definite article in RA is *al* ~ *il* ~ *əl*, which becomes *l-* after a vowel-final and before a vowel-initial word, as in *ʔingilāb il-ḥakūme* (R1A) “the coup of the government”.

The quality of the vowel is not tied to any rules, it is simply influenced by the phonetic environment, for instance *dāt al-bint* (M_1) “that girl” and *il-jibīlā* (M_1) “the tribe”.

When it comes to assimilation, RA presents more “sun letters”, i. e. phonemes that assimilate the /l/ of the article to the following sound, than CA or MSA. Worth mentioning are amongst others the assimilated reflexes of *ḡ, e. g. *wu-hāḡa ž-žaržīr* (HB_1) “and this is the rucola” or *sana j-jāya* (HB_1) “next year” and the assimilation of the affricated *k as in *ič-čibīre* (HB_1) “the big (F.)”.

2.9.1.2 Existential

As in many other Arabic varieties, including Sudanese and Egyptian Arabic as well as most Ḥiḡāzi varieties, the existential is *fī*, and the negative existential is *mā-fī* ~ *mā-fī* (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 424). Examples are:

<i>fī rwāya tāni</i> (U_1)	“there is another tale”
<i>mā-fī tamassuk fī-h</i> (U_1)	“there is no sticking to it”

2.9.1.3 Negation

2.9.1.3.1 Nominal negation

There are two nominal or predicate negation particles in RA: *mā* and *mū*. Although *mā* is, by far, used more frequently, I do believe that *mū* is the “original” or “genuinely” Rašīdi particle of the two. *Mū* is very common on the Arabian Peninsula, for instance in Ḥiḡāzi Arabic⁵³; in Sudan, the particle *mā* is the most prevalent one (Dickins 2008). I therefore believe that *mū* is slowly taken over by the more dominant *mā*, furthermore due to the observation that *mū* was mostly employed by rather old speakers.

mū

<i>mū ba-l-ʔawwal</i> (R1A)	“not at first”
<i>yaʕni mā- mā- mū dūn</i> (M_1)	“so not- not- not without”
<i>law ʔibn al-ʕamm aṭ-tāni mū šijj</i> (M_1)	“if your second cousin is not brotherly”
<i>il-ḥākam mū min nās dēl</i> (R3B)	“the governor is not from these people”

⁵³ Cf. Omar 1975.

<i>ʔilli mū ǧrīb min ʕarāb-na ʔinna</i> (U_1)	“who are not close to our people”
<i>mā</i>	
<i>ʔana mā bāǧ_aʕī wulād-k</i> (M_1)	“I do not want to give your son [my daughter]”
<i>mā ʔinna bāǧīn</i> (Sh_1)	“we do not want”
<i>ʔana mā ʕind-ī taḥwīl čīṭīr</i> (R3B)	“I do not have a lot of change”
<i>mā ʕīnda-na maʕnā čīḍī</i> (M_1)	“we don’t have a problem”

2.9.1.3.2 Verbal negation

Verbs are negated with the particles *mā* or *lā*. Although *mā* is usually employed for the perfective and *lā* for the imperfective, both particles are found for both aspects in the data.

<i>lā</i>	
<i>ʔantu lā tiṣūn</i> (Sh_3)	“you (PL.) are not coming”
<i>lā yīmčin</i> (M_1)	“it is not possible”
<i>lā yitaǧālaṭōn</i> (M_1)	“they don’t disagree”
<i>lā txuṣṣ ʔal-bayt</i> (M_1)	“you don’t enter the house”
<i>lā xallú-kū tamšūn</i> (R1A)	“they didn’t let you go”
<i>mā</i>	
<i>mā tammat al-ʔarbaʕīn</i> (M_1)	“it did not reach the 40 [days]”
<i>mā d’əfaʕt at-tumānīn nāǧə</i> (M_1)	“I didn’t pay the 80 she-camels”
<i>mā-traddūn</i> (R1A)	“they don’t come back”
<i>mā-dxalaw l-bāxəṛ</i> (R1A)	“they didn’t enter the ship”

2.9.1.4 Genitive exponent

The genitive exponent in RA can be both *ḥagg* or *tāʕ ~ bitāʕ*. Both forms agree with their head in number and gender and can be attached a bound pronoun. They are both also employed in the surrounding Sudanese varieties, whilst *ḥagg* is considered to be “genuine” Sudanese form (Bergman 2002: 50), which is also the prevalent form in Saudi-Arabia and Yemen, *tāʕ ~ bitāʕ* may have entered SA through Egyptian Arabic, being the prevalent form in Egypt (Behnstedt & Woidich 2021: 405).

	<i>ḥagg</i>		<i>tāṣ ~ bitāṣ</i>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
SG.	<i>ḥagg</i>	<i>ḥaggat ~ ḥaggit</i>	<i>tāṣ ~ bitāṣ</i>	<i>bitāṣ(a)t</i>
PL.	N/A	<i>ḥaggāt</i>	N/A	N/A

Examples are:

<i>mā timši s-sūḡ bitāṣ-t-an</i> (M_1)	“they don't go to their market”
<i>ḡittāḡahu ḡila-t-taṣlīm tāṣ ad-dīn</i> (M_1)	“they aimed towards the religious education”
<i>ḡaswad ḥagg il-mlāḥ</i> (HB_1)	“eggplants for the sauce”
<i>hāḡa tiyrāb ḥagg-ə</i> (HB_1)	“this is soil for it”
<i>al-mazraṣa ḥagg-at ḥamīd</i> (HB_2)	“the farm of Ḥamīd”
<i>mīša ḡū-bāṣ il-ḡamāl ḥaggāt-ə</i> (R3B)	“when he went and he sold his camels”
<i>luḡat-ku l-jidīma ḥagg-it aṣ-ṣāyda</i> (U_1)	“your old language of the Raṣāyda”

2.9.1.5 Future

As in the surrounding Sudanese varieties, the future tense in RA can both be built with the prefix *b-* and *ḥa-* (Bergman 2002:38). When followed by a consonant, a vowel is added to the prefix *b-* which varies from /-a/ ~ /-ā/ to /-i/ or /-ə/ due to the phonetic environment. The vowel of the prefix *ḥa-* seems to be stable.

In both Reichmuth's and my data, as well as in SA, *b-* and *ḥa-* seem to be more or less equally used (Bergman 2002:38), yet it is very likely that *b-* is the ‘original’ prefix. The prefix *b-* is prevalent in many Peninsular varieties, as for instance in Naḡdi Arabic (Zack 2018), whereas *ḥa-* is not known to be found. As Owens argues, the prefix *b-* would originate from **baḡā* “to want” which is also used in RA (Owens 2018). With great certainty, *ḥa-* entered SA through Egyptian influence (Dickins 2008), being the most common future prefix in Egyptian Arabic (Zack 2018), and thusly it entered RA through Sudanese. Due to the very limited amount of future tense in the data, it is not possible to deduct whether there is a difference in proximity or distance between the two prefixes and their uses. The following forms are all the future tense forms found.

Forms with *b-*:

<i>bə-nḡīb banāt</i> (R1A)	“we will bring girls”
<i>ṣabdaḡḡa bā-yuṣṡur dilwān</i> (annot.)	“Abdallah is going to have breakfast now”
<i>bi-ḡāwil-hā-li-k</i> (R3B)	“I will change it for you”

Forms with *ḥa*-:

<i>ḥa-yqtil-ha</i> (R3B)	“he will kill her”
<i>ḥa-naḍḥar</i> (R1A)	“we will appear”
<i>al-manga ḥibīrā ḥa-tkūn</i> (HB_1)	“the mango will be big”

3 Conclusion

Describing the dialect of the Rašāyda is a challenging work in progress. Although I have been told from the beginning that the Rašāyda in Sudan are “something different”, I did not expect the course of the research to be as exposed to a harsh socio-economic reality and to be as revelatory to linguistic surprises.

In respect to the small size of the corpus, generalizations and conclusions should be drawn carefully. On a typological level, RA can be classified as a Peninsular dialect. Besides Naḡdi Arabic and neighboring varieties of Central Arabia and the Ḥiḡāz, the analysis, especially phonology, reveals several features only shared with the Arabic of the far Saudi-Arabian south-west and the Northern Tihāma in Yemen. The affrication of *k and *q, for instance, is a stereotypically Peninsular phenomenon, not found on the African continent apart from RA. Yet, a phenomenon like the occasional glottalization of *ʕ is unknown to the phonological world of Arabic dialects beyond the Tihāma. Besides these regionally exceptional realizations, otherwise not attested phonemes arise in RA as the retroflex realizations of /ʒ/ – [ɟ] and [ʒ] – tending towards a tap /r/ [r].

Unfortunately, the frame of this thesis as well as the restrictedness of the corpus do not allow any further in-depth analysis – be it specific verbal groupings and conjugations, dialect-switching in specific contexts or the “Sudanization” of the lexicon.

As languages and dialects continuously change, particularly when scattered and in the diaspora as it is the case for the Rašāyda and their dialect, it is even more astonishing how small the difference between the two fieldwork campaigns in two regions of Sudan and 50 years apart from each other is. Nevertheless, the RA of the Nile Valley seems to adopt more Sudanese features than the varieties spoken in Eastern Sudan – the ongoing civil war causing massive internal displacements and further migration might be a new factor in language change.

Beyond the Rašāyda in Sudan, current research on the Rašāyda in Kuwait, Saudi-Arabia and Jordan, as carried out by Young and his team and by the WIBARAB-team of the University of Vienna, will hopefully display the (linguistic) diversity and alleged linguistic unity of this “tribe”.

All in all, the pioneer-like preliminary analysis of the spoken dialect of the Rašāyda in Sudan has very openly shown that the scenery of the world of Arabic dialects is deeply diverse and has so many hidden gems to reveal – or who would have thought that there is affrication in Arabic in Africa?

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5 Transcriptions

5.1 Fieldwork campaign in Shendi and Mwēs (2023)

This section comprises the transcriptions of the most useful recordings I took during my fieldwork. Unfortunately, many passages remain unclear and cannot be translated with certainty. The ongoing war in Sudan – that erupted only three weeks after I had left the country – with all its consequences challenges the contacts with the people living in that harsh reality. Although the situation in the Nile Valley State, especially in rural areas as Shendi and Mwēs, is comparably safe, many Rašāyda went back and forth to Eastern Sudan, Egypt, Eritrea or Saudi-Arabia – discussing linguistic matters is currently not a priority.

Every transcription is introduced by a concise overview stating the name and its abbreviation as found in the analysis, the date of the recording, the initials of the speakers, and the location of the recording. Forms with the reference “(annot.)” refer to personal hand-written annotations in different notebooks and papers taken during the fieldwork that cannot be attached to the transcription section of this thesis. The term “data” employed in the thesis refers to the following transcriptions as well as the annotations.

5.1.1 At the university guesthouse (U_1)

Meeting the <i>zašīm</i> (U_1)	20.02.2023
SbR, MS	In the University Guesthouse (<i>istirāḥa</i>)

This is the very first recording I took during my fieldwork. I met SbR, an attorney in Shendi and at the same time *zašīm* of the neighboring village Mwēs, in the guesthouse where I was staying, in company of Prof. ṢAwaḍ who made this meeting possible. After a long talk about the Rašāyda and their history (which I also recorded but did not transcribe as the *zašīm* spoke in Sudanese Arabic), I asked SbR to call another Rašīdi so that I could witness and record a first conversation in daily Rašīdi Arabic. He chose to call his cousin MS, a Rašīdi of the village of al-Mugrin next to ṢAṭbara (cf. 1.2) who turned out to be a former student of Prof. ṢAwaḍ. Unfortunately, MS struggled to stick to his dialect and spoke mainly Sudanese Arabic so that his uncle decided to speak most of the time and end the call soon.

(1) [SbR:] *yāw da nā*

“Hey, it’s me,

(2) *bāḡī-k čikallim miṣ-e*

I want you to talk with me

- (3) *ʕala t-tabīʕa tabʕan ʕāla bāl-i*
naturally, of course, to my mind,
- (4) *gālō-l-i min yōm*
they told me, from the day,
- (5) *tičallam?*
you speak?”
- (6) [MS:] *ʔē*
“Yes!”
- (7) *wu-dilwānī miʕ-i ʔal-māyk ihnī*
“And now, I have the microphone here
- (8) *ʔū-jāʕid ʔa- al-ʔistirāḥa*
and I’m sitting in the *istirāḥa*⁵⁴
- (9) *wə-gālū ḥinna bāgēn ʔinn nāxuḍ mun-ku ʔaʕwāt b-luḡāt-ku*
and they said ‘we want to make a recording in your language
- (10) *yaʕnī nšūf hal ʔantu giyyirtu luḡāt-ku l-jidīma ḥagg-it iṛ-ʔašāyda walla mā-giyyirtū-hā*
walla-
so we see whether you changed your old language of the Rašāyda or you didn’t change it or-’
- (11) *wu-kultī-l-u ʕadīla ʕand-i ʔibən ʕamm-i*
and I told him ‘of course, I have a cousin,
- (12) *nəʕgud digg-l-a xallē-k ʔinn taharriž*
we make him a call and let you talk,
- (13) *ʔana wuyyā-h wu-yišūfūn al-ḥāʕl ēš*
me to him, and they see what happens”

⁵⁴ *istirāḥat al-asātiḍa*, the name of the guesthouse on campus where I met and recorded SbR.

- (14) [MS:] *mā-fī xlāf*
“There’s no contest”
- (15) [SbR:] *yaḷḷa gūl tičallim*
“Come on, speak!”
- (16) [MS:] *ʔatikallam ʕan- bi-nizbit il-mawḏūʕ ʕárab-na yaʕni*
“I speak on- about the topic of our people”
- (17) [SbR:] *ʔaywa ḥinna Rašāyda wu-wāla hina wu-twannis miʕ-ína bass yaʕni*
“Yes, us Rašāyda and [the] representatives here and just chat with each other”
- (18) [MS:] *ḥanna ṭabʕan yā ʔabū ʕabd-aḷḷa*
“us, of course, Abu Abdallah,
- (19) *ʕarab-na šāraw fī-l-šutāt*
our people became very dispersed”
- (20) [SbR:] *ʔaywa*
“Yes”
- (21) [MS:] *wu-šār fī-ha mašāčil gabalīya*
“and there, tribal problems arose”
- (22) [SbR:] *tičallam bi-l-luḡa l-ṛāšīdīya l-fuṣṣa yaʕni*
“speak in the Rašīdi standard language!”
- (23) [MS:] *mā šāra fī-hā mašāčil baynāt-hum*
“problems among them arose,
- (24) *bayn al-kubāyil*
between the tribes,
- (25) *ʔū ʔū-šāra ʔil-gawwi yākul aḏ-ḏaʕīf*
and it turned out that the strong eats the weak”
- (26) [SbR:] *ʔaywā*

“Yes”

- (27) [MS:] *wu-gāmat an-nās šaddat min al-žazīra*
 “and the people started to scatter from the Arabian Peninsula
- (28) *ḥasab al-gōl⁵⁵ wa-l-marāʿi wa-l-bahāyim wa-l-ḡanam*
 due to the herd and the pastures and the cattle and the sheep”
- (29) [SbR:] *naṣam naṣam*
 “Yes, yes”
- (30) *fī-hū žuzu ʔalli-hōw bani ṣamm-na l-grāybīn*
 “there is a part that is the tribe of our uncle’s relatives”
- (31) [SbR:] *ṣiyyāl ṣamm-na l-grībīn*
 “The children of our uncle’s relatives”
- (32) [MS:] *ədxalū ṣan ʔarīj ḡanāt is-swēs*
 “They entered by the Suez Canal”
- (33) [SbR:] *gabəl ḥafr ḡanāt is-swēs*
 “Before the digging of the Suez Canal”
- (34) [MS:] *gabəl mā yḥafrōn is-sadd al-ṣālī*
 “Before they dug the High Dam,
- (35) *wa-ḡaṣādaw an-nās*
 and the people stayed
- (36) *fī ṣaṣīd maṣər*
 in Upper Egypt”
- (37) [SbR:] *naṣam, fī kāmumbō wa-l-ḡárdəḡə*
 “Yes, in Kom Ombo and Hurghada”

⁵⁵ The term *gōl*, from **jawala*, is also attested in the dialect of Šammar in Northern Saudi-Arabia. The realization of **ḡ* as /*g*/ remains unclear.

- (38) [MS:] *fī ʔaswān wu-l-ǧārdaga wu-fī šarm aš-šēx*
 “In Aswan and Hurghada and Sharm el-Sheikh,
- (39) *wu-fī-hū žuzu žaʔ s-sūdān*
 and one branch [amongst them] came to Sudan,
- (40) *ʔalli-hūw ždūd-na ḥinna*
 that are our grandfathers”
- (41) [SbR:] *naṣam*
 “Yes”
- (42) *žāw ṣan ʔarīj ṣin ṣaḏbara*
 “They came on the way through ṣAṭbara”
- (43) [MS:] *žāw ṣan ʔarīj ṣin ṣaḏbara*
 “They came on the way via ṣAṭbara”
- (44) [SbR:] *wa-nahr an-nīl*
 “And the Nile”
- (45) [MS:] *ṣāla z-zēydāb*
 “To az-Zeydāb⁵⁶,
- (46) *židd-na mā šār zāt-a ʔaḷḷā yarḥam-a*
 our grandfather didn’t come alone, May God rest his soul
- (47) *madfūn fī-z-zēydāb*
 is buried in az-Zeydāb“
- (48) [SbR:] *naṣam naṣam*
 „Yes, yes“
- (49) *madfūn ihnī*

⁵⁶ Cf. 1.2.

“He is buried here”

- (50) *laʔ laʔ bass ʔúhum gālū ʔinna bāgēn nāxiḍ mun-ku čalām*
 “No, no, but they said ‘we want to take speech from you’
- (51) *wu-xaḍaw wu-l-čalām dilwān*
 and they took and the speech now
- (52) *wu-šarrifū šī wu-hāḍ il-čalām da kull-u ʔinna mā barirtu šalē-hu*
 and they define something and this speech is everything that I/you (pl) demanded them,
- (53) *warreyt-ū ʔal-ḥāṣəl*
 you showed them the outcome,
- (54) *warreyt-ū ʔinn gubāyil as-sūdān hāḍi žāt šan šiddat manātij*
 you showed them that these tribes of Sudan came through many regions,
- (55) *al-baḥr al-aḥmar*
the Red Sea,
- (56) *wu-ḥī ggəbāyil žāt šan ʔarīj il-ḥabaš min-ná*
 and there are tribes that came to us via Eritrea,
- (57) *wu-ḥī ggəbāyil žāt šan ḥafr al-ḡanāt is-swēs*
 and there are tribes that came due to the digging of the Suez Canal,
- (58) *ʔilli mū ḡrīb min šarāb-na ʔinna*
 who are not close to our people here,
- (59) *žāw šan ʔarīj- šan ʔarīj gabəl ʔillī mā taḥfir ḡanāt is-swēs*
 they came through before the digging of the Suez Canal”
- (60) [MS:] *šaḥēḥ*
 “True”

- (61) [SbR:] *hāḡī ḥinna gibilat il- bi-zāt ḥinna nḥašši⁵⁷ wu-nmattil*
 “This is us tribes of- ourselves, that we tell and represent,
- (62) *ḡann gibilāt-na ḡinn-ha zāt ḡan gabəl*
 that our tribes, they came before,
- (63) *gabəl ḥafr əl-ḡanāt is-swēs*
 before the digging of the Suez Canal
- (64) *fī ḡahəd ḡalf u-tumān-mīya wu-mā maḡrūf čamm yaḡnī*
 in the year 1800 and it’s not known when exactly,
- (65) *sittīn sabaḡīn xamsīn mā ḡārīf*
 60, 70, 50, I don’t know,
- (66) *ḡāna ṭabḡan wu-t-tārīx hāḡə zāt-e*
 I, of course, and history, that’s it,
- (67) *ḥinna mā ḥanna muarrixīn yaḡnī, šəḥḥna?*
 I mean, we are not historians, right?
- (68) *ḥinna mū aḥna muarrixīn*
 Us, we are not historians,
- (69) *lāčīn ḥinna nasmaḡ*
 but, we hear,
- (70) *nasmaḡ ḡann iṛ-rašāyda zāt ḡan ṭarīj il-baḥar il-aḥmar*
 we hear that the Rašāyda came via the Red Sea
- (...)
- (71) *bā-l-ḥēl wu-gubāyəl čīṭīra min ḡarab-na l-gazāyza*
 a lot, and many tribes from our people, the Qazāyza,

⁵⁷ **nḥačči*, cf. 2.1.2.5.

- (72) *gəbāyil kə-ʕánda-nā ʕyyāl ʕāmm-na mḥammad əḥmēd*
the tribes as we have the children of our uncle Muḥammad Ḥumayd,
- (73) *benī ʕamm-hu fī kōmombū*
his uncle's branch in Kom Ombo,
- (74) *wu-benī ʕamm-hu fī ʔal-ǧárdəgə*
and his uncle's branch in Hurghada"
- (...)
- (75) [MS:] *hal tadrī ʔanna aṛ-ṛāšid*
"Do you know that the Rašāyda,
- (76) *ʔabū muḍḥi ǧušāy*
Abū Muḍḥi Ġušāy,
- (77) *ʔibən ʕamm mā ʕīndu-hu -*
he doesn't have a cousin -
- (78) [SbR:] *naʕam, ʕaráb-hu fī maṣəṛ*
Yes, their people are in Egypt.
- (...)
- (79) *naʕam, kull-a ḥanna žāy ʕan ʔarīj -*
Yes, we are all coming via -
- (80) *yā zōl yā ržāl ʕadīla xēr inšā-aḷḷa*
Yeah man, okay, it's fine.
- (81) *ḥinnā, xadaw min-na l-čalām hāḍa wu-šazzaláw⁵⁸ dilwān*
"Us, they took this speech from us and they recorded now,

⁵⁸ In this case, the symbol /š/ represents the IPA phoneme [ʕ], the voiceless counterpart to the retroflex /ž/ (cf. ...).

- (82) *wu-gālō bāgēn inšūf ʔil-luḡa mā bēyn-ku wu-bēyn zimīl-k*
and they said ‘we want to see the language that is between you (PL.) and between your colleague,
- (83) *hal tixtilif ʕanna ʕinna wu- walla mā tixtilif*
whether it differs from us here and- or whether it doesn’t differ,
- (84) *walla nšūf xtilāf bēyn-u w-bēyn-*
or [whether] we see a difference between it and between-
- (85) *ʕadīla*
Fine!”

5.1.2 Mwēs (M_1)

An introduction to the Rašāyda of Mwēs (M_1)	24.02.2023
Ş, village eldest, S (S), and unidentified members of the community	In the <i>dīwān aḡ-ḡiyūf</i> in Mwēs

I recorded this recording on my first visit to the village of Mwēs. I was accompanied by Prof. ʕAwaḍ al-Karīm and his daughter Nahla, who brought a female friend in the hope to be able to meet and record Rašāyda-women, and by my friend ʕAbd el-Ḥafīẓ who brought me in touch with ʕAbd ar-Raḥmān Nāfīʕ, a Rašīdī of Mwēs and schoolteacher in Shendi which I had met the day before.

The Rašāyda welcomed us at the *dīwān aḡ-ḡiyūf*, an empty space in the middle of village covered with carpets. As they did not expect female guests, the Rašāyda-women stayed in their houses, unfortunately, the men did not allow the two Sudanese women to go there and socialize with them. Therefore, Nahla and her friend were sat on chairs next to the carpet on which around 15 Rašāyda-men and we had to sit down (see photo at the end of the section).

After a kind introduction to my fieldwork by Prof. ʕAwaḍ, I passed the microphone around and asked everybody who would like to tell something. Poetry being a major pride for the Rašāyda, the first men insisted on reciting *qaṣīdas* – which can be found as manuscripts in this section (Q_1 – Q_3) – and teaching us about Rašīdī poetry (cf. 5.1.5.1; Q_1). After my repeatedly uttered requests to record spontaneous, daily speech, Ş decided to tell us about the history of the Rašāyda (cf. 5.1.2; M_1). Although I asked him to speak in his own dialect, which he did most of the time, he naturally changed his speech when being interrupted by Prof. ʕAwaḍ or by ʕAbd el-Ḥafīẓ who spoke to him in Sudanese Arabic.

It is the longest recording of my fieldwork.

Ş:	
<i>ʔana Ş Ş Ş N min ǧabīlat aṛ-ṛašāyda min faxd az-zinaymāt min faraʕ al-gazāyzə</i>	I am Ş Ş Ş N from the Rašāyda tribe from the branch of the Zunaymāt from the clan of the al-Qazāyza,
<i>ʔawlād – ʕayyāl ʔawlād Naşşār, min ʕayyāl Naşşār min ʕayyāl Şalāḥ</i>	The children – the sons of the children of Naşşār, from the children of Naşşār of the children of Şalāḥ,
<i>ʔayyib</i>	well,
<i>wu-lā ʕand-i maʕna ʔinna ʔaxū-na l-ʔalmāni hāḍa</i>	and I have no objection that our German brother here,
<i>law(a) ʕāyz yaʕarrib al-čalām hāḍa ʔaw yánšəṛə ʔaw yistaʕīd min-hu</i>	if he wants to arabize this speech or to publish or to benefit from them,
<i>yifassir al-ʔašyāʔ</i>	he explains the things,
<i>baʕdēn gibīlt aṛ-ṛašāyda</i>	then, the Rašāyda tribe,
<i>ʔašyāʔ ʔal-mutaʕāraf ʕan-ha, hī-</i>	things that are know about it, it -
<i>fi čam (ə)rwāya yaʕni ʕlāʕat-il-hā</i>	there is several tales, so, that derived from it
(...)	
<i>čam (ə)rwāyi ʔēy</i>	several tales, yes.
(...)	
<i>ʔal-ǧizu ʔalli sāčīn fi šarg as-sūdān</i>	The part that lives in Eastern Sudan
<i>žāy min al-yemen ʕabr as-sifun, sifun zubāyda</i>	comes from Yemen by ships, by ships of the Zubāyda,
<i>fi ʔēnaḍāk</i>	back in the days,
<i>ʔū-čānat tangla tižāra min al-yemen li-s-sūdān</i>	and they were to transport trade (they were used for trade) from Yemen to Sudan,
<i>ʔū-žaww ʔaṛ-ṛašāyda fi-ha wu-nzilaw fi šarg as-sūdān</i>	And the Rašāyda came on them and debarked in Eastern Sudan,
<i>hāḍa l-ʔittisāmū-h, ʔē, rašāydat šarg as-sūdān</i>	these are the ones called, eh, the Rašāyda of Eastern Sudan.
<i>ʔamma rašāydat aš-šmāl ʔū-ḥalfā ʔū-ʔaǧlab-ha ʔū-nahr-an-nīl</i>	As to the Rašāyda of the North and Ḥalfā and their majority and the Nile River State,
<i>hāḍēla nzilaw ʕabra –</i>	these came down via –
<i>ʔisim-mu ʔēš?</i>	what is it called?
<i>maşəṛ</i>	Egypt.

<i>xaššaw min as-suṣūdiyya ʔil-mašəṛ</i>	They entered from Saudi-Arabia via Egypt
<i>ʔū-min mašəṛ ʔil-ʔas-sūd(ān)</i>	and from Egypt to Sudan
<i>ʕan ʔarīj il-bāḥar⁵⁹ il-ʔabyaḍ ʔil-mutawassiṭ</i>	via the Mediterranean Sea,
(…) [The other men quickly correct S's geographical mistake.]	
<i>ʔal-muhimm ʔinn al-rwāya tgūl ʔinn-u ʔlaʕaw min as-suṣūdiyya ʔalf-ū-tumunmīyā, taḡrīban</i>	Anyways, the tale says that they came down from Saudi-Arabia in 1800, approximately,
<i>wu-staḡarraw fī mašəṛ talāta wu-xamsīn sana</i>	and they settled in Egypt 35 years,
<i>ʔū-ʕizu min al-jibīlā ʔal-ʔān fī mašəṛ</i>	and a part of the tribe is now in Egypt,
<i>yaʕni min xīlān-i ana ʕ.</i>	so from my uncles, me, S.,
<i>min xīlān-i-ana ʔalli-hum al-mašāḥna</i>	from my uncles who are the Mašāḥna,
<i>ʔal-ʔān mawzūdīn fī mašəṛ</i>	they are now present in Egypt,
<i>fī mānṭagat ʔaswān fī ʕizbat al-ʕarab fī kāmombō</i>	in the region of Aswān, in ʕizbat al-ʕArab, in Kom Ombo,
<i>hāḍēl min xīlān-i ʔaxwān ʔumm-i, ʕamm ʔumm-i, lazam, ʕamm ʔumm-i, lazam</i>	these are my uncles, my mother's brothers, my mother's uncle, directly [in direct lineage], my mother's uncle, directly,
<i>ʔistaḡarraw ʕarab-na ḥinna ʔalli-humma ʕiyyāl Naššār ʔū-muṣḍam ʔal-jizāyza</i>	They settled, our people, us, who are the children of Naššār and the majority of the al-Qazāyza,
<i>ʔistaḡarraw fa- fī mašəṛ talāta wu-xamsīn sana</i>	they settled in- in Egypt for 35 years,
<i>sanat ʔalf-u-tisṭumīyā wu-sittā dxálaw as-sūdān ʕan ʔarīg aš-šmāl</i>	in the year 1906 they entered Sudan through the North,
<i>ʔilli-huw xaššaw la-š-šmālīyā, ḥalf-al-gidīm, ʕāla wilāyat aš-šmāl,</i>	those who came to the Northern State (aš-Šimālīya), Old Ḥalfā, via the Northern State,
<i>wilāya šmālīyā, dúngula wu-ḡiḥa</i>	the Northern State, Dongola and that side,
<i>w-istaḡarraw fī-wilāyat nahr-an-nīl</i>	and they settled in the Nile Valley State,
<i>hāḍa rwāya l-ʔūlu⁶⁰</i>	this is the first tale,
<i>wu-fī rwāya tāni</i>	and there is another tale,
<i>hāḍ lākin ḥinna hāḍi</i>	but this is us,
<i>ʔalli ḥinna miḥtafḍīn b-a</i>	The one that us we are keeping,
<i>muʔakkidīn ʔalē-ha</i>	we are certain about it,
<i>hāḍi bi-nizbat il- gibīlat-ha</i>	this is about the tribe, her tribe [the Rašāyda's)],
(…) [S is asked why he does not rather focus on other topics like traditions, marriage, or forms of living]	

⁵⁹ The RA pronunciation would be final-stressed, i. e. *baḥár*. Rather formal vocabulary is usually borrowed from SA (and not from CA or MSA), therefore the Sudanese pronunciation.

⁶⁰ *al-ʔūlā.

<i>hinna ʕišna maʕa gabāyla ʔaš-šmāl</i>	we lived the tribes of the North
another person:	
<i>ʔalli-hūw šawāylīya wu-ʕaʕalīya wu-ḥassānīya wu-qawāla wu-ʕabābda</i>	that are the Šawāylīya and the ʕaʕalīya ⁶¹ and the Ḥassānīya and Quwāla and ʕAbābda ⁶² ,
(…)	
Ş:	
<i>hinna taʕāšna mīh-ḥu</i>	we were cohabitating with them,
<i>wū-xaḍna min ʔaḍbāʕ-hu⁶³ ʔū-xaḍaw min ʔaḍbāʕ-na</i>	and we took from their traits and gave them from our traits,
<i>wu-ndamāzna mīh-ḥu fī ʕādāt u-tuḡālīd-hu</i>	and we mingled with them in their customs and traditions,
<i>tuṣāhurnā-hu</i>	we intermarried,
<i>tuṣāhurna mīh-ḥu šadīd</i>	we intermarried with them a lot.
<i>ʔaxaḍna min-hu wu-ʔaʕtaynā-hu</i>	We took from them and we gave them,
<i>ʔaxaḍna min-hu ḥarīm, ʔaʕtaynā-hu ḥarīm</i>	we took women from them, we gave them women,
<i>muṣḍar rizjə⁶⁴ ʔal-gibīlə</i>	the tribe's source of living
<i>ʔal-qālib⁶⁵ ʔalli muraččiz ʕalā- ʕala t-ṭarwa l- ḥaywānīyə wa-t-tžāra wa-z-zirāʕa</i>	is mostly concentrated on- on livestock and the trading and agriculture,
<i>hāḍḍəl talaṭa mḥāwir</i>	these are three pillars,
<i>ʔat-ṭarwa l-ḥaywānīyə wa-t-tžāra wa-z-zirāʕa</i>	the livestock and the trading and agriculture.
<i>fī-nā sīyāsīyīn wāšlaw l-ḡammat as-sīyāsa</i>	Amongst us they arose to the peak of politics,
<i>wu-fī-nā ɖəbbāṭ</i>	and amongst us there are officials,
<i>wu-fī-nā ḡikātrə⁶⁶</i>	and amongst us there are doctors,
<i>wu-fī-hu muhandisīn</i>	and amongst them there are engineers,
<i>ʔašlan māšaallā ʔan-niswə yaʕni, ʔat-taʕlīm</i>	Originally, mā šā? ʔallāh, the women, the education,

⁶¹ The major Sudanese tribe of Arab and Nubian descent that lives in the Nile Valley.

⁶² For a linguistic description of the dialect of the ʕAbābda in South-Eastern Egypt, see De Jong 2002.

⁶³ *ʔaṭbāʕ-hu, assimilation of /t/ to /ɖ/ due to the following /b/.

⁶⁴ Since /z/ is a voiced fricative, the following palatal plosive [j] is rather fricativized, too, it might correspond most to the voiced palatal fricative [j].

⁶⁵ This extremely rare occasion of the sound /q/ in RA might be influenced by SA of Eastern Sudan, namely the region around Kasalā from which the speaker originates from. This variety is known for the confusion of /ḡ/ and /q/, as in *al-qālib* (*al-ḡālib) and *taḡālīd* (*taqālīd) “traditions”.

⁶⁶ Cf. 2.3.1.6.

<i>bārak-aḷḷā ṛayyi wāḥid tigiaddim fa-t-taḥlīm niḥaḥ māṣaallā</i>	Bless God, every single one who improved in education, succeeded, mashallah.
<i>wāṣal la-l-ḡimmā</i>	It reached the peak!
<i>wu-ḥi-na mẓārḥiṭyā ṛaqḥab yaḥni l-gibīlā</i>	And amongst us there are farmers, actually the majority of the tribe,
<i>wa-ṛasātizā⁶⁷ wu-tiẓẓār muwwāṣi wu-tiẓẓār fuwāḥih</i>	and professors and merchants and fruit sellers.
<i>ṛittāẓahu ṛila-t-taḥlīm tāḥ ad-dīn</i>	they aimed towards religious education,
(…) [the crowd mentions locally famous members of the tribe]	
<i>ṛal-ittaḥallamaw ḥi-hu wāṣalaw al-ḡimmā</i>	who studied in them [the education facilities] reached the peak,
<i>yaḥni mā- mā- mū dūn</i>	Not without
<i>ṛaṭ-ṭāni, bi-nizba ṛal-ḥādāt u-tagālīd</i>	then, with regards to the customs and traditions,
<i>ḥinna ḥinda-na ḥādāt u-tagālīd min ṛal-ḥahd al-ḡāhili</i>	we do have customs and traditions of the Ḡāhiliya (preislamic times),
<i>mā gabāl ṛal-ṛislām</i>	before Islam.
<i>ṛaqḥabat⁶⁸ tẓār⁶⁹ ḥi ṣandi ṛaw ḥi wilāyat nahr-an- nīl mraḥḥizīn ḥāla l- tiẓārat al-fuwāḥih</i>	Most of the merchants are in Shendi or in the Nile Valley State focussing on the fruit trading,
<i>hiyya l-manga wa-l-burtukān ṛal-ṛangarēt ṛal- lēymūn</i>	it is mangoes, and oranges, tamarinds, lemons,
Crowd:	
<i>ḥaley-h ṣalāt wu-salām</i>	Peace and Mercy Be Upon Him
<i>halla ḥayyāk-aḷḷa</i>	Come on, God bless you!
(…) [several men start to discuss about Islam]	
Ṣ:	

⁶⁷ The rather formal word **asātīḡa* is not borrowed from Standard but from SA and therefore does not have an interdental.

⁶⁸ See: *al-qālib*.

⁶⁹ Sic!

<i>ʕinda-na ʕādāt u-tagālīd wu-ṭubāyīʕ mā gabəl ʔal-ʔislām</i>	We do have customs and traditions and traits from before Islam,
<i>min ʕahd il-ǧāhili</i>	from the period of the Ǧāhiliya.
(…)	
<i>baʕdēn ʔal-jibīlā miḥtafḍa b-a, ʔal-ʕādāt u-tagālīd wu-ṭubāyīʕ ʔal-gibīlā</i>	Then, the tribe believes in them, the customs and traditions and traits of the tribe,
<i>wu-lā yīmčīn, lā yīmčīn</i>	and it is not possible, it's not possible,
<i>yaʕni l-ʕādāt u-tagālīd ʔal-mawrūta min al-ʔabāʔ wa-l-ʔaždād</i>	so, the customs and traditions inherited from the fathers and grandfathers,
<i>lā yīmčīn yithāwanu b-a ʔaw at-talʕab</i>	it is not possible to disregard them or to play around
<i>ḥatta marrāt txālīf ʔaš-šaraʕ al-ʔislāmi</i>	even if sometimes the Islamic law differs
<i>wa-n-nās taṅḡād-il-hā</i>	and the people are driven to it
<i>txālīf aš-šarʕ</i>	the Islamic Law differs.
<i>lākin baʕḍ an-nās yingādu-l-hā</i>	But some people are driven to it.
<i>ʔalli^hēš šnu?</i>	Why?
<i>ʔalli^hēš ʕinda-na ʔal-ḡuwāz, bi-nizba ʔal-ḡuwāz</i>	Because we have the marriage, with regards to marriage,
<i>ʕinda-na wāḍaʕ</i>	we have a case,
<i>ʔilli-huw mzeyyin⁷⁰</i>	that is the mzeyyin.
<i>ngūl-l-a mzeyyin</i>	we call it mzeyyin,
(…)	
<i>bi-nizba- ʔal-mzeyyin</i>	With regards to- the dowry,
<i>ʔal-xaṭūba ttimmin min a- min ʕuḡr is-sinn, min mahd ar-raḍāʕa</i>	the engagement is completed from the early age, from the period of breastfeeding,
<i>min mahd ar-raḍāʕa ttimmin ʔal-xaṭūba</i>	from the period of breastfeeding the engagement is completed,
<i>yaʕni yīmčīn ʔayy raḍīʕa ʕumr-ha šharēn ʔaw ʕumr-ha šáhar wu-nuṣṣ</i>	it means maybe a baby is two months old or its age is one month and a half,
<i>wa-mā tammāt al-ʔarbaʕīn</i>	and it did not reach the 40 [days].
<i>ngūl-l-a ʔana bāḡi bint-k hāḍī l-wlad flān</i>	We tell him „I want this daughter of yours” for the boy of so-and-so
(…)	
<i>wa-tamm al-čalām ʕāla čida</i>	and the talk is agreed on this.

⁷⁰ Another word for mahar “dowry”.

<i>ʔal-bint hāḍi l-ibnə ʕamm-hu mā fī-ha t̪nēn wu-talāṭa</i>	this girl belongs to her cousin, there's no second or third opinion,
<i>ʔaʃlu⁷¹ lā yitaḡālaṭōn fī-ha dī</i>	The fact is, they never disagree on this.
<i>fī šī tāni ʔinn bījit ʔana mā bāḡ-aʕī wulād-k</i>	There is something else, if I happen to not want to give your son [my daughter],
<i>walād-k ʕind-a ʕagg ʕal-ēh yisawwi ʔilli-huw al-ʕāmm</i>	your son has the right to do what is the general law,
<i>ʔamma bīja ʔāl-walad mā-ni bāḡ-aʕī-h</i>	but it happens that I don't want to give him [my daughter].
<i>māsala⁷² walad ʔaxw-īy ʕawaḍ ḡaṭt⁷³-l-a lā ʔana mā-ʕī-h</i>	For instance, my brother's son ʕAwaḍ, I told him "no, I won't give him [my daughter]",
<i>ʕawaḍ yarfaʕ ʕāla bint-i al-ʕām</i>	ʕAwaḍ throws back to my daughter the Statal Law.
<i>yḡūl ʔal-bint hāḍi magrūʔa⁷⁴ ʕan al-ʔibʕad min wālad-i</i>	He says „this girl is ‘read’ (corralled) by the furthest of my son.
<i>fa-ʔal-ēh- ʔal-ʕāni wu-ʔana l-ʔibʕad</i>	So the- the truce is on him and I am the furthest
<i>ʔallihēš mā-tiḡawwəz</i>	because you don't marry".
ʕAwaḍ:	
<i>ʔāy magrūa</i>	Yes, "read".
ʕ:	
<i>magrūʔa!</i>	"Read!"
<i>mā-tiḡawwəz ʔilla ʔilla ʔilla ʔibn ʕamm ʔaw wāḥid ʔagrab min-ha nīsab</i>	Do not marry [anybody] except your cousin or somebody the closest to her in distance,
<i>wa-law ʔibn al-ʕamm aṭ-tāni mū šijij</i>	and if your second cousin is not brotherly
<i>hāḍāḡ yagr-á, (aš-)šijij yagr-á</i>	this one corrals her, the brother corrals her
(…)	
<i>ʔaš-šijij yagr-á</i>	The brother corrals her
<i>wa-lā yīmčīn tiḡawwəz</i>	and you cannot marry,
<i>wa-lā yīmčīn, ʔal-ʕāni yīncīsīr ʔal-ʔān</i>	you cannot, the truce is broken now.
<i>tiḡawwəz dāt al-bint</i>	You marry that girl

⁷¹ SA "the fact is".

⁷² *maḡalan.

⁷³ *gult. The form ḡaṭt is most likely influenced by SA gutta "I said".

⁷⁴ Literally "this girl is read". Young translates it with "to be corralled", i. e. "locked-in" or "caged" (Young 2002: 144).

<i>ġāšban fan ar-rəḍāš ʔalli hatta l-ḡāni-ha</i>	by force agreement, that until the truce is clouded
<i>taġayyam al-ḡām bi-tumānīn ḡān</i>	by the law with 80 camels,
<i>taġayyam ʔal-ḡāni bi-tumānīn nāgə</i>	the truce is clouded with 80 she-camels.
<i>wu-mā d'əfašt ʔana ʔalli zuwwazt al-bint</i>	and [if] I, who married the girl, didn't pay,
<i>mā d'əfašt at-tumānīn nāgə ʔatašamməs⁷⁵</i>	[if] I didn't pay the 80 she-camels, I get outcasted.
<i>ʔatašamməs yaḡni ʔēš?</i>	"I get outcasted" means what?
<i>mā-ʔxušš əḍ-ḡull</i>	I don't enter the shadow.
(…)	
<i>ḡull əl-gibīlə hāḍa nā mā-xušš!</i>	The shadow of the tribe, this, I don't enter!
<i>mátalan hāḍēla bin ḡamm-i</i>	For instance, this here is my cousin.
(…) ḡAwad repeats in SA	
<i>ḡull əl-gabīla</i>	The shadow of the tribe
<i>ʔinna názi ʔal-bayt hāḍi ygul ʔant magrūš</i>	So that when we come to this house he says "you're read",
<i>lā txušš ʔal-bayt!</i>	don't enter the house!
<i>ʔant čāsir al-ḡāni</i>	You are a truce breaker".
<i>yaḡni mā-təgdar txušš ʔal-bayt</i>	It means you cannot enter the house,
<i>l-anni ʔalašt min ʔār ʔēš</i>	because you came down from what direction?
<i>ʔār il- lə wu-ʔār il-ḡādāt u-tagālīd ġāyb</i>	The direction of the tribe and the direction of the customs and traditions is absent
<i>ʔu-mšeyt ḡāla raġbat nafsi wu-mā tahwa nafsi</i>	and you went by own lust and by what own wishes are.
<i>hnī ʔana ʔatašammas mā-ʔxušš ḡall əl-gabīlə kull-u</i>	Here, I get outcasted, I don't enter the tribe's shadow at all,
<i>ʔilla ʔadfašt tamānīn nāgə la-r-rzāl ʔal_ēna kəssart ḡāni</i>	except if I paid 80 she-camels to the man I broke my truce.
<i>hāḍa šey mutwārat min al-ḡahər wa-min al-ḡašər ʔal-ḡā?</i>	This is an inherited thing from the immorality and from the age to come.
<i>la?, lā zāl⁷⁶ ḡinda-na ḡinna xālīf aš-šarḡ</i>	No, we still have the breach of the Sharia,
<i>ʔal-čalām hāḍa xālīf aš-šarḡ</i>	This concept is a breach of the Sharia
<i>lāčīn lā zāl il-jibīlə mitmassik-in</i>	but the tribe is still sticking to it.

⁷⁵ As explained in the following, *tašammas* – *yitšammas* (imperfective deducted), literally “to sun oneself”, describes the concept of leaving the shade of the tribe, *ḡull əl-gabīla* (as mentioned below), the protection given by it. This metaphorical concept neatly compares the safe life within the tribe, as pleasant as staying in the shadow, to the act of being outcasted, that feels like being shelterlessly exposed to the burning sun.

⁷⁶ Very formal, the colloquial RA form to express “still” is *tawwa* (cf. 2.7.3).

(…) ṢAwaḍ throws in a comment	
<i>ḡal-ḡuwwāz bi-zāt nafs-ə mətfāwul</i>	Marriage itself is hopeful,
<i>Ṣinda-na hnī ḡinna fī wilāyat nahr-an-nīl</i>	we have here in the Nile Region State,
<i>waḡḡāhi mbassaṭīn⁷⁷ ḡatta t-tabsīṭ</i>	by God, the act of sitting until the decision?
<i>ḡatta t-tabsīṭ mā-nibgi ḡatta mbassīn</i>	until the decision, we don't stay until we are deciding,
<i>lāčīn ḡaxwān-na fī šarg as-sūdān</i>	but our brothers in Eastern Sudan,
<i>waḡḡāhi yaṣni ṣaṣabu šweyy (...)</i>	by God, I mean, they complicated a bit (...)
<i>ḡamma ḡinna hnī waḡḡāhi l-bint ba-r-ramzīya yaṣni</i>	But we here, by God, the girl is with the symbolism,
<i>yaṣni mā- mā- yaṣni ḡana ḡkur-ək</i>	it means no- no-, I mean, I remember [for] you,
<i>ḡal-máhar b-alfi žinē bi-ḡalfi žinē</i>	the dowry is 1000 Pounds (LS).
<i>ḡana máhari šār bi-žinē wāḡid ḡadīdə</i>	My own dowry became one metal Pound
<i>máhar lamman tiḡawwīzt ḡalfēn arbáṣ</i>	[the] dowry, when I married in 2004
<i>ḡal-máhar bi-žinē wāḡid dilwān</i>	the dowry is one Pound now.
ṢAwaḍ asks if he married his cousin	
<i>ḡaywa binta ṣamm-i</i>	Yes, my cousin.
<i>dilwān al-máhar ṣāla ṣašarat-ālāf waddnā-ha ḡalfēn, ḡalfēn wa-nuṣṣ</i>	Now, the dowry is 10 000, we wished it to be 2000, 2 500.
Somebody else:	
<i>taḡlīl bass</i>	It's just an assessment.
Ṣ:	
<i>taḡlīl al-máhar (...)</i>	The assessment of the dowry (...)
<i>lākīn mā-fī tamássuk fī-h</i>	but there is no sticking to it.
(..., crowd speaking about customs and prices in related tribes)	
somebody else:	
<i>xamsīn ginē xamsīn ginē ḡa-njīb la-h'ā</i>	50 LS, we will give 50 LS for her
(…)	
<i>mā trīb-əl-hā čibrīt⁷⁸</i>	Don't give her a <i>kibrīt</i>
<i>mā trīb-əl-hā čibrīt!</i>	Don't bring her a <i>kibrīt</i>
Ṣ:	
<i>mā- mā- mā- mā čīḡkar yaṣni</i>	don't- don't- don't- don't set, I mean-
<i>ḡana bi-nizba ḡinn al-ḡuwwāz ṣumūman yaṣni</i>	As for me and for marriage in general,

⁷⁷ Bassaṭ – yibassiṭ (forms deducted) describes the act of sitting in a group and discussing a certain thing until an agreement or a decision, a *tabsīṭ*, is reached.

⁷⁸ Typically RA term, the exact meaning is not defined yet.

<i>Ɂu-bi-nizba l- Ɂal-Ɂafraḥ</i>	and as for the, the wedding ceremonies,
<i>kānat ʕinda-na ʕādāt u-tagālīd Ɂalli-hiy ḥinna nsammī-ha l-līʕib</i>	we used to have a custom and tradition that we call “the play”.
<i>Ɂawwal maḥāwār zey-mā tgūl</i>	the first pillar is, as you say,
<i>yijīf ʕaff min-nī</i>	to stand tribesmen/representatives of mine,
<i>ʕaɁār wu-ʕaff min-nī</i>	poets and tribesmen of mine,
<i>wu-hādēla miḥ-ḥu ʕāʕīr</i>	and these bring a poet,
<i>wu-hādēla miḥ-ḥu ʕīʕr</i>	and these bring poetry.
other person:	
<i>wa-l-Ɂaḡlabīya l-wajha ʕuʕarā kull-hu</i>	And the majority that is in front are all poets.
<i>Ɂal-Ɂaḡlabīya ʕuʕarā wajh⁷⁹ fī-hu</i>	The majority are poets with reputation on them,
<i>lākin hādā-</i>	but this-
<i>wa-ḡāda Ɂittiḡādalōn fī ma-bēyn-um</i>	and helmsmen arguing with each other
(..., crowd commenting things)	
Ş:	
<i>mijjāʕda Ɂantu bi-yisammū-ha mijjāʕda</i>	<i>Mijjāʕda⁸⁰</i> , you call it <i>mijjāʕda</i> .
(noises, discussion)	
<i>lākin ḥinna ʕinda-na ḥinna ʕinda-na mḥāwar⁸¹, yihāwarūn fī m'ā-bēyn</i>	but we have, we have <i>mḥāwar</i> , they discuss with each other
(crowd mentioning women)	
somebody else:	
<i>da mā-fī-hu ḥarīm nihāy</i>	this, there's no women, at all,
(…)	
<i>riḡāl bess</i>	Only men.
Ş:	
<i>kalām da ḥarīm mā-fī</i>	This concept, there's no women
somebody else:	
<i>(...) mā-tkūn ḥaflā mā-fī ḥarīm</i>	(...) [if] there was a feast, there's no women.
(…)	
Ş:	

⁷⁹ *Wajh* describes a certain reputation, cf. Young 2002: 145.

⁸⁰ A more forceful way of discussing.

⁸¹ A more dialectic, debate-like type of discussion.

<i>laʔ, ɸinna ɸarīm-na yilʕabīn-na</i> ^{82*} <i>il-ɸāl-hin fī ʔafrāḥ-hin</i>	No, our women dance (us) on their own on their weddings.
(noises and comments)	
<i>laʔ, ʔawwal ʔawwal fa-l-ʕaʕr al-ʔawwal yaʕni</i>	No, the first, the first in the first time is – I mean –
<i>ʔaḡlab al-liʕib fī ɸarīm</i>	most of the "play" there's women,
<i>yirgiʕīn fī nuʕʕ il-liʕib: ɸarīm</i>	[the ones] dancing during half of the "play": women!
<i>lākin al-ɸamdulillā ʔin-nas taʕāllamow wa-tawaʕʕaw</i>	But, thanks God, the people got educated and became aware,
<i>wu-mā bə-ḡadaw l-ɸarīm yilʕabūn əl-ɸāl wə-rʕaʕu l-ʔābū ʔəl-ɸāl</i>	and what the women began, they dance alone and they come back to the father alone ⁸³
(noises and comments)	
<i>lā-zāl mā-fī ʔaḡānib</i>	Still, there's no foreigners.
(noises and comments)	
<i>ʔaywa kānat al-gabīla yaʕni mḥāziya l-ɸāl</i>	Yes, the tribe was aligned alone.
(noises and comments)	
<i>muḥārisīn, ḥārisīn bi-nisba l- li- li- li- la- la- la- l-ɸarīm</i>	We are caretakers, we are very cautious in respect to- to- to women,
<i>ḥārisīn</i> ⁸⁴ <i>al-ḥurs, ʕadīd</i>	we protect [them with] the strongest caution, very much
<i>ʔal-ɸarīm mā- mā- mā-, ʔal-māra mā taṭlaʕ al-ɸāl-ha</i>	The women don't- the woman doesn't go out alone,
<i>ʔal-māra mā taṭlaʕ aʕ-ʕāraʕ</i>	the woman doesn't go out to the street,
<i>ʔal-māra mā timʕi l-duktūr al-ɸāl-ha</i>	the woman doesn't go to the doctor alone,
<i>ʔal-māra mā tarkab sayyāra l-ɸāl-ha</i>	the woman doesn't drive a car alone,
<i>ḥāḍa ɸinna ḥārisīn ʕalē-ha lā-zāl</i>	this is what we are be cautious about until now.
<i>ʔu-mā timʕi s-sūḡ al-ɸāl-ha</i>	And she doesn't go to the market alone,
<i>ʔaʕlan mā timʕi s-sūḡ</i>	In principle, she doesn't go to the market.
<i>ɸinna marāt-na ʔas-sūḡ aʕlan mā timʕi'(-h)</i>	Our women by principle don't go the market.
(ʕAwaḍ comments)	
<i>mā timʕi s-sūḡ bitāʕt-an</i>	They don't go to their own market.

⁸² In Sudan, South-Western Saudi-Arabia and South Arabia, *liʕib* means “to dance” (Behnstedt & Woidich 2014: 132-134).

⁸³ That seems to be a proverb, its exact meaning remains unknown.

⁸⁴ The only occurrence of an elative in the data.

<i>ʔas-sūg ʔa- ɸinna ntasāwig-il-ha iš-šēy ʔilli baḡēt-ha ɸinna nžīb-il-ha</i>	The market- we buy them the things that they want, we bring them.
(noises, crowd, in the background, I asked the person next to me how they call their coffee)	
this person:	
<i>yā ʃ. sālīk</i>	Ş. Sālik!
Ş:	
<i>tfadḍal!</i>	Please!
this person:	
<i>gāl il-kāḍi ʔisim-a gahwa walla žabana walla dalla walla ʔēs⁸⁵</i>	the so-called said, is it called <i>gahwa</i> or <i>jabana</i> or <i>dalla</i> or what?
<i>ngūl-ha žabana, ʔaʃlan gahwa, maṭlūb min hiy ig-gahwa</i>	We call it <i>jabana</i> , originally <i>gahwa</i> , from this coffee is ordered,
<i>wə-lākin bi-l-luḡa s-sūdānīy- inna nisammū-ha žabāna</i>	but in the Sudanese language- we call it <i>jabana</i> .
<i>ɸinna ʃinda-na ghawa</i>	Here we have <i>ghawa</i> .
crowd:	
<i>ghawa!</i>	<i>Ghawa!</i>
crowd:	
<i>ghawa</i>	<i>Ghawa.</i>
<i>wu-f-al-xalīz yigūlu-l-ha dalla</i>	And in the Gulf they call it <i>dalla</i> .
<i>lākin-ha xafīf šweyya</i>	But it is a bit light.
(crowd comments)	
village eldest:	
<i>tgūl ʔas ənsawwi ghawa</i>	We used to say <i>ghawa</i> .
Ş:	
<i>tigahwa</i>	To have coffee.
<i>baʃdēn yā šēx</i>	Then, Sir,
<i>ɸinna ʃinda-na bi-nizba l- ʔaḍ-ḡēyf ʔilli yāža</i>	we have, regarding the guest that comes,
<i>ʔawwal ḡāža ygaddmū-h mā (...)</i>	the first thing they bring them is water (...)
<i>baʃad āl-ma ʔawāli žā (...)</i>	after the water, directly came (...)
<i>tumman tāni yjaddmūn-l-ah l-ghawa ḡatta law ʔinn-u žīʃān</i>	then they bring him the the coffee even if he is hungry

⁸⁵ These are three different types of coffee: *Gahwa* is used as a generic term for coffee, *jābana* is the Sudanese terminology for Sudanese coffee as well as the clay pot in which it is prepared, and *dalla* is the name of the coffee served in the Gulf countries. The Rašāyda prepare and serve coffee in both the Sudanese and the “Bedouin”-way, therefore, they call it either *jābana*, or *žābāna* in RA, or *ghawa* (cf. 2.3.1.2). They do not use the terminology *dalla*, even if it is prepared the same way.

<i>dāk ʔal-ghawa ʔawwal šī tigiddám</i>	this coffee is the first thing you are presented to
S:	
<i>gabl al-ghawa-</i>	Before the coffee-
Ş:	
<i>gabl ayyāši</i>	Before anything!
<i>hāḍ yiguḥdūn ʕāla firāš miṭl-há-</i>	This [points towards the mat], they sit on a mat like this one-
(...)	
<i>tigieddem al-ghawa-</i>	you bring the coffee-
(interrupted, ʕAwaḍ talks about his life in Saudi-Arabia)	



Photo 1: Recording in the *dīwān aḍ-ḍiyūf* in Mwēs. Copyright by the author.

5.1.3 *Fi-l-żunāyn “in the gardens”* (HB_1-3)

After a 40 minutes rickshaw drive from the center of Shendi, Su, H and I finally arrived to the so-called *żunāyn*, the Rašāyda's lands, watered acres on the banks of the Nile where they cultivate fruits and vegetables; mainly mangoes, lemons, different salad types, tamarinds, peppers and more. I am told that

the fields belong to different families of the two neighboring villages Ḥawš Bānnāga, hometown of the former Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, and Mwēs. Some families, as Ḥamīd's, have shacks next to their fields where they cook and eat, rest, and protect themselves from the sun. Since these shacks are open, they mainly consist of three walls with a thatched roof and sometimes an additional closed room, people from neighboring acres use them, too.

This section (HB_1-3) consists of the three recordings I took that day, the 7th March, 2023.

5.1.3.1 Walking in the gardens (HB_1)

Walking in the gardens (HB_1)	07.03.2023
Su, Ḥ, St	In the gardens and acres (<i>žunāyn</i>) close to Ḥawš Bānnāga

This recording was taken on a walk through the lands (*žunāyn*) of Ḥ's family.

Part 1

(…)		
Su:	ʔana “Su”	I am “Su”.
	hāḍī rižlə	This is purslane.
St:	rižlə?	Purslane?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	li-l-ʔakal?	To eat?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	walla li-l-ḥaywān?	Or for the animals?
Su:	lā laʔ, li-bnī ʔādəm	No, no, for humans.
	hāḍa žaržīr	This is rocket.
St:	žaržīr	Rocket.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	xuḍṛa ⁸⁶	Corchorus.
St:	xuḍṛa? muluxiyya!	Corchorus? <i>Molokheya</i> !
Su:	ʔaywa muluxiyyə	Yes, <i>molokheya</i> .
(…)		
	ṭumātīm	Tomatoes.
	hāḍi ʔaṭ-ṭumātīm zāt-hə	These very ones are tomatoes.

⁸⁶ The Sudanese term for *Molokheya* (*mulūxīya*) or corchorus.

	gəttáʕna ʕāla l-mlāḥ ⁸⁷	We cut them for the stew.
St:	ʔāy	Yes.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	hāda kullu ʔumāʕim	These are all tomatoes.
	fīʒil	Radish.
St:	fīʒil?	Radish?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	hāda bilīle	This is <i>bilīla</i> ⁸⁸ .
St:	bilīle?	<i>Bilīla?</i>
Su:	ḥaggat ʕādas	For lentils.
St:	ʔā	Ah.
(…)		
St:	tabḡa tākl-hum fī-	You want to eat them in-
Su:	naʒḍ-a fa-n-nār, taʕṭī-h nār	We sweat it on the fire, you give it fire.
	ʔaywa	Yes.
	hāda fīlfiliyyə šaṭṭa	This is hot sauce pepper.
St:	šaṭṭa	Hot sauce.
Su:	ʔalli gattāʕna ʕāla l-mlāḥ dilwān	The one we've just cut into the sauce now.
	hāda ḥilbe	This is fenugreek.
(…)		
	karkadéh	Hibiscus.
St:	karkadéh! mā čarčadéh?	Hibiscus! Isn't it <i>čarčadéh</i> ?
Su:	ʔaywa čarkadéh	Yes, <i>čarkadéh</i> .
St:	čarčadéh?	<i>Čarčadéh?</i>
Su:	hāda búšaḷ	This is onion.
St:	búšaḷ	Onions.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	hāda ʔaʕnáb	These are grapes.
St:	ʕínab	Grapes.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	tusawwi nabīḍ?	Do you make wine?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes!
St:	ʔakīd?	Really?

⁸⁷ *Mullāḥ* is a typical Sudanese stew.

⁸⁸ A particular Sudanese red-eyed bean.

(…)	
H: gáraʕ	Pumpkin.
Su: hāda gáraʕ	This is pumpkin.
St: gáraʕ?	Pumpkin?
Su: hāda l-gáraʕ	This is the pumpkin.
tawwa	Still.
St: tawwa?	Still?
Su: ʕuḡār táwwa	They are still small.
St: tawwa yaʕni ʕuḡār?	<i>Tawwa</i> means small?
Su: yaʕni tawwa yaʕni maʕnāt-ha ʕuḡār	So, <i>tawwa</i> , so, its meaning is small.
ʔaywa	Yes
hādi l-karkadéh	This is the hibiscus.
hāda ʔaswad	This is eggplant.
ʔaswad ḥagg il-mlāḥ	Eggplant for the sauce.
(…)	
H: žúzur	Carrots.
St: gízər?	Carrots?
Su: gáʕab	Sugarcane.
(…)	
hāda hūw al-fīžər	This is the radish.
H: fīžəl ⁸⁹	Radish.
Su: ʔaywa	Yes.
žaržīr	Rocket.
(…)	
St: ʔil-lōn da ʔisum-u ʔēš?	This color, what is it called?
H: gǝrgǝr	Rocket.
St: laʔ, il-lōn, il-lawn	No, the color, the color.
H: ʔabyaḍ	White.
(…)	
Su: hāda tiyrāb ḥagg-ə	This is soil for it.
ʔal-ʔabyaḍ hāda ʔat-tiyrāb	This white here is the soil.
St: at-tiyrāb	The soil.
Su: mmm, yaʕni tāni tḥəšš-ə wu-šattit zeyy il-bərsīm	Hm, so, then, you mow/scythe and you disperse like the clover.

⁸⁹ As in SA, the two speakers also have the tendency to merge or confuse the liquids /l/ and /r/ in coda positions, as here in *fīžəl/fīžīr*.

ʔū-hāda l-bərsīm	And this is the clover.
St: bərsīm	Clover.
Su: hāda l-manga	This is the mango.
(…)	
St: samaka?	Fish?
H: yaʕni ɥabbət taɣanīn ⁹⁰ čida	I mean, pieces of (...), like this.
takūn kadi	it turns out like this.
St: ʔahá	Aha.
H: čida	Like this.
(…)	
lěymūn	Lemons.
St: lěymūn	Lemons.
H: šayf hinni fī šuɣār wu-kubār	Do you see here, there's small and big.
Su: hāda l-lěymūn	These are the lemons.
St: ʔāy	Yes.
H: kōstnēr, kuštānēr	<i>Kitchener, kitchener</i> ⁹¹ .
Su: hāda l-lěymūn	These are the lemons.
St: hāda l-lěymūn	These are the lemons.
Su: simār ɥabīʕi	Natural rush/juncus.
St: simār?	Rush/juncus?
Su: ɥabīʕi ʔaywa	Natural, yes.
(…)	
H: lěymūn	Lemons.
St: hnūk ʔakbar	Over there they are bigger.
H: hnūk ʔakbar	Over there they are bigger.
Su: hāda kull-a lěymūn	These are all lemons.
(…) Su switches to rather Sudanese Arabic.	
Su: da jannābīya ʔal b-ijīb il-mōya	This is a <i>ǧannābīya</i> (small and narrow irrigation canal) that brings the water.
St: ǧallā- ǧannābīya?	<i>Ǧallā- Ǧannābīya?</i>
Su: ʔalli yʕīb ál-ma la-l-mašrūʕa kull-u	That brings the water to all of the land
H: žannābīya	<i>Ǧannābīya</i> .
(…)	

⁹⁰ Exact translation is unclear, perhaps “techniques”.

⁹¹ *Kuštīnēr* ~ *kuštānēr* is a metathesis of “kitchener”, a certain lemon type.

St:	mangu?	Mango?
Su:	ʔaywa, ʃuḡār tāni biga kabīr	Yes, small, then it becomes big.
St:	ʔāy, mīta?	Yes, when?
Su:	šáhar xamsə	May.
St:	okay	Okay.
Su:	yaʕni ʔəmbítt šáhar xamsə	So it grew in May.
(…)		
Su:	ʔil-manga čibīrə ʔa-tkūn	The mango is going to be big.
(…)		
	hāḍa tawwa fa-n-nuwwāra	This is still abloom.
	hāḍa jašš ⁹² , bərsīm	This is grass, clover.
St:	ješš? ʔil-bərsīm ʔism-u-	Grass? The clover is called-
Su:	ješš!	Grass!
(…)		
	da sa- šawwāl-u bi-xamsīn ʔalf sūdāni ⁹³	This-, a sack of it is 50 000 LS.
St:	xamsīn ʔalf il-kīlu?	50 000 LS a kilo?
Su:	ʔāy šuwwāl xamsīn kīlu	Yes, a sack is 50kg.
Ḥ:	ʔal-kīlu ba-ʕāli	The kilo is expensive.
(…)		
	hāḍi mabrūk ⁹⁴	This is <i>Mabrūk</i> .
Su:	di manga mabrūk hassi	This now is <i>Mabrūk Mango</i> .
St:	mabrūk	<i>Mabrūk</i> .
Su:	ʔis'əm-ha mabrūk	It's called <i>Mabrūk</i> .
(…)		
	ʔal manga, dī, žnūb əfrīḡiyə	The mango, this one, South Africa.
	žāya mən əfrīḡiyə	It's from Africa.
St:	okay	Okay.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	žāya min wēn?	Where does it come from?
(… South Africa)		
St:	wū-žīʕād ⁹⁵ fī-s-sūdān mīta?	And when is the harvest in Sudan?

⁹² CA *qašš, SA gašš (cf. Behnstedt&Woidich 2010: 451-453).

⁹³ Ġunayh Sūdānī (MSA)/Jinē Sūdāni (SA) (Sudanese Pounds).

⁹⁴ A type of mango.

⁹⁵ Meant: *hišād*.

Su:	žā yaʕni ġarīb	it came, well, soon.
	aʕkāt-ha ʕāšara sana	Its (...) is ten years.
St:	wu-ʔāġla min al-manga sūdānīya	And it's more expensive than the Sudanese mango.
Su:	ʔāġala	More expensive!
	fī manga wāħda aġāla mínna-ha	There's one single mango that is more expensive than her [the Sudanese mango].
St:	ʔahá	Ah.
Su:	mangat šendi!	The <i>Shendi Mango</i> !
	di žawwāfa	This is a guava.
(...)		
	da kušténer	This is <i>Kitchener</i> .
St:	kušténer?	<i>Kitchener</i> ?
Su:	ʔaywa, kušténer hināk fī-	Yes, there's <i>Kitchener</i> in-
St:	kušténer hāḍa ʔism-	<i>Kitchener</i> , that's a term-
Su:	ʔājnabi	Foreign!
St:	ʔinglīzi?	English?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
(...)		
	šendi da kān sammā-huw šendi gurūš katīra	This Shendi, they called them Shendi, a lot of money,
	yaʕni kānat sammū-ha šendi ʕašān gurūš fa-h	so, they called it Shendi because there was money in it
	da ʔat-tīn	This is the fig.
St:	da tīn?	This is fig?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	zarʕán-nu hinna tāni akbar	They planted it another bigger one here
	sana j-jāya táġīd tākul minn-ə	Next year you can eat from it.
St:	okay	Okay.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	sana ʔal-žāya ʔana ʔaržiʕ	Next year I come back.
Su:	ʔallā yaħayyīna	May God gift us life.
H:	wad sūdān	A boy of Sudan.
St:	wad sūdān?	A boy of Sudan?
H:	wad sūdān	A boy of Sudan.

(…)	
Su: da žənüb ifriḡiyə	This is South Africa.
šāyf?	You see?
tabgā yaʕni hə?	It became like what?
da žāʔ baʕadēn itaʔakbar tabga ḥadd ič-čibīre	This came, then it grows until it becomes the big one.
kīḏa	Like this.
St: čīḏa	Like this.
St: ʔaywa	Yes.
(… talking about a blossom)	
Su: sāmiḥ!	Beautiful!
H: žamīla žamīla bass mā ʔāʕam	Pretty, pretty, but it's not food.
St: okay	Okay.
H: mā laḏīḏa, jamīla	Not tasty, pretty.
Su: ʔal-lawn, al-lawn tamām	The color, the color is nice.
šāyf?	You see?
H: (hā)ḏ ilwān-uw kweyyis	Their colors are nice.
hinni fi šāy	Here, there's tea.
Su: šīdar kubār ⁹⁶ , šiyāra kbār	Big trees, big trees.
St: šiyāra?	Trees?
Su: mmm	Hm.
H: bass dī, da, kuštenēr barā-w ⁹⁷ (…)	But this, this one, it's <i>Kitchener</i> on its own (…)
(…)	
Su: da tīmiri hindi	This is tamarind.
St: ʔā da tīmīr hindi	Ah, this is tamarind.
Su: da tīmīr hindi ʔašūf	This is tamarind, I see.
(…)	
Su: žīb al-fižīl	Bring the radish!

The recordings ends as we decided to take pictures of us with the vegetables that we just yielded (see photo below).

⁹⁶ SA.

⁹⁷ *Barā-* + pronoun is the SA pendant to the RA *al-ḥāl-* + pronoun (cf. 2.4.1.9) (Bergman 2002: 46).



Photo 2: Walking in the gardens with H̄S and Su. Copyright by the author.

Part 2

St:	da nabag baladi	This is buckthorn!
	wu-l-farag bēn al-nabag al-baladi wa-l-fārsi ʔēš?	And what is the difference between the buckthorn and the so-called Persian buckthorn?
Ḥ:	taḡalīm	Pruning!
Su:	ʔiš-šōk ʕāla ḥusām	The thorns are on swords.
(…)		
Su:	hāḍa liymūn šḡār	This is small lemons.
(…)		
Su:	tajīf aš-šōk	Remove the thorns.
	tajīf ihnī	Remove here.
(..., removing thorns from our clothes, walking around, noticing a butterfly)		
Su:	farāš!	Butterfly!
Su:	mā b-bīḥābəs	It doesn't hold.
St:	la?	No?
Su:	mā dām il-ḥamr	The red(ness) didn't last.
(…)		
	hāḍi l-mazāriʕa fī šendi	These farmlands are in Shendi.
St:	mmm	Hm.
Su:	da, hāḍa l-mazāriʕ fī šendi	This, these farmlands are in Shendi.
	hāḍi mazraʕāt-na hina	This here is our farmland.
Ḥ:	ṭayyib	Fine.
Su:	ṭabʕan	Of course,
	ʔabu Ḥamīd da ʔabū-hu	Ḥamīd's father, his father,
	bū-wadd-u kúll-a-ha	he likes it, all of it,
	b-imši	he goes
	ʔā ya ʔabū-hu b-imši kull ad-dúwal	oh yes, his father is going to all the countries,
	kúll-a-ha	all of them.
St:	huw sāfir	He's travelling.
Su:	ʔāy hassi fī hūlanda	Yes, he is now in the Netherlands.
(…)		
Su:	da jinūb ifrīḡiy	This is <i>South Africa</i> ,
	da manju jinūb ifrīḡiy	this is <i>South Africa Mango</i> .
(…)		

	da bərsīm lá-hu sanatēn	This clover is two years old.
St:	sanatēn! Okay!	Two years, okay!
Su:	da həššú-hu ygūm həššú-hu ygūm	This, they mowed it, it grows again, they mowed it, it grows again
	da li-l-bahāyim	This is for the cattle.
St:	ʔāy	Yes.
Su:	məšēt məšārīʕ	Did you go to the projects?
St:	məšārīʕ? lāʔ	Projects? No.
Su:	məšārīʕ da fī-w ʔajnabiyīn katīrīn	There are a lot of foreigners in the projects.
St:	fī šendi?	In Shendi?
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	laʔ mā ʕārīf	No, I don't know.
Su:	lākīn fī ʔaǧnabiyīn katīrīn	But there are a lot of foreigners,
	sūrīyīn ʕarāǧīyīn	Syrians, Iraqis,
St:	ʔāy okay	Ah, okay.
Su:	naḥna kān gabli fatra maʕā-na yamanīyīn	Some time ago we had Yemenis with us.
(..., heading to the mango trees)		
	dāk šendi	That's <i>Shendi</i> ,
	da ʔism al-balad šendi	this is the name of the town, Shendi.
	ʔil-manga dī	This mango,
	da-ḥsan manga	this is the best mango.
	bi-tākul- tākul tāni mā tfūʔ	You eat- you eat, you won't miss [it] again.
St:	okay	Okay.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
	min hina da tagūl-l-ha zūlulā, hināk manga	[The one] from here, you call it <i>zūlulā</i> , there: mango.
St:	okay	Okay.
Su:	ʔaywa	Yes.
St:	yaʕni bi-s-sūdān an-nās ʕārīfīn mānga šendi	So in Sudan the people know the <i>Shendi Mango</i> .
Su:	ʔintu, ʔaywa, ʔintu maʕ-kun bi-ṣaddirū walla šin	You, yes, do you export with you or what?
	da šendi, šāyf-u	This is Shendi, you see it?
	da šendi ṣǧayyir ḡāmīḥ	This is a small wild <i>Shendi</i> .
(...)		

mumkin ʔana ʔaʃaddir manga hināk?	Maybe I export mangoes there?
frānsa hināk, ʔištari manga walla māfi?	France, over there, I [can] buy mangoes or aren't there any?
(Su asks me about the fruit market in Europe and different prices of goods on the market. He sticks to Sudanese Arabic for a while before switching to rather RA.)	
Su: hāḍi ʔanāyin ʕāla ʔ-ṭabīʕa yaʕni	These acres are natural, I mean
yaʕni balad- balad ʔāmān	I mean, the town- the town is safe.
tāni balad mā fi-ha maʕakil mā-fi šī	Also, there's no problems in town, there isn't anything.
sūdānīn dēlla nās yaʕni mutwāʕdīn šadīd	These Sudanese are very outgoing people.
ʔū-rājaʕ hināk mīta?	And when do you go back there?
St: fī šendi?	To Shendi?
Su: hina yaʕni māsāft-ak kam māl li jāyib-ha s-sūdān hin(a)	Here, I mean, your distance, how much money do you bring to Sudan here?
(St explains his travel plans)	
ʔaḥna baʕarīn timir hindi	We are yielding tamarinds.
naṭlaʕ ʔaš-šidara di	We climb this tree.
taṭlaʕ fōg tajīb timir hindi	You climb up to bring tamarinds.
(...)	

The recording ends when Su says that he is going to climb the tamarind tree to get us some fresh fruits.

5.1.3.2 *Cooking in the shack (HB_2)*

Cooking in the shack (HB_2)	07.03.2023
Su and H̄S (Rašāyda), I and D (from Dārūr), S	H̄'s shack close to H̄awš Bānnāga

Here, I was cooking with H̄ and Su waiting for A and other fellows to join us with the meat. In the background, there are two men from Darfur (D and I) who live in the neighborhood and cultivate the land next to H̄'s. They speak to each other in Darfuri Arabic, with the Rašāyda and me in an accommodated Sudanese variety.

Su	<i>hāḍā, dilwāni hāḍā, ʔinna-hā-</i>	<i>this, now this, it is-</i>
H̄	<i>səmrān ʕali!</i>	<i>Sumrān ʕAli!</i>
Su	<i>ʔana səmrān ʕali nāfiʕ</i>	<i>I am Sumrān ʕAli Nāfiʕ</i>
	<i>hāḍi ʔumātīm wa-šaṭṭa xadṛā filfilīyā</i>	<i>this is tomatoes and green pepper sauce</i>
	<i>ʔu-hāḍā būṣa! būṣa! ʔaxaḍar ʔaxaḍar</i>	<i>and this is onion, green onion, green,</i>

	<i>wu-hāḍa žaržūr</i>	<i>and this is ...</i>
	<i>wu-hāḍa ž-žaržūr</i>	<i>and this is the rucola</i>
	<i>wū- žizar</i>	<i>and carrots</i>
	<i>hāḍa kull-a naṣmil šāyḥ fə-l-ḥallə</i>	<i>we make all this, you see, in the pot,</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>fi-l-ḥallə?</i>	<i>In the pot?</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḥaywā</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
	<i>bi-gōm kull-a nitlaxbāt-u suwwa</i>	<i>So we mix it altogether.</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>ḥat-ṭāsə</i>	<i>The cup!</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>řibna ḥn_əl-laḥam</i>	<i>We brought the meat,</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>ḥat-ṭāsə?</i>	<i>The cup?</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḥaywa</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>ḥay</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>řibna ḥn_əl-laḥam</i>	<i>We brought the meat.</i>
	<i>ḥat-ṭāsə hāḍīčə hināk</i>	<i>That cup over there.</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>hāḍī-č?</i>	<i>That one?</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḥaywa</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>okay</i>	<i>Okay.</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ṭāṣam-na ḥn_əl-laḥam</i>	<i>Our food is the meat.</i>
	<i>gumt xuṭṭ-hum kūūūll-hin ḍān tgillib-hin fa-n-nār</i>	<i>Then I put all of it that, you stir it on the fire</i>
	<i>baṣḍ mā tigillib-in fa-n-nār</i>	<i>after you stir it on the fire</i>
	<i>taṣṭē-hin zey sāḥa</i>	<i>you give the meal about an hour</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>zay sāḥa fi-n-nār</i>	<i>About an hour on the fire.</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḥaywā</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>wa-l-lāḥam ḥagg il-ḡanam?</i>	<i>And the meat is sheep meat?</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḍān!</i>	<i>Lamb!</i>
	<i>yaṣni aḥsan lāḥam</i>	<i>It's the best meat!</i>
	<i>yaṣni zay-mā tgūl lāḥam mxatūm</i>	<i>It's like you say it's „sealed meat“,</i>
	<i>ṭānī baṣḍ mā ṭuṭṭ-ən ṣāl-an-nār</i>	<i>then, after you put it on the fire,</i>
	<i>yaxḍil-in sāḥa</i>	<i>they moisten one hour,</i>
	<i>yikūn-in naḡḍ-ən marra wāḥda</i>	<i>they will be done all at once</i>
	<i>ṭānī Pitnazzil-un yṣubb-um fə-ṣ-ṣīnīyə hāḍī</i>	<i>then they lower and pour them onto this tray.</i>
<i>St</i>	<i>fə-ṣ-ṣīnīyə hāḍī</i>	<i>In this tray.</i>
<i>Su</i>	<i>ḥaywa, ḥaṣ-ṣīnīyə hāḍī</i>	<i>Yes, in this tray.</i>

<i>ṭānī tgiṭṭaṣ naḥna ṣ-ṣáḷaṭa</i>	<i>Then we prepare (cut) the salad,</i>
<i>ṭānī tiḍrab fī-hin ṣilā man tigūl bass</i> ⁹⁸ [noises, change of topics]	<i>then you hit it until one says enough.</i>
<i>ḡant dilwān fī mazraṣat ḥamīd</i>	<i>You are now on Ḥamīd's land,</i>
<i>al-mazraṣa ḥagg-at ḥamīd salāma ṣabḍalla ṛāšid</i>	<i>the land of Ḥamīd Salāma ṣAbdalla Ṛāšid.</i>
(…)	
<i>yaṣni yaṣni ṛāšid, zay aṛ-ṛašāyda</i>	<i>It means Ṛāšid, like the Ṛašāyda,</i>
<i>ḥāḍi mazraṣat-huw wa-(…) fī ḡal-ḥawš</i>	<i>This is their land and (...) in al-Ḥawš,</i>
<i>ḥawš bānnāga</i>	<i>Ḥawš Bānnāga</i>
(Another person sitting in the shack comments that <i>ḥawš bānnāga</i> is the hometown of the former dictator of Sudan Omar al-Bashir and wonders if St knows about it)	
<i>ba-ṣarif-u zāt-u ba-ṣarif-u</i>	<i>He knows this, he knows it.</i>
<i>St hu mašhūr, ḡuhūw čān mašhūr</i>	<i>He's famous, he was famous.</i>
<i>Su ḡaywa gawwi, jawwi</i>	<i>Yes, very much, very much.</i>
(…)	
<i>D yā brāhīm!</i>	<i>Ibrahim!</i>
<i>I brāhīm!</i>	<i>yā wlad!</i>
<i>D yā wlad!</i>	<i>Hey boy!</i>
<i>Su gul-l-a yā brāhīm!</i>	<i>Tell him „hey Brahīm“!</i>
<i>St yā brāhīm!</i>	<i>„Hey Brahīm“!</i>

5.1.3.3 A phone call for lunch (HB_3)

A phone call for lunch (HB_3)	07.03.2023
Su, ḤS, A, S	Ḥ's shack close to Ḥawš Bānnāga

S	<i>ḡəhrəž maṣ-a ḡəhrəž maṣ-a!</i>	<i>Talk with him, talk with him!</i>
ṢA	<i>yā ḥamīd</i>	<i>Ḥamīd!</i>
Ḥ	<i>ḡā</i>	<i>Yeah.</i>
ṢA	<i>ḡā yaṣni axall-a bēyḍ-álḷā-</i>	<i>Yeah, so, May God make you happy-</i>
	<i>yaḷḷa xalāš bi-žīb-ni l-muḡāḍi ḡawwəl?</i>	<i>Well, okay, I bring me the stuff first?</i>
S	<i>tižīb-ik wēn, ḡantu wēn dilwān?</i>	<i>You bring it to you where? Where are you now?</i>

⁹⁸ Due to the very formal form *ḡila*, “*ḡila man tigūl bass*” is likely to be a fixed expression.

GA	ʔāni dilwāni fī yā ḡrāyēš ⁹⁹	I am now in Ġarēš.
H	ʔaywā	Yes.
S	gūl-l-u ʔinta fī ḡarēš	Tell him “are you in Ġarēš?”!
St	(...)	
S	gul-l-a ḡayyā-k-aḷḷa	Tell him “May God greet you”!
St	(...)	
GA	abgā-k-aḷḷa	May God keep you.
S	gul-l-a turīd ʔāla tūl?	Tell him “are you coming rightaway?”!
	yaḷḷa tamān-	Okay, God’s trust-
	(...)	
	tamām yā zōl	Okay, man.
GA	ʔārāḥ ¹⁰⁰ dagīga	Let’s go, one minute.
S	yaḷḷa tamān-aḷḷa	Okay, God’s trust.

5.1.4 Shendi (Sh_1-6)

The following transcriptions are recordings I took with rather young Rašīdis in their shops in the center of Shendi (as described in the acknowledgment). I tried to focus the conversations on selected linguistic features which resulted to create confusion.

5.1.4.1 Verbs I (Sh_1)

Verbs I (Sh_1)	05.03.2023
H, A, S (S)	In the Rašāyda’s shop in Shendi

In this recording, I asked for different defective verbs.

H:	<i>tabḡa, ʔabḡa, tabḡēn, bāḡīn, maḡmūʕa: bāḡīn,</i>	You want, I want, you (F.) want, they want, a group: they want.
S:	<i>ḡinna?</i>	We?
H:	<i>ḡinna mā ḡinna bāḡīn</i>	We, we don’t want.
S:	<i>ḡinna nabḡā walla nabḡī-ku?</i>	We want or we want you?
H:	<i>naḡī-ku</i>	We come to you.
S:	<i>ʔā?</i>	Ah?

⁹⁹ Ġarīš (قریش) is a neighborhood of Shendi.

¹⁰⁰ Arāḥ! (here: ārah) means “hurry up!” in SA and is far more common than yaḷḷa.

H:	<i>nažī-ku, nažī-ku, namši yaʕni, ɥinna bāgīn_nadžī-ku</i>	We come to you, we come to you, we go, so, we want to come to you.
S:	<i>mmm</i>	Hm.
H:	<i>fī muwēs</i>	To Mwēs.
	<i>w-antu tiřūn-na fī čāsila</i>	And you (PL.) are coming to us to Čāsila (Kasalā).
S:	<i>čāsila?</i>	Čāsila?
H:	<i>čāsila, tiřūn-na</i>	Čāsila, you (PL.) come to us.
(...)		
A:	<i>ɥinna mā ɥinna žāyyīn</i>	We, we are not coming.
	<i>ɥinna mā ɥinna žāyyīn</i>	We, we are not coming.
S:	<i>ʔahā</i>	Aha.
A:	<i>yaʕni niɥna mā ɥa-naǵī</i>	So, we, we will not come.
	<i>mā ɥinna žāyyīn</i>	We are not coming.
S:	<i>mā ɥinna žāyyīn</i>	We are not coming.
A:	<i>w-antu, lā tiřūn ʔantu lā tiřūn</i>	And you (PL.), you are not coming, you are not coming.
H:	<i>yaʕni ʔintu mā tižū l-lēla¹⁰¹</i>	So you are not coming today.

5.1.4.2 Kitchen devices (Sh_2)

Kitchen devices (Sh_2)	05.03.2023
HS, S (S)	In the Rašāyda's shop in Shendi

In this recording, the informants taught me the names of different objects around us.

H	<i>ʔaṭ-ṭāsə, jīdir, barrādi, gallāy¹⁰²</i>	The pan, the cooking-pot, the tea-pot, the coffee pan.
S	<i>ʔil-gallāy ʔēš?</i>	What is it?
H	<i>gallāy, bunn</i>	A coffee pot, coffee.
S	<i>ʔahā</i>	Ah.
H	<i>bunn, tāʕ al-bunn, tāʕ gáhwa</i>	Coffee, for the coffee beans, for the coffee.
S	<i>ʔahā</i>	Ah.
H	<i>fanārīl</i>	Cups.

¹⁰¹ SA *al-lēla* “today”.

¹⁰² Here, *gallāy* designates a pan that is used to roast coffee.

S	<i>fanādīl? fanājīl?</i>	Cups?
H	<i>fanārīl</i>	Cups.
S	<i>ḡū-ḡiṣrah-lī taṣmil šunū maṣa l-fanādīl?</i>	Explain to me, what do you do with the cups?
H	<i>taṣrah fī-in</i>	You sip in them.
(makes sipping noise)		
H	<i>kās, kās</i>	A glass, glass.
S	<i>kās</i>	Glass.
H	<i>ṣuḡeyyir</i>	A small one.
S	<i>kās</i>	Glass.
H	<i>tāni, ḡan-nīžir</i>	Then, the mortar.
S	<i>ḡan-nīžir</i>	The mortar
H	<i>bunn, taṣhan fī-h il-bunn</i>	Coffee, you grind the coffee in it.
	<i>ṣarḡbūṭ¹⁰³</i>	?
	<i>tāni</i>	Then,
	<i>ṣinīya</i>	a tray.
S	<i>ṣinīya ṣārīf</i>	A tray, I know.
A	<i>ḡalla</i>	A cooking-pot.
S	<i>ḡalla</i>	Cooking-pot.
H	<i>ḡilla</i>	A cooking-pot.

5.1.4.3 Demonstratives (Sh_3)

Demonstratives (Sh_3)	06.03.2023
A, S (S)	In the Raṣāyda's shop in Shendi

Here, I asked for demonstratives. We pointed at different objects in different distances.

A	<i>ḡahnī</i>	<i>Here.</i>
S	<i>ḡahá</i>	<i>Ah.</i>
A	<i>ḡahnūk</i>	<i>There.</i>
	<i>ḡāḡa, ḡaḡēlāk</i>	<i>This, that.</i>

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, it remains unclear what *ṣarḡbūṭ* refers to. Interestingly, *sarḡbūṭ al-ḡamīl* is a hiking trail in the region of Tabūk in Saudi-Arabia, i. e. close to the Raṣāyda's homelands, and refers to a natural stone formation resembling an obelisk.

(…)	
<i>hāḍēla</i>	<i>These.</i>
<i>hāḍīč, hāḍāk</i>	<i>That (F.), that (M.).</i>
S <i>ʔahá</i>	<i>Ah.</i>
A <i>hāḍa</i>	<i>This (M.).</i>
(…)	
A <i>hāḍi</i>	<i>This (F.).</i>
(…)	

5.1.4.4 The reflexive *al-ḥāl* (Sh_4)

The reflexive <i>al-ḥāl</i> (Sh_4)	06.03.2023
A, K ¹⁰⁴ , S (S)	In the Rašāyda's shop in Shendi

Here, I asked for the reflexive construction *al-ḥāl*- “alone”, “on my own” (cf. 2.4.1.9).

S	<i>ṭayyib, ʔana žīt ʔil-ḥāl-i</i>	Fine, I came on my own.
A	<i>w-anti žīti ʔil-ḥāl-ič</i>	And you (F.) came on your own.
S	<i>ʔu-ʔant žīt ʔil-ḥāl-k?</i>	And you (M.) came on your own.
A	<i>wū-ihiy žāt il-ḥāl-ha</i>	And she came on her own.
S	<i>ʔu-hūwa ža -</i>	And he came -
A	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-ə</i>	On his own.
S	<i>ža walla ža??</i>	Ža or ža??
A	<i>ža ʔal-ḥāl-ə wu-ʔihiy žāt il-ḥāl-ha</i>	He came on his own and she came on her own.
S	<i>wu-ḥinna?</i>	And we?
A	<i>žīna ʔil-ḥāl-na</i>	We came on our own.
S	<i>ʔū-ʔantu?</i>	And you (PL.)?
A	<i>žītu ʔil-ḥāl-i-ku</i>	You (PL.M.) came on your own.
S	<i>wu-ʔantin</i>	And you (PL.F.)?
A	<i>žītin ʔil-ḥāl-k'in</i>	You (PL.F.) came on your own.
S	<i>ḥāl-čin?</i>	ḥāl-čin? (on your (PL.F.) own?)
K	<i>ḥāl-čin</i>	ḥāl-čin? (on your (PL.F.) own?)
S	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-čin</i>	ʔil-ḥāl-čin (on your (PL.F.) own?)

¹⁰⁴ Speaker K is a child that occasionally joins the conversation.

A	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-čin</i>	ʔil-ḥāl-čin (on your (PL.F.) own?)
(…)		
S	<i>wū-ʔúhun</i>	And they (M.)?
A	<i>žāw il-ḥāl-hu</i>	They (M.) came on their own.
S	<i>žāww?</i>	Žāww? (they (M.) came?)
A	<i>žāw</i>	Žāw? (they (M.) came?)
S	<i>žāw</i>	Žāw? (they (M.) came?)
A	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-hu</i>	On their own.
S	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-hu</i>	On their own.
	<i>wa-ʔanhin? la-</i>	And “they (F.)”? No-
A	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (F.)!
S	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (F.)!
A	<i>žan</i>	They (F.) came
(…)		
	<i>ʔil-ḥāl-hin</i>	on their (F.) own.

5.1.4.5 Šlawnk? (Sh_5)

Šlawnk? (Sh_5)	12.03.2023
ḤS, ḤR, S (S)	In the Rašāyda’s shop in Shendi

The informants tried to introduce me to daily RA by imitating a casual conversation.

ḤR:	<i>b-ismiḷḷāh raḥmāni r-raḥīm</i>	
	<i>Ḥ. R.</i>	Ḥ. R.
	<i>nuraḥḥib axū-na</i>	We welcome our brother.
?:	<i>ʔistānli</i>	S
ḤR:	<i>ʔistānli</i>	S
	<i>ʔaniḥna¹⁰⁵ min šandi wilāyat nahr an-nīl</i>	We are from Shendi, Nile Valley State,
?:	<i>rašāyda</i>	Rašāyda!
ḤR:	<i>ʔar-ʔašāyda</i>	The Rašāyda.
	<i>gāl dāyir¹⁰⁶ itaʕallam al-luḡa ʔar- rašāydiyā</i>	He said that he wants to learn the language of the Rašāyda.

¹⁰⁵ SA.

¹⁰⁶ SA.

<i>ṭayyib b-ismiḷḷāh</i>	Well.
<i>ṣasā-k ṭayyib?</i>	How are you?
<i>yaṣni maṣnā- maṣnāt-a-</i>	It means, its meaning is-
<i>ṣasāk ṭayyib?</i>	How are you?
<i>wēš š-lawwun-k, kēf, ʔaxbār-ak</i>	How are you? What's new?
<i>ʔinšāḷḷa tamām</i>	Hopefully fine.
S asks for the right pronunciation of š-lawwun-k	
<i>š-lawwun-k</i>	How are you?
H _S : <i>ṣasā-k ṭayyib</i>	How are you?
H _R : <i>wēš š-lawwun-k, ṣasā-k ṭayyib</i>	How are you? Everything fine?
S: <i>š-lawwun-k</i>	How are you?
H _R : <i>yaṣni wēš š-lawwun-k, kēf</i>	It means, how are you? How?
S: <i>mmm</i>	Hm.
H _R : <i>bāyyi(...) da maṣnāt-ha tamām</i>	Bāyyi(...), this means “fine”.
S: <i>wu-li-n-niswān, š-lawn-ič?</i>	And for women, š-lawn-ič?
H _R : <i>ʔā, š-lawn-ič, ṭayyib</i>	Yes, š-lawn-ič, okay?
S: <i>ʔā kide?</i>	Ah, like this?
H _R : <i>wēš š-lawn-ič, ṭayybə?</i>	How are you? Fine?
S: <i>š-lawn-ič</i>	š-lawn-ič.
H _R : <i>yaḷḷa, ʔaḷḷa yihayyī-k</i>	Yes, God bless you.
S: <i>ʔitta, ʔitta ṣamalti šunū ʔimbāriḥ?</i>	You, what did you do yesterday?
<i>fī luḡat iṛ-rašāyda</i>	In the language of the Rašāyda.
H _R : <i>waḷḷāhi jāṣadēn fī biyūt-u</i>	By God, we were staying at home,
<i>ṭalaṣna kənāsa, rawwahna riḥlə</i>	we broomed, we went on a journey,
<i>ʔū- ʔū-məšayna ʔla(ṣa)w əl-wādi</i>	And, and we went down the Wādi,
<i>baraḥna šayd</i>	we hunted.
(...)	
<i>wu-taʔaššayna wu-žīna</i>	And we had dinner and came back ¹⁰⁷ .
S: <i>ha?</i>	Huh?
H _R : <i>mīn aṣ-ṣubḥ agamna wu-taʔaššayna,</i>	Since the morning we prepared, and we had dinner,
<i>ʔaftarna wu-taʔaššayna wu-žīna</i>	We had breakfast and we had dinner and we came back.
S: <i>ʔahā</i>	Ah.

¹⁰⁷ Astonishingly, the speaker uses *žā - yīži* “to come” (cf. 2.6.1.1.6.1) not for to come but for the opposite: to leave. Another approach is that *žā - yīži* refers to “coming (back) home” only.

HṚ:	<i>báṣad lāgō al-ṣarab ṭayyibīn u-mabsūṭīn</i>	After that, the people found themselves very well and satisfied.
	<i>wu-mā ṣalē-hu xlāf</i>	They were at ease.
(...)		
HṢ:	<i>ṭaxbār kāyf ya ḥamīd?</i>	What's up, H?
HṚ:	<i>waḷḷa tamām, ṭal-ṣulūm-</i>	By God, everything is fine-
HṢ:	<i>ṭayyib wu-ṣāyif¹⁰⁸?</i>	Fine, and (...)?
HṚ:	<i>waḷḷāhi bi-</i>	By God,-
HṢ:	<i>ṭal-ṣulūm mā-iy</i>	What's the news?
HṚ:	<i>ṭaḷḷāhi tamām al-ḥamdu-</i>	By God, fine, thanks God.
HṢ:	<i>mīta rētin-n¹⁰⁹ _āl-ṣarab?</i>	When did the people arrive?
HṚ:	<i>ṭal-yōwm žīt</i>	They came today.
HṢ:	<i>ṭāmān ha-l-ṣarab ṣasā-hu ṭayyibīn?</i>	Perfect, and these guys are fine?
HṚ:	<i>waḷḷāhi ṭayyibīn wu-mabsūṭīn</i>	By God, they are fine and happy.
HṢ:	<i>waḷḷāhi al-ṣulūm mā ṭēš ṭāni</i>	By God, what other news are there?
HṚ:	<i>waḷḷāhi (...) ḥatta lōn-k ṭayyib?</i>	By God (...), but how are you, fine?
HṢ:	<i>waḷḷāhi b-xēyr al-ḥamdullāh</i>	By God, fine, thanks God.
	<i>žēytin-n _ād-ḡahab?¹¹⁰</i>	Did the gold arrive?
HṚ:	<i>ṭēšlan¹¹¹</i>	Of course.
HṢ:	<i>ṭāmān</i>	Fine.
HṚ:	<i>l-ṭabwān-na dāw mā _ddē-na¹¹²</i>	To our fathers, those did not give us-
HṢ:	<i>waḷḷāhi b-xēr ṭal-ḥamdullāh</i>	By God, very good, thanks God.
HṚ:	<i>ṭal-ḥalāl w-āl-ḡanam čēf?</i>	How are the camels and the sheep?
HṢ:	<i>waḷḷāhi ṭayyibīn ṭal-ḥamdullāh</i>	By God, they are fine, thanks God.
	<i>ṣānda-na ṣānzā mātāt əl-yawm</i>	We have a goat that died today.
S:	<i>ṭāy?</i>	Oh?
HṚ:	<i>ṛabb-nə yiṣawúḡ-ku nšāaḷḷa</i>	May God compensate you for your loss.
S:	<i>min- ?</i>	From- ?

¹⁰⁸ Translation unclear.

¹⁰⁹ Exact form and construction remain unclear.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ *aṣlan.

¹¹² Exact form, construction and translation remain unclear.

HS: <i>min ʕadəb, min ʕadəb tašš-ə</i> ¹¹³	From the well, she wandered off from the well.
HR: <i>ʔinšāallā-ha rabb-nə yiʕawūq-ku</i>	Hopefully, God will compensate you for your loss.

5.1.4.6 Verbs II (Sh_6)

Verbs II (Sh_6)	06.03.2023
HS, ʕAb, K ¹¹⁴ , S (S)	In the Rašāyda's shop in Shendi

A	<i>naʕam ʔana ʕabdaʔla- wāfiḡ bi-t-tasjīl- ʕan_ayyi kilma ʔāwz_agūl ʕalē-k</i>	Yes, I am A.- I am fine with the recording- with any word I want to tell you.
	<i>ḥābib agūl lē-k ʔižayyiḥa</i>	Dear, I tell you “ižayyiḥa”.
	<i>ʔižayyiḥa maʕanāt-ha gōd</i>	„ižayyiḥa” means “good”.
	<i>yaʕni ḥāja mumtāza</i>	It means, something wonderful.
(...)		
	<i>wū-tāni ʔalli hēya- ḡáh(ə)wa</i>	And then, the one is- “ḡáh(ə)wa” (coffee).
	<i>ḡáh(ə)wa žab(ə)nə</i>	“ḡáh(ə)wa”: coffee.
	<i>(...) bi-nuṭuḡ ar-rašīdi žabənə</i>	With the Rašīdi pronunciation: “žabənə”.
	<i>ʔū-tāni ʔilli hīye šnū-</i>	And then, it is-
	<i>fakkir</i>	To see.
	<i>hāda-</i>	This-
(..., noises, comments by H and S)		
	<i>ʔarāh!</i> ¹¹⁵	Look!
S:	<i>ʔarāh!</i>	„Look!”
A:	<i>ʔarāh! maʕanāt-ha ʔunḡur!</i>	Look! Its meaning is “look!”
	<i>ʔarāh!</i>	Look!
(St asks about the plural)		
	<i>ʔar-hāw!</i>	Look at them!
(everybody repeats ʔar-hāw!)		
	<i>ʔar-hāw yaʕni ʔunḡur la-hum!</i>	“look at them” means look at them!
S:	<i>ʔū-ʔar-nā?</i>	And “look at us”?
A:	<i>ʔar-na! ʔar-na!</i>	Look at us! Look at us!

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Speaker K is a child that occasionally joined the conversation.

¹¹⁵ *ʔara – yara is found particularly in the far South-west of Saudi-Arabia (Behnstedt&Woidich 2014: 338).

<i>ʔári-ni! ʔar-ni!</i>	Look at me! Look at me!
<i>ʔar-na ʔnēn</i>	“Look at us” is two.
S: <i>ʔū-hūwa bas?</i>	And only for “him”?
A: <i>ʔar-ə! ʔar-ə!</i>	Look at him! Look at him!
<i>hāḍ ar-ə!</i>	This, look at it!
(…)	
H: <i>šaxš wāḥid ʔar-ə</i>	One person, look at it!
<i>ʔana ʔar-ni</i>	I, I look at me.
<i>ʔar-hāw!</i>	Look at them!
<i>ʔar-na!</i>	Look at us!
<i>ʔar-na! ʔar-na!</i>	Look at us! Look at us!
A: <i>būrāb¹¹⁶ ʔaru, ʔaru</i>	(…) look (PL.M.)!
H: <i>hūna ʔar-hu</i>	Here, “look (PL.M.)!”
S: <i>mmm</i>	Hm.
H: <i>ʔar-na</i>	Look at us!
<i>naʔar wāḥid hināk ʔar-na ʔar-na!</i>	One person there, look at us, look at us!
A: <i>ʔar-ni!</i>	Look at me!
H: <i>ʔar-ni žāy</i>	Look at me coming!
(…, S asks for personal pronouns)	
A: <i>ʔant</i>	You (SG.M.).
(…, S asks for the feminine)	
A: <i>law ʔunṭa ʔanti</i>	If it’s female: “you (SG.F.)”.
S: <i>hū walla hūwa?</i>	“hū” or “hūwa”?
A: <i>ʔúhuw!</i>	“ʔúhuw” (he)!
S: <i>ʔúhū</i>	“ʔúhū”
A: <i>ʔúhuw!</i>	“ʔúhuw”
S: <i>ʔúhuw</i>	“ʔúhuw”
A: <i>ʔúhuw, yā ḥamdā(n) másalan</i>	“ʔúhuw” (him), Ḥamdān, for example.
<i>ʔara-h, ʔúhuw</i>	Look at him, him!
S: <i>ʔū-ʔihiw?</i>	And “ʔihiw”?
A: <i>ʔihiy!</i>	“ʔihiy” (she)!
S: <i>ʔū-ḥinna?</i>	And “we”?
A: <i>ḥinnā!</i>	We!
<i>ʔanta rašīdī baʕad kida xalāš</i>	After this, you’re a Rašīdī!

¹¹⁶ Exact transcription and translation are unclear.

S:	<i>ʔantu?</i>	You (PL.M.)?
A:	<i>ʔant</i>	You (SG.M.).
S:	<i>yaʕni b-il-žāmaʕ ʔantu?</i>	I mean, in the plural, “ʔantu”?
A:	<i>ʔantu</i>	You (PL.M.).
S:	<i>ʔantu?</i>	You (PL.M.).
A:	<i>ʔantin</i>	You (PL.F.).
S:	<i>ʔantin law nisā?</i>	You (PL.F.) if it is feminine?
A:	<i>ʔantin</i>	You (PL.F.).
S:	<i>wāw</i>	Wow.
	<i>ʔū-hum? walla hun?</i>	And “they”?
A:	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (PL.F.).
S:	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (PL.F.).
A:	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (PL.F.).
S:	<i>wāw ʔihin</i>	Wow, they (PL.F.).
A:	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (PL.F.).
S:	<i>wu-li-n-nisā?</i>	And for the women?
A:	<i>li-n-nisā ʔihin</i>	For the women, it’s “they (PL.F.)”.
S:	<i>ʔihin</i>	They (PL.F.).
A:	<i>li- ʔaz-zakār ʔúhuw, ʔúhum</i>	For- the men it’s “they (PL.M.)”.
S:	<i>ʔúhum, ʔúhum wu-ʔihin</i>	They (PL.M.), they (PL.M.) and they (PL.F.).
	<i>okay, okay</i>	Okay, okay.
	<i>yaʕni, ʔana, ʔaktib, ʔana aktib?</i>	So, I, “ʔaktib, ʔana aktib?” (I write)?
A:	<i>hāḍi ʔanā-ktib</i>	This, I write.
S:	<i>ʔana ʔaktib wu-ʔant taktib?</i>	I write and you (SG.M.) write?
A:	<i>hāḍi hā luḡa ʕādīya</i>	This, this is normal speech.
H:	<i>ʔant taktib wu-ana grá</i>	I write and I read.
S:	<i>ʔagra, okay</i>	I read, okay.
H:	<i>tagra, tadrus</i>	You read (SG.M.): you study (SG.M.).
<i>(...)</i>		
S:	<i>masalan, ʔana ʔagra, ʔant tagra?</i>	For example, I read, you read (SG.M.)?
A:	<i>tagra</i>	You read (SG.M.).
S:	<i>wu-ʔanti tagrīn?</i>	And you read (SG.F.)?
A:	<i>tagrēn</i>	You read (SG.F.).
S:	<i>tagrēn, tagrēn</i>	You read (SG.F.), you read (SG.F.).
	<i>wu-ʔúhuw</i>	And he?
A:	<i>yágəra</i>	He reads.

S:	<i>wu-ḏihiy</i>	And she?
A:	<i>tágəra</i>	She reads.
S:	<i>tágəra walla tagra?</i>	“tágəra or tagra?” (she reads)?
A:	<i>tagra</i>	You read (SG.M.).
S:	<i>tagra, wu-ḥinna</i>	You read (SG.M.), and we?
A:	<i>nágəra</i>	We read.
S:	<i>nagra</i>	We read.
A:	<i>w-úhum yagərōn</i>	And they read (PL.M.).
S:	<i>wu-ḏihin?</i>	And they (PL.F.)?
A:	<i>yagrán</i>	They read (PL.F.).
S:	<i>yagrán</i>	They read (PL.F.).
A:	<i>yagrán</i>	They read (PL.F.).
S:	<i>wu-ḏantu?</i>	And you (PL.M.)?
A:	<i>nágəra</i>	We read.
S:	<i>nagra</i>	We read.
A:	<i>ḥinna nágəra</i>	We read.
S:	<i>wu-ḏantu?</i>	And you (PL.M.)?
A:	<i>wu-ḏantu tagrōn</i>	And you read (PL.M.).
S:	<i>tagrōn</i>	You read (PL.M.).
H:	<i>w-āna ḏágəra, w-ant tágəra</i>	And I read, and you read (SG.M.).
S:	<i>ḏāy</i>	Yes.
H:	<i>w-anti tagrēn w-āna ḏágəra</i>	And you read (SG.F.) and I read.
S:	<i>okay</i>	Okay.
K:	<i>w-uhúm yagrōn</i>	And they read (PL.M.).
S:	<i>yagrōn</i>	They read (PL.M.).
A:	<i>yagrōn, yagrán</i>	They read (PL.M.), they read (PL.F.).
S:	<i>ḏahā</i>	Ah.
A:	<i>muḏannaṭ yagrán</i>	Female is “they read (PL.F.)”.
S:	<i>yagrán</i>	“They read (PL.F.)”.
A:	<i>muḏakkar yagrōn</i>	Male is “they read (PL.M.)”.
(S asks for another verb and proposes *rā “to see”)		
S:	<i>ḏana ḏara?</i>	I see?
A:	<i>ḏana ḏafaččir</i>	I see.
S:	<i>ḏafaččir?</i>	“I see”?
K:	<i>šāyif</i>	I see.
S:	<i>yaṣni ḏana šāyif</i>	So it means “I see”.

A:	<i>ʔā ʔafaččir</i>	“I see”.
S:	<i>fakkir</i>	He saw.
A:	<i>ʔafaččir fī-k yaʕni šāyif kull šī-</i>	I see you means I see everything-
S:	<i>ʔana fakkir fī-k, walla fī-ki?</i>	“I see you (SG.M.)” or “I see you (SG.F.)”?
A:	<i>fī-ki fī-k kullu wāḥid</i>	You (SG.F.), you (SG.M.), it’s all one.
S:	<i>fī-kun</i>	You (PL.M.).
A:	<i>mmm</i>	Hm.
S:	<i>okay</i>	Okay.
H:	<i>ʔana msāfir yam-</i>	I travel to-
S:	<i>yam?</i>	“To”?
H:	<i>l-xarṭūm</i>	Khartoum.
A:	<i>yam, žam mā farṭūn¹¹⁷</i>	To, next to what the excesses are.
S:	<i>yam</i>	To.
A:	<i>yam</i>	To.
S:	<i>okay, kwayyis</i>	Okay, fine.
A:	<i>ʔana žay bukəra</i>	I am coming back tomorrow.
	<i>ʔana mʕawwəd bukəra</i>	I am coming back tomorrow.
S:	<i>ʔana mʕawwəd</i>	I am coming back.
A:	<i>mʕawwəd bukra</i>	Coming back tomorrow.
(…)		
	<i>mʕawwudəh</i>	She is coming back.
S:	<i>ʔahá</i>	Ah.
A:	<i>ʔanṭa, muʕawwudə</i>	Female: she is coming back.
(…, S asks for more verbs and proposes *xāf “to fear”)		
S:	<i>ʔana ʔaxāf wu-ʔant</i>	I fear and you?
A:	<i>wu-ʔanti taxāfīn</i>	And you fear (SG.F.).
S:	<i>taxāfīn</i>	“You fear (SG.F.)”
A:	<i>ʔitxāfīn</i>	You fear (SG.F.).
S:	<i>txāfīn</i>	You fear (SG.F.).
A:	<i>ʔitxāfīn</i>	You fear (SG.F.).
S:	<i>ʔitxāfīn</i>	You fear (SG.F.).
	<i>hūwa</i>	He.
A:	<i>yixāf</i>	He fears.
S:	<i>yaxāf</i>	He fears.

¹¹⁷ This might be an expression; the translation remains unclear.

A:	<i>yíxāf</i>	He fears.
K:	<i>xawwāfa</i>	Fear.
S:	<i>wa-ḥinna?</i>	And we?
A:	<i>nxāf</i>	We fear.
S:	<i>wu-ḡantu</i>	And you (PL.M.)?
A:	<i>ḡitxāfūn</i>	You fear (PL.M.).
S:	<i>ḡitxāfūn</i>	You fear (PL.M.).
A:	<i>ḡu-hum yixāfūn</i>	And they fear (PL.M.).
S:	<i>wu-ḡihin</i>	And they (PL.F.)?
A:	<i>yixāfīn</i>	They fear (PL.F.).
(...)		
S:	<i>wa-ḡana ḡamṣi walla ḡana-?</i>	And I go or I-?
A:	<i>ḡarawwəḥ</i>	“I go”
S:	<i>ḡarawwəḥ</i>	“I go”
A:	<i>yaṣni luḡa Ṣarabīya ḡarūḥ</i>	In Arabic ,I go‘,
	<i>bess niḥna ḡarawwəḥ</i>	but us: “I go“.
S:	<i>okay, yaṣni ḡana ḡarawwəḥ mwēs, walla lī mwēs</i>	Okay, so “I go (to) Mwēs, or I go to Mwēs?
A:	<i>ḡarawwəḥ</i>	I go.
	<i>ḡana mrawwəḥ əmwēs</i>	I go (to) Mwēs.
S:	<i>ḡimwēs</i>	Imwēs?
A:	<i>ḡəmwēs</i>	ḡəmwēs.
H:	<i>hāḡi ḡánam walla ḡinn-u hāḡi ḡánam?</i>	Are these sheep or aren’t these sheep?
(chickling)		
	<i>hāḡi Ṣaḡrab walla mā-hi Ṣaḡrab?</i>	Is this a scorpion or is this not a scorpion?

5.1.4.7 Numerals (Sh_7)

Numerals (Sh_7)	06.03.2023
A	In the Raṣāyda’s shop in Shendi

<i>ḡabdā bi-Ṣadad</i>	I start with the number
<i>wāḥid</i>	One
<i>ḡitnēn</i>	Two

<i>talātə</i>	Three
<i>ʔarbaʕə</i>	Four
<i>xamsə</i>	Five
<i>sittə</i>	Six
<i>sábaʕə</i>	Seven
<i>tumāniyə</i>	Eight
<i>tisʕə</i>	Nine
<i>ʕāšara</i>	Ten
<i>ʔiḥidáʔəš</i>	Eleven
<i>ʔitnāʔəš</i>	Twelve
<i>talāttāʔəš</i>	Thirteen
<i>ʔarbaʕtāʔəš</i>	Fourteen
<i>xamstāʔəš</i>	Fifteen
<i>sittāʔəš</i>	Sixteen
<i>sabaʕtāʔəš</i>	Seventeen
<i>tumāntāʔəš</i>	Eighteen
<i>tisaʕtāʔəš</i>	Nineteen
<i>ʔišrīn</i>	Twenty
<i>wāḥid-u-ʔišrīn</i>	Twenty-one
(...)	
<i>mīyyə</i>	One hundred
<i>mīytēn</i>	Two hundred
<i>tult(ə)mīyyə</i>	Three hundred
<i>ʔurbuʕmīyyə</i>	Four hundred
<i>xumsmīyyə</i>	Five hundred

<i>sitt(ə)mīyyə</i>	Six hundred
<i>subuʕ(ə)mīyyə</i>	Seven hundred
<i>tumunmīyyə</i>	Eight hundred
<i>tisəʕmīyyə</i>	Nine hundred
<i>ʔalf</i>	One thousand
(...)	
<i>l-awwal</i>	The first
<i>wa-t-tānī</i>	And the second
<i>wa-t-tālīt</i>	And the third
<i>wa-r-rabiʕ</i>	And the fourth
<i>wa-l-xāmis</i>	And the fifth
<i>wa-s-sādis</i>	And the sixth
<i>wa-s-sābiʕ</i>	And the seventh
<i>wa-t-tāmin</i>	And the eighth
<i>wa-t-tāsiʕ</i>	And the ninth
<i>wa-l-ʕāšir</i>	And the tenth
<i>wa-l-ʔiḥdāʕəš</i>	And the eleventh
<i>wa-l-ʔitnāʕəš</i>	And the twelfth
<i>aṭ-talāttāʔəš</i>	And the thirteenth
<i>wa-l-ʔarbaʕtāʕəš</i>	And the fourteenth
<i>wa-l-xamstāʕəš</i>	And the fifteenth
<i>wa-s-sittāʕəš</i>	And the sixteenth
<i>wa-s-sabaʕtāʕəš</i>	And the seventeenth
<i>wa-t-tumāntāʕəš</i>	And the eighteenth
<i>wa-t-tisiʕtāʕəš</i>	And the nineteenth

wa-l-ḡiṣrīn

And the twentieth



Photo 3: In the Rašāyda's shops in Shendi. Copyright by the author.

5.1.5 Manuscripts (Q_1; Q_2; Q_3)

These three *qaṣīdas* were recorded on the same occasion as the Rašāyda's history (M_1), in the *dīwān aḡ-ḡiyūf* in Mwēs. Poetry plays a very significant role in the culture of the Rašāyda and reciting it is a matter of major pride. It is therefore no surprise that the first recordings I took that day were these three poems – in fact, all recordings taken could have been of poetic nature if I would not have insisted on daily and spontaneous speech.

Since poetry neither represent daily and spontaneous speech nor does it embody a focus in this thesis, these three transcriptions remain in the form of manuscripts. They are morphologically segmented – although sometimes only presumably deducted – but not translated.

They represent a core piece of Rašīdi culture whose keeping should be of major interest. Since the frame of this thesis does not allow further analysis of this cultural and linguistic heritage, I would be delighted to pass over this task to somebody else.

5.1.5.1 *Qaṣīda 1*

<i>Qaṣīda 1</i> (Q_1)	24.02.2023
AŞ	In the <i>dīwān aḡ-ḡiyūf</i> in Mwēs

crowd:

čikallam¹¹⁸!

AŞ:

b-ismiḷlāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm wu-ṣalāt wu-salām ʕala šraf xalla-ḷlāhi maʕ-īy

A. Ş. Ş. N.

ʔana ʔāwz agūl gaṣīda

ʕand(i) wāḥid a- ʔaxī-na

gaṣīda tmaddih¹¹⁹ ražil sawwa¹²⁰ fi-na sālif wa-maʕarūf

wa-r-ražil hāda min makka l-makarrama

¹¹⁸ Imperative SG.M.: **itkallim!*

¹¹⁹ “Exalts, glorifies”.

¹²⁰ “He made”.

yā ʔabu rākān
 ʔaḥmad ʔabu rākān
 ʔaḥmad da raʔul sawwa fī-na sālīf
 wu-sawwa fī-na šī ʔayyib
 wa-ḥinna ḥabbeyna rāsīl-l-ah risālə
 bā- bi-gəṣīdə
 baʔḍēn nagūl-lə yā-xā tərī ktəb-(h)ə min aš-šaʔər id-dīwān
 ʔiktib muwāgīf ha-r-rījāl al-ʔaḍīm

ʔal-gizīlə
 ʔāla š-širīf al-lēyla-hum ʔānda-na šān al-ʔašraf wa-ʔāla s-siyūf
 wa-ʔāla l-xiyūl al-ašīlə
 ʔašrāf makka min- ʔāla ʔahəd az-zəmān
 nāʔlaw wu-šaraf-hum bass siyūf as-sigīlə
 ʔaḥmad ʔabū rākān yā ʔabb ʔalā hān
 waḷḷāhi ʔāyīf fī ʔuyūn ig-gibīlə
 ʔan lēkəm al-mab- ʔallē ʔala l-mabda kam an-nūr lābān
 wa-xwān-na
 ʔallē ʔala l-mabda kam an-nūr lābān
 wa-yʔiz ʔabb mā ygīb al-fašīlə
 wa-xwān-na hal wāfī min dūn hagrān
 ʔil-kūlli yandaʔ miṭəl nəzbə al-baxīlə
 ʔal-kūlli yabdaʔ miṭəl məzn al-maxīlə

waḷḷāhi nn-al-gaṣīdə hassaʔ mā-staḥ(a)ḍār-ha
 baʔḍēn mā-staḥaḍār-ha kull-ha
 wu-hāḍī ʔādāt u-taḡālīd ʔahamm aṙ-ṙəṣāyde, ʔarāb-na
 fa-š-šīʔir
 ʔana ʔāwz atkellem ʔan aš-šīʔir
 ʔaš-šīʔir hāḍa fī-h ḡāfitīn
 ḡāfyə, (...), masalan gəṣīdə
 zeyy il-gəṣīdə ʔalli dīlwān hāḍī
 tabdā-ha b-ḡāfitīn
 wu-fī-h ig-gəṣīdət ʔalāṭa ḡāfyāt
 wa-ṙ-ṙābʔə tagfā-həm
 gəṣīdə- ḡāfyə muxtalifə
 maṭalan

ʔana ʕāwz ʔaʕīb gəʕīdə
 ööö bi-l- ʔalāʔa gawāfi
 wu-tagfā-həm gəʕīdəh ʔābʕə
 gāfyəh ʔābʕə

somebody else:

beyt

AŞ:

maʔalan

zeyy il-yigūl

(unhearable comment from somebody else)

laʔ, mā-hiy

min daʔ gāman

(...)

(he tries to make a spontaneous poem but does not succeed, end of the tape)

5.1.5.2 *Qaṣīda 2*

<i>Qaṣīda 2</i> (Q_2)	24.02.2023
AŞ	In the <i>dīwān aḍ-ḍiyūf</i> in Mwēs

A. Ş.

ʔā ʔana ʔandi gəʕīdə ʔānīyə ʔabb- (...)

waṣṣīyə¹²¹

somebody:

čikallam!

AŞ:

A. Ş. Ş. N.

ʔana ʕandi gəʕīdə ʔāni

¹²¹ “advice, counsel, testament, legacy”.

waṣṣīyeh ʔila ʔébənə li-ṣ-ṣəḡayyib
 wa-yigūl al-gəṣīdə
 ʔawṣī-k yā ṣāfi tara l-ḥagg yingāl
 ʔana walād-i sm-áh aṣ-ṣāfi ṣḡayyir
 ʔagūl-l-ah awṣī-k yā ṣāfi tara l-ḥagg yingāl
 wa-l-ḥagg yabdi miṭil badra ʕala l-ḥillə
 wu-tara l-ʕara fi-hum wu-mnāfig-hum məḥtālu fi-hum ɖaṣṭif-in kull ḥayyi nidillə
 tilgā-h bēn an-nās yabdi yixtāl
 wa-l-kilmah alli zāl fi-h- mā zillə
 wa-l-ḥagg tasfāl ʕāl iṣ-ṣiyūx-unna ʕaggāl sādāt gawman kill gāsi ṭhill-l-ə
 ḥalla-na bi-ḥəkm-a fi-h l-əl-ḥall midḥāl
 wu-ʕilm min-ilyā gālāw mā fi-h iz-zillə
 yā ṣafi al-maʕna ʕāla kilma wāld-k tawwā-k ṣaḡīr al-ʕilm mā tiftatīl-l-ə
 ʔawṣī-k lā tabra xabīṭīn al-iṣmāl
 w-alli xabīṭ iṣmāl min ḡēr millə
 tilgāh bēn an-nās yadrat fi-l-amṭāl wu-harji nigūl-l-əh min alsāni hī ḍillə
 xāləd tujālis miṣ ṭ-tuwīlīn al-afʕāl
 ʔalli ɖarā-hum kull ḥayyi nidillə
 xalla-k mihīl ʔū-xall maṣya-k ba-l-ʔamhāl
 ʔū-fi kəll šēy aṣ-ṣəl lā tiṣṭi ḍillə
 wə-nṣirt taʕāli ba-l-mabāni wa-l-ʔamwāl
 ʔakram ɖaṣṭif al-gawm lā tistagill-l-ə
 tilgāb mḥammad xall ʕāla ḍill wu-ḍilāl
 wu-yawm al-ḥa-ʔṣarṙāb bi-yəḍəll-la-k bi-yəḍill-l-ə
 wu-ṣalāt rabb iṣdāt mā darraz al-māl ʕāla rasūl yumkīn-na fi duṭillə
 ʕalla-l-lāh ʕalē-h u-sallim

5.1.5.3 Qaṣīda 3

Qaṣīda 3 (Q_3)	24.02.2023
ŞA	In the <i>dīwān aḍ-ḍiyūf</i> in Mwēs

ʔinda-na- ʕind-i gəṣīda l-ʔabū-y aḷla yarḥam-a
 A. b. M. N., ana Ş. A. b. M. b. N.
 yigūl ʕali ʔibn muḥammad aḷla yarḥam-a
 ṭarfa yiṣīgg al-ḡaw fi ʔingāl nīṣān
 wu-il-ya ltefēt meṭl el-siyūf es-sināni
 waḡd-i ʕalēy-k al-yawm yā fawt al-afnān

waʒd al-ġarīb allī-huw gaʃt al-miṭāni
 wuġáʃ fi-d-diyār ġurbá-ha idwān
 imʃadīna buʃud ḥawwalu t̃āni
 šān-i ʃāla šān-ak kōšān-ak ʃāla šān
 wu-mā ʃadana wiyy-āk yā muʃdumāni¹²²
 ʔanta ʃaġīr as-sinn talʃab fa-l-ʔawṭān
 w-āna čibīrt u-šibt wadg¹²³ al-zumāni
 leyta ʃəbā yašərun ha-bġāli la-t̃mān
 la-šrī wu-ʔatraks šay bi-yā-t̃ī mičān-i
 law trē layta ʃ-ʃəbā yašərun ha-bġāli la-t̃mān
 la-šrī wu-ʔatrak šay bi-t̃ī mičān-i

Ş. A. M. naşşār al-ğaşīdə

hāḍi ġázil al-walad aḷla yarḥam-a ʔinšā-aḷla rabbī-na yaḥfir-l-ə yā (...)

5.2 Fieldwork campaign in Ḥalfā l-ġadīda by Stefan Reichmuth (1978)

This section comprises four of the eight tapes that Stefan Reichmuth recorded during his fieldwork campaign in Ḥalfā l-ġadīda in Eastern Sudan. He kindly offered these tapes – 8 hours of audio material recorded on cassettes – to the WIBARAB-team which digitalized and saved it. The recordings comprise talks about history, weddings and traditions and may more, as well as music and spontaneous speech. The speakers are all male, unfortunately, there is no concrete information about them. The character of the recordings is not very distinct to the ones I took, approximately 50 years later, the most striking impression, though, is that the choice of topics, the speech, and even the voices of the informants are extremely similar.

5.2.1 R1A

Part 1 (from 16:05)

A	<i>šēx, min-ēn žīt?</i>	<i>Šēx, where are you coming from?</i>
---	-------------------------	--

¹²² “A person without money”.

¹²³ “Fire”.

B	<i>ʕinda rajil</i>	From (my) people.
A	<i>wēn-hu ʕarāb-k?</i>	Where are your people?
B	<i>ʕarab- ʔ mwāʕla</i>	My people are arriving.
A	<i>mā ʔliʕ siyyāt¹²⁴ mičān</i>	He didn't drive out the cars anywhere.
B	<i>bi-tisʕa w-ʕiʕrīn ʕašāyda</i>	With 29 Rašāyda.
A	<i>bi-tisʕa w-ʕiʕrīn ʕašāyda?</i>	With 29 Rašāyda?
	<i>wu-žēt lāyiš ahnī?</i>	And why have you come here?
B	<i>(...) iʕ-ʕimāl' ʔ</i>	The northern (...).
A	<i>wu-lāyʕ žēt la-hnī?</i>	And why have you come here?
B	<i>žīt bə-ḡāzi mharab, əṛ-ʕašāyda dəyf</i>	I came with a smuggling raider, the Rašāyda are guests.
A	<i>ʔəstīv, tabbi tʕazim iʕtīvān¹²⁵</i>	Steve, you want to invite Stefan?
B	<i>ʔē</i>	Yes.
A	<i>w-əstāz¹²⁶ silīm</i>	And [he is] a kind teacher.
B	<i>ʔē</i>	Yes.
A	<i>w-āna, wu-mdarrisīn kəll-huw</i>	And I, and they are all teachers.
B	<i>bi-l-ḡēl</i>	A lot!
A	<i>ʔayyib ʔinʕāllāh nažī-k</i>	Okay, hopefully we'll come to you.
B	<i>ʔaḷḷa yiḡayyī-ku</i>	May God give you life.
A	<i>ʔaḷḷa yaḡlī-k</i>	May Allah increase your value.
B	<i>(...)</i>	
A	<i>ʔaḷḷa yibārik fī-k</i>	May God bless you.
Stefan	<i>kassar xēr</i>	May God increase your goodness.
A	<i>wu-kattar aḷḷā xēr</i>	May God increase your goodness.

¹²⁴ The exact word and its translation are unclear, probably it is the Spanish car brand SEAT, pronounced *siyyāt*, that is sometimes referred to as an umbrella term for cars in general in certain parts of Sudan.

¹²⁵ “Stephen”, i. e. Stefan Reichmuth.

¹²⁶ As usual, rather formal vocabulary is borrowed from SA and therefore lacks interdental.

<i>wa-ħinnā waḷḷāhi widdna ʕāla žāyt-k</i>	And us, we really wished your coming
<i>widd(-)na ʔinna nilgā ḥad ʕarab kbār</i>	we wished/ our wish is to meet one of the older people
<i>ʕalašān ar-rižāl hādī ʔistīvən</i>	because this man, Stefan,
<i>yabbi yēxaḍ min-hu čālam fi- l-lúga bard-ha</i>	also wants to take speech from them.
<i>ʔaḷḷā wiḥayyī ʕulūm-a</i>	May God greet his concerns.
<i>ʔinšaḷḷā nžī-ku ħinna swāʔ, sāʕa tñēyn nažī-k</i>	Hopefully we'll come to you together, at two o'clock we'll come to you.

until 16:55

Part 2 (from 25:21)

A	<i>hāh iš-šēx</i>	Hey, Šēx,
	<i>čēf ḥāl-kən¹²⁷?</i>	How are you?
	<i>ʕasā-k ʔayyib?</i>	How are you doing?
	<i>il-ʕawāfi?</i>	How is your health?
	<i>ʕarāb-k aʕisāhu ʔayyibīn kúlli-huw</i>	Your people are all doing well.
	<i>min-ēn žīt wu-wēn tabaʕ?</i>	Where are you coming from and where do you belong to?
B	<i>waḷḷāhi žīt min ḥalʕ, al-židīda</i>	By God, I came from Halfa, New Halfa.
A	<i>míta rīt?</i>	When did you come?
B	<i>žīt imbāriḥ</i>	I came yesterday.
A	<i>wēn tābaʕ?</i>	Where do you belong to?
B	<i>ʔand-i madrased, abnī fī-ha</i>	I have a school, I'm building it.
A	<i>ʔayyib</i>	Fine.
B	<i>w-āna msāʕad fī-ha</i>	And I'm a helper there.
A	<i>wə-bardū l-ḥakūm saʕadə¹²⁸-na šwiyya</i>	And also the government helped us a bit

¹²⁷ This is the only occurrence of *-kən* as the bound pronoun of the 2.PL.M. It might be a lexicalized polite form instead of *-ku(w)*.

¹²⁸ Cf. 2.1.2.2.1.

	<i>wu-š-šaṣab msāṣd'ət-na</i>	and the people is our helper,
	<i>wu-baṣdēn nabbī nẓī-ha</i>	and then we want to reach it.
	<i>min al-ṣām¹²⁹ wa-ḥanna nabni fī-ha</i>	Since last year, and we are building it.
	<i>wa-lyā¹³⁰ dilwān mā-gādanā-ha</i>	And (?) now, we didn't finish it.
	<i>wu-ḡibna zinčīn wu-ḡibna xašēb-na</i>	We brought the zinc, and we brought our wood.
A	<i>iz-zinč wu-l-xašēb ḡibtū</i>	You brought the zinc and the wood.
B	<i>ḡibna</i>	We did.
A	<i>waṣal ihnī fī mādrise?</i>	Has it arrived here to school?
B	<i>waṣal hīnī</i>	It has arrived here.
A	<i>māša āh</i>	Wonderful!
	<i>baṣd ḡinn-u wāṣil xalāṣ mā-ṣād-iš-šī miškila tāni</i>	After it arrives it's done, there's no problem anymore.
B	<i>al-ḥamduli ā</i>	Thanks God (...)
A	<i>rabbn_inšāa ā yjawwūm¹³¹-ha taww'ī</i>	May God give it liveliness now!
Back	<i>ḡamīn</i>	For sure.
	<i>ṣaṣān ḡinna zyāt-hun¹³² əmdarrsīn tāṣbaw</i>	Because us, the teachers themselves, they got tired
	<i>ḡūhuw fī mičān ḡadītə</i>	He [it] is in a modern place.
(...)		
	<i>al-ḡiṣṣāṣ</i>	The nests.
	<i>wu-fī ḡīl-gəṣab</i>	And there's the sugar cane.

Part 3 (from 26:14)

¹²⁹ In RA, as predominantly in the Arabian Peninsula, *al-ṣām* is the lexicalized term for “last year” (Behnstedt & Woidich 2021: 306).

¹³⁰ Translation unclear.

¹³¹ Here, /j/ is not the palatal plosive /j/ but rather the palatal affricate [dʒ].

¹³² SA.

C	<i>ḥanna kān- kunna ṣarab řaḥḥaḷ</i>	We, we were nomads,
	<i>ṣarab šaddīn¹³³ ṣāla baṣarīn</i>	nomads on (male) camels,
	<i>wu-ṭawāli</i>	and straightaway,
	<i>taṣlīm ḥāḍi mā-ṣāndi-na fī-h ḥāža</i>	This education, we don't have a need for it.
	<i>mā-ṣāndi-na fī-ṭ-ṭarīja</i>	we don't have a method,
	<i>wu-bəss ṣarab bahāyim</i>	[we're] only herders,
	<i>maṣ-əl-bahāyim řinn-u n'ərži wu-ča</i>	with the cattle, indeed we stroll around and so
	<i>baṣdēn řinna řabb-na žāb-na šway ḥadīt</i>	Then, our Lord brought us some modern,
	<i>mi(n) sikán-na</i>	from our homes,
	<i>wu-baṣd-mā sikánna šweyya šweyya</i>	and after we lived, slowly slowly,
	<i>l-ḥakūm sāṣadāt-na l-mádrase</i>	the government helped us [with] the school
	<i>wu-šweyya ḡadāyna t-tuḡaḡḡab¹³⁴ b-u wu-náḡaṣīd</i>	and slowly we started the settling in them [the homes] and we stayed,
	<i>wu-nask^hin¹³⁵ wu-nabni ḡaṭṭāṣī-t-i</i>	and we live [there] and we build my sector.
A	<i>waḷḷāhi řinšāḡaḷḷā řinn-hā t'ímm bənī</i>	By God, I hope that the construction is finished,
	<i>fī šáhar šharēn</i>	in a month or two
	<i>řinšāḡaḷḷāh inn-hā t'ímm bənī</i>	it is hopefully finished,
	<i>ṣalašān al-mádrise ḥāḍī zyāt-ha nabī nángalis fī-ha (...)</i>	because this school itself, [is where] we want to be sat in (...)
C	<i>řinšāḡaḷḷā tímm binī</i>	Hopefully it is finished.
A	<i>wi-l-ṣiyyāl¹³⁶ il-mádrase ž-židīde</i>	And the children of the new school,

¹³³ “People that are continuously moving” (Young 2002: 145).

¹³⁴ *Tuḡaḡḡab* is the maṣdar of the verb *ḡaḡḡab* – *yigaḡḡab*, which can be encountered more often in the course of the text. It describes the act of persons settling or physically staying somewhere. Its origin lays in the nomadic lifestyle, where *ḡaḡḡab* means to put a wooden stick or a flock – a *ḡaḡḡib* – into the ground to attach camels or other animals.

¹³⁵ Interestingly, where an affrication, /č/, would be expected, this speaker tends to aspirate the /k/.

¹³⁶ *ṣiyyāl* refers to boys, only, Young calls them “dependent children” (Young 2002: 143).

	<i>nə- bə-nžīb banāt yigrán barđa-hin</i>	we'll bring girls to study, too,
	<i>yā ?il-mádrase hāđi mā-hū l-?iyyāl bess</i>	yeah, the school is not only for boys,
	<i>ta- bə-nžīb biniyyāt (...) ?ašān yagrán</i>	we'll bring girls so that they study,
	<i>wu-nabi l-ğarya tařawwar</i>	we want the village to progress,
	<i>ħinna bə-r-řašāyda yitjaddamūn šwayya</i>	us, as Rašāyda, they progress a bit,
	<i>hē¹³⁷?</i>	Yeah?
C	<i>?inšāa ā</i>	Hopefully.
A	<i>?inšāa ā</i>	Hopefully.
	<i>wu-biřdēn in-čān řand-i giřřa</i>	And then, if I have a story
back	<i>?inšid!</i>	Go on!
	<i>mā-řand-i giřřa řařalat yikawwun¹³⁸ walla šēy</i>	I don't have a story, (...) or something
<i>Suddenly, there is a change of topic. C starts talking about his visit to Egypt.</i>		
C	<i>mašēyt mařar kitīr, bi-l-ħēl</i>	I went to Egypt a lot, a lot.
	<i>Iyyāwmīt mařir mašēyt</i>	The Egyptian days, I went,
	<i>gumna min-nīh¹³⁹</i>	we started from here
	<i>səgn-ál-bil</i>	we rode the camels
	<i>?ana wu-mħammad əmbārak</i>	Me and Muħammad Mubārak
	<i>sanat wāħid-u-sittīn</i>	in '61
A	<i>hāđi (...) sabiřtāřar sana</i>	This is 17 years ago.
C	<i>sabiřtāřar sana</i>	17 years
	<i>wu-kān il-ingilāb</i>	and there was the coup
	<i>?ingilāb řabbūd</i>	The coup of Abboud
	<i>wu-?ingilāb il-ħakūme</i>	And the coup of the government
A	<i>il-řasčariye</i>	The military.

¹³⁷ The pronunciation of the vowel is very nasal.

¹³⁸ Translation unclear.

¹³⁹ **min ihnī*.

C	<i>ʕasčarīye</i>	Military.
	<i>ʔunglúḅat</i>	It made a coup.
	<i>wu-yōm il-idāna ḥinna jāšdīn fī kumúmbū</i>	And the day of the denunciation we were staying in Kom Ombo
A	<i>kʰāmambū</i>	Kom Ombo.
C	<i>fī kumúmbū</i>	In Kom Ombo.
	<i>yōm ʔinna žīna w-ʕašádna</i>	The day we came and we stayed
	<i>buhāym-na mwajjfa ʕinda-na ygūlū-l-na waḷḷāhi l-unglāḅ úngaḷaḅ al-yōm</i>	Our cattle we had were agitated, they told us “By God, the coup happened today,
	<i>samištu bi-s-sūdān inglúḅaw</i>	have you (PL.) heard that they made a coup in Sudan?”
	<i>gālna simiṣna</i>	We said “we’ve heard”,
	<i>yaṣni izāṣat sāž</i>	The transmission is quiet.
	<i>bišdēn iḥt- iḥtillu bašad iyyāwma gālū</i>	Then, they occupied, after a day they said
	<i>mamnūʕ wāḥid yʿixišš</i>	It is forbidden that someone enters
	<i>wāḥid yixarağ</i>	or leaves
A	(...)	(He asks for the year)
C	‘61	wāḥid sittīn
	‘64	ʔarbaš-u-sittīn
A	<i>In the harvest season.</i>	fʿə-d-dərət ¹⁴⁰
C	<i>In the harvest season.</i>	fʿə-d-dərət

Part 4 (from 28:04)

C	<i>bašadēn yōm inna řīna čiqā taḥayyarna</i>	Then, the day we came, for that we were confused
	<i>ḥinna ḥawwāla ṭnāšəṛ nafaṛ</i>	We were about 12 persons
A	<i>ṭayyib</i>	Fine.

¹⁴⁰ The harvest season in SA (cf. Young 2002: 143).

C	<i>taḥayyarna bi-dirāhim-na w-čēf</i>	We got confused with our money and so,
	<i>bi-taṣrīḥ ṣār</i> and <i>il-ḥakūma</i>	with permit turned out to be under the government's responsibility.
A	<i>ḥaywa</i>	Yes.
C	<i>baḥdēn gaḍḍibāwna</i>	Then, they put us together.
	<i>wuddō-na aḥ-zābiṭ</i>	They brought us [to] the officer.
A	<i>waḷḷa?</i>	Really?
C	<i>ḥayyā-k</i>	Keep going!
A	<i>wu-baṣḍ mā rīna</i> and <i>iḥ-zābiṭ</i>	And after we arrived at the officer,
C	<i>gaṣadna</i>	We stayed,
	<i>žā-na wald</i> <i>ṣabd ar-rabh</i>	The son of ṢAbd ar-Rabh came to us.
A	<i>řlayd</i>	Žulayd?
C	<i>gaḍḍib miṣ-na</i>	He stayed with us.
A	<i>řlayd walla-?</i>	Žulayd or-?
C	<i>lā, ḥabū ḥaḥmad</i>	No, Abū Aḥmad.
	<i>yawm ḥinna rīna w-gaṣadna</i>	The day we arrived and stayed,
	<i>wu-gaḍḍibōwna</i>	and settled down,
	<i>wu-kull ad-darāhim mā-ḥaṭṭō-hin</i>	and all the money, they didn't take it.
	<i>mā ḥinna ṣārḥīn mā-ṣin-nsawwi</i>	We didn't know what to do,
	<i>čīf inharrīb wu-šī</i>	how to escape and so.
	<i>gāl-l-u waḷḷāhi žā-ku xabar</i>	He told them, "By God, the news reached you!"
	<i>gəlna mā-žā-na</i>	We said "it didn't reach us"!
	<i>gāl-l-u waḷḷa ḥinna l-yōm al-ṣalāgāt</i> <i>ingaṭaṣt-in marra wāḥda</i>	He told them, "By God, us today, the relations broke off once more,
	<i>bēn maṣar wa-s-sūdān</i>	between Egypt and Sudan.
	<i>wa-dilwāni s-sūdān fī-hā nglāb</i>	And now, there's a coup in Sudan.
	<i>wa-lā xallū-kū tamšūn</i>	and they didn't let you go.

	<i>wa-lī ʕand-i t-taṣrīḥ</i>	And I have the permit,
	<i>ʕand il-ḥakūme da- huw mā-huw iżtināʕ</i>	the government doesn't have- it doesn't have conviction.
	<i>baʕdēn iḥtirna</i>	Then we were confused.
	<i>fī wāḥid ʕabbādi</i>	There's one ʕAbbādi,
	<i>fī wāḥid bēh ʕiṣṣiri</i>	There's one military bey,
	<i>šawwarnā-hu</i>	we consulted them.
	<i>gālū mā-l-ku ḥall</i>	They said "what's your solution?".
A	<i>ha-nəḍḥər</i>	We will appear.
C	<i>ha-nəḍḥər</i>	We will appear.
	<i>xad-na wāḥid-w-ṭalātīn yōm</i>	He gave us 31 days.
	<i>nhār la-wāḥid-ṭalātīn yōm-</i>	One day to the 31 days-
A	<i>šahar xaṭṭəw</i>	They took a month?
C	<i>xad-na šáhar</i>	He gave us a month.
	<i>wu-yowmēn</i>	And two days.
	<i>nhār il-wāḥid-ṭalātīn-</i>	The 31 st day-
A	<i>yawm il-ḥarkāt id-dāmər?</i>	The day of the movements of al-Dāmīr?
C	<i>ʔēywə</i>	Yes.
	<i>nhār it-tāni wa-ṭalātīn</i>	The 32 nd day-
	<i>gālū yā žumāʕa ʔaʕṭū-na d-dərāḥəm</i>	They told us "you all, give us the money!
	<i>wə-rawwḥu ḥinna ḥawwil-nī¹⁴¹-ku</i>	Go, we change it for you".
	<i>baʕd-mā ḥtirna ʕī naʕṭī-h darāḥim</i>	After we got confused like this, we give him money,
	<i>wa-nirawwiḥ mā-nigdir</i>	and we cannot leave.
	<i>baʕdēn gāl ʔaḥmad ʕabd-rabbih ḥinna sallmū-ni yā-hu¹⁴²</i>	Then, Aḥmad ʕAbd-Rabbih told us, "give me the money in trust for him,

¹⁴¹ Exact pronoun unclear.

¹⁴² *ʔiyyā-hum.

<i>mḥammad mbārak</i>	Muḥammad Mubārak”.
<i>sallimnā-h ud-darāhim</i>	We gave him the money in trust,
<i>wu-ṭalaṣna wu žīna l-bāxira</i>	and we went to down and came to the big ships.
<i>yawm ḡinn-u žīna ihnī</i>	The day we arrived here,
<i>ližīna ščál imhaddil</i>	we found most [of them] very loose
<i>ližīna-w šweyya- yaṣni-</i>	we found them- a bit- let’s say
<i>yaṣni mā ṣīnda-na maṣnā čidī</i>	I mean, we don’t have a problem.
<i>baṣdēn-hu ḡrubū žumāl ṣabd ən-nāṣar</i>	After that, they attacked Ğamāl ṢAbd al-Nāṣir,
<i>əz-zābiṭ</i>	the Officer,
<i>ḡillī gəṭṭ ṭābīn¹⁴³</i>	The one who cut (...).
<i>gālū ḡana ṣind-ī ṣarab ihnī</i>	They said “I have people here,
<i>hāšīr-l-ū mā-dxalaw l-bāxar</i>	he forced them together so that they didn’t enter the ship,
<i>wu-mā-rawwāḥ</i>	and they didn’t leave,
<i>wu-jāṣdīn</i>	and stayed.
<i>wa-ḡummīn-hu ḥsēn, il-bēh ḥsēn al-ṣabbādi</i>	And among them there was the Bey Ḥussein al-ṢAbbādi.
<i>baṣdēn gaṣádaw al-ṣarab(i) dīč</i>	Then, these people stayed
<i>biṣdēn žumāl ṣabd ən-nāṣir gāl-l-a</i>	Then, Ğamāl ṢAbd al-Nāṣir told him
<i>ḡaṣṭū-hu ṣ-ṣarāḥ</i>	"Give them the release!
<i>harrbū-l-hu darāhim-hu</i>	Let them smuggle their money,
<i>yrawwḥūn l-əs-sūdān</i>	they go back to Sudan,
<i>wa-llī yžī-ku xāriž min əs-sūdān</i>	and who comes to you outside of Sudan
<i>dāxil ṣīndu-ku</i>	take him with you inside,

¹⁴³ Transcription and translation unclear.

	<i>ruh tarahha b-ū bo-h¹⁴⁴</i>	(...)
	<i>tarahha b-ū boh</i>	(...)
A	<i>ḡaywa wu-lā taraddūn</i>	Yes, and don't come back.
C	<i>mā-traddūn</i>	They don't come back.
A	<i>xallō-na nimši ʕala sna?</i>	Did they let us go after one year?
	<i>mū ba-l-ḡawwal</i>	Not at first.
C	<i>bass nāhār isbūʕ ḡarḡbōn-na tēlēgrāf gālō ḡinna ḡaṭlagō-na darāhim-na</i>	But one day of the week they sent us a telegram, they said they released us our money.
A	<i>māšallā</i>	Mashallah!
C	<i>žāw bə-d-darāhēm-na uhum žaw əhnī</i>	They came with our money, they did, they came here!
	(...)	
	<i>bass, yōm ḡinn-u žaw əhnī</i>	So, the day they came here,
	<i>šādafnā-hu fi-d-dāxil</i>	we coincided with them amongst ourselves.
	<i>ḡaʕsā-ku žītu bi-d-darāhim gāl-l-u žīna</i>	„How are you? You came with the money”, he told them „we came“.
	<i>ḡamduliḷḷā gābalnā-hu</i>	Thanks God we met them!
	<i>kull wāhid aṣṭū-hu d-darāhim</i>	Everyone gave them the money
	<i>wi-ntahā wu-daxalna fi-s-sūdān</i>	and it ended and we entered Sudan,
	<i>wu-žīt</i>	and I arrived.
	<i>wu-salāmit-ku l-ḡān</i>	And your safety now,
	<i>ḡaḷḷa yaʕāf fī-k</i>	May God give you health!

5.2.2 R1B

¹⁴⁴ A typically Naḡdi saying. *Bo-h* is the existential in Naḡdi Arabic (Behnstedt&Woidich 2021: 424; 429). Given that the data does not provide any single occurrence of *boh* as an existential neither does it provide any other form than *fī* (cf. 2.9.1.2), this saying might be directly borrowed from Rašāyda in Naḡd or perhaps as old as it has not changed since the time the “core-tribe” used to settle in Naḡd.

Parts of this recording were unfortunately very hard to understand. Therefore, some passages are transcribed but not fully translated.

Part 1

1	A	<i>bi-smi-llāhi ɾ-ɾahmāni ɾ-ɾahīm, wallāhi ʕāla ḥasab il-čalām ʔilli wahḥāna ḥasab- il-čalām iž-ždūd-na</i>	In the name of Allah, the Merciful. By God, regarding the words that were revealed to us, regarding- the words of our grandfathers.
2		<i>yā šēx, yigūlu nn-əɾ-ɾəšāyda ʔaʕəl-hu žaw min əs-suʕūdīyə, ʔu-biʕdēn ʔiz-zímin illi žāw fī-h yimčin il-hū mīyat sana</i>	Oh Šēx, they say that the Rašāyda, their origin, they came from Saudi-Arabia, and then, the time in which they came in is maybe 100 years,
3		<i>dilwān min žeyyét-k u-ža-</i>	now from their arrival and their departure-
(...)			
4		<i>ʔaywa zíman il-mahdīyə (...) f-is-sūdān.</i>	yes, the era of the Mahdi (...) in Sudan.
5		<i>ʔū-gālaw ʔinnu žāw ʕāla sanābīč, f-il-baḥar, ʔitbāʕaw miʕ il-baḥar al-ḥamar</i>	and they said that they came on boats, on the sea, they adhered to the Red Sea
6		<i>wu-žāw yam Siwāčín wi-Thawkar wi-Gārōra, mičāyin kull-ha fī ɾaraf il-baḥar al-ḥamar</i>	and they arrived next to Sawākin and ɾawkar and Kerora (cf. 1.2), places that are all on the Red Sea Coast,
7		<i>ʔu-biʕdēn yawm inn-hu žaww ahnū, miʕ-hu bil, ʔaktar šayy ʔlli miʕ-hu bil</i>	and then the day they arrived here, they had camels with them, the thing they had most were camels,
8		<i>wu-l-ajjaw wu-li-d-dīyān wu-zráʕaw fī-hin az-zurūf</i>	(?) ¹⁴⁵
9		<i>zirāʕaw ʔaščal zirāʕa hū d-d'əxən, yizráʕu d-d'əxən wu-l-ʕēš aɾ-tāni</i>	they cultivated, most cultivation was millet, they cultivated millet and then [they made] bread,
10		<i>biʕdēn bárd-hu ʔaxaḡáw-l-hu ʔis-snīn fī- ʔil-baḥar al-ḥamar, ʔū-biʕdēn šweyya šweyya žaww yamb id-dīrīyat čāsila</i>	then, it also took them [some] years on the Red Sea, and then, step by step, they arrived next to the region of Kasalā
11		<i>ʔil-wagt hāḡāk yaʕni zímin il-mahdīyə</i>	that time- it was the Mahdi era.

¹⁴⁵ Translation unclear.

12		<i>baʕád-ha ʒa ʔal-ħišm¹⁴⁶ al-ʔinglīzi, xašš al-ʔinglīzi</i>	After that, the British governance came, the British entered.
13	B	<i>wu-ʔurd uʔ-ʔilyān</i>	And the eviction of the Italians.
14	A	<i>wu-ʔulyāna huw fʕə-l-ħabaš</i>	And the Italians, they were in Ethiopia ¹⁴⁷ .
15	B	<i>ʔaywa</i>	Yes.
16	A	<i>wu-kisr ədaw-hu, ʔitharraw fī čāsila wu-ʔərdaw-hu l-inglīzi, ʔū-biʕdēn -</i>	And they smashed them, They did inspections in Kasalā and the British expelled them, and then-
(...)			
17	A	<i>biʕdēn ʔaʕ-ʔašāyda zāt-hu yaʕni ʔalāʔa furūʕ čibīra, ʔawwal min-hu faraʕ il-barāʕša, ʔū-faraʕ iz-zinēymāt, ʔū-faraʕ l-barāʕīx</i>	Then, the Rašāyda themselves, they have three big branches. The first one of them is the branch of the <i>Barāʕša</i> , and the branch of the <i>Zuneymāt</i> , and the branch of the <i>Barāʕīx</i> .
18		<i>ʔil-barāʕša ʔilli ʕu- ʔimdat¹⁴⁸-hu nāf im-barqā, w-iz-zinēymāt ʔimdāt-hu ʕāli bin ʕabdalla, wu-l-barāʕīx ʔimdāt-hu Silīm al-Mins-</i>	The Barāʕša whose chief is Nāf al-Barqā, And the Zinēymāt, their chief is ʕāli bin ʕabdalla, And the Barāʕīx, their chief is Salīm al-Mins-
19		<i>wu-biʕdēn zāt-hu ʔil-gəbāyil iʔ-ʔalāʔ il-kəbār hādi, kull jibīla fī-ha gəbāyil gāyir ič-čīʔira</i>	and then, themselves, these three big tribes, in every tribe there is many different subtribes.
20	B	<i>tiʕarraʕ</i>	They scatter.
21	A	<i>tiʕarraʕ il-gəbāyil čīʔira</i>	The tribes scatter a lot.
22		<i>ʔawwal min al-bəraʕša ziyāt-ha gəbāyil čīʔira, fī-ha dī-l-ħayyān wu-s-sīhāmīt wu-s-sayʕarāt wu-š-šrūg wu-ž-žalādīn wu-dūy-ʕamri wu-l-marāzīj wu-l-čayčāt</i>	First, the <i>Barāʕša</i> themselves are many tribes. There are the Dī l-Ḥayyān and the Sīhāmīt and the Sayʕarāt and the Šurūg and the Žalādīn and the Dūy ʕAmri and the Marāzīg and the Kuʕaykāt.
23		<i>ʔitharriʕ ʕayy (...) hū gubāyil</i>	Something is misunderstood (...) they are tribes,
24		<i>ʔayyib hum iz-zinēymāt mā-ni l-gubāyil ʔilli hnī yaʕni, ʔaščal il-gubāyil-</i>	Fine, the Zuneymāt, I mean, they are not the tribes that are here, most of the tribes-

¹⁴⁶ /š/ corresponds to the IPA phoneme [ɕ] (cf. 2.1.2.5).

¹⁴⁷Refers to modern-day Ethiopia and Eritrea.

¹⁴⁸ *ʕimda* or *ʕumda* is the title of the chiefs of the subtribes. For further information cf. Young 2024: 279.

25	B	<i>ʔil-gubāyil iz-zinēymāt fī-hu ɖubrawi fī-ha ɣlēmāt fī-ha ʔawāzim fī-hu jizāyzə fī-ha ʔaʕrānāt</i>	The subtribes of the Zuneymāt, there are ɖubrawi, there are ɣlēmāt, there are ʕAwāzim, there are Qazāyza, there are Iʕrēnāt.
26	A	<i>fī ɣwēyžāt</i>	There are ɣwēyžāt.
27	B	<i>ɣwēyžāt ʔilli təbaʕt ʕimd-hə ʕali ʕabdaɭla</i>	The ɣwēyžāt whose chief is ʕAli ʕAbdaɭla.
28	A	<i>ʔāy əz-zinēymāt</i>	Yes, the Zuneymāt
29		<i>baʕdēn al-barāṭix fī-hu ʕəmāl gəbāyil ʕiṭīrə, kreyfāt wū-</i>	Then, the Barāṭix, they have also a plenitude of many tribes, Krēyfāt and
30	B	<i>barāṭix</i>	Barāṭix.
31	A	<i>wu-digmān, bslī manāfir wu-fī dilgān wu- bəṭṭāxīn aɭlāhu aʕlam, gubāyil ʕiṭīra¹⁴⁹</i>	And Duhmān, Bslī Manāfir, and there are Dilgān and Baṭṭāxīn, God knows, many tribes.
32		<i>biʕdēn aṭ-ʕašāyda ʔašʕal maskān-hu yas- yaskānuw fī mdīriyat ʕāsila, wu-fī baʕaɖ min- hu fī mdīriyat ʔəd-dāmər yaʕni šweyya fī-h-</i>	Then, the Rašāyda, [for] most [of them] their home is - they live in the region of Kasalā. And many of them are in the region of ad- Dāmīr, well, there are some-
33		<i>biʕdēn yiʕtamdūn ʔaktar šayy ʕāla ʔil- bahāym al-ʔilbil¹⁵⁰ ʕāla z-zirāʕa</i>	Then, they mostly rely on livestock, camels [and] on agriculture

Part 2 (Manuscript)

B	<i>(...) šēx ʕabdalla rawwah</i>	The Šēx ʕAbdalla left.
A	<i>Where did he go?</i>	wēn rawwah?
B	<i>li-d-dāmər</i>	To ad-Dāmīr.
	<i>baʕad marra fī-d-dāmīr fī ɣumri</i>	many times in ad-Dāmīr there is (?)
	<i>mīšə l-taʕadda wu-žāb/ʔ əd-dāmīr</i>	He went to breach and came to ad-Dāmīr.
A	<i>ṭayyib</i>	Fine.
B	<i>ʔawwul marra fī-d-dāmīr</i>	The first time in ad-Dāmīr,
<i>(...)</i>		
	<i>gāl-l-a ʔna ʕāwz(a) ʔamši ʔāʕṭibāʕ (...) šīf əm šīf</i>	He told him “I want to go (...)” (...)

¹⁴⁹ For an etymological and semantic approach to the names of the tribes listed above, cf. Young 2024: 416-422.
For a graphic overview, cf. Young 2024: 344f.

¹⁵⁰ The stressed article has become lexicalized (cf. 2.3.1.1).

	<i>gāl-l-ah arkaḥ min-ni bṣīr</i>	he told him „Ride one of my camels!
	(...)	
	<i>ṣand-i nagəra, nagəra l-xarṭūm</i>	
	<i>yawm inn-u žā?</i>	the day he arrived,
	(...)	
	<i>bass fī ṣiṣar tāṣt iṣ-ṣiṣar</i>	
	<i>garad</i>	
	<i>wa-layji xanāt</i>	
	<i>wu-gām yiṣalli</i>	
	<i>wu-žā? wu-radd ṣalē-h</i>	And he came and answered him.
	<i>wu-gāl-la-h ṣante minēn žīt?</i>	He told him “You, where are you from?”
	<i>gāl-la-h žīt ṣana ṣāwz aṣṭī-k il-bṣēr</i>	He told him “I came because I want to give you the camels”
	<i>gāl-li-k addē-n ’ī</i>	He told you “Give me!”
	<i>lāčinn-u</i>	But
	<i>ṣēx čibīr</i>	An old man
	<i>baṣdēn (...) gāṣid ihnī</i>	
	<i>ṣana mrawwhīn</i>	
	<i>gāl-l-u ēš bāgi</i>	He told him “What do you want?”
	(...)	
	<i>wu-ṣubḥ is-sāṣḥa sabṣa</i>	And the morning, at 7 AM,
	(...)	
	<i>bass rawwaḥ ṣu-žā?</i>	He just went and came.
	(...)	
A	<i>ṣaywa š-šāmāl</i>	
	<i>wu-hāda l-ṣakṭar nās yaṣni ṣarab-k tugāl</i> <i>kill-u fi-d-dāmər</i>	
C	(...)	
	<i>fi-d-dāmər bass fi-d-dāmər</i>	In ad-Dāmīr, only in ad-Dāmīr
	(...)	
	<i>fī dirt iṣ-ṣikrīyā</i>	In the land of the Šukrīya.
	<i>wa-rabb-na ṣṭay-(hi)n ḥ/yawašāt</i>	
	<i>wa-ṣṭayn əs-siknə</i>	
	<i>ṣaṣṭay-n al-ḡarye</i>	
Stefan	<i>wu-l-šukrīya kēyf miṣ-hum?</i>	And how are the Šukrīya with them?
C	<i>šukrīya kwayysīn</i>	The Šukrīya are fine.

A	<i>mzāynīn</i>	They are nice.
C	<i>kān ʔawwul, ʔawwul al-ʕimārə</i>	
	<i>ʔabu ʕmāra</i>	
	<i>ʔawwul marāfəg fī yaʕni fī-l- fī-l- fī-l-zímin</i> <i>il-mahdīyə lamman žá hina</i>	
	<i>ʔilli šağatta</i>	
	<i>wu-ʔarāfuw</i>	
	<i>wu-tʕāšaruw</i>	
	<i>wu-lamma š-šēx ʕali ʕmāra</i>	
	<i>ḥadad yaman</i>	
	<i>šēx ʕabḍallā</i>	
	<i>ʔal-ʔabyaḍ</i>	The white one.
A	<i>ʔeywa</i>	Yes.
C	<i>ʔal-ʔabyaḍ</i>	The white one.
A	<i>ḥur?</i>	Free.
C	<i>ʔilli-hu (...)</i>	The one who is (...)
A	<i>wa-ʔ-rašāyda wallāhi ʔaščál-hu yaʕni</i> <i>mitraḥḥilīn</i>	And the Rašāyda, by God, most of them are nomads,
	<i>yaʕni gəlēylīn ʔilli -</i>	So very few who are (...)
D	<i>yigəḍḍebu w daxálaw fī-l- xalláw</i>	
	<i>ʔawwəl ʔawwəl šēx ʕabḍallā mā šiddit mū-ʕāni</i>	
A	<i>ʔaywa</i>	
A	<i>(...) šweyya (...)</i>	
	<i>(...)</i>	
D	<i>zeyy istiʕmār yigūl-l-ə</i>	like an occupation, he told him,
	<i>mā xaššiš ʕiyyāl-k fī mādāris</i>	don't let your children go to schools!
	<i>yigūl-l-ə ḥāḍi l-mádrisə mā-ni bāḡī-h(a)</i>	He told him, "this school, I don't want it!"
	<i>bess yiʔāmil xall-ū(h?)</i>	Just let them leave.
	<i>telgā b-aw w-xall-ū</i>	You met them and left them.
	<i>(...)</i>	

until 06:45

A	<i>ʔaʕllīm-hu!</i>	Teach them!
	<i>ʔawwal ba-ʔaʕllīm-ku bi-l-ʒuwwāz ʔū-maʕ ʒ- ʒuwwāz, ʔawwal ʔin-čān fī wāhid baḡā-la-h wāhidə, yigūm binta ʕamm-ah walla grāybat¹⁵¹-l-a</i>	First, I will teach you about marriage and with the marriage. First, if there is one who wanted one [a girl] for him, it will be his paternal uncle's daughter or the one closest to him.
B	<i>(...) gərāyb bass</i>	(...) only closely related.
A	<i>ʔaywa ʔəl-wāhid hinna ʔiččān mā-hu ršīdi mā yižawwuzī- -yūn min aṛ-ṛəšāyda, zōl tāni mā-hu ršīdi, ʔaʕlan mā yižawwuz- (...) ʔilli bess rašīdi</i>	Yes, if he is not (a) Rašīdi, he does not marry- from the Rašāyda. Another guy is not (a) Rašīdi, he should not marry- (...) who is Rašīdi, only.

biʕdēn zyāt (...) zyāt-ha

yaṭlub iž-ʒiwwāz mā yi(...)

baʕdēn wāhid il-yāmmīn-nə

(...) tižawwaz wāhidə wa-ʔaʒibt-a (...) ʒawwāz-ha

yamši li-hal-ha li-ʔabū-ha wu-ʔaxwān-ha wu-ʔumm-ha

he goes to her family, to her father and to her brothers and to her mother,

wēš ḡawir-hu fī-l-ʒuwwāz ḡādi

to discuss with them about this marriage.

kilma rāy ʕammit wāhid wēš ḡawra wi-yšūf rāyi-ku

ʔinčān-hu yšūf-hu n-nās yabāwnə

ṭabʕan ygūlūn-lə-h ʔənʒawwəz-ha!

ʔinčān-hu n-nās mā yabāwnə

yižibūn la ʕiḡər tāni walla yižibūn la ḡamūr

mā mwāvdīn

ʔā

čēyf la- gūl

B

(...)

08:26

Stefan:

¹⁵¹ *Grāyb(a)* is the diminutive of *grīb* “close”, its usage here is to emphasize the closeness of the distance between the two women.

čam?

B:

mīt iř-řnē, mītēn řnē

talāt-

A:

ʔalfuxamsəmīya

(...)

B:

yigūlū ʔanta

(...)

ʔíl-ha bakara wú-l-ha sīr

St

sīga

B

zey-ha yaŋni sīg

(...)

zeyy sāŋa

zeyy yaŋni

(...)

w-íl-ha bakara

(...)

ŋínda-na fī badalu

yaŋni bi-t-taŋammaq wu-t-taŋammuq

yaŋni ʔanta ŋánda-k uxt w-āna ŋand-i ʔuxt

fī badal wu-fī ḥalal

yaŋni ʔinta tāxud uxt-ik w-āna ʔāxud uxt-i

yakūn- dī mahár-ha əš-šīl fəlāni

wa-dī mahár-ha əš-šīl fəlāni

mahár dī mītēn walla mītēn wu-xamsīn

mahár dī talāt mīya walla mīya w-xamsīn

yaŋni másalan ʔinta tidfaŋ li-dī(...)

A:

tiktibu ʕagid?

09:36

B:

ʔaywa naktib ʕagid

Yes, we write a contract.

yiʕibūn- anam-li-č

(...)

lāčīn bi-l-badal

bi-l-badal lāčīn bess ḥalāl al-badal yaʕni dī ʔal-hā šīzlān dī l-ha šīzlān
da maḥall iz-zuwwāž

this is the location of the wedding.

baʕdēn ʔant tižawwuz

then, you marry.

nabnī, yabn-u bēt wu-nʕīb-u nāgə

we build, he builds them a house and we bring them she-camels.

wa-nʕīb-u bagara (...)

and we bring them cows.

A:

yaʕzimūn kull an-nās

they invite everybody.

B:

yaʕzimūn kull an-nās ʔinn taḥbūn il-ʕarab b-id-dʕūm, yidrūr wu-taʕāl-
yu-yəʕibūn sībāg zīnə yā ʕəməlt siyābəg

Stefan:

asks where the wedding happens

A:

laʔ, ʔal-ʕəwwāz ysawwūn-

B:

ʕind ʔabū l-walad

A:

ʕind ʔabū l-bint

B:

ʕanda-hu ʔabu l-

A:

ʔal-bayt yisawwūn ʕind abū ʔəl-bint

lāčín il-ʔiktičál-la-k bi-l-žiwwāz

B:

ʔabu l-walad

ʔab'ūl-walad

ʔal-walad wa-ʔabū-h

A:

lāčín il-beyt ʕind ʔumm ʔil-bint

ʔumm il-bint

yabnū-hu l-beyt

wu-biʕdēn yaʕzimūn ən-nās

wu-ysawwūn əz-zīnāt

wu-yəlʕabūn fi-l-lēl yəlʕabūn məgāʕtīye

ysawwūn məgaʕtīf wu-ṭ-ṭiyrān

wa-ʔēš tāni?

wa-rāyih

(...)

wu-biʕdēn, bəkra, ʔiṣ-ṣubəḥ yawm in-nās yiḥtafilūn yidūm

yissaw- yiṭbaḥūn n-nāgə

wu-yisawwūn šāhi

wu-binn

wu-(...) l-il-ʕarab

wu-yilʕabūn liʕib yilʕabūn iz-zirṭbe

liʕb is-siyūf (...)

Stefan:

šift-ha šift-ha

A:

ʔeywa wu-yamšín iž-žimāl ittisābagín

Yes, and the camels go to be competed against each other,

wu-yilʕabūn ɾāyih an-niswān yargəšín

and they play, (?) the women dance,

wu-baʕdēn-

and then-

Stefan:

čam yōm?

How many days?

A:

yawm wāḥid bass

One day only.

yawm wāḥid bass

One day only.

ʔaywa fi-l-lēl wu-š-šabāh

Yes, at night and in the morning.

yawm u-lēl

Day and night.

B:

yáwm-u-lēl

Day and night.

Stefan:

wu-baʕdēn yarawwaḥ?

And then they leave?

A:

ʔil-yawm aṭ-tāni ysawwūn šabḥa ʔisím-ha šabḥa

The second day, they do a šabḥa, it is called a šabḥa,

yižín in-niswān bass

Only women go.

yiṭbaḥūn l-in-niswān bass

ʔar-ržāl žīn mā yižūn fī-h
 yiṛīn fī-l-beyt ʔal-židīd

They come to the new house.

B:

ʕarīs

A:

ʔil-ʕarīs

ṭayyib, wu-baʕád-ha, wēš (y?)sawwūn?

(laughter)

B:

šūn li-š-šūn

A:

laʔ, ʔilli-

ʔihiy tiri min ḥāl-ha yma walla kēyf

C:

ʔaʕlīm-na!

(laughter)

ʔaʕlīm! čēyf ydaxxalōn-ha wa-tiri min-ḥāl-ha walla (...)

B:

laʔ laʔ

(laughter)

?:

ʔal-líbis kēf?

How are the clothes?

B:

ʔal-líbis- (laughter) (y)žībū-l-ha čisúw (...)

The clothes, they bring her a dress (...)

(laughter)

žībū-l-ha čisúw-ha yaŋni židīde

They bring her her dress, a new one,

zeyy libsa ḥalla da

yžībū-l-ha židīde yžībū-l-ha ɬarḥa l-ā...

(...)

A:

ysawwū(n) l-ha b'ərgaŋ

They make her a Burqa.

ʔilli lābse l-b'ərgaŋ hādī ʔilli mā tšūf-ha l-ŋayūn

One who wears a Burqa, you cannot see her eyes.

di mara židīdā

This is a new woman.

l-ḥadd sana talbas əl-b'ərgaŋ tawwā

For a year she wears the Burqa.

baŋdēn yaŋmil-hōn fī lōn ʔaḥámar čadī

Then, they make them in red, like this.

hāda maŋrōf ʔinn-ha mara židīdā

This is known, that it is a new woman.

yaŋni mimma tšōf-hən biŋīd (...)

So, when you see them from afar (...)

Stefan:

b'ərgaŋ

Burqa.

A:

ʔaywā

Yes.

baŋdēn yətkūn ŋəyūn-ha zāḥər bass

Then, only her eyes remain visible.

ɬayyib ʔā

Fine, yeah.

C:

fī raḥī

gāʿad il-ʿarīs da

Stefan:

(...)

A:

ʿind-u bēyt yaʿni

B:

ʿind-a bēt

A:

ʿind-u bēyt ǧamb bēyt al-hal

B:

ʿinda bēt lā misbūʿ mā yifūṭ

lā misbūʿ mā yifūṭ

A:

li-ḥaddi sana ʿām la-hū mā yifūṭ, ʔaʃlu

B:

bāʿdēn nimši tgayyib (...)

yamši yīʒi

A:

mumkin yarḥalu ʔiza kumma

Stefan:

yiraḥīl-ha min ahal-ha?

B:

laʔ mā yiraḥīl lá-haw

A:

li-ḥaddi sana

St

li-l-ḥōl

C:

ʔal-ḥōl yiraḥíl-ha ʔawāli

(...)

Stefan:

ygaʕadu wēn?

A:

fi-l-bēyt

tagʕad fi-l-beyt

fi ʔayyi ḥitta yā məšēx?/ mašayt

13:39

(...)

St

baʕdi sana?

C

baʕdi sana yāxíq-ha řawz-ha

A

ibbēt-hum yaʕni aʕmil-hu bēyt barā-hum

bēyt xāym-

wu-barā-hum yaʕni mumkin yarḥal-u li- ʔahál-u mumkin yarḥal-u-

ʔal-ḥasab

(...)

wu-lyā min-hú il-mara čēyf- tiri min ḥāl-ha walla iri-

(...)

14:26

mā tiṣbáḥ

mā tjābil tžāwwuz-ha (...)
 yaʕni fī-n-nihār ʔaʕlan mā t(i)tjābəl-ha
 wu-bi-l-lēl ʔilli yižībūn-ha-
 yaʕni fī niswān yižīb-íl-na
 yaʕni mā tamši
 bass ḥaddi muddat šáhar mā tamši
 (...)
 li-ḥaddi šáhar
 (...)
 bass ʔíhiy yamši- tamši šáhar fī-l-beyt
 lāčín baʕdi šahar xalāṣ
 tamši lāčín mā tuṣbáḥ fī-l-bēyt

Stefan:

takallim-ha walla tiskut ʕayndu-k? tiktī(h)-ha? zeyy šukrīya

mā čirī¹⁵², mā čirī
 ʔaʕlan mā čirī
 (...)

B:

šikrīyə, žaʕalīyə
 kareyt ʕal(...)
 hāḍa māfī
 ʕándana māfī
 ʔabdan

Stefan:

baʕdi šáhar xalāṣ

B:

(...)

¹⁵² If *čirī* is the form for *tikrī(h), the one Stefan used in the question before, it would be a further example of the “*taka-čika*-phenomenon” (cf. 2.3.1.6). Otherwise, it might be another reflex of *kariha “to hate” or *karā “to rent”.

(laughter)

?:

baʕd iš-šahar, baʕd iš-šahar

(laughter)

?:

ʔadīla

B:

baʕd il-šahar, baʕd il-šahar

mā tişbuḥ ...

lā yimčin tişbūḥ maʕā-ku tamši tajʕad ʕal-ē kull lēl

bi-l-lēl yiżībūn

fi-n-nahār mā-fi

16:00

(...)

C

fi-n-nahār mā tīẓī

5.2.3 R2A

Part 1 (from 0:00)

A	<i>ʔana ʔisəmi l-gāʕid, gāʕid ʔibin ʕādiq min ʕabd el-gāʕid ʕabd el-ḥamīd min gēyṣāt</i>	My name is al-Gāʕid, Gāʕid bin ʕādiq from ʕAbd al-Gāʕid ʕAbd al-Ḥamīd from the Gēyṣāt.
S	<i>raşāyda wēn?</i>	Where are the Raşāyda?
A	<i>raşāyda fi-s-sūdān hnī fi Raşāyda fi-s-sūdān, fi bālad is-sūdān</i>	The Raşāyda are in Sudan, here there are Raşāyda in Sudan, in the country Sudan.
A	<i>biʕdēn ḥinna ʔəşāyda ʕiṭīrīn, gubāyil, gubāyil furūʕ, ʔəşāyda hū furūʕ, ʕeyyin min maşəʔ wu-ʕeyyin min əl-ḥiżāz wu-ʕeyyin mil-ʔirdīn</i>	Us, Raşāyda, we are many, tribes, tribes branches, the Raşāyda are branches, some are from Egypt and some are from the Ḥiğāz and some are from Jordan and some are from Iraq,

	<i>wu-šeyyin min il-širāg min buġdād wu-šeyyin min lībiya mil-wāḥāt il-ġirbīya fī-lībiya</i>	from Baghdad, and some are from Libya, from the Western oases in Libya.
S	<i>rāšāyda</i>	Rašāyda.
A	<i>ʔēy</i>	Yes.
S	<i>fī-lībiya</i>	In Libya.
A	<i>ʔēywa fī lībiya rāšāyda, wa-ḥanna hnī ʔisīm-na rāšāyda, lāčīn-na hnī, bišdēn aḥnī gəbāyil tiyessir, čīṭir, kill jibīlə bi-ʔism furūš b-īsim-a</i>	Yes, in Libya [there] are Rašāyda, and us here, our name is Rašāyda, but us here, our tribes scatter, a lot, every tribe has names of branches, with its name.
S	<i>žaww sūdān...</i>	They came to Sudan...
A	<i>žaww əs-sūdān, sinīn zəməṇ, yəʕallmū-na ʔabbahāt-na l-gəḍām, zəməṇ ʔawwal tūhib li-d-dīryat čāsila</i>	They came to Sudan, many years ago, our old fathers teach us, back in the days, they first endow the region of Kāsala.
S	<i>bi-bulūl-kum?</i>	With your camels?
A	<i>bīl-na, bi-bīl-na</i>	Our camels, with our camels.
A	<i>ʔawwal yigūl-na ʔantu min wēn žāyyīn al-ḡrāb, yigūlūn as-sūdān, bišdēn yawm inn ʕarafāw-na ʕarafāw-na waṭaniyyīn, wu-širna waṭaniyyīn wa-širna ʕarab, ʔahl al-balad, wu-ʔarḍi-na s-sūdān wu-kull ʕarab-ne s-sūdān (...)</i>	First, they told us “you, where are the foreigners coming from?”, they said “Sudan”, then, the day they knew us, they knew us citizens, and we became citizens and we became nomads, people of the country, and our ground is Sudan and all of our people are Sudan (...)
A	<i>wa-l-arāb illi čidā, ʔinn žīn aḥnū ʔal-ʕarāb, wa-hnī sūdān ʕarab-na, bašdēn ḥinna w-walad, mā žiyyīn min ʕan dīryat čāsila, dīryat čāsila ʔawwal mā fī-ha ššēyšāt, mabnīyāt kamm, mā fī-ha šēy, mā fī-ha šēy ʔilla kamm</i>	And the people are like this, those who came here are Arabs (our people), and here, in Sudan, there are our people. Then, (?), at first, there wasn’t anything in the region of Kasalā, barely any buildings, there was nothing, there was almost nothing.
A	<i>yəžībūn fī-n-nahār wu-l-biḍāš yḥuṭṭūn-ha it-tižāra al-ḥalanga w-il-žašāl ī, yžābūna ʔil-biḍāš fī-n-nahar,</i>	They brought during the day and the goods they brought them to the trade of the Ḥalanga and the Čašālī, they brought the goods during the day.
A	<i>wu-mḡāyib id-dīb as-sūdān, fī-ha dīb wu mar bašīr wu-ʔasad wu-nimir wu-sibāš, fī-l-lē-kulli šī ʔilli ʕaddit-ha, wa-rawwiḥ əl-ʕarab-na, wa-ihy kānat yikamm b-u fī-ṭaraf mā</i>	And the wolf clouded the Sudan, there were wolves and an amount of camels and lions and tigers and voracious animals. At night-everything they (...) and went back to our people, and (...)

	<i>kirāṣ(i), bēn al-xāṭmīya wu-huw al-makara nkamm¹⁵³</i>	
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Until 02:05

Part 2 (from 02:20) (manuscripts)

A

fī niṣṭuwra

02:23

wi-ḥamdilillā fī mudāris dilwān wa-taṣallam-ha l-ḥakūm...

ḥakūmāt-na kull šayy

...

...l-īl-bil, f-īl-bil wu-f-īl-ḡanam wu-f-īl-ha-

dilwān ʔaṣbaḥna ʔilli fī-l-mádrasa

w-illi yiṣāmil

w-illi mzāriṣ

w-imdaṣātina

...

wu-mirtaḥīn

Stefan: maṣēš-ku kēf?

A: maṣēš-na maṣēš-na yaḷḷa ... nbīṣ

wu-níštiri ʔinbiṣ wu-níštiri f-ʔl-bəl wu-f-ʔl-ḡanam

w-illi ḡinda-hə dəkkān msawwi ... dəkkān

wu-fī mbēṣ wu-tižāra bess fi-t-tižāra wu-l-bēṣ

wu-t-tižāra wu-z-zirāṣat il-ḥāyš

wu-fī-ha ṣarab ... ḥawašāt fī-l-g'əṭən ... mašrūx ḥašš il-girbə

ʔiz-zarāṣa ... ḥašš il-girbə ...

wu-ysawwu mádrəsə ... mádrəsə

w-úhu mərtaḥīn wu-mibsūṭīn ... mádrəsə

wu-salāmat-k kull ṣāfi

w-aḷḷā yiḥayyī-k

(...)

¹⁵³ Translation unclear.

end of tape: 03:38

- A: ḥinna ʔal-yamši nās ...
 žensīyə
- St: ʔāy
- A: ... žensīyə sūdānīyə, wu-b-taṣrīḥ
 ʔilli yamši maṣər wu-yamši l-ḥižāz
 lēčín fi-l-ḥižāz mā aʕlana kū šān
 fī maṣər
- St: mā fī?
- A: mā fī ku šān
 ʔabdan mā ʕannā kū šān
- St: fi-l-ḥižāz?
- A: fi-l-ḥižāz mā ʕannā kū šān
 wa-lā ʕannā mṭawwəf ... ḥinna ʔəšāydə
 mā aʕlana mṭawwəf
 mā aʕlana -
- St: mā ʕandukum?
 ʔahlīye ... fi-l-ḥižāz ʔahlīye mā aʕlana mṭawwəf
 ʔabdan mā ʕannā mṭawwəf
- St: təzūrūnhu?
- A: ʕarabna-
 nəzūr nəzūr ʕarābna kullu
 wu-l-ʕarab jāʕidīn ... ḥinna ... ʔəšāydə
 fī wāḥadīn ... jāʕidīn hnū
 wə-gaʕādaw wu-jāʕidīn wu-mərtāḥīn wu-mrāsibīn ...
 yā ʕarāb fī žədda
 ... biyūthu
 ...
 ... tižāra ...
 ...
 muwāṭənin fī židda
 .. yižūn wu-nžī-hu
 wu-mabsūṭīn wu-mirtāḥīn
 wu-lī ʕarab fī maṣər
- St: mišāwīr is-sūg...
- A: mišāwr is-sūg ...

St: mašeyt máşəř?

A: mā mašeyt-hā na lākin il-šarab ... yimšūn wu-yižūn
yimšūn yimšūn darā.. yimšūn yā mašəř yamši
w-illi l-šarab ʔilli yamši... yamši l-hāl beyt-iļļā

St: ...

A: ʔid-dāmir yaŋni ʔid-dāmir hī balád-na
ʔid-dāmir wu-hāđi hnī fi-s-sūdān kull-a hāđi balád-na
ʔaniḥna kull sūdān kull-ha balád-na

St: ...?

A: ... síŋir ... nawwur
rāčib/l

...

ʔid-dāmər

St: ...triččibūn ihnū?

A: wa-hāđil yimšūn bi-l-māl
wa-hāđil yimšūn bi-l-baharīn
issyu bil
...ddūn ad-dāmər yibiŋūn-ha wu-yižūn
minni yāxuđ ... šwayya ...ōn ʔinna ġāli
wa-min id-dāmər y..widdūn-ha mašəř
ʔilli-hū ... mašəř
čida

05:52

wu-nāxid ġanam wu nāxid níštiri b'əgər

St: tíštiri b'əgər

A: níštiri b'əgər wu-ġānəm wu-nəddī-ha mbīŋ-ha wu-nwaddi l-ġəđārif

(...)

níštiri min čāsila

naddi l-ġəđārif wu-naddi tamrūn ...

yaŋni balád-na

...

ʔil-bil ḥa-nisím-mi-há_l-bil

níštiri ʔil-bil wu-níštiri nyāg wu-jiŋdān

... wu-nddī-hu mbīŋ

St: biyūt-kun kēf?

A: ʔimm biyūti-na šáŋar

St: čēf?

A: ʔil-biyūt ...bādi... barra biyūt-hu šaʕar...
 šaʕar šūf il-miʕze
 ʔil-ḡanam hāḡi ʔil-miʕza
 ʔiṣ-šūf il-miʕza
 ...šūf.. al-ʔazrag ...

St: ... čēf

A: ... bnūn ...
 ḡān ʔimḡān
 wu-ʔaṭnāq wa-wtāt
 fi-l-maṭār wu-fi... wu-fi-ṣ-sef wu-l-xarīf

(person in the background commenting)

biyūt zēʕnāt
 ... skanaw
 ... sawwa biyūt ... gəṭāʕti
 wu-sawwa bi...
 sawwa banu ḡāzar
 ʔilli skanaw
 lācīn il-biyūt il-ḡiyān iṣ-šaʕar ʔilli ʕīnda-na
 mā tillə
 ʔil-wāḡid ... badri ḡaṣəʔ ʔil-nadri b-īl-ḡāzar

...

šaʕr hāḡi
 ...
 wu-yamši ha-gʕad fiḥ
 wu-benzīn ... biyūt ḡanna

...

Part 3

A	<i>rəšāyda, šeyyin mi-l-ḡiṣāz, wu-šeyyin min maṣəʔ, wu-šeyyin mi-l-ʕirāg, wu-šeyyin mi-l-ʔirdin, wu-šeyyin min lībya mi-l-wāḡāt il-ḡarbīyə fi-l-lībya, wu-kəll-na rəšāyda wu-sim-na rəšāyda</i>	Rašāyda, some are from the ḡiṣāz, some are from Egypt, some are from Iraq, some are from Jordan, and some are from the western oases in Libya, and we are all Rašāyda and our name is Rašāyda.
B	<i>wa-lākin ʔaktār-hum min wēn?</i>	But where are most of them from?

A	<i>ʔaktār-hum mi-l-ḥižāz, ʔaktārhum mi-l-ḥižāz, ʔaktār-hum mi-l-ḥižāz</i>	Most of them are from the Ḥiğāz, most of them are from the Ḥiğāz,, most of them are from the Ḥiğāz,
B	<i>min ḥižāz?</i>	From the Ḥiğāz?
A	<i>wu-l-ʕarab ʕibīr, ʔil-gəbāyla ʔəšāyda hinnī ʕibīrə fī-s-sūdān, ʔir-ʔəšāyda ʔaṣbaḥat fī-s-sūdān ʕibīrə, ʕibīrə, lō mā ʔill-ha (...) mā ʔill-ha, ʕitīrə, ʕarab ʕitīrə</i>	There is many people, the Rašāyda tribe is big here in Sudan, the Rašāyda became big in Sudan, big, even if it didn't look like it, it didn't look like it, many, many people.
A	<i>wə-baʕdēn dēl il-ʕarab šəbʕān ...ān ɖill, ʕarab tẓār</i>	And then, those people are full (...) the shade, tradesmen.
S	<i>asks whether the men or the women craft the wool</i>	
A	<i>əl- il-mara, tğazil-h il-mara, ysawwi-h il-mara itğāzila</i>	The- the woman, she spins it, the woman does it, she is spinning.
S	<i>čēf?</i>	How?
A	<i>wu-baʕdēn taẓza nəšīṭ</i>	And then, she fleeces wool vividly.
B	<i>ʔawwal ẓiz, ẓiz əl-ğāzila, ʔawwal ʕinda-na l-bʕīna, ʔəl-bʕīna, ʔən-naʕāza ngul al-ʕānz, ʔəl-ẓits¹⁵⁴ ʕūf əl-miʕza ḥinna ʕinda-na</i>	The first part, part of of the spinning, first, we have the <i>bʕīna</i> ¹⁵⁵ , the <i>bʕīna</i> , the ewe we call it the goat, (...) the goat wool, we have it.
A	<i>wu-tānẓza il-mara, tānẓza, tānẓz iṣ-ʕuḡl il-bēyt</i>	And the woman fleeces, she fleeces the things of the house.
S	<i>ʕuḡl il-mara walla ʕuḡl ir-ʔẓāl?</i>	The job of the woman or the job of the man?
A	<i>ʔafḍal ḥin- ḥinna rẓāl mā nanẓi wu-mā ngazil</i>	Better we men don't fleece and don't spin
C	<i>ʔil-mara mā tğazil- ʔir-ʔẓāl mā yğazil u-mā yibrim¹⁵⁶ u-mā yisawwi-</i>	The woman doesn't fleece- the man doesn't fleece and doesn't broom and doesn't do-
A	<i>ḥin- ḥinna rẓāl mā ngazil</i>	We- us men, we don't fleece
A	<i>bess yijīb-il-ha ʕ-ʕūf</i>	but we bring them the wool.
C	<i>wu-yjīb-il-ha</i>	And we bring it to them.
A	<i>wu-yḥuṭṭ-a wu-ysawwi l-bēyt, taʕmil bēyt yaʕissūn</i>	And we put it and make the house, she ...
C	<i>ʔir-ʔẓāl mā yibrīm</i>	The men don't broom.
A	<i>mā yibrīm, yibrim fī-š-šīzin yibrim fī-š-šīzin</i>	They don't broom, they broom in prison, they broom in prison.

¹⁵⁴ Transcription and translation unclear.

¹⁵⁵ Translation unclear.

¹⁵⁶ The translation is unclear, it is probably “to broom”.

St	<i>ʔal-mara tarid</i>	The woman provides.
all	<i>la, mā tarid la, mā tarid la, mā tarid</i>	No, the woman doesn't provide, she doesn't provide, no, doesn't provide.
C	<i>iz-ziraʕ, iz-zirʕa wu-ʕ-ʕirha (construction)</i> <i>wu-r-raʕi, raʕi l-buhāyim</i>	Agriculture, agriculture and construction and herding, herding the cattle.
D	<i>wi-l-wird?</i>	And the providing?
C	<i>wi-l-wird, yīzi bi-(w)rid wu-yazraʕ</i>	And the providing, he comes with the providing and cultivates.
S	<i>ʔal-mara tarid?</i>	Does the woman provide?
all	<i>la, mā tarid</i>	No, she doesn't provide.
C	<i>ʔil-magḍayyif tirda lāčīn il-biʕīd illi miḥtāj</i> <i>w-illi msāfir baʕīd (...)rde hā rəjjaʕ lāčīn li-</i> <i>čūf al-beʕēnt (...) ¹⁵⁷ tirdi-hīn</i>	The close one provides but the one far away and the one in need and the one travelling far (...) brings back, but (...) they provide them.
A	<i>čān-ha ʕaḍīlā mā ʕānda-ha tīrid, ʕaḍīlā mā</i> <i>ʕānda-ha ḥad tīrid-u, tamš-u, tərī-u, taḍhan</i>	She was- clearly, she has no one to provide. If she doesn't have anybody she provides, she goes (to him?), she comes (to him?), she sacrifices.
C	<i>yawm inn-u mā ʕand-ha ržāl-</i>	The day she doesn't have a man-
A	<i>tagʕad fī-l-bēyt</i>	She stays at home.
S	<i>wa-l-ʔabbāyil?</i>	And the camel herders?
A	<i>ʔal-abbāli yaṣraḥ fī-l-bil</i>	The camel herder tames the camel.
S	<i>yā salām, ʔal-abbāli čēyf?</i>	Oh God, how is the camel herder?
A	<i>ʔal-abbāli yaṣraḥ fī-l-bil</i>	The camel herder tames the camel.
C	<i>ʔal-abbāli ʔism-a r-rāʕi</i>	Abbāli is the name of the herder.
S	<i>rāʕi</i>	Herder.
A	<i>rāʕ il-bil, rāʕ il-bil walla rāʕ il-ḡanam</i>	A camel herder, a camel herder or a shepherd.
C	<i>rāʕi, fī rāʕi yažīl wu-fī rāʕi wálad, fī rāʕi</i> <i>yažīl wu-fī rāʕi wálad</i>	Herder, there's wandering herders and there's child herders, there's wandering herders and there's child herders.
A	<i>nižəra b-iš-šaʕar, b-iš-šaʕar</i>	They walk for one month, for one month.

(...)

Part 4 (manuscripts)

¹⁵⁷ Transcription and translation unclear.

10:50

- S wēš úḡul¹⁵⁸ jašš iz-zēn, wiššu?
- A ḥašīš, ʔil-ḥašīš
- X ʔil-ḥantūt¹⁵⁹ wi-l-g'əṭəb¹⁶⁰
- A ʔil-ḥašīš
- X wu-s-sag-
- A wu-l-ḥantūt
- X wa-s-sáḡal¹⁶¹
- A we- we- we-d-dey dāmāt
- X muluxīya
- A wu-l-muluxīya w-áš-šidax, w-áš-šidax¹⁶²
- Y wu-s-sey sibān wu-ṭ-ṭiḡ ṭāḡə
- A wu-č-čítir
- S čítir
- A ʔēy wu-č-čítir
- ? čírya čírya
- A marāy baṛḍu s-sūdān čítīrə
šīḡa- w-kəllu marāy čítīrə
- S wa-ḍ-ḍān čēf?
- A ʔiḍ-ḍān tiraḡ fī ʔil-ješš
ḍeḡha dāk il-ḥamṭūn
- ? ḥanna nsammi-hā- ḥanna nsammi-hāw ḍān ʔil-ḡanam
- S ʔál-ḡanam
- A ʔil-ḡanam
- S ʔal-ḡalam-
- A ʔál-ḡanam
- S wēš yāklán?
- A yākil ir-rēy
ʔismi-h r-rēy bi-tākl-

(everybody speaking at the same time)

¹⁵⁸ Yield.¹⁵⁹ Type of grass.¹⁶⁰ The Tribulus plants.¹⁶¹ Aloe vera.¹⁶² Type of herb.

- yāklin ir-rēy
 ʔir-rēy wi-ḥantūt wi-s-ságal
- S miṭl il-ḥalāl
- A miṭl ḥalāl ʔaṣlan yākil nāčil inn-u nāčíl-ha-l-a wāḥid
 ḏīyān ḥeywānā- ḥeywānāt ʕiyyāl ḥeywānāt
 ḥanna ngussími-h ál-bil mā-hō l-ḥalāl
 nsimmi-h ál-bil
- ? h-ál-bil
- A h-íl-bil, ʔil-bil
- ? ʔál-bil
- A ʔíl-bil
- ? ʔíl-bil
- A ʔíl-bil
- ? ʔél-bil
- A bi-l-hə
- ? ʔíl-bil
- A ən-nāgə nsammi-ha nāgə wə-l-bʕīr ənsammi-hə l-bʕīr
- S fi-l- ʔir-reʕi, ʔir-reʕi fi-l-xarīf čēf?
- A ʔər-rēʕ
- S fi-š-šitta čēf?
- A ʔər-rēʕ fi-l-xarīf ḥantūt ʔaxáḏar
 ḥantūt b-is-sāgə ...ya axáḏar
 ʔū-višṭā~ nara ḥašīš
 yibās ḥimra wə-l-ḥašīš
 ysammi l-ʔālāb əl-ḥašīš əl-ālāb
 ʔālāb fi-r-reʕi
- S yšarbín fī-ha?
- A wu-yaḏrab/yafraḏ min-ha ʔíl-bil tirid
 tirid, tšaddir
 wu-ṭīrit iš-šēy...
 ṭāxəḏ yāwmēn
 ... ḥalā wu-t-ṭālīt fōwg-ih, fōwg-íl-na
- 12:31 yaḡni muḡəbba hum... ál
 ʕalá-l-na
 wu-šeyyi .. xəms
 ...
 wu-mā xəms wa-ʕəl'əlma

- ...
- w-íl-ḡanam w-íḡ-ḡān tirjā...
- aḡ-ḡān
- ? mā staḡmil, mā staḡmil
- A tirid il-yawm wu-taḡad bəkra fī ḡal-hala ...
- ḡū-baḡad bukra tirid
- ? ...
- A lā, mā yistaḡmir
- ḡilla čān fī-šta bi-yaḡmil barid w-iš-šta
- yawm il-barrād ...
- ? yawm il-tirid miṡil ams yaḡni
- ... tišta

Until 13:00

5.2.4 R3B

S	<i>wēš lōn-ak, š-lōn-ak?</i>	How are you?
A	<i>ḡil-ḡiṡṡa, waḡḡāhi fī wāḡhid min žəməḡət-na yaḡni, ḡism-a ḡabdalḡā bin barkāt, biḡdēn iz-zōl hāḡdi kān tāžər žmāl ḡū-miša ḡil-maṡər əhnū</i>	The story, By God, there's one guy of our community, his name is ḡabdalḡā Bin Barkāt. So, this guy was a camel trader and he went to Egypt, there.
A	<i>lamman miša ḡū-bāḡ il-žəməḡ ḡaggāt-ə, ḡū-ḡaxad¹⁶³ ḡaggāt əxwān-a wa-n-nās iṡ-ṡānīn kull-a xaḡ id-darāhim, wu-lamm ad-darāhim kull-a bitāḡ an-nās ḡālšān yəḡawwūl-ha li-s-sūdān hin 'ī, yaḡni zeyy timāl ḡalfi žinē</i>	When he went and sold his camels, he took the money of his brothers and of other people, he took the money of all of them and he gathered all the money of the people to send it to Sudan, here. Like if you gather like a thousand Pounds.
A	<i>ya salām</i>	Oh God!
A	<i>baḡid mā lamm il-gurūš hāḡdi wi-stalamm-ha xalāš u-dēr¹⁶⁴ yiḡaww'əl-ha, kān ḡind-a ḡaṡḡāb fī maṡər hināk, baḡdēn zōl hūwa zōl ḡamīn, wu-zōl waḡfi wu-zōl muxləṡ-</i>	After he had gathered this money and received it all, he wanted to change it. He had friends there, in Egypt. This guy was a safe guy, and a confident guy and an honest guy-
A	<i>ržāl-</i>	A man-

¹⁶³ The *ḡ is not interdental but dental in assimilation to the following /d/ of *darāhim*.

¹⁶⁴ SA *dāyir* “he wants”.

A	<i>ṛaywa ržāl ʕabdaḷḷa hāḡī, ṛinsān ṛamīn wu-ṛinsān ṣādāḡ, wu-kull in-nās yiṭaḡūn fī-h, ṛuhū ʕala ḥasab fī-ḡaṭab fī-n-nās yiḥāsab in-nās zeyyi-h</i>	Yes, this man, ʕAbdaḷḷa, an honest human and a sincere human, and all the people liked him. For instance, there's an issue with people, he gets even with the people like him.
A	<i>biʕdēn fī wāḥid, yaʕni min ṛašḥāb-u hināk, ṛil-mašṛīyīn dēl, dēl lē-hu, ṛana, ṛal-gurūš bitāʕt-ak dī, ṛana bi-ḥāwil-hā-lī-k, ḡāl ṛḥāwil-hā-lī-k</i>	Then, there's one, so, from his friends there, these Egyptians, these [told] him, "I, your money, I will change it for you". He said "I will change it for you".
A	<i>biʕdēn ḡāl-la-h lācīn ṛana mā ʕind-ī taḥwīl ʕīṭīr, ʕind-i gadur tiḥwīl darāhim-k</i>	Then, he told him, "But I, I don't have a lot of change, I have as much change as your money.
A	<i>lācīn-kə- fī wagt əmhaddad ʕid'ī, ḥa-bəək tərīn¹⁶⁵ wu-tərīb darāhim-k hāḡi ʕalašān aḥawūl-hā-lī-k, lācīn aʕšār (ein Zehntel, a tiite/tenth) mā tərīb miʕ-k ən-nās tānīn ʕāwšān mā ʕind-ī darāhim, ṛitaḥawwīl-(h)in tāni, ḡēr darāhim-k</i>	But you- in such a limited time, I will (...) and you give your money so that I change it for you. But a tenth, don't bring it with you, the people are suspicious because I don't have money. I change them again, not your money".
A	<i>ṭawwāli l-ṛinsān hāḡi miša ʕala ḥasab, ṭuḡat-a fī zōl hāḡi wu-ʕala ḥasab mā ʕarīft-a</i>	This guy directly left. He trusted this guy on the basis that he didn't know him.
A	<i>wu-miša xat¹⁶⁶ taks wu-miša lə-ḥaddi, mā sillmi ʕā(n) lli mū ʕaddir if- fī bēyt ər-rəḡā(l?)¹⁶⁷</i>	And he went, he took a taxi and went to him, (...)
A	<i>biʕdēn lamman žāʕ, ṛər-rəžāl hāḡi mḥaddər naʕərēn maʕ-á, yaʕni ʕāḷšān yāxdūn min ad-darāhma dī bi-ngūm baʕád yixášš</i>	Then, when he arrived, the guy was standing next to two persons, so because they take from this money, we stand up after he enters.
A	<i>ṭawwāli yawm inn-u xaššaw u-ʕid'ī, biʕdēn yawm inna- dáxalow l-beyt</i>	So, the day they entered and so, then, the day they entered the house,
S	<i>xaššaw!</i>	They entered!
A	<i>xaššaw ṭawwāli, ṭawwāli min yawm xašš ʕid'ī ḡáffalaw l-beyt, ṭawwāli ṛuḡḡubáw-ṛuḡḡubáw, ṛū-biʕdēn (...) ḥāwal yaʕni ṛitxallaš min-hu lācīn-hu ṭalāṭa nḡār- mā jedir</i>	They entered directly, directly, since the day he entered like this, they closed the house, they directly stayed there, they stayed. And then (...) he tried to get rid of them but three persons- he couldn't.

¹⁶⁵ Transcription and translation unclear.

¹⁶⁶ *xad, assimilation of *d to /t/ due to the initial /t/ in taks.

¹⁶⁷ Transcription and translation unclear.

C	<i>ʔil-marah māʕ-hu?</i>	The wife is not with them?
A	<i>laʔ, ʔil-marah fī- fī- fī baṭn al-beyt</i>	No, the wife is in- in- inside the house.
C	<i>baḍ-ḥum</i>	Also them!
A	<i>lāčīn-ha- ʕīrfat hiy ʔil-gəʕʕa, biʕdēn illī-yawm inna ḥāwal, yīnfačč min-hu ḥāwal bi-ṭ-ṭarīja ʔinna hiy g'əḍab wāḥid min-hu wu-ʕamal fī-h xār b-u ʕa¹⁶⁸ čid'ī fī wažh-a</i>	But she is- she knew the story. Then, who- the day he changed, he unwinds the change from them in a way that one of them stayed and worked on it, he decided upon it and wanted it like this, on his face.
A	<i>biʕdēn gāyt-hin¹⁶⁹ huw gḍubāw ʔū-kt(h)alāw ʔū-gāmuw ʔū- rmaw fī mīčān fī baṭn al-beyt-ha, fī ʕandūk rmaw fī baṭn il-bēyt-ha</i>	Then, like them, they stayed together and killed and stayed and remained on site, inside the house, in a trunk they stayed inside the house.
A	<i>biʕdēn ʔil-mara ḥagg il- mārāt il-rəžāl hāḍi samʕat bi-l-xabur wu-ʕarīfat, biʕdēn rāžil-ha hāḍi gāl-il-ha mā tʕallmī ayyih insān b-il-čalām hāḍi wu-gām gufāl-ha fī-l-beyt xamsa šhūr ʕālšān mā yxallī-ha taḍḥar wu-lā taḍḥar fī šārīʕ walla ʔayyi-ha mikān ʕālšān mā yimčīn tiʕallim-u ʔinna šeytān (...)</i>	Then, the wife of- the man's wife heard the news and knew. Then, her husband told her "Don't tell this anyone!" and he locked her up at home five months, so he doesn't let her go out and she doesn't go out to the street or anywhere so that she is not able to tell that the devil (...)
A	<i>gām ʔiṭ-ṭəžāl hāḍ'ī, ʔū-tižawwəz li-h mara tānī bi- ʔil-ʔimāl hāḍi wu-nitijāsīm al-iʔmāl wu-gām tižawwəz marra tāniyā ʔū-baʕd xamsə šhūr ʔil-mara gāmət-</i>	This man stood and married another woman, with- with these deeds and we split the deeds, and he married another time, and after five months, the woman-
B	<i>yaʕni mā ṭəlag-ha</i>	So he did not divorce her?
A	<i>mmm?</i>	Hm?
B	<i>mā ṭəlag-ha</i>	He did not divorce her.
	<i>biʕdēn ṭawwāli baʕd xamsə šhūr gāmət ʔiṭtāḥit bala, ʕaləmət b-il-ḥāʕəl-ha baʕaḍ in-nās mā kə-tkānaw¹⁷⁰, ʔahəl-hu min hēna māšaw maʕər, ʔū-b-ḥaṭṭaw fī ʔayyi mīčān fī ʔayyi ḥittə, mā lijuw ʕan ax-xābar ʔillə baʕd xamsə šhūr ʔal-mara dī, yaʕni (...)</i>	Then, directly after five months she started to open without, she told many people what had happened to her and (...), her family moved from here to Egypt, and they took, in any place, anywhere, they didn't find any news except after five months, this woman, so, (...)

¹⁶⁸ Transcription and translation unclear.

¹⁶⁹ The SA adverb gāytu "kind of" with the attached pronoun -hin.

¹⁷⁰ Transcription and translation unclear.

	<i>jābat al-xābar bitāf-ha, biṣdēn tabṣan il-ḥākam mū min nās dēl, yaṣni jāṣbō¹⁷¹-hum ṣind-a ḥāčim</i>	News about her were brought, then, of course, the governor was not of these people, they brought them to the governor.
	<i>yirḥabūb¹⁷² ad-darāhum xāḍaw hnu walla mā xāḍaw xalāṣ xallē-hu (...)</i>	They (...) the money, they took there or they did not take, okay, “let them!” (...)
D	<i>warrāt-hum gālat lō-m ṣāmal-ō fī-ṣ-ṣandūk</i>	Behind them, she told them to put it on the boat.
A	<i>ṣāmal-ō-n- giṣṣat lē-hun giṣṣa kulli fī-ṣ-ṣandūk, bi-jāṣbu ṣaṣūba fī garāyid wu-fī-kide (...)</i>	They made them- their story is a story, all on the boat, they had a hard time in newspapers and so (...)
C	<i>yidaṣūn fī-l-ḥittā l-filānīn, filān u-filānā nāxkuluṣu(n) fī-in¹⁷³, fī darāw, fī-l-xāyib/r, fī maṣər (...), fa-ḡaytu maṣā l-maṣrīyīn</i>	They invited random people to the village, (...), in Darāw, abroad, in Egypt (...), so this with the Egyptians.

Part 2 (from 04:49) (manuscript)

E: fī gəṣṣā hī rmāṣ ṣāyzīn aṣalləm-ha
there's a story, dear listeners, that they want me to tell.

G: miṣ ṣāyzīn ṭayyib
We/they don't want, okay.

E: fī-hə nās čān zəməān ən-nās čān darā(h)ūš

F: ha-b-biličə

E: baṣadēn fīh wāḥid
Then, there's one,
ʔaḷḷa yičirim-hu ṣaynd-ih mara, fī bēyt-a, yaṣni
May God give them mercy, he has a wife, in his house,
ʔu-hūwa gāyil inn-ha mara hī lāčín-ha mara hi d-durūž misčīna

¹⁷¹ *jābō-hu

¹⁷² Transcription and translation unclear.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

F: fi-l-beyt

E: fī beyt

F: ʔā

yʒīb ḥāḏāt ygūl-hi l-mara

dissī li-r-ṛamaḏān?

wu-yʒību ḥakm (...) fī-l-bēyt hāḏa li-r-ṛamaḏā

ʔū-hāḏa li-r-ṛamaḏā¹⁷⁴

ʔil-yawmu ʒāb ḥattə- ʔišš l-ṛamaḏān

yaʕni inna ḥadad kibīr fī baṭn-il-bēt

F: fi-l-beyt

E: fī bāṭan bēyt-hu

ʕārah fī ʕārah tiʕʒā ʔar-rəḡḡāl fāyit

ʔismu-h abū rədd ʕalē-ha s-salām

ʔū-gəlat lē-hu marḥabū (the crawl, creep, scramble) ʔagāl ʕalē-ha ʔaʕṭē-ni mā

ʔattīʕ/ḥmā wu-ʔāsgitə

gālat le-hu ʒizum gāl-li-h ism-u ṛamaḏā

gāl iṭ-ṭifl ʕiddat xōy yigutt ʕal-

(laughter)

ʔiʕbur yā šēx

lā lā ʔiʕbur, lā hāḏī-k il-ḥāl

(chatter)

(...)

hāḏīk il-ḥāl-ha ...

(lots of giggling and laughter in the background)

biʕdēn gāl la-ha ʕṭī-ha ʔayy(ib?)

xām xāmāt-li-h al-ʕiddə

(...)

?: ḥalāl ḥa-qtil-ha

E: ʒā řawz min ʕirḥa yawm inna ʒā

gālāt-l-a yfaččir ʕād bēyt il-lēyl

she told him he sees...

čēyf fāsič

ar-rʒāl ʒawwa xad ʔadita

¹⁷⁴ /ān/ is nasal.

mā-hu ržāl al-mara
 gālīt l-á ramaḍā, ʔal-ʔaktib b-ā li-č fī-č
 wēš insawwi wī-ya?
 ʔana ʔagūl-li-č ʔana axall-l-ič

06:10

(…)

06:24

wu-s-salām ʕalēy-kum márḥaba wu-frašáw li-frāš
 ʔurgid-aḷḷa
 ʔar-rižāl hādī lli-hū duʕa ʕalē-h
 ʔant íhəli l-bint
 fī ʔo?
 wu-ʕind-a maṛt-u
 ʔaš-šubḥ min ḥāšb-ə rufaʕ ʕāl (...) ar-rižāl íl-bint tabči
 bintə-h
 wu-... ʕalē-ha
 "ʕalāmi-č yā bint? wu-l-yām him gām itašrah?"
 yā marḥ aʕlām?
 wu-tuʕíl la-r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm
 gālat aʕlām
 bint-k hādī ḥelmet wu-lyah mitrūwza ha-r-rižāl aḍ-ḍayf hādī
 wu-žāyib-ha men-hú walad
 walla li-d-dimōʕ
 (... others comment)

07:00

ḥakm iḍ-ḍarāʕif ḥā-bi-mūt
 gāl-l-a waḷḷāhi mā tamši ġēr taḍhas dəggə
 (...)
 tdəggət waléd-k
 (...)
 wə-yižūn žīrān-nə
 (...)
 yižūn salām ʕalēy-ku aʕlām-ku
 waḷḷāh ʕālə ba hdi
 -ž-žīran xāyif wu-binti flān hādī ḥelmet
 wu-lāčín hiyya mitžawwiz urayyb men-hú walad

wu-walád-hu mōſ
 ḥalmit il-yōſ mā yīt
 07:28

(...)

07:34

E žā wāḥid
 šādd-il-ha ḥašīš ſāla ḥmayyir
 yibīſ fi-l-ḥašīš wa-fī s---əllə
 yibīſ il-ḥillə il-ḥašīš
 salām w-ſalē-k əs-səlām
 ʔaſlām-ku ſarāb man h-illi mōt
 gāl lāw waḷlāḥ filān hādī bintə filān
 ḥalmit inna ... žaw ḡayf dī
 mitžawwīz-ha wu-žāb min-ha walad
 wa-wu-lli mōt

X ʔiḥiy walad huw mā žā

08:00

E gāl il-huw
 hāḡa ʔilli fāršīl
 ... wəlayda fī čibrīta... šəkka fī hmār...
 ...
 garrabna

(...)

24:00

čikallam wu-sallim
 bismiḷlāḥ ḥayyākalla...
 fī wāḥid ism

(...)

29:00

O: b-ism-iḷlāḥi ʔ-ʔaḥmāni ʔ-ʔaḥīm
 fī wāḥid yā žōmſat xēr b-ismīn iṣ-šābji
 crowd: kwayyis

- O: ʔil-munāf gəʂdə
crowd: ʔayyib
O ʔaʔrəʂ
ʔū-ʔaʔlāh yaʕizz-kum trūz-la-h mara ʔaʔʂa
crowd ʔaywā
O ʔū-ʕind-a ʒādad tāʕt ʔaʔʂa
wu-l-hi b-gáraw
ʔū-yeʂraḥ u-yeʂraḥ il-garātiʕ
ʔəm-gártēt wā...
ʔū-yeʂraḥ f- il-garā
hāḍāk in-nahār miṭil (...) min ʕind-ək
P ʔū-kəll-hu ʔəʔʂ?
O kəll-uw ʔəʔʂ
P ...
O gāl, gāl il-ʕáris
gāl l-ʕáris salām wu-ʕləə-kə?
səlām ʕalā-k ... garāy
crowd ...
O gāl mā hi-l-b... hāḍēl wāḥdə il-mā rāčbə
crowd (laughter)
O gāl imḥāl-ku (...) angūl-li-k salām
(...)

6 Abstracts

6.1 Abstract (English)

The Rašāyda are a confederation of Arabic (speaking) tribes that is nowadays spread over all countries around the Red Sea and Kuwait. The geographical homeland is Saudi-Arabia, the central Arabian Nağd, as well as parts of the Red Sea coast, the Northern Ḥiğāz, from where the Rašāyda migrated from the mid-19th century. A significant part of the group has lived in Sudan since the 1860s and traditionally leads a (semi-)nomadic lifestyle characterized by herding camels and sheep and trading, especially on the Red Sea coast and in the eastern Sudanese steppe around Kasalā. Although increasingly more Rašāyda have recently settled in villages of the Nile Valley, most members of the tribe live in socio-cultural isolation, which can be seen as a crucial factor in the preservation of their dialect.

This work aims to shed light on the hitherto undocumented dialect of the Rašāyda in Sudan on the basis of a corpus consisting of the author's field research in the village of Mwēs (Nile Valley) (2023) and the recordings of the German Islamic Studies scholar Stefan Reichmuth (1978). The focus lays on phonology and morphology, with the aim of providing a general introduction to the dialect.

6.2 Abstract (Deutsch)

Die Rašāyda sind eine arabisch(sprachig)e Volksgruppe, die heutzutage über alle Staaten um das Rote Meer sowie Kuwait verteilt ist. Der geografische Ursprung liegt in Saudi-Arabien, im zentralsaudischen Kernland, dem Nağd, sowie Teilen der Rotmeerküste, dem nördlichen Ḥiğāz, von wo aus die Rašāyda ab Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Jahren migriert sind. Ein signifikanter Teil der Gruppe lebt seit den 1860er Jahren im Sudan und führt traditionell eine vom Hüten von Kamelen und Schafen sowie vom Handel geprägte (semi)nomadische Lebensweise, insbesondere an der Rotmeerküste und in der ostsudanesischen Steppe bei Kasalā. Obwohl sich in jüngster Vergangenheit zunehmend mehr Rašāyda in Dörfern im mittleren Niltal angesiedelt und sesshaft gemacht haben, leben die meisten Rašāyda sozio-kulturell isoliert, was als entscheidender Faktor zur Bewahrung ihres Dialektes verstanden werden kann.

Diese Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel den bis dato undokumentierten Dialekt der Rašāyda im Sudan anhand eines Korpus, bestehend aus der Feldforschung des Autors in Mwēs am Nil (2023) sowie den Aufnahmen des deutschen Islamwissenschaftlers Stefan Reichmuth (1978), zu beleuchten. Der Fokus soll hierbei in der Phonologie und Morphologie liegen, mit dem Ansatz eine möglichst allgemeine Einführung in den Dialekt zu präsentieren.