

A Grammar of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes

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JEWISH ARABIC DIALECT
OF GABES

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Nothing is ever really lost, or can be lost
No birth, identity, norm—no object of the world
Walt Whitman

ספר זה מוקדש לחיה, לאה ויוסף באהבה ובהערכה.

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PREFACE

This volume presents a linguistic study of the Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Gabes (Southern Tunisia)—a variety that belongs to the group of sedentary North African dialects and nowadays is spoken by a limited number of native speakers in Israel and France. As with virtually all modern varieties of Judaeo-Arabic and many other Jewish languages, Jewish Gabes faces imminent extinction. This study, therefore, aims at the documentation and the description of its major features while there are still reliable speakers alive.

The data for this study were collected during several stints of fieldwork in Israel and France between December 2018 and March 2022. Due to the COVID pandemic, the collection of data for the syntax chapter also involved the use of social media and other online methods of communication. The linguistic analysis is based on questionnaires and a corpus of transcribed tales and memories.

This project has attempted to answer some of the most immediate challenges posed by Maghrebi Arabic dialectology. In contradistinction to the eastern branch of Arabic, many North-African dialects have not received a thorough linguistic description, particularly those spoken outside large, historic towns. Even less studied are Jewish dialects, whose linguistic features and isoglosses remain *terra incognita*. A lack of text corpora and appropriate data, in turn, has caused an almost complete absence of syntactic studies in the field. The main objective of this volume

is thus a detailed comparative analysis of Jewish Gabes, with a particular focus on syntax.

The volume comprises three main sections: phonology, morphology, and syntax. The first two sections follow a traditional grammatical model. Syntax has been approached from historical and typological points of view. In order to establish whether certain linguistic features are unique to Jewish Gabes, a comparison with other North African dialects has been applied throughout the study.

The publication of this volume was made possible thanks to the generous support of the Rothschild Foundation. A postdoctoral fellowship sponsored by the Rothschild Foundation enabled me to prepare the final manuscript of this book. I am also deeply grateful to the British Academy, which awarded me a travel grant (grant no. SRG2223\231603). Thanks to this, I was able to return to Israel after the pandemic and consult with my informants further.

The realisation of this project was extended over a period of a few years, during which a number of individuals showed me support and kindness. Firstly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my friend Eylon Ben-Lulu, thanks to whom I became interested in modern Israel and in the cultural heritage of the Jewish communities of North Africa. His support and hospitality during my field trips to Israel have been invaluable.

I would like to thank all my informants, who agreed to participate in my study despite many difficult conditions. I am immensely grateful to Haya Mazouz, Tzivia Tobi, Yosef Maymon, and Mazliah and Sara Hakmoun for their patience and kindness.

A special thanks goes to Lea Maymon from Ramle, whose help during the COVID pandemic has made the completion of this project possible.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Professor Geoffrey Khan, who made coming to Cambridge possible and guided me throughout my doctoral and postdoctoral research. I have greatly benefited from his knowledge, experience, and support. Discovering field linguistics and documenting an endangered language under his supervision have been a fascinating adventure indeed.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the editor of this book, Dr Anne Burberry, and Professor Aaron Hornkohl, who offered me a great deal of technical support during the preparation of this book. In addition, I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers, whose comments have greatly improved the quality of the volume.

I would like to thank my family for their love, care, and support.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CA	Classical Arabic
coll.	collective
DEF	definite article
DU	dual
F	feminine
Fr.	French
GEN	genitive
Gr.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
INDF	indefinite article
Ital.	Italian
M	masculine
N/A	not attested
NEG	negation
P / PL	plural
PFX	prefix
PVPT	preverbal particle
REL	relative particle
SUB	subordinate particle
SFX	suffix
S / SG	singular
Sp.	Spanish
S, V, O	subject, verb, object

T-C	topic-comment
Turk.	Turkish
V	vowel
VOC	vocative
<	derives from
>	results in
*	ungrammatical or unattested form
[]	non-phonemic sounds, IPA transcription
//	phonemic sounds
^{HE} ₋ ^{HE}	Hebrew

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. Historical Background of the Jewish Community of Gabes

Gabes (in the local Jewish dialect pronounced as Gābəš), alongside Tunis and Djerba, was one of the centres of Jewish life in Tunisia. It is hard to establish when exactly the Jews first settled down in this city, since sources about the beginning of the Jewish presence in the region are rather obscure. The Jewish community in Gabes started to prosper after the Muslim conquest in 670 (Saadoun 2006, 11) and significantly increased the number of its members after 1492 when many Jews were forced to leave Spain. The historical documents of the Cairo Genizah constitute an invaluable source of our knowledge of the day-to-day life of the Jewish community of Gabes. Among them are the responsa of the Babylonian Geonim to halakhic questions asked by the Jews of Gabes, which attest to robust trade networks, as well as a wide range of agricultural activities (Ben-Sasson 1982, 278). In the first half of the 20th century, the Jewish population of Tunisia was gradually increasing. According to official statistics, there were 48,436 Jews in Tunisia in 1921, whereas in 1946 this number increased to 70,900, and then rapidly dropped in 1956 to 57,543 (Saadoun 2006, 30). The population of the Jewish community of Gabes exhibits a similar tendency, reaching 3,210 members in 1946, then decreasing to 2,252 in 1956 and falling to its lowest point in 1976 with only 70 members. Currently,

most of the speakers of Jewish Gabes live in France (Paris, Marseille), and Israel (Ashkelon, Ramle, Netivot, and others).

2.0. Linguistic Features of Jewish Gabes

The Jewish dialect of Gabes can be categorised as a sedentary, urban Maghrebi dialect and, like many other Jewish dialects, it differs in certain ways from Muslim dialects.¹ The linguistic features of this dialect have their origin in the first wave of Arab settlement in this region (7th–10th century), which was subsequently followed by an extensive invasion by the tribes of Banū Sulaym and Banū Hilāl. The latter event brought about a shift from the sedentary rural dialects to dialects of the Bedouin type (Palva 2011). In the present book, following a recently coined terminology, the terms ‘pre-Hilālī’ and ‘first-wave’ dialects will be used interchangeably.

The cultural and linguistic legacy of North African Jews faced the threat of disappearance after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1947. After massive migrations to Israel from Arabic countries, Jewish communities were immersed in a Hebrew-speaking environment, where their native Arabic tongue was perceived as second class by the local population and the immigrants alike. The generations born in Israel did not acquire the languages of their parents and grandparents and hence nowadays the only native speakers of Jewish Arabic dialects are people born between the 1930s and 1950s, i.e., those who grew up in an Arabic-speaking environment and whose first language is Arabic. It

¹ Considering the classification coined by Ph. Marçais, Jewish Gabes exhibits several isoglosses characteristic for *parlers citadins* (1957, 221).

is estimated, therefore, that all Jewish Arabic vernaculars will disappear within a generation (except for the Jewish dialect of Djerba, where a Jewish community still exists).

From a typological point of view, the dialect of Gabes shares many features with dialects of Libya, Algeria, and, naturally, other sedentary Tunisian dialects. In this study, therefore, the dialect of Jewish Gabes will be compared with Muslim and Jewish dialects of Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. The data for the Jewish dialect of Wad-Souf (El-Oued) in eastern Algeria and Jewish Djerba have been collected by the author and are also analysed in the study.² The data for Muslim Gabes come primarily from Skik (1969) and from a recording of a male Muslim speaker from Gabes.³ Due to the lack of sufficient data, the comparative study of the Jewish and Muslim dialects of Gabes is limited to phonology. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, phonological features indicate that these dialects are typologically distinct, with the Jewish variety being of a sedentary character, while the Muslim one exhibits numerous Hilālī features.⁴ Occasionally, some references are made to Moroccan Arabic, which, however,

² Unless indicated as based on Behnstedt (1998; 1999), my observations of Jewish Djerba are based on my own recordings of 7 informants made in December 2022 in Israel.

³ The speaker was recorded by Dr Maciej Klimiuk in 2016. I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr Klimiuk for sharing this recording with me.

⁴ Indeed, William Marçais classifies the dialect of Gabes as Bedouin (1950, 207).

due to its complexity and distinct character, is beyond the comparative scope of this study. Finally, Classical Arabic serves as comparative material when discussing the historical development of selected forms in Jewish Gabes.

3.0. Previous Research on North African Arabic and its Challenges

In contradistinction to the eastern branch of Arabic (i.e., east of Egypt), North African Arabic is distinguished by a relative dearth of linguistic studies. Due to the vast distances involved and the geographic isolation of many communities, previous research has been mainly focused on large coastal cities, e.g., Algiers (Cohen 1912), Djidjelli (Marçais 1956), Tunis (Muslim Tunis: Singer 1984, Jewish Tunis: Cohen 1975), Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005), Benghazi (Benkato 2014), Oran (Guerrero 2015), and Dellys (Souag 2005). Lucienne Saada published a study on the west Tunisian dialect of Tozeur containing an extensive glossary (1984). In addition, Peter Behnstedt has made an important contribution to our knowledge of Tunisian Arabic by publishing two extensive articles on the dialects of Djerba, both the Muslim and Jewish ones (1998 grammar; 1999 texts). In recent years, there have also been some detailed studies of the Bedouin varieties, mostly from Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011; 2014). It is worth noting, however, that the aforementioned works deal primarily with phonology and morphology. Syntax, on the other hand, remains heavily understudied. An exception to this rule is found in a detailed description of the syntax of Moroccan Arabic by Caubet (1993).

Modern varieties of spoken Judaeo-Arabic have started to attract significant scholarly attention in recent years. This has given birth to several valuable studies, like those of Bar-Moshe on Baghdadi Arabic (2019), Matsa on Damascene (2019), and Shachmon on Jewish Yemeni (2022), and numerous other books and articles. The Jewish dialects of North African Arabic have also sparked much interest, with most of the publications focusing on Moroccan (e.g., Heath & Bar-Asher 1982; Chetrit 2017; Sibony 2022) and more recently, on Libyan Arabic (D'Anna 2021). General overviews of the Jewish Maghrebi dialects have been offered by Chetrit (2014; 2015). Jewish varieties of Tunisian and particularly of Algerian Arabic, on the other hand, have received much less attention.⁵ In fact, since Cohen's (1975) grammar of the Jewish dialect of Tunis, no major grammar of Tunisian Judaeo-Arabic has been published.

The field of spoken Judaeo-Arabic faces limitations due to socio-historical factors. Conducting fully-fledged fieldwork is increasingly difficult, as most of the informants are of advanced age. Moreover, the reliability of data is diminishing because of prolonged contact with the speakers' L2 languages, such as Hebrew or French. Currently, the only Jewish community in the Arab world where robust field research is still feasible is that of

⁵ Lucienne Saada published two articles on spoken Tunisian Judaeo-Arabic, specifically the dialect of Sousa (1958) and a short description of the dialect of Djerba (1963). It is important to notice, however, that Behnstedt (1998; 1999), in his study of Djerba Arabic, notices some differences between Saada's data and his own. This highlights the need for more updated and comprehensive fieldwork.

Djerba. As mentioned before, Behnstedt (1998; 1999) has provided a preliminary description of this dialect, but a more extensive and in-depth study is still needed.

The field of North African dialectology suffers from three major defects: lack of sufficient primary data, lack of comparative studies, and lack of syntactic studies. Naturally, the last lacuna stems from the two previous ones, since syntactic phenomena can be ascertained only on the basis of text corpora. In addition, we still do not have a complete picture of the confessional and communal aspects of Maghrebi Arabic, presumably due to the difficulty of reaching both Jewish speakers in Israel, and their Muslim neighbours in their country of origin. On the other hand, the field of Jewish North African dialectology has its own challenges. One of them is undoubtedly a lack of a diachronic approach to both older forms of Judaeo-Arabic and its modern varieties, which currently exist as two separate entities. As a result, the historical development of Jewish Arabic as spoken in the Maghreb has been almost completely neglected in scholarship. Additionally, due to the age of the speakers, the modern varieties of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic face imminent extinction. Admirable efforts to document and preserve these dialects, and indeed many other Jewish languages, have been made in recent years by the Mother Tongue Project (Israel, directed by Yehudit Henshke). The final factor hindering thorough research on modern Jewish Arabic is extensive language contact with Hebrew, which causes serious erosion of original linguistic features and contributes to the loss of complexity. A scholar of Jewish North African Arabic therefore has to distinguish which forms and structures constitute the original

layer of the language, and which have emerged under the influence of Israeli Hebrew.

4.0. Languages Spoken in North Africa Prior to the Arrival of Arabs: Historical Background⁶

As mentioned earlier, Jewish Gabes represents one of the so-called ‘first-wave’ dialects, which emerged at the onset of the Muslim presence in North Africa. The debate regarding the exact start of Jewish settlement in North Africa is yet to be concluded, but even the most stringent historical accounts suggest a Jewish presence in the region as early as the first century CE (Le Bohec 2021, 89).⁷ Given the historical depth of these varieties, it is pertinent to provide a brief overview of the languages spoken in the Maghreb before the arrival of Arabs, as they are relevant to the formation of the first Arabic dialects.

⁶ This section is a modified version of a part of my article ‘The Development of Sibilant Harmony in Maghrebi Arabic from the Perspective of Language Contact in Pre-Islamic Africa’ (Gębski 2023b).

⁷ Some historians propose an even earlier dating. N. Slousch (1906) argues that the first Jewish settlements in North Africa were established during the Punic era. Le Bohec (2021, 19) rejects this assumption, calling into question the arguments presented by Slousch and claiming that the first Jews arrived in North Africa after the two Jewish uprisings against the Romans in the first century CE. Regardless of whether Jewish settlement in the Maghreb started before the common era or, as suggested in §4.2, at the beginning of it, Punic could have survived as a vernacular until the first half of the first millennium CE. It therefore seems reasonable to look for potential linguistic traits it could have left in first-wave dialects.

Synchronically, the linguistic landscape of North Africa is relatively homogenous compared to other parts of the Arab world, where Arabic dialects coexist with different language families. For example, in northern Iraq, apart from Arabic, there are spoken numerous varieties of Kurdish (Indo-Iranian) and dialects of Turkish (Turkic) as well as North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (Semitic; Khan 2018). However, this has not always been the case, and a diachronic study reveals that the linguistic situation in the Maghreb in the seventh century was much more diverse. Apart from different varieties of Berber, African Latin and Neo-Punic are believed to have been used to some extent in the region of present Libya and Tunisia on the eve of the advent of Islam (Adams 2007; Kossmann 2009, 194, 521; Whittaker 2009, 194). Sources about the active usage of these languages are naturally very scarce, and establishing precisely when they ceased to be used is therefore rather difficult. Nevertheless, one should not assume that a lack of textual sources after a certain point in time necessarily implies the complete extinction of a language. It is entirely possible that both African Latin and Neo-Punic went on being spoken in the first decades of the Arab presence in the Maghreb. Although the expansion of Arabic as an official language was undoubtedly rapid, its adoption in rural and remote areas by speakers of Berber, Latin, and Neo-Punic was rather a gradual process. The multi-linguistic reality of pre-Islamic North Africa should therefore not be omitted in the reconstruction of the processes that led to the formation of the present-day Maghrebi dialectal group.

4.1. Berber

Berber is the only family of languages that has remained in permanent contact with Arabic in this region up until the present day. The mutual influences between Arabic and Berber have been the subject of numerous studies (Diem 1979; El Aissati 2006; Kossmann 2013; Souag 2017). As one would expect, the influence of Arabic on Berber is significantly more prominent than that of Berber on Arabic. After the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb, Arabic started functioning as the *lingua franca* of the region, and, as a prestigious language of administration and trade, it naturally triggered contact-induced changes in Berber. Nevertheless, it is plausible to assume that the prolonged contact between the two languages on the one hand, and their genetic proximity (both of them belong to the Afro-Asiatic family) on the other, could also have furnished linguistic developments in Arabic. These two factors should not be omitted in studies on Maghrebi Arabic and Berber, as they could potentially cast light on some of the phenomena that distinguish North African Arabic from its eastern-branch counterparts.

Due to cultural and political reasons, Berber was in the weaker position in the language-contact situation from the get-go. The Arab conquest of the Maghreb led to the spread of Islam in the region, and Arabic naturally became the language of the transmission of Islamic teaching and communication (Chtatou 1997, 103). Thus, the religious and linguistic domination imposed by the Arabs on the region inevitably situated Berber in the position of the recipient, rather than the donor, of linguistic

borrowing. Nevertheless, there are local fluctuations in Arabic that can be attributed to Berber influence.

Investigation of Berber-induced changes in Arabic presents two major obstacles. Firstly, due to the fact that both linguistic families have been in permanent contact for over 1300 years, it is rather difficult to establish whether certain phenomena in Arabic developed under the influence of Berber, or whether they result from internal language development. Moreover, in cases where both families demonstrate some innovations, the direction of the borrowing is very often uncertain. Another factor weakening any diachronic argumentation is that, since both Maghrebi Arabic and Berber are mainly spoken languages and only limited written sources are available, the history of the language contact between them is always burdened with a high level of vagueness. Therefore, scholars tend to disagree on the nature of many borrowings, often presenting contradictory opinions.

There are several studies available on linguistic borrowings from Berber to Arabic, mainly Moroccan Arabic (Chtatou 1997; El Aissati 2011; Aguadé 2018). Although in the case of lexical borrowings and morphological change there is not much dispute between scholars, explanations of phonological peculiarities of Maghrebi Arabic that involve Berber influence are often met by radically different opinions. Aguadé lists several morphosyntactic phenomena in Moroccan and Algerian Arabic where the influence of Berber is evident (Aguadé 2018, 36). This includes *inter alia* a shift in gender of some nouns, e.g., the originally masculine *lḥam* ‘meat’ and *ṣūf* ‘wool’ become feminine since they are femi-

nine in Berber. Certain varieties of Maghrebi Arabic grammaticalise the noun *rāṣ* ‘head’ instead of *nəfs* ‘soul’ as a reflexive marker. In addition, Aguadé argues that comparative sentences with *ʕal* instead of *mən* are a calque from Berber. Other morpho-syntactic developments are more controversial. El Aissati adduces instances of verb serialisation consisting of two verbal forms, in which the first verb loses its inflection. Although the same phenomenon is attested in Berber, several other varieties of spoken Arabic (Egyptian, Lebanese, Iraqi) also employ this strategy (El Aissati 2011). This evidence, therefore, calls into question the idea of Berber influence and points rather to an internal innovation of spoken Arabic.

As has previously been mentioned, the influence of Berber on the phonology of Maghrebi Arabic is less evident, and many cases of language change in North African Arabic fall within the ‘grey zone’, i.e., their occurrence cannot be unequivocally accounted for by either internal or external factors. This is the case, for instance, with the loss of the glottal stop in Maghrebi Arabic. Chtatou (1997, 107) has argued that the disappearance of [ʔ] in Moroccan Arabic was caused by the lack of a corresponding sound in Berber. This view was criticised by Aguadé (2018, 35), who points out numerous dialects where [ʔ] is retained, and argues that it is rather a matter of internal innovation. Similar controversies surround the development of the Maghrebi Arabic vowel system, which is noticeably reduced in comparison to its eastern counterparts. Although both Chtatou (1997) and El Aissati (2011) point with a high degree of certainty to Berber influence, Kossmann (2013, 173) expresses a more moderate

view. He argues that the present vowel inventory in both Maghrebi Arabic and Berber is a result of innovation and, since we do not have sufficient knowledge of the diachronic development in Berber, it is impossible to establish the starting point of the vowel system reduction.

The examples of language change described above cannot be unequivocally explained either by contact with Berber or by internal innovation of Maghrebi Arabic. Nevertheless, the presence of similar or parallel developments in Berber, considered together with the lack of these phenomena in the eastern branches of Arabic, allows us to tentatively propose that Berber could be what provoked them, or at least not to preclude its role.

4.2. Late Punic

Punic is a term designating a Phoenician language spoken in the western Mediterranean. Following an extensive expansion in the whole basin of the Mediterranean, by the ninth century BCE, the Phoenicians had established a number of colonies with prominent urban centres across North Africa, e.g., Carthage in present-day Tunisia. They had at the same time developed a chain of harbours located on the North-African coast, which facilitated their trade and settlement (Segert 1976, 25). The Phoenician language in North Africa, due to its disconnection from the mainland, soon evolved and developed its distinct features. Our knowledge about vernacular Punic is very limited. We should assume some level of both historical and linguistic discrepancy between the spoken and the written forms of Punic. With regards to the latter, the

available inscriptions attest to a shift that took place in approximately the first century CE whereby the Neo-Punic script was replaced by Latino-Punic, namely Punic written in Latin script.

Did the first Arab warriors and their families settling down in North Africa get to hear Punic? The presence of Punic in the Maghreb is well documented up until the fourth century CE. However, similarly to African Latin, it is unknown when exactly it ceased to be actively used as a vernacular. The main source of our knowledge of Late Punic is inscriptions, whose absence does not imply the extinction of a spoken language. The population that used Punic was not limited only to cities. Numerous words in Punic are of Libyco-Berber provenance and attest to widespread usage of this language also across rural areas, where we should assume some level of bilingualism among both Berbers and native speakers of African Latin. As pointed out by Jongeling (2005, 4), the last attestations of vernacular Punic come from St Augustine, who knew this language himself to some extent. We can infer from his works that Punic was still very much alive in his times, i.e., in the late fourth and early fifth centuries CE. Interestingly, in one of his letters, he makes mention of rural parishes where Punic was the dominant language (Ep. 66.2). The following passage (Ep. 209.3, CSEL 57, 348; Adams 2003, 238) also confirms this assumption:

quod ut fieret, aptum loco illi congruumque requirebam, qui et Punica lingua esset instructus, et habebam, de quo cogitabam, paratum presbyterum.

Fussala, a fortified, settlement of Augustine's diocese, had been a scene of violence between Donatists and Catholics. Because of its distance from Hippo, Augustine decided to

appoint a bishop for the place. One of the requirements was that he must know Punic, and Augustine had a presbyter who was thus prepared.

This and other passages from Augustine seem to indicate that, although Latin enjoyed the status of prestige language, Punic remained the vernacular of the ordinary people across North Africa (Jongeling 2005, 4). Its extinction, therefore, despite the lack of historical evidence, might have taken place much later, and one cannot exclude the possibility that, in rural areas, some portions of the population shifted directly from Punic to Arabic.⁸

4.3. African Latin

We can assume with a great degree of certainty that, upon the arrival of the first Arab colonisers in North Africa, some sort of Romance language was spoken across the region. There is a debate about whether it was Latin or some other vernacular derived therefrom (Kossmann 2009, 195). Adams presents a number of arguments suggesting that ‘African Latin’ was a vernacular, possessing phonological and syntactic features that set it apart from Roman Latin (Adams 2007, 259). Indeed, certain indirect attestations, including passages from St Augustine and Statius, imply that African speakers of Latin had different pronunciations, which could be perceived by speakers in Italy (Adams 2007,

⁸ Cf. Jongeling (2005, 5): “Based on what we know of the Vandal period and the following Byzantine reconquest, there is no reason to suppose a dramatic decline in Punic culture.... Romanization in the [*sic*] North Africa was but minimal and indigenous culture seems to have continued to flourish under Roman suzerainty.”

193). A hint as to how this variety of Latin might have sounded is provided by a passage from Jerome, who tells a story of a student who imitated the manner of speaking of his African teacher (Adams 2007, 269):

A certain person had an African teacher of grammar at Rome, a most learned man, and [yet] he thought that he was emulating his teacher if he reproduced the hissing of his speech and merely the vices of his pronunciation.

This fragment seems to suggest that the peculiarity of African Latin pronunciation to some extent involved sibilants, as the teacher's speech is described as 'hissing'.

Naturally, the central question in the investigation of the language contact between African Latin and Arabic is whether, and for how long, this variety was in use after the Arab invasion of the Maghreb. Was it replaced rapidly by Arabic, or was the adoption of Arabic rather a gradual process, during which Latin continued to be spoken in provincial and rural areas? Unfortunately, there are no attestations of African Latin being actively used in the sixth or the seventh century CE. This does not mean, however, that it was in that period already extinct. Heath (2002, 3) rightly points out that the same lack of sources for vernacular Latin is true for Europe, where Classical Latin was used as a means of official communication. Indeed, a relatively slow process of conversion of the Romanised communities in the Maghreb from Christianity to Islam probably paralleled the communal shift from African Latin to Arabic (Bulliet 1979). Rushworth (2004, 94) even suggests that African Latin, termed *al-lisan al-latini al-Afariq* by al-Idrisi in the twelfth century CE, was spoken

up until the fourteenth century CE. Another indirect piece of evidence for the prolonged use of African Latin is provided by numerous linguistic traces that this language has left in Arabic itself.

The Latin substrate in North African Arabic has been discussed by several scholars. One of the most vocal supporters of this theory is Heath, who manages to make a strong case regarding Moroccan Arabic by presenting compelling historical arguments (Heath 2002, 2). In the realm of morphology, the Latin influence on Arabic is particularly conspicuous in some northern dialects of Morocco, which adopted the plural morpheme *-əš / -oš* (Colin 1926, 65). As observed by Aguadé (2018, 34), this morpheme can be agglutinated to both Latin loanwords and original Arabic items alike. Another morphological feature that is pointed out by some scholars as a possible Latin influence is a merger of gender marking. As argued by Corriente (2012, 142), in Andalusi Arabic, as well as in some Maghrebi dialects and in Maltese, the distinction between 2FS and 2MS has disappeared, both in personal pronouns and in verbs. This isogloss, according to Corriente, must have emerged due to the Romance substrate. Finally, there is a significant number of lexical items which have been borrowed from Latin into Maghrebi Arabic. Most of the loanwords are related to fauna, flora, and agriculture. There exist numerous studies on this topic and it is therefore superfluous to deal with it here in detail.⁹

⁹ For the Romance verbs adopted in the Arabic spoken in Susa, Sfax, and Tunis, see Talmoudi (1986).

As can be inferred from the above paragraph, the Latin/Romance substrate in North African Arabic is most obvious in lexicon and morphology. The fate of phonology, on the other hand, is much more obscure and little is known as to the extent to which the development of vowels and consonants in North Africa was conditioned by Late Latin. Nevertheless, considering the political and cultural influence of the Roman Empire on the entire region of North Africa, as well as the vast proportion of the population using Latin, we cannot exclude the possibility that the receding Latin would have left some sort of traces in the newly adopted Arabic in the realm of phonology also.

5.0. Aims of the Study

The present volume aims to address some of the challenges outlined above. Firstly, one of its major aims is a comprehensive linguistic study of Jewish Gables from a comparative perspective. To this end, data from both sedentary and rural dialects have been utilised in order to understand better the typological status of the dialect in question and place it within a wider dialectological framework. Secondly, it attempts to cast some light on the historical development of the Jewish varieties of North African Arabic in general, particularly in the field of phonology and syntax of the verb. A special interest has been taken in notions of language contact and substrate. Finally, a significant part of the volume is devoted to the study of syntax from a cross-linguistic, as well as a Semitic, perspective.

6.0. Methodology and Transcription

The data utilised in this study were obtained during several stints of fieldwork undertaken in Israel and in France between December 2018 and March 2022, and comprise recordings of a total running time of 42 hours.¹⁰ The total number of native speakers of Jewish Gabes that participated in the research is eight. Out of four men and four women, seven have completed basic secondary education, while one of them has obtained a higher academic degree.

Table 1: Native speakers of Jewish Gabes participating in the study

Gender	Age when recorded	Location
F	81	Ramle, Israel
F	72	Rehovot, Israel
F	76	Ramle, Israel
F	79	Beer Sheva, Israel
M	81	Marseille, France
M	92	Ashkelon, Israel
M	87	Beer Sheva, Israel
M	70 (?)	Haifa, Israel

My text corpus of Jewish Gabes included in this volume represents the traditional oral culture of the informants, primarily folktales. For practical reasons, some transcriptions could not be included in the corpus. In addition, for the purpose of grammatical clarification, some examples were elicited. When an example quoted in the volume has been excerpted from the corpus, its location is indicated by two numbers: the first marks the number

¹⁰ This includes portions of free speech, as well as elicitations and questionnaires.

of the text, the second one the number of the passage. Otherwise, when no location is indicated, an example has been excerpted from the data not included in the corpus. Other recordings, not included in the appendix, include personal memoirs, dialogues, and narratives about day-to-day life in Gabes.¹¹ The division of passages has been made according to the natural prosodic pauses applied by the speakers.

In the course of my search for potential informants, I encountered numerous speakers who were introducing Hebrew words and expressions into their Arabic. These speakers were not included in the study due to the high level of contamination of the dialect with Hebrew words, which, in turn, calls into question the reliability of the data obtained from such informants. The genuine Hebrew component in Jewish Gabes, which does not stem from the extensive language contact with Israeli Hebrew but constitutes an integral part of Arabic spoken by Jews, has not been studied due to the lack of sufficient data. In general, the focus of this study is primarily grammatical and not lexical.

The system of transcription used in this volume is mostly phonemic, but some elements of phonetics have been included as well, as explained in the following. The transcription of vowels is generally phonemic, i.e., only the following phonemic vowels are rendered: long vowels: /ī/, /ā/, /ū/, short vowels: /a/, /o/

¹¹ The transcription of the recordings not included in this volume, together with texts from other undocumented Jewish dialects of Algeria and Tunisia, will hopefully be published in the future in a separate book.

and /ə/. The only exception to this rule is the reflex of the historical short vowels /u/ and /i/, which are retained in certain contexts. Thus, /u/ is preserved in certain verbs, e.g., *yuškur* ‘to thank’, and the determiner *kull* ‘all’.¹² In this case, /u/ is not an allophonic realisation of /ə/ conditioned by the consonantal environment, and although short /u/ is not phonemic, it has been transcribed as such in places where it is relevant for linguistic discussion. Similarly, although short /i/ is generally non-phonemic, it is retained in the preposition *fī* when followed by a noun starting with a non-emphatic consonant.¹³ It has therefore been transcribed as such. For practical reasons, different qualities of vowels are not represented in the transcription. As a general rule, short vowels are not permitted in open syllables in Jewish Gabes. The long vowels are marked by a macron, while the short ones are unmarked. The final vowels are presumed to be long by default and therefore they are not marked as such. The only exception to this rule is verbal forms and prepositions ending with a vowel followed by a 3MS personal pronoun, in which the final vowel is significantly prolonged, and is therefore marked by a macron, i.e., *qərqrū* ‘they dragged’, *qərqrū* ‘they dragged him’; *fī* ‘in’, *fī* ‘in him’. Stress is generally not marked, except for cases where its placement is not obvious. On the other hand, the transcription of the consonants is more phonetic, in order to render some of the characteristic traits of Jewish Gabes. Thus, I strove

¹² Both *kull* and *kəll* variants have been attested. They are transcribed accordingly.

¹³ As opposed to a noun starting with an emphatic consonant. In this case, /i/ shifts to /ə/, i.e., *fī-l-bīt* ‘in the room’, but *fə-ḏ-dār* ‘in the house’.

to render some secondary processes like emphasis spread. Naturally, it is not feasible to precisely establish the exact range of the spread in every word, and it was therefore marked only in the most explicit cases. In addition, the occasional gemination of final consonants attested in Jewish Gabes has also been marked in transcription, e.g., *ḏrəḥḥ* < *ḏrəḥ* ‘he hit’. Preverbal particles, the definite article, and the prepositions *lə-* ‘to’ and *fī-* ‘in’ are followed by a hyphen. The prepositions that in Classical Arabic are not attached to the noun are written separately.

The table below demonstrates the transcription of Classical Arabic sounds used in this volume:¹⁴

Table 2: Transcription of Classical Arabic sounds used in this volume

ن	م	ل	ك	ي	ط	ح	ز	و	ه	د	ج	ب	أ
n	m	l	k	y	ṭ	ḥ	z	w	h	d	j	b	ʾ
ش	غ	ظ	ذ	خ	ث	ت	س	ر	ق	ض	ف	ع	ص
š	ġ	ḏ	ḏ	x	ṯ	t	s	r	q	ḏ	f	ʿ	ṣ

7.0. Structure of the Volume

The volume consists of three main sections: phonology (part I), morphology (part II), and syntax (part III). The first two sections follow a traditional grammatical model. Syntax has been approached from historical and cross-linguistic points of view. Chapter 2, on phonology, is broadly divided into two subsections: analysis of the sounds inventory (§§2.0–4.0), and phonotactics

¹⁴ A table containing all the consonants found in Jewish Gabes and used in the transcription of the dialectal words is presented in chapter 2, §2.0 (Table 3).

(§5.0), which includes a description of the syllable structure and the epenthesis patterns. The section on morphology consists of chapter 3, on verbal morphology, and chapter 4, on nominal, including pronominal, morphology. Finally, the section on syntax (chapters 5–7) includes a number of subsections devoted to various syntactic phenomena: definiteness, genitive constructions, grammatical agreement, subordination, expressions of tense and aspect, syntax and pronouns, and sentence typology. The grammar is followed by an appendix containing a corpus of selected folktales that have been quoted in the earlier sections of the volume.

In order to ascertain whether certain linguistic features are unique to Jewish Gabes, a comparison with other North African dialects has been applied throughout the study.

PART I
PHONOLOGY

2. PHONOLOGY

1.0. Introduction¹

This chapter presents a phonological analysis of the Arabic dialect of the Jews of Gabes, combined with a comparative examination of various phonological phenomena in the Muslim variety of Gabes and in selected Arabic dialects of the region. The primary aim of the study is to establish the features that distinguish Jewish Gabes from other Jewish North African dialects, and, since no south Tunisian Jewish dialect has been studied to date, to produce a thorough analysis of the sound system of this variety.² Special attention is paid to the distribution of sibilants in the region, which is tentatively explained by a substrate theory. Moreover, this survey constitutes the first attempt at acoustic analysis of the emphatics and vowels in North African Arabic. Based on data obtained by means of the software Praat, it has been shown that the emphatic consonants in Jewish Gabes have different levels of spreadability.

¹ This chapter is a revised and updated version of my paper titled ‘The Phonology of the Judaeo-Arabic Dialect of Gabes’ (2023a). Several changes have been implemented in comparison to the original article, primarily due to improved data accessibility after the pandemic. This facilitated additional verifications and validations, which were impossible during lockdown.

² Some remarks on the phonology and morphology of the Jewish dialect of Djerba have been mentioned in Behnstedt (1998).

Apart from the works of Saada (1964) and Behnstedt (1998) on Jewish Djerba, no systematic phonological description of any Jewish dialect of southern Tunisia has been undertaken so far. Moreover, no acoustic analyses of any Maghrebi dialects are known to me. It is therefore not surprising that, for instance, the phenomenon of emphasis spread, which has received much treatment in the eastern branch of Arabic (Watson 1999 for Yemeni; Omani and Jaber 2019 for Jordanian; Altaïri et al. 2017 for Egyptian, Palestinian, Saudi, and Yemeni), in North Africa is almost entirely unexplored.³ Against this background, this chapter has two principal aims. Firstly, it investigates the peculiarities of the Jewish Gabes phonological system in contrast with neighbouring dialects, and it attempts to cast light on the distribution of the sibilants within the region. Secondly, by providing an acoustic analysis of emphatics and vowels, it endeavours to fill the aforementioned lacuna in the study of the phonology of North African Arabic.

2.0. Overview of the Consonants

As Table 3 below shows, the consonantal system of Jewish Gabes is considerably different from that of Classical Arabic (henceforth: CA), and of Muslim dialects of the region. The set of consonants has undergone both reduction and enrichment compared to CA and, as a result, although some groups of sounds have disappeared, new sounds have emerged as well. This phenomenon

³ The only study known to me on emphasis in North African Arabic is that of Marçais (1948).

is observed in many Maghrebi dialects (Cohen 1912, 19). Similarly to other Jewish dialects of the North African group, the interdentalals are completely non-existent in Jewish Gabes. On the other hand, a series of new emphatic consonants have emerged: [ṁ], [ṇ], [ḷ],⁴ /ḃ/ and /ṛ/. However, compared to some neighbouring dialects, Jewish Gabes does retain some CA sounds. For instance, in Jewish Algiers, /q/ is pronounced as a glottal stop (Cohen 1912, 29), while /h/, similarly to in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 75) and Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 35), has almost completely disappeared. Contrary to this, in Jewish Gabes both of these sounds are stable, although, as will be argued, the realisation of /q/ is not uniform. In the following section (§3.0), I describe selected consonants that are characteristic of Jewish Gabes, or whose realisation differs from CA and the neighbouring dialects.

⁴ In the transcription, phonemes are placed between two slashes, whereas allophones and consonants that do not possess phonemic status are marked by square brackets.

Table 3: Consonantal inventory

	Labial	Dental / Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stop							
Unvoiced	[p]	t		k	q		
Voiced	b	d		g			
Emphatic	ḃ	ḏ ṭ					
Affricate							
Unvoiced							
Voiced							
Fricative							
Unvoiced	f	[s]	š	x		ħ	h
Voiced		[z]	ž	ġ		ʕ	
Emphatic	[ḥ]	ṣ ḏ					
Nasal							
Plain	m	n					
Emphatic	[ṁ]	[ṇ]					
Lateral							
Plain		l					
Emphatic		[ḷ]					
Rhotic							
Trill			r				
Emphatic			ṛ				
Approximant	w	y					

3.0. Remarks on Realisation of Consonants

3.1. Bilabials

3.1.1. /b/–/ḃ/

CA ب is preserved as a plosive bilabial voiced consonant. Its realisation can change depending on its position in a word. When /b/ is at the beginning of a word and is followed by an unvoiced consonant, it turns into a devoiced allophone [p], e.g., *bḥar* [pḥar] ‘sea’. When, however, the same sequence is preceded by a vowel, /b/ has its regular plosive realisation, e.g., *yabkiw* ‘they cry’. On the other hand, in word-final position, especially in monosyllabic words containing a short vowel, /b/ tends to be geminated, e.g., *rkab*[b] ‘he rode’. In these cases, the air stream pressing on the mouth very often gives an impression that /b/ is emphatic, since emphasis consists of pharyngealisation and labialisation.⁵

/b/ has an emphatic counterpart /ḃ/, which occurs either as an independent phoneme or as a result of emphasis spread in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant. Its phonemic status, contrary to Muslim Gabes, is not certain (Skik 1969, 85). The following minimal pair potentially proves the phonemic character of

⁵ Gemination of a consonant at the end of a word is also attested in Jewish Algiers; see Cohen (1912, 66).

/b/: *bāba* ‘her door’ : *ḥāḥa* ‘father’.⁶ The minimal pair that proves the phonemic status of /b/ in Jewish Tripoli, i.e., *rābbi* ‘rabbi’ : *raḥḥi* ‘God’, is not valid in Jewish Gabes, as the two words differ both in terms of emphaticity and vowel quality, i.e., *rābbi* ‘rabbi’ : *raḥḥi* ‘God’.⁷ However, in words like *yaṭṭaḥ* ‘he asks’, /b/ results from rightward extension of the emphasis rooted in originally emphatic /t/. In most cases /b/ has a clearly plosive character, and in certain words it is followed by reduced, short epenthetic /u/ and hence has a labial vocalic release, e.g., *ḍraḥḥa* ‘he hit her’, *ṣaḥḥi* ‘Arabic’. A similar phenomenon is attested in Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912, 57).⁸ One of the possible explanations for this “semi-vocalic complement,” as Cohen refers to it, is related

⁶ The 3FS pronominal suffix in *bāba* ‘her door’ is unstable. I have recorded utterances where the etymological /h/ is clearly audible, but it is lost in the stream of fast speech. The minimal pair in question should therefore be taken with a pinch of salt, as it involves an allophonic realisation.

⁷ It is important to notice, however, that the quality of /r/ in *rābbi* ‘rabbi’ is unstable and the consonant occasionally tends to be emphaticised. The second formant of the segment /ra/ pronounced by the same male informant had on one occasion a value of 1938 Hz, i.e., it clearly was not emphatic, but on another occasion dropped to 1681 Hz, i.e., closer to the emphatic region. Indeed, in fast speech, these two words are more easily distinguished by the vowel quality.

⁸ Paradoxically, this phenomenon is not attested in Jewish Tunis, in which /b/ is explicitly plosive (Cohen 1975, 15) and, contrary to some other Maghrebi dialects, does not bear any traces of spirantisation.

to the realisation of the emphatic consonants, which usually involves some level of lip-rounding, i.e., retraction of the dorsum simultaneously brings about a slight rounding of the lips.

Similarly to /b/, /ḃ/ undergoes the same process of devoicing when followed by a voiceless plosive or fricative and shifts to emphatic /ḃ̥/, e.g. *ḃṭən* [ḃṭən̥] ‘belly’. From an etymological point of view, the /ḃ/ phoneme occurs in many loans from other languages and essentially corresponds to /p/, /b/, and /v/, e.g., *ḃlāša* ‘place, building’ (Ital. *palazzo*), *ḃīḃāš* ‘Christian priest’ (Gr. *papas* > Turk. *papaz*), *ḃrīma* ‘well’ (Ital. *prima*), *ḃāḃūr* ‘boat’ (Ital. *vapore*).⁹

3.1.2. /m/–[ṁ]

/m/ occurs in two realisations, i.e., a plain nasal bilabial, and an emphatic one, which in Jewish Gabes is not a phoneme. The emphaticisation of /m/ is similar to that of /b/. Similarly to Jewish Tripoli, when [ṁ] is followed by /əy/ or /i/, it becomes labialised, e.g., *əṁṁ^{wi}* ‘my mother’ (Yoda 2005, 27). In addition, in some words, the initial /m/, which should normally be followed by /w/, shifts to geminated [ṁ], whereby /w/ is fully assimilated. This phenomenon, ubiquitous in Jewish Tunis, is in Gabes only partially operational, and one can therefore find forms with /w/ retained alongside those with geminated [ṁ], e.g., *mwākəl–ṁmākəl* ‘food’ (Cohen 1975, 18).

⁹ In Jewish Tripoli, Italian /v/ and /p/ shifted into /ḃ/, i.e., *ḃaḃūr* (Yoda 2005, 318), while in Jewish Algiers they shifted into /p/, i.e., *papōr* (Cohen 1912, 58).

3.2. Labiodentals

3.2.1. /f/–[f̣]

ف in Jewish Gabes is realised as a labiodental voiceless fricative /f/. It has its emphatic counterpart f̣, which often stems from emphasis spread, e.g., *ṭf̣ər* ‘nail’. In addition, as in the case of geminated [m], emphatic [f̣] emerges due to a shift from /fw/ to geminated /f̣/, e.g. *ff̣ām* < **fwām* ‘mouths’. Interestingly, this shift is also attested in the Bedouin dialect of the region of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 51). As far as I could establish, [f̣] is not phonemic in Jewish Gabes.

3.3. Dentals

3.3.1. /t/

The /t/ sound in Jewish Gabes represents two CA consonants, namely, ت and ث. The post-dental realisation of the latter CA interdental fricative ث can be found in words like: *tlāta* ‘three’, *tālž* ‘snow’, or *tūm* ‘garlic’. Contrary to this, Muslim dialects do distinguish between them; both Muslim Gabes (Skik 1969, 86), Tunis (Cohen 1975, 19), and Muslim Algiers (Cohen 1912, 21) have preserved the interdental /t̪/. In addition, in Jewish Gabes, /t/ is also the result of the devoicing of /d/, e.g., *tqīqa* ‘minute’ (< *daqīqa*).¹⁰ Similarly, /t/ reflects, in some cases, a historical

¹⁰ In the present chapter, the ‘<’ sign represents correspondence to an item in CA and does not signify direct descentance of the dialectal forms from CA.

CA /d/ that has undergone devoicing, e.g., *ḍakar* > *tkar* ‘masculine’.

The loss of interdental consonants in North Africa is considered to be a feature of some Jewish urban dialects, while in the second-layer dialects, both rural and Muslim urban, they are generally preserved.¹¹ In the Jewish dialects, being mostly of the urban, pre-Hilālī type, one observes a strong tendency towards the plosive realisation of /t/ and /d/. To the best of my knowledge, among the Jewish varieties of the central Maghreb, only speakers from Wad-Souf (El-Oued) preserve the interdentals (Gębski, forthcoming a).

3.3.2. /t/

The emphatic counterpart of /t/, as in CA, is an independent phoneme. This can be proved by minimal pairs: *ṭāb* ‘he cured’ : *tāb* ‘he admitted, he pleaded guilty’, *ṣəṭṭ* ‘coast’ : *ṣədd* ‘he seized’, *ṭār* ‘he flew’ : *ḍār* ‘house’. The origin of this consonant in Jewish Gabes is more complex. It reflects CA ٣ e.g., *ḥaṭṭ* (< CA *ḥaṭṭa*) ‘he put’, as well as ٣ in words like *ṭfər* (< CA *ḍufur*) ‘nail’. In addition, in some numerals, due to emphasis spread, /t/ shifts to /ṭ/, e.g., *ṭləṭṭāš* (< CA *ṭalāṭat ʕašar*) ‘thirteen’.

3.3.3. /d/

In Jewish Gabes, both CA dental ڊ and interdental ڌ have the reflex of the same consonant /d/, e.g., *rədd* (< CA *radda*) ‘he replied’, *dhəbb* (< CA *ḍahab*) ‘gold’. It tends to be geminated at

¹¹ It has recently been suggested that the preservation of interdentals might be a trait of some pre-Hilālī dialects (Guerrero, 2021).

the end of the word by strong pressure of the tongue on the front teeth, e.g., *ḥadd* ‘someone’. In some words, however, it reflects an original /t/ consonant that has undergone voicing, especially when followed by a voiced consonant, e.g., **tẓī* > *dẓī* ‘you come’.

3.3.4. /ḍ/

The occurrence of /ḍ/ follows a similar pattern to that of /ṭ/. Its phonemic status can be demonstrated on the basis of minimal pairs such as *ḍāq* ‘he became narrow’ : *dāq* ‘he tasted’. The Jewish Gabes /ḍ/ represents several CA consonants, as well as some foreign sounds. First of all, it reflects the following Arabic consonants: emphatic ض as in *ḍrāb* ‘he hit’ (< CA *ḍaraba*), interdental emphatic ظ as in *ḥaḍḍaf* ‘he cleaned’ (< CA *naḍafa*), plosive /d/ as in *ḥaḍam* ‘he attacked’ (< CA *ṣadama*), and emphatic /ṭ/ as in *ḥaḍaḍ* ‘he hunted’ (< CA *ḥiṣṭāda*). In addition, emphatic /ḍ/ represents some foreign elements, e.g., *ṣaḍḍūr* ‘prayer book’ from Hebrew סידור.

3.3.5. /n/–[ṇ]

The Classical ن is represented by a nasal consonant, which in the vicinity of the emphatics becomes emphaticised, e.g., *ḥaḥḍam* ‘I attack’. In Jewish Gabes, similarly to Jewish Tunis, emphatic [ṇ] is very frequent (Cohen 1975, 20). Remarkably, while the prefix of the first person is fairly regularly emphaticised, it is almost never emphaticised in the suffix of the first person plural, e.g., *ḥaṭṭab* ‘I/we ask’, but *ṭṭabna* ‘we asked’. In turn, when /n/ is followed by a velar consonant, its pronunciation shifts to a velar nasal, e.g., *ḥaṇqa* ‘blind alley’.

3.4. Alveolars and Postalveolars

3.4.1. [s]–/ʃ/

Due to the processes of emphasis spread and palatalisation, the occurrence of the /s/ consonant in Jewish Gabes is considerably limited. Yoda (2006) claims that Jewish Gabes has lost its /s/ and /z/ altogether, arguing that, in items containing emphatic consonants, CA /s/ shifts regularly to /ʃ/. My data, however, suggest that the situation of /s/ in Jewish Gabes is more complex. Indeed, in many cases, CA /s/ has shifted in Jewish Gabes to /ʃ/ due to assimilation in emphaticity, e.g., *ʃalṭān* ‘sultan’ (< CA *sulṭān*), *rāʃ* ‘head’ (< CA *raʔs*). Nevertheless, the emphatic property of /ʃ/ is often dropped and a plain /s/ emerges, even in words with etymological /ʃ/. An acoustic study of the second formant (F2) of selected occurrences of /ʃ/ reveals that its emphatic realisation is unstable, e.g., the F2 of segment /ʃə/ in *yāʃər* ‘a lot’ has in one speaker a value of 1745.57 Hz, and in another a value of 2036.18 Hz. Both of these speakers are female and of similar age. Meanwhile, loss of emphasis takes place also in items with etymological /ʃ/. For example, in *bʃəl* ‘onion’, the frequency of the segment /ʃə/ is 2984.77 Hz, while that of /ʃa/ in *ʃānʃa* ‘servant’ is 2630.96 Hz. Against this background, /ʃ/ in *ʃābūn* ‘soap’ has a middle-height frequency of 1993.16 Hz, while the same consonant in *ma rqāwāʃ* ‘they did not find her’ is as low as 1363.15 Hz. Such a wide span of F2 suggests that, in certain lexical items, speakers tend to de-emphasise /ʃ/, presumably due to language contact with Modern Hebrew, which does not possess emphatic consonants. This, in turn, seems to indicate that /s/ as a sound

does exist in Jewish Gabes, although its phonemic status remains ambiguous.

3.4.2. /š/

In Jewish Gabes, in lexical items not containing emphatic consonants, CA /s/ has shifted to /š/, e.g., /š/, e.g., *šīd* ‘master’ (< CA *sayyid*), *xmīš* ‘fifth’ (< CA *xāmis*). The realisation of postalveolar /š/ in Jewish Gabes depends on the age of the speaker. Those of the older generations tend to pronounce this consonant as a palatal, younger speakers as a postalveolar. In his study of Jewish Algiers, Marcel Cohen (1912, 24) also points out that a great number of speakers of that dialect tend to realise /š/ in the frontal part of the palate, creating an impression of an affricated articulation, i.e., [ç] in IPA. He calls this realisation ‘lipping’ (Fr. *zézaïement*) and notes that it is one of the distinctive features of Maghrebi Jewish dialects in general.

In Table 4 below one can find minimal pairs involving /s/, /ṣ/, and /š/ in five dialects of the region. As can be seen, Jewish Gabes and Jewish Tunis are the only dialects with no minimal pair involving s : š. This, in turn, points to an extensive weakening of this phoneme caused by a gradual shift from a plain realisation to palatalised and emphasised ones. On the other hand, the Muslim dialect of Gabes distinguishes phonemically between /s/ and /š/ (Skik 1969, 88).

Table 4: Minimal pairs involving sibilants in selected dialects of North Africa

Dialect	s : š	š : š	s : š
Jewish Gabes	-	šif ‘summer’ : šif ‘sword’	-
Muslim Gabes ¹²	sadd ‘he moved’ : šadd ‘he grasped’		sūm ‘price proposal’ : šūm ‘fast!’
Muslim Tunis ¹³	sæbb ‘he insulted’ : šæbb ‘alum’	-	sbōf ‘week’ : šbōf ‘finger’
Jewish Tripoli	nsa ‘women’ : nša ‘starch’	šur ‘wall’ : šur ‘months’	sif ‘sword’ : šif ‘summer’
Jewish Tunis	-	šif ‘summer’ : šif ‘sword’	-
Jewish Algiers	-	-	sif ‘sword’ : šif ‘summer’

3.4.3. [z]–/z/–/ž/

CA /z/ is retained only in a limited number of items, where it is followed by a non-emphatic /r/, e.g., *əzri* ‘run!’. According to Yoda (2006, 15), the plain /z/, like the plain /s/, does not exist in Jewish Gabes. However, as is the case with /s/, analysis of F2 demonstrates that the high value of the second formant in some items containing /z/ does not permit us simply to classify it as emphatic. For instance, the frequency of the segment /əz/ in *əzri* ‘run!’ is 2002.95 Hz, as opposed to the 1302.35 Hz of /zə/ in

¹² Sources: Muslim Gabes—Skik (1969, 89); Muslim Tunis—Singer (1984, 51); Jewish Tripoli—Yoda (2005, 18), Jewish Tunis—Cohen (1975, 25), Jewish Algiers—Cohen (1912, 122, 206).

¹³ The items are quoted according to their original transcription in the grammar book they were borrowed from.

ṛāẓal ‘man’, or the 1228.67 Hz of /əz/ in *əẓṛāra* ‘rope’. We should assume, therefore, that the rule known from Jewish Tunis, by which the plain /z/ is retained before a non-emphatic /r/, is to some extent also valid in Jewish Gabes.

Emphatic [ẓ] in Jewish Gabes does not have any direct ancestor in CA and reflects either original /z/ which was emphaticised in the vicinity of emphatics, e.g., *ẓlaq* ‘he slipped’ (< CA *zaliqa*), *əẓraq* ‘blue’ (< CA *ʔazraq*); or original /j/, which had shifted to /z/ and was subsequently emphaticised due to its proximity to emphatics, e.g., *jār* > **zār* > *ẓār* ‘neighbour’. In addition, it reflects CA /s/, as in *ẓġir* ‘small’ (< CA *ṣaġir*).

/ʒ/ in Jewish Gabes is a retroflex fricative sibilant and, like /š/, is palatalised amongst older speakers to [ẓ]. Essentially, it reflects two CA consonants: /j/, e.g., *ʕaẓūẓa* ‘elderly woman’ (< CA *ʕajūza*), *ẓbəl* ‘mountain’ (< CA *jabal*); or /z/, e.g., *ẓūẓ* ‘pair’ (< CA *zawj*), *ẓītūn* ‘olives’ (< CA *zaytūn*).

In lexical items containing an alveolar and an alveopalatal sibilant, we observe an assimilation of the former by which sibilant harmony is formed, e.g., CA *šams* > *šəmš*.¹⁴ In addition, it is worth mentioning that Jewish Gabes exhibits a certain level of exchangeability of emphatics and palatalised sibilants in items containing only one sibilant, e.g., *ṛāẓal* has been attested alongside *ṛāẓal* ‘man’, and similarly *šxən* alongside *ṣxən* ‘he warmed himself’. This development is presumably rooted in the linguistic landscape of North Africa before the first wave of Islamisation of the region (Gębski, 2023b).

¹⁴ The phenomenon of sibilant harmony in North African Arabic is discussed in greater detail in Gębski (2023b).

3.5. Laterals

3.5.1. /l/–[l̥]

This is a lateral liquid, which undergoes emphaticisation in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant, e.g., *šla* ‘synagogue’. The emphatic realisation occurs also in some words of foreign origin, e.g., *blāša* ‘place, building’ (Ital. *palazzo*), *lāḇəṣ* ‘pencil’ (Ital. *lapis*). As far as I have observed, [l̥] in Jewish Gabes is not an independent phoneme.¹⁵

3.6. Trills

3.6.1. /r/–/r̥/

There are two types of non-emphatic /r/ that can be distinguished in Jewish Gabes. The first, which occurs more frequently, is an alveolar trill produced by an intensive vibration of the tip of the tongue above the alveolar ridge. When /r/ is preceded by a vowel, the vibration tends to be considerably reduced. The second variant is a uvular fricative [ʁ] which, according to Cohen (1975, 26), occurred in Jewish Tunis due to the influence of French and is audible mostly among younger speakers. In Jewish Gabes, the fricative realisation seems to be conditioned by the phonetic environment, i.e., when an emphatic /r̥/ is preceded by a vowel, it tends to shift to a uvular fricative. It is worth noting,

¹⁵ It seems that /l̥/ in Jewish Tripoli is an independent phoneme given the following minimal pair: *wəlla* ‘or’ : *wəlla* ‘by God’ (Yoda 2005, 20). Similarly in Muslim Gabes, *xalli* ‘lead’ : *xalli* ‘my vinegar’ (Skik 1969, 90).

however, that this is not a fixed rule and, in certain cases, even when preceded by a vowel, /r/ is realised as a trill.¹⁶ In Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Benghazi, on the other hand, /r/ is a back continuant regardless of the phonetic environment, e.g., *ṣarūsa* [ṣaʁōsa] ‘fiancé’, *rāḥ* [ʁāh], ‘he went’, *kbīra* [kbīʁa] ‘big (FS)’. The same realisation is found in words of Hebrew origin, e.g., *paraša* [paʁaša] ‘weekly Torah portion’.¹⁷

As has already been mentioned, /r/ has its emphatic counterpart /r̥/. In contradistinction to Muslim Gabes and other dialects of the region, where this consonant is phonemic, in Jewish Gabes its phonemic status is unclear (Skik 1969, 90).¹⁸ Two minimal pairs have been found where the emphatic feature of /r̥/ seems to be phonemic, i.e., *kra* ‘he rented’ : *ḳra* ‘he hated’,¹⁹ *zra* ‘he ran’ : *ẓra* ‘it happened’. The F2 of the /ra/ segment in the latter pair is respectively 1610 Hz and 1310 Hz. This clearly indicates that /r/ has different levels of emphaticity in these words.

¹⁶ One cannot exclude the possibility that this realisation emerged due to the influence of Israeli Hebrew, in which /r/ is pronounced by younger generations as a velar or uvular fricative.

¹⁷ This has been established based on recordings of native speakers of Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Benghazi uploaded on the website of the Mother Tongue project: <https://www.lashon.org/1/taxonomy/term/132>, accessed 15 November 2023.

¹⁸ The phonemic status of /r̥/ is attested in both Jewish and Muslim Tunis (Cohen 1975, 27; Singer 1984, 47), Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912, 53), and Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 59).

¹⁹ This minimal pair is somewhat dubious, as I recorded also *ḳrah* ‘he hated’, where /h/ is preserved in a slow speech. The allophonic realisation *ḳra* has been attested in a fast stream of speech.

Although in many cases, /r̥/ has developed through emphasis spread from a nearby emphatic consonant, e.g., *m̥rīd* ‘sick’ (< CA *marīd*), in numerous words, /r̥/ is the only emphatic, e.g., *marra* ‘time’. At times, the /i/ vowel has prevented the emphaticisation of /r/ to /r̥/, e.g., *fār* ‘mouse’–*fīrān* ‘mice’, *zār* ‘neighbour’–*zīrān* ‘neighbours’.²⁰ The same phenomenon is attested in the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 15). In addition, one can observe that /r̥/ does not occur in certain consonantal environments, namely, when it occurs after or before the following consonants:

- velar plosive /k/ and /g/, e.g., *drak* ‘he was in a hurry’, *rkab* ‘he rode’, *škār* ‘he got drunk’;
- uvular fricative /x/ and /ġ/, e.g., *xrəž* ‘he went out’, *waxxər* ‘he was late’, *rġab* ‘he begged’, *ġarbān* ‘strainer’;
- pharyngeal /ħ/, e.g., *rħātu* ‘she grinded him’, *rtāħ* ‘he rested’, *xrəb* ‘he ruined’;
- palato-alveolar sibilants /ž/ and /š/, e.g., *kərši* ‘chair’, *frəš* ‘bed’, *ržəf* ‘he returned’.

It is worth noting, however, that in many words where the occurrence of /r̥/ is conditioned by emphasis spread, its emphatic character is not stable and, in some cases, /r/ is audible instead of the expected /r̥/. This phenomenon has already been identified in Jewish Tunis, where the distribution of /r̥/ is very often related to a social group or neighbourhood. Cohen (1975, 29) remarks

²⁰ A more comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon can be found in §3.13.

that, in the Hāra of Tunis, most speakers tend to pronounce /r/ as emphatic, whereas elsewhere it is pronounced plain.

3.7. Uvulars

3.7.1. /q/

Even though /q/ has been classified here as a uvular consonant, its realisation is very often more frontal, as palato-velar /k/. This is also attested in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 31), whereas in Jewish Algiers, CA ق has weakened to the extent that it is realised as /ʔ/ (Cohen 1912, 43).²¹ Fronting of /q/ to /k/ is one of the characteristic traits of sedentary Jewish dialects in North Africa (Aguadé 2018, 45).²²

3.7.2. /ġ/

In Jewish Gabes, the realisation of /ġ/ is as a uvular fricative, and no cases of trill realisation are attested. In Jewish Tripoli both realisations exist, and Yoda (2005, 11) reports that /ġ/ has the same phonetic value as /r/.

²¹ Cohen (1912, 44) points out that the realisation of /q/ is unstable among Jewish speakers and men tend to pronounce it as a uvular, while women prefer the weakened realisation /ʔ/. This can be explained by the fact that women were less exposed to contact with Muslim speakers, who pronounce /q/ as a uvular.

²² It is worth noting that, in some Arabic dialects of the eastern branch, a further fronting takes place, which also involves palatalisation, i.e., /k/ > /č/, e.g., *samak* > *samač* in Muslim Baghdadi (based on my own recordings).

The phonemes /q/ and /ġ/ display in some words a certain degree of labialisation. A parallel phenomenon is attested in Berber, where velars and uvulars are labialised due to the historical process of the loss of short /u/, which subsequently brought about a rounding of the adjacent consonantal element (Kossmann 2013, 172).

3.8. Velar Plosives

3.8.1. /k/

CA ڪ is realised as a velar plosive /k/, by raising the back of the tongue towards the palate. It occurs in aspirated and unaspirated variants. The former is the default realisation, e.g., *kān* ‘he was’, while the latter occurs due to the de-pharyngealisation of /q/, e.g., *ka-yəmšī* ‘he is/was going’. The distinct character of the two variants of /k/ is confirmed both by their F2 and by their voice onset time (VOT) value.²³ Thus, while the F2 of /k/ in *ka-truḥ* ‘she is going’ is 1277.06 Hz, the F2 of /k/ in *kādu* ‘it hurt him’ is much higher at 1863.47 Hz. Additionally, the aspirated /k/ has a much longer VOT: the VOT of /k/ in *kādu* is 36ms, but in *ka-truḥ* is only 15ms.

3.8.2. /g/

The shift of /q/ > /g/ is a well-known feature that characterises Bedouin dialects across the Arabic-speaking world. In both the Muslim and the Jewish dialect of Gabes, this sound is phonemic,

²³ Voice onset time is the time interval between the release of the stop burst and the onset of voicing.

although its distribution in the former is undoubtedly much higher (Skik 1096, 95).²⁴ I have found only one minimal pair in Jewish Gabes where the opposition q/g is phonemic, namely, *yqarqar* ‘he drags’ : *ygargar* ‘he gargles, he talks a lot’. The minimal pair provided by Cohen (1975, 31) for Jewish Tunis, i.e., *kād* ‘it was a pity for him’ : *gād* ‘he led an animal’, is not valid in Jewish Gabes, as the form of the latter verb is *gəyyəd*. In a similar vein, the opposition between /g/ and /x/ found in Jewish Tripoli, i.e., *gdəm* ‘he bit’ : *xdəm* ‘he worked’, is not attested in Jewish Gabes, as the former verb is not used in this dialect (*ṣāḏ* is used instead). Indeed, the occurrences of the /g/ sound in Jewish Gabes are much more limited and usually either stem from a sound change or are found in a lexical borrowing. For example, when the voiceless velar /k/ is followed by a voiced consonant, it shifts to /g/, e.g., *gdəb* ‘he told a lie’ (< CA *kaḏaba*). In some words, however, it represents CA *qāf*, which is also pronounced as /g/ in Bedouin dialects. In Jewish Gabes, most of the words containing /g/ are related to agriculture, natural phenomena, or animals, e.g., *bagra* ‘cow’, *gumra* ‘moon’, *nāga* ‘female camel’. The geographically closest Bedouin dialect to Jewish Gabes is the dialect of El-

²⁴ In neighboring Muslim and Bedouin dialects, one finds more minimal pairs of /q:/g/. For instance, in the Abadite Djerba dialect (Behnstedt 1998, 57), as well as in Jewish Wad-Souf (Gebiski, forthcoming a), the phonemic status of /g/ is proved by the pair *grīb* ‘near’ : *qrīb* ‘relative’. In Jewish Gabes, both words are rendered as *qrīb*.

Ḥāmma, in which the shift from /q/ to /g/ is almost a rule (Cantineau 1960, 208).²⁵ It is thus reasonable to assume that, in Jewish Gabes, this consonant has emerged through contact with Bedouin dialects, specifically by borrowing lexical items containing /g/. In addition, it is worth noting that the shift from CA /q/ to /g/ is also present in some rural dialects of Algeria, as well as in Jewish Algiers to a limited extent. Marcel Cohen (1912, 46) claims that plosive post-palatal realisation of /q/ is, similarly to in Jewish Gabes, audible in “objets venus de la campagne ou qu’on ne connaît qu’à la campagne.” Interestingly, a close examination of some contemporary recordings of native speakers of Jewish Algerian Arabic from Wad-Souf reveals that, unlike in other Jewish dialects of the Maghreb, /g/ is found not only in words related to agriculture, such as *gəmaḥ* ‘wheat’, but also in high-occurrence verbs of everyday use: *ḥatt yərgud* ‘until he fell asleep’, *gūm!* ‘wake up!’, *gəltlu* ‘I told him’.

3.9. Velar Fricative

3.9.1. /x/

The Classical consonant خ is represented by a velar fricative /x/. Its original realisation involves the raising of the back part of the tongue towards the furthest part of the soft palate. As a result, a uvular sound can very often be heard. Among the older speakers of Jewish Gabes, however, the place of articulation of this consonant is moved forward to the region of the hard palate, and hence

²⁵ As pointed out by Cantineau (1960, 208), /q/ in the dialect of El-Ḥāmma has been preserved only in lexical items borrowed from CA.

the uvula does not take part in the articulation. On the other hand, younger speakers, who grew up in a Hebrew-speaking environment, articulate /x/ by pressing the root of the tongue towards the soft palate. This realisation is therefore probably conditioned by the influence of Hebrew. A parallel discrepancy has been observed by Marcel Cohen (1912, 30) in Algiers, where Muslim speakers pronounce /x/ in the region of the uvula, while the place of articulation among Jews is on the hard palate.²⁶ The velar realisation of /x/ is not attested in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 32).

3.10. Pharyngeals

3.10.1. /ħ/

CA *ḥ* is represented by a pharyngeal fricative /ħ/. The realisation of this consonant involves pulling the root of the tongue towards the back wall of the upper pharynx (Ladefoged 1982, 171; Watson 2002, 18). Apart from etymological *ḥ*, occurrences of /ħ/ are produced by a sound shift of /ʕ/ followed by /h/ (see §3.16.2).

3.10.2. /ʕ/

The pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ reflects the Classical *ʕayn*. This consonant is well preserved, and its realisation is stable among both male and female speakers.²⁷

²⁶ Cohen transcribes the former as /ħ/ and the latter as /x/.

²⁷ As pointed out by Cohen (1912, 31), /ʕ/ in Jewish Algiers is articulated more strongly by men than by women, who tend to weaken its realisation.

3.11. Laryngeal

3.11.1. /h/

The fricative voiced laryngeal /h/ corresponds to CA ʕ, in which language it had a phonemic status. In Jewish Gabes, as far as I can establish, /h/ retains its phonemic status, e.g., *šħar* ‘month’ : *škar* ‘he got drunk’. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that, although speakers are aware of the etymological /h/ and tend to articulate it in regular-tempo speech, its articulation is less audible in fast speech.

The weakening of /h/ is a phenomenon widely attested in several Jewish Maghrebi dialects. According to Yoda (2005, 75), despite the fact that many speakers of Jewish Tripoli are aware of the etymological existence of /h/, it is essentially absent in this dialect. Marcel Cohen (1975, 34) points out that even though CA ʕ is generally well preserved in modern Arabic dialects, among the Jews of Algiers, its realisation is weakened to the extent that it is almost completely inaudible. Similarly, in Jewish Tunis, one can find only vestiges of /h/, which in the majority of cases has been reduced to zero. The elimination of /h/ has two possible outcomes, namely, either the gemination of an adjacent consonant, or the compensatory lengthening of a vowel around the elided /h/ (Yoda 2005, 75).

Despite the general tendency towards the weakening of /h/ among the North African dialects, some Muslim dialects have preserved the original realisation of /h/, as can be found in both Muslim Tunis (Singer 1984, 60), Muslim Algiers (Cohen 1912, 32), and the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 14).

Surprisingly, in respect of this feature, Jewish Gabes aligns with the Muslim dialects.

Below are presented the cases in which /h/ is retained; words in round brackets represent Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 36):

- initial:
 - *hābəl* ‘mad’ (cf. *abāl*), *hbūt* ‘unit of measure’ (cf. *abūt*), *hḍar* ‘he talked’ (cf. *aḍar*[ʀ]), *hṛaḇ* ‘he fled’ (cf. *aṛaḇ*[ḥ]), *hrəd* ‘he has been destroyed’ (cf. *arəd*[d]), *hažž* ‘he raised’ (cf. *ažž*), *hməll* ‘he got lost’ (cf. *aməl*[l]);
- medial:
 - hV: *šūha* ‘scandal’ (cf. *šūwa*), *žīha* ‘side’ (cf. *žiya*), *yəhūdi* ‘Jew’ (cf. *yūdi*), *mənhum* ‘from them’, *dhəbb* ‘gold’;
 - hC: *mahbūl* ‘crazy’ (cf. *mabūl*), *mahrūd* ‘rotten’ (cf. *marūd*), *qəhwa* ‘coffee’ (cf. *qāwa*), *šəhwa* ‘desire’ (cf. *šāwa*);
- final (in a fast stream of speech, the final /h/ is occasionally assimilated to /a/):
 - *nādātha* / *nādāta* ‘she called her’, *ḍharha* / *ḍhāra* ‘her back’, *mṣāha* ‘with her’, *uṃha* / *uṃma* ‘her mother’, *rāzəlha* ‘her husband’, *yḥabbūha* ‘they love her’.

As can be inferred from the above examples, in Jewish Gabes, /h/ is retained in the initial, medial, and final positions.

However, its realisation is weakened in monosyllabic words in which /h/ is in the initial position, e.g., (h)āk ‘that’.

3.12. Treatment of *hamza*

CA *hamza* has disappeared from virtually all Jewish dialects of Tunisia.²⁸ In Jewish Gabes also, the glottal stop is completely absent and, depending on the position of *hamza* in the word, some compensatory processes can be observed.²⁹

The elimination of *hamza* in word-initial position usually gives rise to a short vowel whose quality depends on the following consonant, e.g., CA ʔuktub > əktəb ‘write!’, CA ʔummi > ummi ‘my mother’, CA ʔarḍ > arḍ ‘earth’, CA ʔahmar > aḥmar ‘red’. As can be seen, a bilabial consonant conditions the occurrence of a rounded /u/ vowel, while a pharyngeal fricative or emphatic /ʕ/ is preceded by a low vowel /a/. In addition, verbs with first radical *hamza* have developed a sort of semi-vowel which substitutes for the elided glottal stop, e.g., waxxər ‘he was late’, wakkəl ‘he fed’. However, in a limited number of words, *hamza* disappears along with the following vowel. This occurs in nouns of frequent use, e.g., CA ʔabū > bu ‘father’, CA ʔaxū > xu ‘brother’; and in

²⁸ As pointed out by Y. Henshke (2007, 18), the realisation of /ʔ/ in the reading tradition of Hebrew among the Jews of Tunisia is essentially limited to two words, namely nəboʔa ‘prophecy’ and šənʔa ‘hatred’.

²⁹ In Muslim Gabes, the glottal stop has been retained in word-initial position before a vowel, e.g., ʔism ‘name’, ʔaʃl ‘origin’. Skik (1969, 97) points out, however, that the glottal stop in these words can be dropped without affecting the meaning of the item. A similar tendency to preserve the glottal stop at the beginning of a word is observed in Bedouin Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 13).

verbs of the tenth stem, e.g., CA *ʔistaḥaqq* > *stḥaqq* ‘he was in need of’.³⁰

The disappearance of *hamza* in word-medial position brought about a wide range of processes. To begin with, in some words, it is simply eliminated, and no compensation occurs, e.g., CA *ʔimarʔah* > *mra* ‘woman’. On the other hand, sometimes the loss of *hamza* results in lengthening of the adjacent vowel, e.g., CA *diʔb* > *dīb* ‘jackal’, CA *raʔs* > *ṛāṣ* ‘head’, CA *yaʔxuḍ* > *yāxəd* ‘he takes’; or in the emergence of /w/ and /i/, e.g., CA *muʔaxxar* > *ṁwaxxər* ‘late’, CA *miʔah* > *mīya* ‘hundred’.

In word-final position, *hamza* is usually elided without leaving any trace, e.g., CA *samāʔ* > *šma* ‘heaven’, CA *badaʔ* > *bda* ‘he began’. In a few cases, it brings about gemination of the preceding consonant, e.g., CA *ḍawʔ* > *ḍuww* ‘light’.

3.13. Emphasis and Emphaticisation:

A Cross-Dialectal Perspective

The emphatic consonants have two places of articulation, namely, the primary coronal obstruction and the secondary tongue root retraction towards the back wall of the pharynx (Ladefoged 1982, 171; Davis 1995, 465). As pointed out by Cohen (1975, 14), the emphasis in many cases does not have any particular significance from the phonological point of view and

³⁰ This phenomenon is widely attested in Jewish Tripoli. According to Yoda (2005, 84), the drop of the initial syllable was brought about by the stress shift from paroxytone to oxytone due to frequent use of the construct state with pronominal suffixes, e.g., CA *ʔabūna* ‘our father’, CA *ʔabūka* ‘your father’, etc.

is optional, but has an emotional and expressive function and therefore often occurs in words designating members of the family, taboo words, or words of foreign origin. Nonetheless, a high occurrence of emphatic consonants is among the characteristic features of Jewish Tunisian dialects and therefore deserves close examination within Jewish Gabes. Cohen (1975, 14) notes that, when Muslim residents of Tunis tried to imitate the Arabic of their Jewish neighbours, they would use exaggerated emphasis.

One of the properties of this group of consonants is that they can affect their phonetic environment through spread of the pharyngealisation to adjacent consonants and vowels, which become rounded and deeper. This phenomenon is widely attested in many Semitic languages, such as Hebrew—where, for instance, in the *hitpaʕel* stem, an emphatic first radical turns the plain /t/ of the stem's prefix into emphatic /t̤/—and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (Napiorkowska 2015, 46). Arabic dialects present differences in the directionality and the extent of emphasis spread. In some, such as Cairene, emphasis usually extends over the entire phonological word, while in others, such as the Abha dialect spoken in Saudi Arabia, emphasis does not usually spread beyond an adjacent vowel (Bukshaisha 1985, 217–19). In terms of directionality, in some dialects, emphasis is bidirectional and unbounded, while in others, such as some Palestinian dialects, only leftward spread is unbounded, while rightward spread is blocked by a several opaque elements. A similar tendency has been observed by Cohen (1975, 14) in Jewish Tunis, where the assimilatory influence of the emphasis spreads in both directions, but leftward spread is much more frequent than rightward

spread. Arabic dialects also tend to differ in terms of the opaque elements that block emphasis spread; for example, Heath (1987) reports that, in one of the dialects of Moroccan Arabic, high non-back phonemes—i.e., /y/, /š/ and /ž/—block rightward spread, whereas in a Libyan dialect discussed by Ghazali (1977; quoted in Davis 1995, 494), only the front vowels /i/ and /e/ are opaque to rightward emphasis spread. Some elements can also block leftward emphasis spread. For instance, in a Palestinian dialect studied by Hoberman (1989, 73–97), the same type of phonemes—namely, /i/, /y/, and /š/—are opaque to both leftward and rightward spread. On the other hand, Ghazali (1977) has found that some southern Tunisian dialects lack any phonemes that are opaque to emphasis spread.

Despite the remarks above, the phenomenon of emphasis spread in the North African dialects has not yet been thoroughly studied. In particular, compared to other dialect groups, Maghrebi Arabic lacks comprehensive acoustic analyses. Some scholars, such as David Cohen (1975, 14), mention the capacity for emphasis to spread, but this is not supported by quantitative data. Therefore, the acoustic analysis of emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes that is presented in the following sections (§§3.14–3.15) is of importance both for elucidating the phonology of this language and its typological status, and for understanding emphasis spread in Maghrebi Arabic more generally.

3.14. Acoustic Data

The following study has been conducted using the software Praat. The criterion taken into consideration in establishing whether a certain sound is produced with a retracted tongue root, abbreviated as [RTR],³¹ is the second formant F2, which decreases in the case of pharyngealised consonants. The data presented in Table 5 below include measurements of the frequencies of the emphatic consonants, compared to their plain counterparts. The given frequencies correspond to the syllables in bold.

The data presented in Table 5 is divided into two categories, according to the direction of the spread of pharyngealisation. There is one emphatic consonant in each of the words, which is either historically emphatic, as in *ḍraḇha* ‘he hit her’, or has acquired an emphatic nature as a result of a secondary process, e.g., *hraḇ* > CA *haraba* ‘he fled’. Thus, in the first column are presented lexical items that possess a pharyngealised segment (hence +RTR), while the second column comprises items with corresponding plain segments (hence -RTR). The main aim of the study was to detect the direction of the spread, whether there are any elements that are opaque to the spread, and whether emphasis is anchored in every pharyngeal consonant identically or whether some pharyngeal consonants bring about a spread of emphasis beyond an adjacent sound.

³¹ This is within the framework of the theory of grounded phonology proposed by Archangeli and Pulleybank (1994).

Table 5: Directionality of emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes

1. Leftward spread

	[+ RTR]	[-RTR]
/q/		
1.	(1) <i>tərqa</i> 1250.66026 Hz (2) <i>tərqa</i> 1342.43292 Hz (3) <i>ṣənqa</i> 1165.66389 Hz	<i>kān</i> 1800.81868 Hz <i>təšbaḥ</i> 2225.83514 Hz <i>ṛāṣəlha</i> 1787.56570 Hz
/ḏ/		
2.	(1) <i>abyaḏ</i> 1089.41890 Hz (2) <i>ḥāḇāha</i> 1140.60608 Hz	<i>žāb</i> 1570.77986 Hz
/r/		
3.	<i>kaḇrat</i> 1089.28449 Hz	<i>nḥabbha</i> 1607.00414 Hz
/ṭ/		
4.	(1) <i>əṣ-ṣəltān</i> 1488.24324 Hz (2) <i>yxaɣyət</i> 1598.02826 Hz (3) <i>yxaɣyət</i> 2244.11668 Hz	<i>səzra</i> 2043.50565 Hz <i>təšbaḥ</i> 2225.83514 Hz <i>xarraž</i> 1537.04294 Hz
/š/		
5.	<i>wəšlu</i> 820.50536	<i>wəžžha</i> 1284.4205 Hz

2. Rightward spread

	[+ RTR]	[-RTR]
/ṭ/		
6.	(1) <i>ṭṭəyybi</i> 1378.20092 Hz (2) <i>yəṭṭaḇ</i> 1089.42714 Hz	<i>bī</i> 2186.87534 Hz <i>nḥabba</i> 1607.00414 Hz
/r/		
7.	<i>hraḇ</i> - 978.36830 Hz	<i>žāb</i> – 1570.77986 Hz
/š/		
8.	<i>šbāha</i> 1270.75092 Hz	<i>bāš</i> 2652.70550 Hz
/ḏ/		
9.	<i>ḏrəḇha</i> 1281.23549 Hz	<i>nḥabba</i> 1607.00414 Hz
/q/		
10.	(1) <i>qāltəlha</i> 1553.06365 Hz (2) <i>qāltəlha</i> 1839.09118 Hz (3) <i>qāltəlha</i> 1929.96698 Hz	<i>kān</i> 1800.81868 Hz <i>bālək</i> 1967.83617 Hz <i>təšbaḥ</i> 2225.83514 Hz

3.15. Data Analysis

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study presented in Table 5, discussed by section number:

3.15.1. Leftward Spread

§1.1. /q/ involves a certain degree of lowering of pitch: the frequency of the syllable /qa/ is 600 Hz lower than that of the syllable /ka/ containing the plain counterpart of /q/. The low pitch of the first segment of example (1), *tərqa* ‘you/she find(s)’, is not necessarily the result of emphasis spread, but could be due to the consonant /r/. It is, furthermore, rather difficult to determine the status of /r/ in this word, as its low pitch could be either anchored in the adjacent /q/, or, equally, caused by the general tendency of /r/ in Jewish Gabes to become pharyngealised. Similarly, the low frequency F2 of /zə/ in *zənqa* in example (3) is either owing to the shift of plain /z/ to /z/ or /ž/, or, alternatively, due to the following /n/, which involves lowering of the tongue root.

§1.2. An interesting phenomenon can be observed with the word *abyaḍ* ‘white’, where the emphasis originally anchored in /ḍ/ spreads over a high /y/ sound and affects the first syllable /ab/. In this word in other dialects, such as Abha Saudi Arabic, emphasis spread stops beyond the second /a/ and leaves the first syllable unaffected (Watson 1999, 293). For the sake of comparison, the marked syllable in example (2) has a similar frequency to that of *abyaḍ*, even though it does not contain any emphatic consonant. It can be assumed that it is an example of the ‘emotional’ emphasis mentioned by Cohen (1975, 14).

§1.3. The /ɾ/ in *kaḇrat* brings about a lowering of the pitch of the first syllable, and /r/ should therefore be recognised as the source of the emphasis spread.

§1.4. As the examples show, the leftward spread of /ɾ/ is rather unbounded. In example (1), *əṣ-ṣəltān*, it affects the entire segment located to its left. Contrary to this, examples (2) and (3) demonstrate that final /ɾ/ does not bring about emphasis spread beyond an adjacent vowel. This fact constitutes a strong piece of evidence for the existence of opaque elements in Jewish Gabes; specifically, it can be assumed that high front /y/ is opaque to emphasis spread caused by /ɾ/. Interestingly, the same word *yḡayyət* ‘he saws’ in both northern and southern Palestinian Arabic demonstrates a lack of opacity (Davis 1995, 473).

§1.5. /ṣ/ causes a clear downswing in the F2 of the preceding segment /wə/, as demonstrated in the example *wəṣlu* ‘they arrived’. One can expect low pitch when the approximant /w/ is followed by the back vowel /ə/, but if one compares a word which does not contain any emphatic consonant, like *wəṣṣha* ‘her face’, the F2 is much higher, by more than 400 Hz.

3.15.2. Rightward Spread

§2.6. The emphasis anchored in /ɾ/ in example (1), *ttəyybi* ‘you (FS) cook’, spreads over the entire phonological word and brings about a drop of the F2 of the last syllable. This downswing is significant, taking into consideration the frequency of an identical segment in a non-pharyngealised word: the difference between /bi/ in *ttəyybi* ‘you (FS) cook’ and the same segment occurring as an independent word *bī* ‘in’ is more than 800 Hz. This

token provides strong evidence that, in Jewish Gabes, the high consonant /y/ does not block the rightward emphasis spread of /t̤/. Similarly, in example (2), /ab/ is strongly affected by the emphatic character of /t̤/. However, the measurement of the F2 of the syllable /yə/ preceding the emphatic /t̤/ in *yətləb* ‘he asks’ demonstrates that it remains unaffected by emphasis (/yə/ F2: 2779.35477 Hz); this rather surprising finding can be explained by the fact that the segment in question is not part of the stem, although it is a part of the phonological word. The relationship between emphasis spread and morphology has already been mentioned by Younes (1993); in the Palestinian dialect he examined, the leftward spread of emphasis into prefixes was unstable, while the rightward spread into suffixes was obligatory. Davis (1995, 474) confirms these findings and suggests that this discrepancy is related to some sociolinguistic factors that need to be further examined. The examples that I examined in the present study indicate that, in Jewish Gabes, inflectional prefixes remain unaffected by emphasis spread.

§§2.7.–2.9. The consonants /ʂ/, /d̤/, and /r̤/ all display a clear tendency to lower the F2 of the preceding segments. It seems, however, that /ʂ/ causes a much deeper downswing, as demonstrated by the difference between the pharyngealised and the plain /ba/ being more than 1200 Hz (in the case of /r̤/, the difference is approximately 600 Hz).

§2.10. The F2 of the first syllable in *qāltəlha* suggests that /q/ involves some lowering of the pharynx, but, compared to other clearly emphatic consonants, it is rather insignificant. This

is demonstrated in the analysis in that there is no drop in the F2 of the two following syllables.

3.15.3. Summary of Findings

The findings presented above suggest that Jewish Gabes exhibits an asymmetry in the direction of emphasis spread, though no unambiguous conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of each of the examined phonemes. It would have been possible to infer that, in the dialect in question, both the leftward and the rightward spread of pharyngealisation are unbounded. However, examples (2) and (3) in §1.4. prove that for /t/, the element /y/ is opaque, blocking leftward spread, though simultaneously, the same element /y/ does not block the spread of emphasis from /d/ (§1.2). This phenomenon by which different emphatic consonants are unequal in their potential for causing emphasis spread is not undocumented. In Moroccan Arabic, for example, even the same phoneme can have different degrees of emphatic potential. In that dialect, as has been noted by Heath (1987, 309), emphasis spreads from /r/ onto adjacent coronal consonants in most cases, e.g., *ḍrəṣ* ‘study’, but there are several examples in which /r/ does not bring about the emphaticisation of an adjacent coronal, e.g., *ṭrab* ‘dirt’. It should be stressed that /t/ remains unchanged in this example even though it occurs directly to the left of /r/, where one would expect unblocked emphasis spread.

Therefore, in light of what has previously been said, an alternative classification should be offered. Following Napiorkowska (2015, 70), who applied Ladefoged’s (1971) approach based on the assumption that the features of sounds are gradable and

not distinctive, we can classify the emphatic consonants in a descending scale, where (3) conveys the strongest type of emphasis in terms of spreading into an adjacent consonant, while (0) conveys the weakest one:

Table 6: Emphasis spread scale

3	2	1	0
/d/	/s/, /ʔ/	/t/	/q/

3.16. Assimilation

In this section, I will discuss partial and total assimilation.

3.16.1. Partial Assimilation

The notion of partial assimilation in fact comprises several other phonological phenomena, such as voicing, devoicing, and nasalisation, due to which a sound change occurs. As pointed out by Cohen (1975, 44), the assimilation in Jewish Tunis is mostly regressive, i.e., it affects consonants preceding the sound that is the trigger of the assimilation. Below one can find some of the most common examples of assimilation in Jewish Gabes:

- a) voicing: may occur when a voiceless fricative is followed by a voiced plosive, e.g., *iḏḏad* ‘he hunts’ (<CA *iṣṭād*), *gdab* ‘he lied’ (<CA *kadaba*);
- b) devoicing: is prone to take place when a voiceless plosive or fricative is preceded by a voiced plosive: *txəl* ‘he entered’ (<CA *daxala*), *tkər* ‘masculine’ (<CA *ḏakar*), *pḥər* ‘sea’ (<CA *bḥar*);
- c) place assimilation (in the velar environment): a consonant preceding a velar/uvular plosive phoneme receives

its velarised allophone, e.g., *zəŋqa* ‘blind alley’ (< *zənqa*), *ŋkətbu* ‘we write’ (< *nkətbu*), *yəŋqašš* ‘it is cut off’ (< *yənqašš*);

- d) labialisation: can take place when /m/, /m̥/, or /b/ precedes /ey/ or /i/, e.g., *əm̥m̥i* ‘my mother’, *m̥ʷəyya* ‘water’, *təʃr̥b̥i* ‘you (FS) drink’.

3.16.2. Total Assimilation

Similarly to partial assimilation, the total kind is also conditioned by a certain phonetic environment. Below are listed the most common cases of total assimilation in Jewish Gabes:

- a) *ln* > *nn*; there are numerous cases of the assimilation of /l/ to /n/, e.g., *ma ʕmənna šəy* ‘we did not do anything’ (< *ʕməlna*), *ʕtāwənna* ‘they gave her to us’ (< *ʕtāwəlna*);
- b) *nl* > *ll*; contrary to the previous case, when /n/ is followed by /l/, it gives rise to doubled /ll/, e.g., *willʕabu?* ‘where did they play?’ (< *wīn lʕabu*);
- c) *nr* > *rr*, e.g., *mər̥r̥āzəl* ‘from man’ (< *mən r̥āzəl*);
- d) *nm* > *mm*, e.g., *kāmma* ‘if not’ (< *kān ma*); elision of /n/ and subsequent gemination of the following /m/ is particularly common on the border between two phonological segments;
- e) *qk* > *qq*, e.g., *fūqqəm* ‘above you (PL)’ (< *fūqkəm*);
- f) *ʕh* > *h̥h*, e.g., *ntāʕha* > *ntāh̥ha* ‘her’.

4.0. Vowels

4.1. General Characteristics

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the phonology of North African Arabic dialects is the relatively poor inventory of vowel phonemes.³² This has already been mentioned by Cohen (1975, 46) in his description of Jewish Tunis, though he simultaneously points out that, compared to other Maghrebi dialects, the vowels in that dialect demonstrate a fairly high level of diversity. The study presented here attempts to establish the phonemic vowel inventory of Jewish Gabes as opposed to other Maghrebi dialects, as well as to outline some challenges in the examination of vowels in modern Arabic dialects.

Among the most significant parameters in the investigation of vowels is the opposition between short and long vowels. In this respect, several modern Maghrebi dialects display a considerable reduction of the short vowels inventory, resulting in the existence of a single phonemic short vowel /ə/. Yoda (2005, 31) notes that this development has so far been attested in Jewish Tripoli, Jewish Algiers, Djidjelli, and Jewish Constantine. In addition, according to Behnstedt (1998, 60), Jewish Djerba also features only one phonemic vowel /ə/. D'Anna (2021, 17) also reports only one phonemic short vowel in Jewish Yefren (Libya). Moroccan Arabic presents rather a similar system of long vowels to the above-mentioned dialects, which Heath (1987, 23) terms 'full', but only two

³² In this respect, Maghrebi Arabic demonstrates similarity to Berber (Kossmann 2013, 174).

phonemic short vowels, namely /ə/ and /u/. From the perspective of language contact, the same reduction of vowel inventory is also found outside Arabic in the Maghrebi Arabic speech region, namely, among all the northern dialects of Berber (Kossmann 2013, 171).

Jewish Gabes distinguishes between three phonemic long vowels: /ī/, /ā/, /ū/, and three phonemic short vowels: /a/, /o/ and /ə/.³³ Its phonemic inventory is therefore more diverse than that of Jewish Tripoli and resembles the phonemic vowels of Jewish Tunis. However, it is important to note that the /ə/ vowel has multiple qualities which, in turn, depend on the consonantal environment. Kossmann (2013, 174) observes that the flexibility of /ə/ in terms of its quality is among the parallels between Maghrebi Arabic and northern Berber.

Establishing the quality of /ə/ accurately is rather challenging for several reasons. First of all, the quality of /ə/ does not depend purely on adjacent consonants, but may also sometimes be influenced by remote elements found in non-adjacent syllables. In addition, one needs to bear in mind that the realisation of a vowel which does not possess phonemic status can vary from speaker to speaker and is prone to reflect the individual's physical formation of the speech organs, level of education, usage of other languages, etc. An attempt to precisely determine the allophones of the short vowel in Jewish Tripoli has been presented by Yoda (2005, 32), who establishes 10 allophones. As the classification of these allophones is rather abstract and tentative, in

³³ However, the phonemic status of /o/, as will be demonstrated, is uncertain.

the present study of Jewish Gabes I have opted, instead, to analyse the major phonemic vowels of the dialect (/o/ has been excluded from this analysis due to its limited occurrence), which are presented in the form of plots within various consonantal environments.

4.2. Long Vowels

From a cross-dialectal perspective, the North African dialects can be divided into two groups with respect to their inventory of long vowels, namely, dialects with three long vowels: /ī/, /ā/, and /ū/, and dialects with five long vowels: /ī/, /ā/, /ū/, /ē/, and /ō/. This discrepancy stems from the different development of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/, which in the first group shifted respectively to /ū/ and /ī/, but in the second one to /ō/ and /ē/ (Yoda 2005, 32; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 25). Almost all the sedentary dialects belong to the group with three long vowels, and the Bedouin ones to the group with five. One would expect, therefore, that the long vowel inventory of Jewish Gabes, as a dialect of the sedentary type, will consist of three vowels. The Muslim dialect of Gabes, on the other hand, features a set of five phonemic long vowels (Skik 1969, 98). Jewish Gabes does indeed have three long phonemic vowels, as can be established by the following minimal pairs:

- Phoneme /ū/:
 - /ū/ : /ə/

ṣūrna ‘visit (MS) us!’ : *ṣərna* ‘we visited’;
 - /ū/ : /ā/

fūq ‘above’ : *fāq* ‘he woke up’;

- Phoneme /ā/:
 - /ā/ : /a/

kbār ‘big (PL)’ : *kbar* ‘he grew up’;
 - /ā/ : /ī/

žāt ‘she came’ : *žit* ‘I came’;
- Phoneme /ī/:
 - /ī/ : /a/

kbīr ‘big (MS)’ : *kbar* ‘he grew up’.

Long /ī/ in the vicinity of /ħ/ and /x/ tends to be lowered to /ē/, e.g., [xēt‘] ‘thread’. In addition, when /ī/ is followed by an emphatic consonant, a secondary diphthongisation is produced, namely /ī/ > [əy], e.g., [s‘əyf] ‘summer’. Similarly, long /ū/, when found between two emphatic or uvular consonants, occasionally shifts to long /ō/, e.g., * *šūt* > *šōt* ‘voice’ (cf. §4.4).

4.3. Short Vowels

Based on interviews with informants, it has been established that there are three phonemic short vowels in Jewish Gabes: /a/, /o/ and /ə/. Cohen (1975, 50) reports the same set of phonemic short vowels in Jewish Tunis. The /u/ vowel appears not to be phonemic. Lucienne Saada (1963) claims that /u/ is phonemic in Jewish Djerba and adduces the following minimal pair, *rəkba* ‘riding’ : *rukba* ‘knee’, but in Jewish Gabes, these words are homonymic.³⁴ Behnstedt (1998, 60), on the other hand, argues that

³⁴ It is important to notice that Behnstedt (1998, 60), in an article written 35 years after Saada’s work, reported an absence of the phonemic

short /i/, /u/, and /a/ in Jewish Djerba have merged into a single phoneme /ə/.³⁵ Muslim Gabes, similarly to Jewish Gabes, has a set of three phonemic short vowels: /a/, /o/, and /i/ (Skik 1969, 100). In places where Muslim Gabes has /i/, Jewish Gabes usually has /ə/, e.g., the minimal pair in the Muslim dialect, *midda* ‘give her!’ : *modda* ‘period’, is rendered in the Jewish one as *məd-dha* and *mədda* respectively. Below one can find minimal pairs that prove the phonemic status of all three short vowels:

/a/ : /o/³⁶

ḥabb ‘he loved’ : *ḥobb* ‘love’;

/ə/ : /a/

məktūb ‘written, destiny’ : *maktūb* ‘wallet’;

/ə/ : /ā/

ṣmāl ‘camel’ : *ṣmāl* ‘camels’;

/ə/ : /ū/

ṣxən ‘he warmed himself up’ : *ṣxūn* ‘hot’.

It has previously been mentioned that /ə/ can admit different qualities depending on its consonantal environment. In what follows, I will briefly present the allophones of /ə/ as compared to the three basic non-phonemic qualities: [e], [u], and [i]. I will

/u/ in Jewish Djerba. He records that, similarly to in Jewish Gabes, both ‘riding’ and ‘knee’ have the same form *rəkba*.

³⁵ This is not the case, however, in the Malekite Arabic of Djerba, which typologically belongs to the Hilālī group (Behnstedt 1998, 60).

³⁶ As far as I could establish, this is the only minimal pair where short /o/ appears to differentiate the meaning. Similarly to emphatic /ɾ/, therefore, its phonemic status is uncertain.

give a general outline of the consonantal environment that each of the allophones prefers.

4.3.1. /ə/ with the quality of [e]

[e] reflecting a historical [a] quality is audible when /ə/ occurs in the vicinity of an emphatic or plain consonant, e.g., *təlfat* [télʃat] ‘she went out’, *ḏrəbtu* [ḏrəbʔtu] ‘she hit him’, *ʃəlli* [ʃélli] ‘pray!’, *kəbru* [kébru] ‘they grew up’.

4.3.2. /ə/ with the quality of [u]

This realisation usually occurs when /ə/ is followed or preceded by a labial consonant, /r/–/ɾ/,³⁷ /w/, or /q/, e.g., *fəmm* [fumm] ‘mouth’, *rəbtūha* [rubtūha] ‘they tied her’, *mərtu* [muɾtu] ‘his wife’, *wəld* [wuld] ‘child’, *wəžžafat* [wužžafat] ‘I swam’, *qəmt* [qumt] ‘I/you (MS) woke up’. The /u/ vowel is also present in several items where it reflects the historical short /u/ vowel, as exemplified by *yəškut* ‘he is silent’, *yuškur* ‘he thanks’, and *kull* ‘all, every’. Furthermore, the short /u/ vowel is observable in loanwords, as seen in examples such as *gumra* ‘moon’ (borrowing from a Bedouin-type variety) and *šurriya* ‘shirt’.

4.3.3. /ə/ with the quality of [i]

This realisation occurs when /ə/ is followed by /y/, e.g., *bəyyət* [biyyət] ‘he spent a night’, *məyyət* [miyyət] ‘dead’, *gəyyəd* [giyyəd] ‘he led an animal’, *šəyyəbha* [šiyyəbha] ‘he left her’.

³⁷ In Jewish Tripoli, the occurrence of /r/ or /ɾ/ brings about a quality of [e]; see Yoda (2005, 36).

4.3.4. The Distribution of /o/

It must be noticed that, although there exists one minimal pair where the /o/ quality is phonemic, the distribution of /o/ in Jewish Gabes is more limited than in Muslim Gabes or Jewish Tunis. As previously mentioned, in many lexical items containing /o/ in Muslim Gabes, its Jewish counterpart has /ə/, e.g., *modda-madda* ‘period’.³⁸ In addition, in Jewish Tunis, verbs of this group have a long /ā/ vowel in the 3MS form of the suffix conjugation, which shifts to short /o/ when the 2MS suffix is added, e.g., *ṭār-ṭort*³⁹ ‘to fly away’, *tāq-toqt* ‘to support’, *ḍāṣ-ḍoṣt* ‘to get lost’, *fāq-foqt* ‘to wake up’ (Cohen 1975, 103). The [o] quality in these verbs occurs usually in the environment of emphatics and labials. In the parallel forms in Jewish Gabes, /o/ tends to interchange with /u/ and /a/, e.g., *ḍār-ḍort* / *ḍurt* ‘to roam, to go around’, *ṣām-ṣomt* / *ṣamt* ‘to fast’. Moreover, there exists a group of I-stem strong root verbs where we observe interchangeability in both the prefix and the thematic vowel, e.g., *yədxəl* / *yədxul* ‘to enter’, *yəmṛaḍ* / *yumṛaḍ* ‘to get sick’. It can be established, therefore, that there exists in Jewish Gabes some level of vowel interchangeability in certain morphological environments, by which /ə/ and other phonemic and non-phonemic vowels can occur in the same form, often uttered by the same speaker. As demonstrated above by the example *ḍār-ḍort* / *ḍurt* ‘to roam, to go around’, this is

³⁸ Jewish Wad-Souf has preserved the historical /u/ vowel in this item, i.e., *mudda*.

³⁹ Cohen (1975, 48) utilises in his system of transcription various qualities of vowels. In the present study, however, when quoting examples from his grammar, I will limit myself to the basic vowel quality.

particularly the case with /ə/ and /o/–/u/ in verbs of stem I with second radical /w/ or /y/. The occurrence of the short /u/ can potentially be explained as a reflex of the historical /u/ vowel.⁴⁰

4.3.5. Sounds Reflecting Hebrew Vocalisation Signs

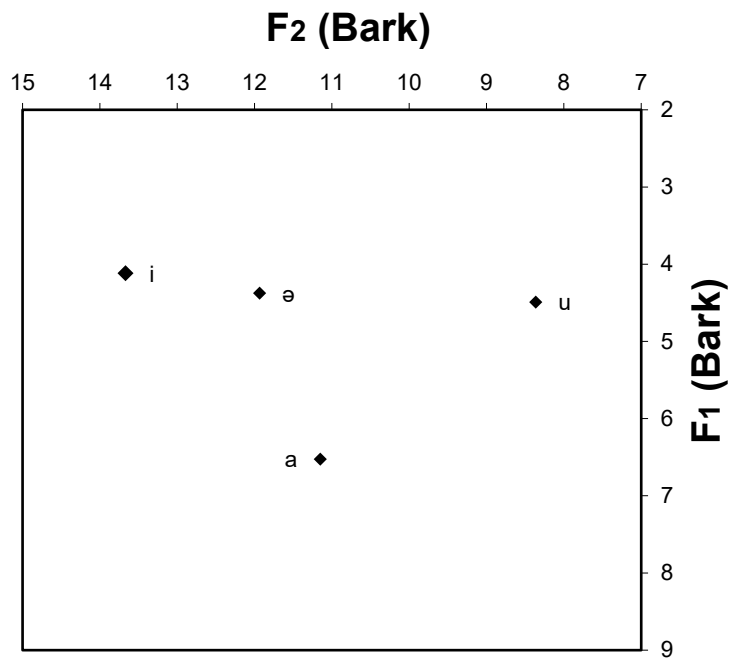
Apart from the aforementioned set of three long vowels and three short ones, there are also numerous allophonic realisations of /e/ that reflect the Hebrew vocalisation signs *šere* and *segol* in lexical items of Hebrew origin. *Šere*, as pointed out by Henshke (2007, 53), is rendered as either /e/ or /i/. In the northern communities /e/ prevails, while in the south, especially in Djerba, /i/ is predominant, e.g. *yušif* (< יוֹסֵף *yosēp*) ‘Joseph’. In the vicinity of emphatic consonants, however, *šere* is realised in the southern communities as /e/, e.g., *zaqen* (< זָקֵן *zaqēn*) ‘old’. The realisation of *segol* is not fixed either, but rather demonstrates various tendencies. In segolate nouns, the first *segol* is usually pronounced as /i/ or /e/, while the second *segol* is as a rule reduced to /ə/, e.g., *kibəš* (< כִּבְשׁ *kebeš*) ‘lamb’. The realisation of *hateph-segol* is not regular either and it can be represented by either /e/ or /i/, e.g., *emona* (< אֱמוּנָה *ēmūna*) ‘faith’, *imit* (< אֱמֶת *ēmēt*) ‘truth’ (Henshke 2009, 55). Another sound that does not exist in spoken Tunisian Arabic but can be heard among Jews is /o/ which represents the Hebrew *holem*. It is realised at times as /u/, but in the vicinity of emphatics and pharyngeals /o/ is preferred, e.g., *xəššof* (> כִּישּׁוֹף *kiššūp*) ‘magic’ (Henshke 2009, 55).

⁴⁰ This problem will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, §3.1.1.

4.4. Acoustic Analysis of Vowels

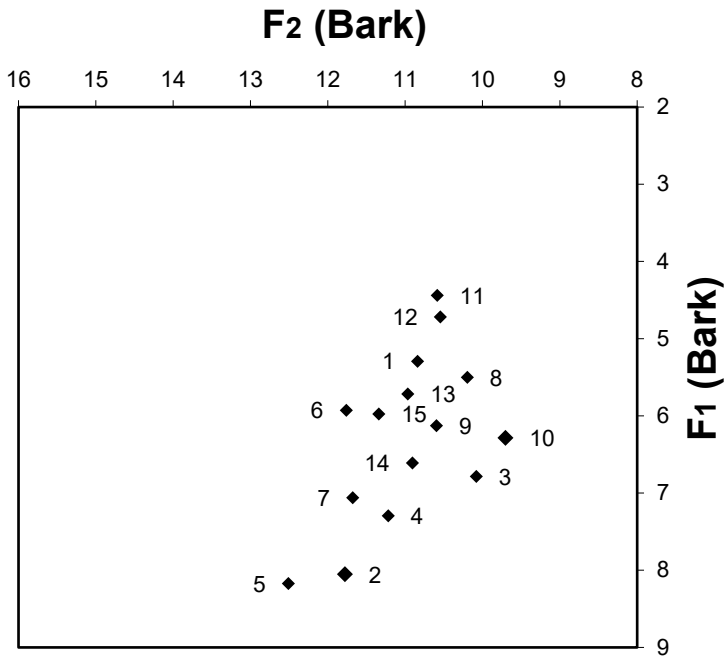
The following chart presents a mean plot representing the mean of all the individual tokens of the four main vowels in Jewish Gabes. Both long and short vowels have been taken into account. Formant values were obtained by means of the acoustic software Praat, which provides an acoustic analysis of speech. The horizontal axis represents the front-back quality, while the vertical axis defines the height of the vowel, i.e., the higher the value on the x axis, the more frontal the vowel, and the higher the value on the y axis, the lower the vowel. The numerical values that follow the chart are the averages calculated for each of the vowels based on fifteen allophone tokens taken from recordings of the speakers participating in the study. Below, one can find the acoustic variation of each of the vowel phonemes along with the examples. As noted in §4.1, /o/ has not been included in the analysis of the acoustic scatter of vowels due to its limited occurrence.

Figure 1: Mean qualities of the main phonemic vowels of Jewish Gabes



- /ā, a/ 718 : 1489 Hz
- /ī/ 430 : 2184 Hz
- /ū/ 472 : 977 Hz
- /ə/ 459 : 1674 Hz

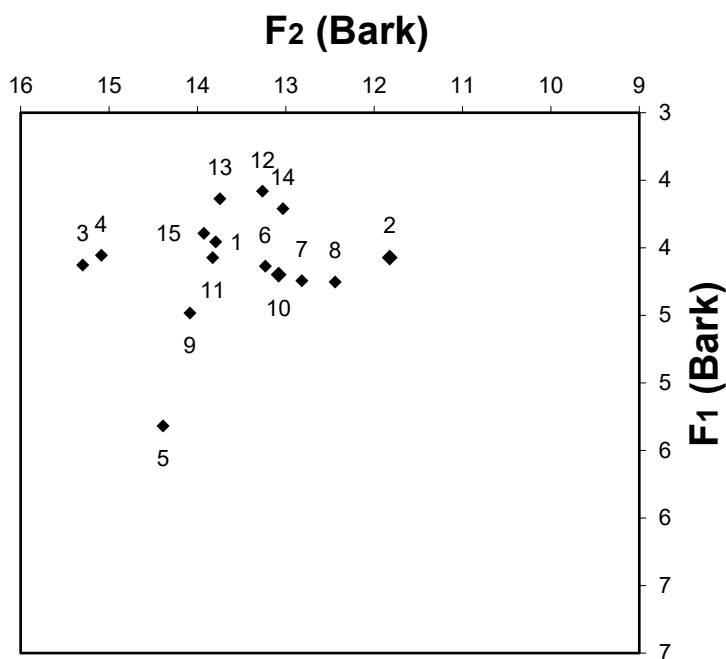
Figure 2: Qualities of /a/



- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>āna</i> ‘I’ | 9. <i>ṣanaḥ</i> ‘maidservant’ |
| 2. <i>aḡnī</i> ‘make him rich!’ | 10. <i>qatla</i> ‘she told her’ |
| 3. <i>yatlab</i> ‘he asks’ | 11. <i>raqdat</i> ‘she fell asleep’ |
| 4. <i>ḍār</i> ‘house’ | 12. <i>ttabbaṣ</i> ‘you (MS) / she bend(s)’ |
| 5. <i>xadma</i> ‘work’ | 13. <i>bāba</i> ‘father’ |
| 6. <i>ṣaltān</i> ‘sultan’ | 14. <i>tār</i> ‘it flew away’ |
| 7. <i>ṣaḡiḡa</i> ‘dear (FS)’ | 15. <i>qṣar</i> ‘castle’ |
| 8. <i>mṛa</i> ‘woman’ | |

As the chart demonstrates, the lowest realisations of /a/ occur in short vowels following velar or uvular consonants (5, 2), and the highest in short vowels occurring after plain consonants (11, 12). In terms of the back-front opposition, most of the back realisations appear in short vowels after emphatics (10, 8, 3).

Figure 3: Qualities of /i/

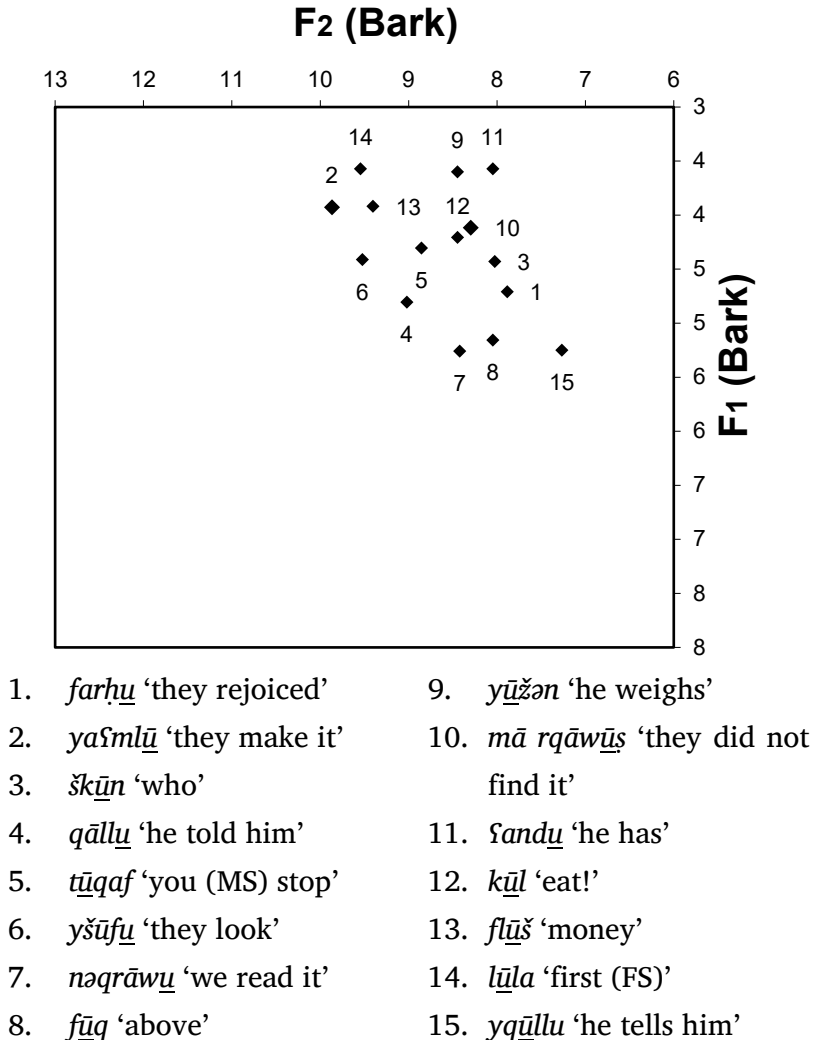


- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>bīt</i> 'room' | 9. <i>žīb</i> 'bring! (MS)' |
| 2. <i>kbīra</i> 'big (FS)' | 10. <i>kīf</i> 'when' |
| 3. <i>aḥyī</i> 'make him alive!' | 11. <i>dārī</i> 'my house' |
| 4. <i>ʕažž</i> 'dear' | 12. <i>rāzli</i> 'my man' |
| 5. <i>xlīqa</i> 'figure' | 13. <i>šīd</i> 'lord' |
| 6. <i>xīr</i> 'better' | 14. <i>raḥḥī</i> 'God' |
| 7. <i>brīma</i> 'fine' | 15. <i>hādī</i> 'this (FS)' |
| 8. <i>xdīt</i> 'I took' | |

Compared to the plot of /a/ in the chart above, the scatter of the allophones of /i/ is wide with respect to the front-back opposition. The allophones with the highest values on the x axis are those which occur in the vicinity of the semi-vowel /y/ and the sibilants (3, 4). On the opposite side of the scale are allophones occurring next to /x/ and /ɾ/, i.e., 2 and 8, which possess a back

quality due to the retraction of the tongue root required for the realisation of these consonants.

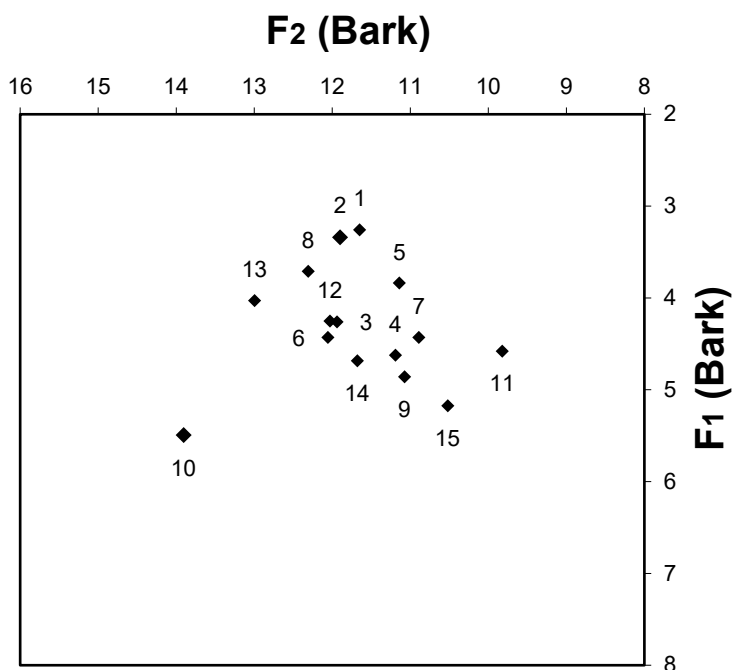
Figure 4: Qualities of /ū/



The realisations of /u/ have a very wide scatter in terms of the high-low relationship. The highest tokens occur in long vowels following plain consonants (14, 9, 11). On the other hand, the

lowest realisations of /u/ are observed in the vicinity of /q/ or /r/. The back allophones of /u/ occur after pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants (15, 1), while the front realisation is found mostly in long vowels in a non-emphatic environment (2, 14, 6).

Figure 5: Qualities of /ə/



- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>ṣəltān</i> 'sultan' | 9. <i>qəlbək</i> 'your heart' |
| 2. <i>bənt</i> 'daughter' | 10. <i>ləqmi</i> 'date wine' |
| 3. <i>mərtu</i> 'his wife' | 11. <i>kəbrət</i> 'she grew up' |
| 4. <i>tətləʕ</i> 'you (MS)/she will go out' | 12. <i>baʕtəthəm</i> 'she sent them' |
| 5. <i>šəməš</i> 'sun' | 13. <i>aʕməlli</i> 'make for me' |
| 6. <i>qtəlhə</i> 'he killed her' | 14. <i>tāxəd</i> 'you (MS)/she will take' |
| 7. <i>raqdət</i> 'she fell asleep' | 15. <i>tədrbu</i> 'you (MS)/she will hit him' |
| 8. <i>kəlbək</i> 'your dog' | |

The data presented in the chart above indicates that, even though the allophones of /ə/ have a broad scatter, the majority are realised between mid-close central unrounded [ə] and close-mid central rounded [ø]. Some allophones occurring in the vicinity of pharyngeal consonants (10, 15) possess the quality of low-mid central unrounded [ɜ]. Additionally, some variants occurring next to /q/ or pharyngealised /ɾ/ or /ɖ/ demonstrate back realisation (11, 15). It is worth noting that, in Jewish Djerba, /ə/ has a much shorter realisation, often creating an impression of a consonant cluster, e.g., Jewish Gabes: *bərša*, Jewish Djerba: *bʔrša* ‘a lot’.

4.5. Diphthongs

As has been mentioned in §4.1, many CA diphthongs have been contracted in Jewish Gabes to a single long vowel. This, however, is not the case in all other dialects of the region, and the distribution of diphthongs within the Maghrebi dialects seems to be more complex. According to the general tendency, the shift /ay/ > /ī/ and /aw/ > /ū/ is a trait of sedentary dialects, while that resulting respectively in /ō/ and /ē/ characterises the Bedouin varieties (D’Anna 2021, 17). Cohen (1975, 65), on the other hand, notes that preservation of the diphthongs is one of the characteristic traits of some Jewish Tunisian dialects, and he adduces numerous examples of lexemes containing diphthongs in Jewish Tunis which seemingly confirm this claim. However, the data from Jewish Gabes and Jewish Djerba indicate that, in contrast to Jewish Tunis, in these Jewish dialects from southern Tunisia, the diphthongs are contracted. Table 7 below demonstrates the aforementioned development of the CA diphthongs in Jewish

Gabes as compared to the Bedouin dialect of Wad-Souf from eastern Algeria, which exhibits numerous Bedouin features:

Table 7: Diphthongs in CA, Jewish Wad-Souf, and Jewish Gabes

CA	Jewish Wad-Souf	Jewish Gabes	
etymological diphthong /ay/			
<i>dayn</i>	<i>dēn</i>	<i>dīn</i>	debt
<i>xayt</i>	<i>xēt</i>	<i>xīt</i>	thread
<i>xayr</i>	<i>xēr</i>	<i>xīr</i>	better
<i>zayn</i>	<i>zēn</i>	<i>zīn</i>	beauty
<i>zaytun</i>	<i>zītūn</i>	<i>zītūn</i>	olives
<i>ṣayf</i>	<i>ṣēf</i>	<i>ṣīf</i>	summer
<i>layla</i>	<i>lēla</i>	<i>līla</i>	night
etymological diphthong /aw/			
<i>xawx</i>	<i>xōx</i>	<i>xūx</i>	peaches
<i>fawq</i>	<i>fōg</i>	<i>fūq</i>	above
<i>lawz</i>	<i>lōz</i>	<i>lūž</i>	almonds
<i>mawt</i>	<i>mōt</i>	<i>mūt</i>	death
<i>ṣawt</i>	<i>ṣōt</i>	<i>ṣūt</i>	voice
<i>zawj</i>	<i>zōz</i>	<i>zūž</i>	pair
<i>lawṭa</i>	<i>lōṭa</i>	<i>lūṭa</i>	beneath

As can be seen, the shift of /aw/ > /ū/ and of /ay/ to /ī/ is very regular in Jewish Gabes. Nevertheless, a secondary process is observed when long /ī/ is placed between two guttural or emphatic consonants, in which case it tends to be diphthongised with an additional /ə/ sound, e.g., *ṣayf* > *ṣīf* > *ṣʔyf* ‘summer’. Examples of diphthong contraction from Jewish Djerba include the following items: *žūž* (Jewish Tunis: *žawž*) ‘pair’, *žīt* (Jewish Tunis: *žayt*) ‘oil’, *žītūn* (Jewish Tunis: *žaytūn*) ‘olives’. It can be established, therefore, that the reduction of diphthongs is one of the hallmarks of the southern Jewish dialects, in contrast to Jewish Tunis, where they tend to be preserved.

5.0. Phonotactics

5.1. Syllabic Patterns

The following syllabic patterns are attested in Jewish Gabes:

a) Open syllables:

- C \bar{V} : **žā.bu** ‘they brought’;
- CC \bar{V} : **mšī.na** ‘we went’;

b) Closed syllables:

- əC: **əš.maʔ!** ‘listen!’;
- CəC: **təb.ki** ‘you (MS) cry’;
- CCəCC: **ktəbt** ‘I wrote’;
- CəCC: **kənt** ‘I was’;
- CCCəCC: **stḥəmm** ‘he warmed up’;
- C \bar{V} C: **qāl** ‘he said’;
- CC \bar{V} C: **tžīb.lu** ‘you (MS) bring him’.

5.2. The Syllable Structure of Jewish Gabes as Compared to CA

In order to establish the distribution of short and long vowels in Jewish Gabes, one needs to take into consideration the diachronic development of the syllable structure of CA. In this study, I will utilise the rules of the distribution of vowels developed by Marcel Cohen (1912, 14) in his work on Jewish Algiers, and subsequently repeated by David Cohen (1975, 72) in Jewish Tunis.

Table 8: Syllable structure development in CA and Jewish Gabes

No.	Rule	CA	Jewish Gabes
1.	No short vowel is permitted in an open syllable. ¹	<i>jabal</i> 'mountain'	<i>žbəl</i>
2.	Short vowels in closed syllables of CA are represented by a reduced vowel or zero vowel.	<i>qālat</i> 'she said'	<i>qālāt</i>
3.	When a word contains two short vowels in open syllables, the second one is elided in order to form one closed syllable.	<i>raqadat</i> 'she fell asleep'	<i>raqdāt</i>

5.3. Epenthetic Vowel

As has previously been mentioned, modern Arabic dialects, and particularly the Maghrebi varieties, have undergone a considerable reduction of vowel inventory compared to CA. This resulted in new types of syllables and various consonant clusters that violate fixed prosodic structures attested in CA. Therefore, in order to prevent the occurrence of some sequences of consonants, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. Modern Arabic dialects deal in different ways with the insertion of an auxiliary vowel; a comparative cross-dialectal study will follow in §5.5. Below I will analyse the strategies by means of which consonant clusters are broken in Jewish Gabes.

¹ The exception to this rule is plural and singular feminine forms of the imperative of stem I, e.g., *āṣṭṛbi* 'drink! (FS)', *āxəržu* 'get out! (PL)'. As pointed out by Yoda (2005, 103), the same rule is operational in Jewish Tripoli, where, however, there exist more cases of /ə/ in open syllables due to the weakening of /h/.

5.3.1. Word Initial

a) CCV-

A cluster of two consonants at the beginning of a word is generally permitted in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *tžib* ‘you (MS) / she will bring’, *ḏrəb* ‘he hit’, *zḏəm* ‘he attacked’, *tbəddəl* ‘he changed’, *zḡār* ‘children’, *nxāfu* ‘we are scared’.

b) CCCV

This sequence is attested only in *stḥaqt* ‘I was in need of’ and *stḥəmm* ‘he warmed up’.

5.3.2. In the Middle of the Word

a) CCC

Consonant clusters in the middle of a word are prone to appear when a pronominal suffix is added to a verbal form, e.g., *ḥšəmt* ‘she put to shame’ + */-ni/* ‘me’ = **ḥšəmtni* ‘she put me to shame’. The cluster is resolved by means of a two-stage process. First of all, the stem short vowel is moved back between */ḥ/* and */š/*, and then subsequently an auxiliary vowel is inserted after the first consonant of the cluster, i.e., *ḥašmətni* ‘she put me to shame’. On the other hand, the consonant cluster that occurs in 3PL prefix forms, e.g., *yəktbu* ‘they will write’, is usually tolerable in Jewish Gabes, unless the first radical is a guttural consonant. In this case, an epenthetic vowel is usually inserted, e.g., *yəxəržu* ‘they go out’, *yəʕarfu* ‘they know’. In Jewish Djerba, an epenthetic vowel tends to appear after the first radical regardless of its place of articulation, e.g., *yəkətbu* [yəkítbu] ‘they write’. The timbre of this vowel is

probably an effect of assimilation to the quality of the prefix semi-consonant /y/. The same strategy can be observed in Jewish Tripoli, i.e., *ykətbu* (Yoda 2005, 159).

b) CC

The same reciprocal movement of the schwa exemplified by *ħašmətni* 'she put me to shame' is observable when a vocalic suffix is added to a verbal form terminating with a consonant, e.g., *ḍrəb* 'he hit' + /-u/ 'him'. The expected form is **ḍrəbu*; however, in that case, the syllabic division would be *ḍrə.bu*, with a short vowel in an open syllable. As a general rule, short vowels cannot exist in an open syllable and therefore the actual form is *ḍər.bu*. Another way of preventing the emergence of an open syllable containing a short vowel is by gemination of the consonant of the inflectional suffix, as in, e.g., **ḍərbatəm* 'she hit them'. In this case the middle /ə/ is in an open syllable, hence the /t/ is geminated in order to close the syllable, i.e., *ḍər.bət.təm*.

The above examples present the process of restructuring the syllable when a vocalic suffix is agglutinated. However, when a suffix beginning with a consonant is added, no change is observed and a cluster of CCC is tolerable, e.g., *qtəlt* + /-kəm/ = *qtəltkəm* 'I killed them', since this sequence does not violate the general rule of avoiding short vowels in open syllables. Similarly, the pronoun /lə/ when added does not bring about any fluctuation in terms of syllable structure, e.g., *yərbtu* + /lu/ > *yərbtūlu* 'they sew him'; there is, however, a shift of the stress onto the suffix vowel of the verb.

5.3.3. Word Final

A cluster of three consonants in word-final position usually occurs when a verbal form contains both the /-t/ suffix and the negation particle /-š/. In these cases, an auxiliary vowel is not mandatory, but sometimes it is inserted, e.g., *ma xəftš* ~ *ma xəfətš* 'I did not fear'. However, clusters of three consonants in monosyllabic words are consistently resolved. The strategy in nouns differs from the strategy in verbs, namely, in verbs, an auxiliary vowel is inserted after the second radical, e.g., *gdəb* 'he lied', while in nouns, it is usually placed after the first radical, e.g., *kəlb* 'dog'.

5.4. Syllable Structure in the Perspective of Sonority

The theory of sonority states that the formulation of syllables and words in a language is motivated by a scale of sound 'strength', which places the loudest sounds in the centre of a word (nucleus) and the least audible ones either at the beginning (onset) or at the end (coda). Based on this view, the sonority sequencing principle has been developed, according to which a vowel constitutes the sonority peak in a word and consonants are organised in decreasing order. Usually, the hierarchy of sounds is as follows: vowels, liquids, fricatives, and plosives. This scale, however, differs from language to language (Ohala 1992).

In the field of the Maghrebi dialects, the theory of sonority has been used by several scholars, e.g., Philippe Marçais (1956, 112) and Marcel Cohen (1912, 140). However, the term used in French is *pouvoir ouvrant*, and their main focus is therefore not on the level of sonority of the consonants, but rather on the principles governing their placement in the word. David Cohen (1975, 79)

has developed a provisional ‘sonority’ hierarchy for Jewish Tunis, considering the impact it has on the syllable structure. Additionally, he points out that, compared to Muslim Tunis, the Jewish dialect is much more tolerant of consonant clusters. Below I will present a few examples from Jewish Gabes, utilising Cohen’s findings.

In Jewish Tunis, liquids, pharyngeals, and labials have a strong tendency to be placed at the end of the word. Cohen (1975, 80) remarks, however, that the situation where a word terminates with a consonant cluster and the last consonant is liquid is not tolerated. Therefore, a vowel is placed between them in order to prevent the sequence of less sonorous consonants followed by more sonorous ones in the coda of a word. Jewish Gabes utilises the same strategy, disjoining clusters from CA, e.g., CA *baħr* > *bħar* ‘sea’, CA *ħabl* > *ħbəl* ‘rope’, CA *lahm* > *lħam* ‘meat’. Also, in words which in CA have two short vowels, due to the process of reduction, the short vowel is retained only between the second and the third radical, e.g., *jamal* > *žməl* ‘camel’. The consonant /ʕ/ has the same disjunctive effect, since it must be preceded by a vowel, e.g., CA *dabuʕ* > *ḏbaʕ* ‘hyena’. Also, in some cases /b/ brings about the insertion of the vowel, e.g., *žanb* > *žnəb*. Contrary to this, /ħ/ can easily be found in the sequence CVCC as the third radical, e.g., *qamħ* ‘wheat’.

Word-initial clusters, in turn, are much more frequent, and even combinations of consonants that, when found in the second and the third radicals, would normally be disjointed, are permitted, e.g., *žamal* > *žməl* ‘camel’. However, one can find several examples of disjunction when the second radical is a liquid, e.g., *malak* > *məlk* ‘king’.

Another strategy for preventing a consonant cluster in word-initial position is insertion of the prosthetic, ultra-short vowel, which principally takes place when the first consonant is a liquid, e.g., *ʔrḏa* ‘he agreed’, *ʔrqāw* ‘they found’, *ʔntāy* ‘mine’, *ʔmgarfa* ‘spoon’.

However, as has been noticed by Cohen (1975, 82), there are numerous cases when the aforementioned rules are suspended due to morphological reasons. The position of the disjunctive vowel can disambiguate between a verb and a verbal noun, e.g., *ṣarḇ* ‘drinking’ as opposed to *ṣrḇ* ‘he drank’.

5.5. The Syllabic Typology of Jewish Gabes in a Cross-Dialectal Perspective

Kiparsky (2003) has divided the dialects of Arabic into three main groups in terms of the resolving of a consonant cluster by an epenthetic vowel, namely, VC dialects (CVCC), CC dialects (CCC) and CV dialects (CCVC). Seemingly, this division does not, as shown above, apply to all dialects, and Jewish Gabes cannot be unambiguously classified as one or other of them, since there are multiple examples of all three patterns of syllabification.

Kiparsky (2003) reasons that the VC and CC dialects are different from the CV dialects in terms of the treatment of unsyllabified consonants, since, prosodically, these are affiliated directly to the word node as a semisyllable possessing the status of a mora (Watson 2007, 337). There are, however, dialects that share some features of both of the groups. Below I will present examples from several Maghrebi dialects in order to establish their typology.

Table 9: Comparison of syllable structure in selected dialects of North-African Arabic

Dialect	Example	Classification
Jewish	<i>qālətla</i> ‘she told her’	VC
Gabes	<i>qāltlo</i> ‘she told him’	CC
	<i>nəḍfnūha</i> ‘we bury her’	CC
Jewish	<i>nšədtni</i> ‘you asked me’	CC
Tunis ²	<i>yaṛḥmu</i> ‘may he [God] have mercy upon him’	CC
		VC
	<i>yəxʔrzu</i> ‘they go out’ (> <i>yəxrež</i>)	CC
	<i>nəfšna</i> ‘our soul’	VC
	<i>ašalkəm</i> ‘your origin’	
Jewish	<i>kəlbna</i> ‘our dog’	CC
Algiers ³	<i>məʔstna</i> ‘our port’	CC
	<i>mākalti</i> ‘my food’	VC
	<i>bəǧorti</i> ‘my cow’	VC
Jewish	<i>kčəbtləm</i> ‘you wrote them’	CC
Tripoli	<i>kčəbčələm</i> ‘you wrote them’	CV
	<i>qaltla</i> ‘she said’	CC
	<i>yənqətlə</i> ‘they will be killed’	VC
Bedouin	<i>šʔbaḥʔtni</i> ‘you saw me’	VC
Douz ⁴	<i>gʔtalʔtni</i> ‘you killed me’	VC
	<i>xubʔzti</i> ‘my bread’	VC
	<i>mākilti</i> ‘my food’	VC
	<i>nʔhār iž-žʔmōsa</i> ‘Friday’	CV
Muslim	<i>qalbha</i> ‘her heart’	CC
Tunis ⁵	<i>žābəlکم</i> ‘he brought you (PL)’	VC
	<i>žābəthāli</i> ‘she brought her to me’	VC

² The examples are borrowed from Cohen (1964).³ See Cohen (1912, 327).⁴ See Ritt-Benmimoun (2011, 282; 2014, 76–79).⁵ See Singer (1984, 253).

As can be seen, the dialects in question represent all three types of syllable structure. Watson (2003, 340), elaborating on Kiparsky's theory, classifies Iraqi Arabic as a VC dialect, giving the example of *gilitla* 'she told her', while Moroccan Arabic is categorised as CC dialect based on the example of *qiltlu* 'I told him'. She proposes the following syllabification of the last lexical item: *qil.(t)lu*. According to this scheme, the first syllable consists of two moras, i.e., /i/ and /l/, while /q/ is perceived as a non-moraic onset. The second syllable is formed by /l/ and /u/, but only the latter has a mora. Interestingly, /t/ is analysed as an extra-syllabic element, albeit possessing a moraic status. This analysis draws from Kiparsky's (2003) theory, according to which consonants can form semisyllables. Similarly, in the first and second items from Jewish Gabes listed in Table 9 above, i.e., *qālatla* 'she told her', and *qāltlo* 'she told him', /t/ should be analysed as a semisyllable: (qal).(t).(la). The epenthetic vowel is omitted in the analysis, as its occurrence is optional.

Based on the examples provided above, it should be concluded that Jewish Gabes shares features of other Maghrebi dialects in terms of the syllable structure. Typologically, the North-African group cannot be unambiguously classified as CC dialects, as there are numerous cases of epenthesis on the left of the unsyllabified consonant, and occasionally on the right.

6.0. Stress

The placement of the stress in an isolated word in Jewish Gabes does not differ from other Maghrebi dialects. Nonetheless, as has

been observed by Cohen (1975, 84), there is a conspicuous discrepancy between the Jewish and Muslim dialects of Tunis, where Muslim speakers pronounce much stronger stress than Jewish speakers, the stress in the latter case being hardly audible. It is worth noting that the stress in Jewish Gabes, as in other North African dialects of Arabic, is mobile, namely, it can change its position in a word when the syllable structure is changed due to an agglutination of affixes or the negation particle, e.g., *mā́tət* 'she died' > *mā mā́tətš* 'she did not die'.

The rules established by Cohen (1975, 85) regarding the stress in an isolated word in Jewish Tunis are also relevant to Jewish Gabes. According to these rules, the ultimate syllable is stressed either when it contains a long vowel and is closed by a single consonant, or when it is closed by a cluster of two consonants, e.g., *xabbā́ž* 'baker', *ma ʕarfə́tš* 'she did not understand', *wšə́lt* 'I arrived'. In turn, the penultimate syllable is stressed in all other cases, namely, both when the ultimate syllable is open, e.g., *kálba* 'bitch', and when it is closed, e.g., *tákməl* 'she finishes'.

The placement of stress can have a twofold effect. As has been observed by Cohen (1975, 88), it has an impact on both the vowels and the consonants. It is well known that stress prolongs the vowel length, as a natural consequence of the prominence given to the stressed syllable (Cruttenden 1997, 13). Interestingly, both in Jewish Tunis and in Jewish Gabes, stress can also affect consonants, when found in a monosyllabic word or in word-final position, by giving them an additional reinforcement, and in the case of labial consonants, gemination can be observed, e.g., *wə́ld* > *wulə́dd* 'child', *hbaṭ* > *hbaṭṭ* 'he went down'.

7.0. Conclusions

This chapter has described the phonology of Jewish Gabes and its place within the Tunisian varieties of Arabic, especially the Jewish ones. As I have demonstrated, there are significant differences between the Muslim and Jewish dialects of Gabes in terms of the realisation of certain consonants. The Muslim variety aligns with Bedouin-type dialects in terms of phonological traits, while the Jewish dialect exhibits typically sedentary isoglosses. Moreover, I have demonstrated the development of diphthongs in Jewish Gabes, where /ay/ generally shifted to /ī/, and /aw/ to /ū/. This was compared to the Bedouin-type Jewish Wad-Souf dialect, where the shift is that of /ay/ to /ē/ and /aw/ to /ō/, and to Jewish Tunis, where the diphthongs are preserved. In the discussion on consonants, I have paid special attention to the development of sibilants in the region. Moreover, I have demonstrated that, in contradistinction to many dialects of the region, /h/ is generally retained in Jewish Gabes. In §§3.13–3.15, I studied emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes. The preliminary results of this analysis prove, firstly, that the pharyngealised character of /q/ is weak, and secondly, that the emphatic consonants in the dialect in question have different degrees of spreadability. In terms of the vowel inventory, I have demonstrated that Jewish Gabes has three long phonemic vowels: /ī/, /ā/, /ū/, and three short phonemic vowels: /a/, /ə/, and /o/. I have pointed out three non-phonemic qualities of /ə/, depending on the consonantal environment. My findings prove that, although the vowel inventory of Jewish Gabes is similar to that of Jewish Tunis, the distribution of /o/ in the former is much more limited. Finally, I

have shown that David Cohen's (1975, 65) argument about the tendency towards the preservation of diphthongs among Jewish dialects of Tunisian Arabic is not valid for southern Tunisian dialects, which reflect a strong contractive tendency.

PART II
MORPHOLOGY

3. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

1.0. General Characteristics of the Verbal System of Jewish Gabes

The verbal morphology of Jewish Gabes shares many features with other sedentary Maghrebi dialects. Like most of the modern varieties of Arabic, Jewish Gabes does not have reflexes of any of the three moods of CA, nor the inner passive. The dual, as well as gender distinction in 2PL p-stem forms, is completely absent. However, contrary to the Jewish and Muslim dialects of Tunis, it does differentiate morphologically between 2MS and 2FS in both suffix and prefix stems.¹ This distinction has been also attested in Jewish Djerba (Behnstedt 1998, 66). The distinction between active and passive participles of the derived forms known from CA has completely disappeared. The distribution and the aspectual value of the I-stem active participle—not only in Jewish Gabes, but in many Jewish North African Arabic dialects in general—constitutes one of the major factors that sets them apart from their Muslim counterparts.²

2.0. Stem Patterns of the Verbal System

When it comes to the distribution of the verbal forms, IV and IX forms are absent. As a result, some of the verbs that originally

¹ The Jewish dialect of Tripoli has preserved this distinction in the imperfect conjugation as well; see Yoda (2005, 140).

² I will discuss this topic in greater detail in chapter 4, §5.0.

occured in those forms in CA have been transferred to other stems. For instance, verbs with passive meaning in form VII that have active counterparts in form I, have been transferred to the /t-/ passive form (according to the scheme presented below), or form the passive in a descriptive way.³ In addition, a purely dialectal stem has emerged with a prefixed /t-/, presumably by analogy to CA stems V and VI. Like other North African dialects of Arabic, Jewish Gabes possesses the XI stem, which corresponds to the IX stem in the eastern group (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 383). As pointed out by Yoda (2005, 143), this stem has in fact substituted for the ninth form of CA. Consequently, ten verbal forms have been attested in Jewish Gabes, each of the forms possessing a regular form (C¹C²C³); a second radical geminated form (C¹C²C²); and forms with a first radical semi-vowel (w/y C²C³), second radical semi-vowel (C¹ w/y C³), and third radical semi-vowel (C¹C² w/y). Thus, the system of the verbal forms of the Jewish Gabes dialect can be represented as follows:⁴

Table 10: Triliteral verb stems attested in Jewish Gabes

Form I	C ¹ C ² əC ³	Form VI	TC ¹ āC ² əC ³
Form II	C ¹ əC ² C ² əC ³	[Form VII	nəC ¹ C ² əC ³] ⁵
Form III	C ¹ āC ² əC ³	[Form VIII	C ¹ TəC ² C ³]
t-passive	təC ¹ C ² əC ³	Form X	štaC ¹ C ² əC ³
Form V	TC ¹ əC ² C ² əC ³	Form XI	C ¹ C ² āC ³

³ For the development of the IV stem in Moroccan Arabic, see Aguadé (2012).

⁴ The list includes only perfect forms of the strong verb.

⁵ The square brackets denote forms which are vestigial or restricted locally. Their distribution is discussed in greater detail in §§3.2.6–3.2.7.

2.1. Basic Form

In CA, as well as in many modern dialects, the basic form appears in three vowel sub-groups, each of which includes verbs with a certain meaning (Fischer 2002, 98).

Table 11: Vocalic variants of the I stem in CA

S-stem	P-stem	Meaning
CaCaCa	yaCCa/i/uCu	Transitive and intransitive action, e.g., <i>qatala-yaqtulu</i> ‘to kill’
CaCiCa	yaCCaCu	Non action verbs and attributes, e.g., <i>baliha-yablahu</i> , ‘to be simple-minded’
CaCuCa	yaCCuCu	Qualities and attributes, e.g., <i>ʕamuqa-yaʕmuqu</i> , ‘to be deep’

This diversity has been reduced in the Jewish Gabes dialect to only one short vowel phoneme, which, depending on the phonetic environment, can be either /ə/ or /a/. Thus, instead of CA *kabura*, one finds *kbər* ‘he grew big’; instead of *kataba*, *ktəb* ‘he wrote’; and instead of *barida*, *brəd* ‘he was cold’. Laryngeal and pharyngeal consonants bring about an /a/ quality, e.g., *dbah* ‘he slaughtered’, *ʕab* ‘he played’. It is worth mentioning that the same process of unification of the vowel classes in the first stem took place also in other Jewish dialects, like Tunis and Tripoli. In the dialect of Tripoli, the reduction was even more radical, since the short epenthetic vowel /ə/ remained stable in proximity to the gutturals (Yoda 2004, 142). In the Jewish Tunis dialect, as pointed out by Cohen (1975, 96), the distribution of /ə/ and /a/ is determined by the neighbouring consonants. Contrary to this, the Muslim dialect of Tunis preserved all three short vowels of the s-stem conjugation, which subsequently gave rise to six derivative forms of the p-stem (Singer 1984, 331).

An interesting dichotomy in the vowel distribution of the s-stem and the p-stem can be observed in another Tunisian dialect, namely, the Bedouin dialect of Maṛāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 289). The 3MS has only two variants in the suffix stem, namely, *fʕal* and *ʕfil*, while in the prefix stem one can find as many as five forms, namely, *yafʕal*, *yifʕil*, *yufʕil*, *yufʕul* and *yafʕal*.⁶ Moreover, the 3FS has three variants in the suffix stem, namely, *fiʕlat*, *fuʕlat*, and *fiʕlat*. The two aforementioned dialects, therefore, are much more conservative in the preservation of the stem vowels present in CA than the Jewish dialects, which display a strong tendency towards reduction, and consequently unification of the sub-groups of the first stem.

The phenomenon described above has a serious impact on the semantic structure of the verbal system, particularly the second form, since, in CA, the distinction between the 3MS suffix stem and imperative SG is based on the different vowel qualities. Hence, when all the short vowels have been reduced, there is no possibility of expressing such a differentiation. In the Jewish Gabes dialect, therefore, the aforementioned forms are the same, e.g., *ʕarraf* ‘he cashed’ and ‘cash!’. In Jewish Tripoli Arabic, this problem of ambiguity has been resolved by differentiation of the stress position: in suffix forms, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while in imperative ones, it falls on the ultimate, e.g., *ʕallam* ‘he taught’, but *ʕallám* ‘teach!’ (Yoda 2005, 142). The dialect of Maṛāzīg, on the other hand, seems to preserve the original /i/ vowel of the imperative, e.g., *baṭṭal* ‘he stopped’, but *baṭṭil*

⁶ Transcription according to the source.

‘stop!’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 333). Other dialects, like the Muslim dialect of Tunis and the dialect of Sūsa, choose not to distinguish the perfect stem from the imperative by inserting a vowel with a different quality, even though they do possess a set of three short vowels (Talmoudi 1980, 99; Singer 1984, 368).

2.2. Development of the Passive⁷

Some verb stems that occur in CA are scarcely attested in the Maghrebi dialects, while others have uneven geographical distribution. This is particularly the case with stems expressing passivity and reflexivity. Depending on the region, the passive voice of stem I is realised either through the /n-/ prefix, i.e., $n\alpha C^1 C^2 \alpha C^3$, or the /t-/ prefix, i.e., $t\alpha C^1 C^2 \alpha C^3$.⁸ In a number of dialects, both stems exist and are used interchangeably, while in others, the two competing forms fulfil different pragmatic functions. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, in Jewish Gabes and in other dialects of the region, a secondary process takes place that attests to an analogical change. In the present section, I argue that the replacement of the Old Arabic /n-/ stem by a dialectal t-stem passive took place in analogy to stems V and VI, which form the passive

⁷ This section is a part of my article ‘Between Analogy and Language Contact: A Case Study of Grammatical Change in Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic Dialects’ (Gębski, forthcoming b).

⁸ The syllabic structure of the /n-/ stem is not uniform across the region. While in both Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 177) and Jewish Gabes the schwa is placed after the /n-/ prefix, in the dialect of Douz the vowel is placed after the first radical and the initial consonantal cluster is resolved by an epenthetic vowel, e.g., $^{\alpha}nft\alpha m$ ‘he was weaned’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 361).

of forms II and III respectively. The /t-/ prefix in these dialects is reanalysed as a marker of passivity, opening a pathway to its extension over stem VII. In the following paragraphs, I will first describe the distribution of the two stems across North Africa, and then propose a reconstruction of the analogical process that led to the emergence of the /t-/ stem.

Let us first discuss the distribution of the /n-/ and the /t-/ stems in selected dialects of Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. Within the Libyan dialectological landscape, the passive stem with an /n-/ prefix prevails. Indeed, it occurs in Jewish Tripoli, although the /t-/ stem seems to be sporadically employed to express passivity too (Yoda 2005, 177). The /n/- stem is well attested and stable in the Muslim dialect of Tripoli (Pereira 2008, 109). In the Muslim dialect of Benghazi, the /n-/ stem is dominant, but a limited number of verbs form the passive voice with an infixed /t-/ (Benkato 2014, 79). Overall, Libyan Arabic seems to exhibit a preference towards the /n-/ stem.

The Tunisian varieties seem to be more heterogenous in terms of their expressions of the passive. Within the Bedouin varieties of Tunisian Arabic, the central and northern dialects employ the /t-/ type passive, while the southern ones utilise the /n-/ type (Marçais 1950, 215).⁹ The /n-/ stem is attested, among others, in the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 361).¹⁰ In terms of sedentary dialects, according to D. Cohen

⁹ Marçais (1950, 209) also argues that the /t-/ passive is an isogloss of the sedentary dialects in Tunisia.

¹⁰ Bin Murad reports that the formerly Bedouin population inhabiting the region of Nifzāwa (southern Tunisia) used the VII and the VIII forms

(1975, 125), some vestiges of this conjugation can be found also in the Jewish dialect of Tunis. Nevertheless, this prefix seems to be perceived as unusual and artificial, since speakers tend to use a hybrid prefix /tən-/ consisting of a combination of the /n-/ prefix and the morpheme /tə-/, which are naturally associated with passivity and reflexivity. As a result, one can find forms like *təndṛab* ‘he was hit’ (Cohen 1975, 124). The /n-/ prefix has completely disappeared from both the Muslim dialect of Sūsa, in which the reflexive-passive function was acquired subsequently by the pattern *tifʕal* (Talmoudi 1980, 103), and the Muslim dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975, 125). In these dialects, the function of the Old Arabic form VII was inherited by the conjugation with the prefix /t-/.¹¹ Marcel Cohen (1912, 227) points out that this type of prefix in the passive conjugation historically precedes the infixation present in form VIII and is typical of Tunisian dialects. On the other hand, the dialects of Djerba feature both the /n-/ stem and the /t-/ stem. The Ibadite variety demonstrates a preference for the /t-/ variant, while the Malakite one favours the /n-/ stem. In addition, the Malakite variety of Ababsa has developed an alternative /l-/ prefix, which is presumably a phonetic variant of /n-/. The /n-/ variant is also attested in the Jewish

interchangeably in order to encode the passive voice of stem I, while in the rural community dwelling in the north of the same region, the /t-/ passive form prevails (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 360).

¹¹ As has been observed by D. Cohen (1975, 124), the use of the ungeminated /t-/ prefix is one of the characteristics of the Eastern Maghrebi dialects, since both Moroccan and Algerian dialects tend to use a geminated prefix /tt-/, e.g., *ttafmal* ‘to be done’ (Cohen 1912, 228).

variety of Djerba Arabic (Behnstedt 1998, 69). In Jewish Gabes, the use of passive stems is generally limited, with both the /n-/ and the /t-/ stem being only scarcely attested.

Within the Algerian dialects, the /n-/ stem is very well attested in the Bedouin dialect of Oulad Brahim of Saida, as well as in the sedentary dialects of Tlemcen (Marçais 1908, 99) and Oran (Guerrero 2015, 226), where the /n-/ stem has eclipsed the /t-/ form as the main device for expressing passivity. However, Marçais (1908, 99) points out that, in some dialects spoken east of Oran (Mazouna, Mostaganem), it is the /t-/ stem that has prevailed. Similarly, the /n-/ stem serves as the principal way of encoding the passive in Jewish Algiers, where the /t-/ prefix has mostly intensive meaning (Cohen 1912, 218). On the other hand, in Jewish Wad-Souf, the /n-/ stem is non-existent, and the /t-/ stem serves as the sole means of expressing the passive, e.g., *l-māfẓ ʔdḏābḥu* (by assimilation of the /t-/ to /ḏ/) ‘the goats have been slaughtered’, *hūwa tādṛāb* ‘he has been beaten’, *ʔl-sod tākšāf* ‘the secret was revealed’. The situation is similar in the north of Constantine and in Djidjelli (Marçais 1956, 193). Grand’Henry (1976, 56) reports the prevalence of the /t-/ stem in the Arabic spoken in the region of Mزاب.

This brief comparison suggests that neither Tunisian nor Algerian Arabic can be unequivocally classified as /t-/ or /n-/ dialects, as the distribution of these forms is uneven and diverse. It is important to notice that the state of affairs in Morocco is similar. In virtually all non-Saharan Muslim varieties of Moroccan Arabic, both variants coexist. In some Jewish dialects, like Debdou, Ksar Es-Souk, and Oujda, as well as in the urban belt

Rabat-Meknes-Fes, the /n-/ stem is the only option. In the Western dialects of Jewish Moroccan Arabic, the two forms in question have different grammatical functions, namely, the /n-/ stem is usually used with human referents, while the /t-/ stem refers to non-human nouns. Heath (2002, 355) has attested several examples of the hybrid /tn-/ and /nt-/ passives.

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, the dominant strategy for expressing the passive is different from the binary system described above. Besides the monopartite /n-/ stem, which is attested only scarcely, speakers often choose an active verb with an impersonal subject, followed by a direct object, e.g., *qətlū* ‘they killed him’, instead of the anticipated *nəqtāl* or *təqtāl*. This development, involving a bipartite construction, i.e., a verb and a personal pronoun, conforms to Kuryłowicz’s (1947) first law of analogy, stating that bipartite (complex) markers tend to replace monopartite (simple) ones. This is exemplified, among others, by the periphrastic future in spoken French (*je vais voyager* instead of *je voyagerai* ‘I am going to travel’) and some varieties of Spanish (*voy a cantar* instead of *cantaré* ‘I am going to sing’), which often comes to replace the monopartite future tense form. As pointed out by McMahon (1994, 77), the analogical change from single to double marking is motivated by disambiguation. This explains why, in Jewish Gabes, the 3MS form of the VII stem, *nəqtāl*, which can also be interpreted as the 1SG form of the p-stem, is replaced by the more overtly marked form *qətlū*.

In those dialects where the /t-/ stem is attested, the /t-/ morpheme of stems V, VI, and VIII, analysed as a marker of passivity, has been extended analogically onto the formation of the

passive of form I. From the point of view of analogical reasoning, the ‘irregular’ and non-/t-/ Old Arabic /n-/ stem has been fully or partially eradicated, since it did not match the mirror-like system of verbal stems. Thus, the analogical development which took place in some dialects of Maghrebi Arabic can be summarised as follows:

if: stem II $C_1\text{ə}C_2C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (active) + /t/ = stem V $tC_1\text{ə}C_2C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (passive)

and: stem III $C_1\bar{a}C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (active) + /t/ = stem VI $tC_1\bar{a}C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (passive)

then: stem I $C_1C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (active) + /t/ = stem IV $tC_1C_2\text{ə}C_3$ (passive)

The survey presented above shows that the distribution of the /n-/ and the /t-/ passive variants is conditioned neither geographically nor communally. The sole regularity that can be observed is the absence of the form /t-/ in virtually all Libyan dialects. If we accept a hypothesis that the prefixed /t-/ stem was not part of the verbal system imported from the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century CE, but rather emerged regionally at a later stage through analogical extension of the /t-/ prefix of stems V and VI, the question naturally arises as to where this innovation started. Since the /t-/ stem is poorly attested in Libya, and its distribution in Algeria and in Tunisia seems to be rather random, we could suppose that its diffusion is related to nomadic movements across the region. According to Catherine Taine-Cheikh (1983, 76), the occurrence of the /t-/ stem is much higher in the western dialects than in the eastern ones, where we still find traces of the internal vocalic passive. One should therefore

not exclude the possibility that the analogical extension of this prefix was stimulated by language contact with Berber, where the /t-/ prefix functions as a marker of the passive in many dialects. Indeed, Heath (2002, 356) has suggested that the shift from infixed to prefixed /t-/ passives was probably influenced by the similar prefixed /t-/ passives of Berber. Below one can find several examples of the /t-/ passive in Berber:

Table 12: Formation of the passive in Berber (based on Kossmann 2002)

Dialect	Active	Passive
Awjila (eastern Libya)	<i>āmt</i> 'to bury'	<i>ittemt</i> 'to be buried'
Touareg of Iwellemmeden	<i>elmed</i> 'to learn'	<i>tālmăd</i> 'to be learnt'
Kabyle	<i>gzem</i> 'to cut'	<i>ttegzem</i> 'to be cut'
Chleuh	<i>šš</i> 'to eat'	<i>ttš</i> 'to be eaten'
Figuig (eastern Morocco)	<i>sek</i> 'to build'	<i>ttwasek</i> 'to be built'

Indeed, the /t-/ prefix is a common marker of passivity in many varieties of Berber. Although language contact and analogy tend to be perceived in linguistics as two separate phenomena, cases like this form ground to conceive of an intersection of those two factors: when a target form of an analogical change is similar to a form found in a language in contact, the latter can act synergistically as an additional factor contributing to a language change. In the case of the /t-/ prefix, it is plausible that, since there had existed within Arabic potential for the analogical extension of the /t-/ passive marker, the language contact with Berber stimulated and accelerated this development, triggering the loss of stem VII in some varieties. It is worth noting that the emergence of the /t-/ passive stem is not limited only to the Maghreb. We also observe the loss of the /n-/ stem in some dialects of Up-

per Egypt and the Levant, where the Berber influence is not expected (Nishio 1995, 209). It is rather difficult to establish whether we are dealing here with two independent phenomena, or there exists some sort of historical continuum between these dialectal families.¹²

2.3. Development of Form IV

The CA form IV conveying causative and declarative meaning is absent in the Jewish dialect of Gabes (Fischer 2002, 99). Its properties have been transferred to form II, similarly to in the dialect of Sūsa (Talmoudi 1980, 100). According to Talmoudi (1980, 100), this stem has disappeared from all North African dialects, although, as shown by Aguadé (2012), its vestiges can be found in Moroccan Arabic. Indeed, most of the dialects found other ways to express causativity; however, vestiges of form IV can be identified in the verbal systems of some of them. As pointed out by M. Cohen (1912, 211), in the Jewish dialect of Algiers, some characteristics of the stem with prosthetic *aleph* survived in forms conveying active meaning, as well as in verbs with a second or third radical semi-vowel /u/, in which the imperative is always vocalised with /i/. In addition, some traces of form IV can be found in the dialect of Tripoli, namely, the noun *māslām*, which morphologically is the active participle of the IV-stem verb

¹² The emergence of the /t-/ stem in the eastern dialects might have been stimulated by the passive verb forms with the /t-/ prefix in Aramaic (Bunis 2018, 185). One can imagine a situation where, during the Arabisation of North Africa, this form spread westwards and was further promoted by a parallel form in Berber.

ʔaslam, and the imperfect form of the verb *tfa*, which instead of *yəʔfa* is *yəʔfi* (Yoda 2005, 143).

2.4. Vestiges of Form VIII

Compared to how it appears in other dialects, form VIII is attested in Jewish Gabes only obsoletely. In fact, there is no strong root attested in this stem, just as is also the case in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 126). However, according to Cohen (1975, 126), the first /d/ of the form *ṣḏāḏ* represents the infixed /-t-/, which has been assimilated to the next consonant. A root with a high frequency of use in both dialects is *xṭār* ‘to choose’. A similar situation can be observed in the Muslim dialect of Tunis. As pointed out by Singer (1984, 365), most of the roots from the CA form VIII have transferred to other stems. In the dialect of Sūsa, on the contrary, form VIII is stable and well attested (Talmoudi 1980, 106); the same is true in the dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 370).

2.5. Reflex of Form IX

As has already been mentioned, in all Maghrebi dialects, form IX was replaced by a form with a long /a/ vowel after the second radical, which resembles the CA pattern $\mathfrak{C}^1C^2\bar{a}C^3C^3$. Due to a historical development, the initial *alif* was elided, and the third radical lost its gemination. This form is abundantly represented in both the dialect of Gabes and the Jewish dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975, 122). In most cases, roots occurring in this form derive

from adjectives and convey the meaning of becoming and acquiring a certain property, e.g., *šāyəb* ‘old’, *šyāb* ‘to become old’; *bnīn* ‘tasty’, *bnān* ‘to become tasty’.

3.0. Inflection

A verb in the suffix conjugation consists of a verb root and a conjugational suffix.

Table 13: Suffix conjugation

	Singular	Plural
3M	-/-	- u
3F	-ət	
2M	- t	- tu
2F	- ti	
1	- t	- na

The prefix conjugation is formed by adding a prefix (and a suffix) to the verbal stem.

Table 14: Prefix conjugation

	Singular	Plural
3M	y(ə)	y(ə)...-u
3F	t(ə)	
2M	t(ə)	t(ə)...-u
2F	t(ə)...-i	
1	n(ə)	n(ə)...-u

3.1. Stem I

3.1.1. Strong Roots

Table 15: Paradigm of *ḏrəb–yəḏrəb* ‘to hit’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ḏrəb</i>	<i>yəḏrəb</i>	
3FS	<i>ḏərbət</i>	<i>təḏrəb</i>	
2MS	<i>ḏrəbt</i>	<i>təḏrəb</i>	<i>aḏrəb</i>
2FS	<i>ḏrəbti</i>	<i>təḏrbi</i>	<i>aḏrbi</i>
1SG	<i>ḏrəbt</i>	<i>nəḏrəb</i>	
3PL	<i>ḏərbu</i>	<i>yəḏrbu</i>	
2PL	<i>ḏrəbtu</i>	<i>təḏrbu</i>	<i>aḏrbu</i>
1PL	<i>ḏrəbna</i>	<i>nəḏrbu</i>	

Active participle: *ḏārəb*, *ḏārba*, *ḏārbin*

Passive participle: *məḏrūb*, *məḏrūba*, *məḏrūbin*

Suffix Stem

The Jewish dialect of Gabes distinguishes morphologically between 2FS and 2MS. Compared to other dialects of the region, this gender differentiation in 2S is rare, since, in many of them, morphological distinction of gender has disappeared. The Muslim dialect of Sūsa (Talmoudi 1980, 78), Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 94), and the Muslim dialect of Tunis (Singer 1984, 338) tend to use only the historically masculine form for both genders. The Jewish dialect of Algiers follows the same pattern; however, as pointed out by Cohen (1912, 182), Muslim speakers of Algiers use both forms. Gender distinction exists also in the dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 295).

The quality of the theme vowel in the Jewish Gabes dialect is in principle fixed and in most cases is /ə/. In the environment

of guttural and emphatic consonants, however, it is lowered to /a/, e.g., *dbah* ‘he slaughtered’, *zlaq* ‘he slipped’. There exists a small group of verbs whose thematic vowel is /u/, e.g., *škut* ‘he was silent’. The Jewish dialect of Tunis exhibits the same tendency, even though, as pointed out by Cohen (1975, 95), the two vowels have a wide range of timbres and, in certain environments, the vowel /o/ can occur. Nonetheless, the fact remains that in this dialect, as in the Jewish dialects of Gabes and Algiers (Cohen 1912, 184), the theme vowel of the suffix conjugation is in most cases /ə/ or /a/. The situation seems to be radically different in the Muslim dialect of Tunis, where one can find as many as five vowel subgroups (Singer 1984, 323).

Prefix Stem

The basic prefix vowel of the imperfective conjugation in the dialect of Gabes is /ə/, but when the first consonant of the stem is velar or laryngeal, /a/ occurs instead, e.g., *yağmāž* ‘he hints’. Similarly, when the last consonant is emphatic or guttural, the thematic vowel is /a/, e.g., *yəšraq* ‘he steals’. However, it is worth noting that the first phenomenon is a tendency rather than a fixed rule, since there are numerous cases in which /ə/ occurs in a place where one would expect /a/, e.g., *yəxnəb* ‘he steals’. Unlike in the dialect of Sūsa or Jewish Wad-Souf, the prefix vowel does not undergo any modification due to harmonisation with the thematic vowel (Talmoudi 1980, 79; Gębski, forthcoming a). An agreement between the prefix and the stem vowel occurs also in the dialect of Maṛāzīg, where, apart from one group, it seems to be a general rule (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 296).

The data presented below confirms that Jewish Gabes has only two variants of the thematic vowel, i.e., the default /ə/ and /a/, which is triggered by emphatic, laryngeal, and pharyngeal sounds. In two verbs, we observe an /u/ vowel, presumably reflecting the CA short /u/, i.e., *yuskur* ‘he thanks’, *yəškut* ‘to be silent’. The following combinations of prefix and theme vowels in the p-stem have been attested:

/ə/-/ə/: *lbəš-yəlbəš* ‘to get dressed’, *rkəb-yərkəb* ‘to ride’, *dfən-yədfən* ‘to bury’, *žbəd-yəžbəd* ‘to pull’, *nəzəl-yənəzəl* ‘to go down’, *nšəd-yənšəd* ‘to ask’, *ršəq-yəršəq* ‘to stick’, *škər-yəškar* ‘to get drunk’ *šmən-yəšmən* ‘to get fat’, *fšəd-yəfšəd* ‘to lose, to get off’, *kbər-yəkbər* ‘to grow up’, *ktər-yəktər* ‘to multiply’, *ktəb-yəktəb* ‘to write’, *rqəd-yərqəd* ‘to sleep’, *xṭəb-yəxṭəb* ‘to propose to someone’, *qtəl-yəqtəl* ‘to kill’, *škən-yəškən* ‘to reside’;

/a/-/a/: *zlaq-yazlaq* ‘to slide, to slip’, *xlaq-yaxlaq* ‘to create’, *hrab-yahrab* ‘to escape’, *hḏar-yahḏar* ‘to be present’, *fašər-yafšər* ‘to squeeze’;

/ə/-/a/: *fham-yəfham* ‘to understand’, *qrab-yəqrab* ‘to get closer’, *qlaq-yəqlaq* ‘to bother, to be fed up with’, *ṭlab-yəṭlab* ‘to ask’, *šraf-yəšraf* ‘to support oneself’, *šbağ-yəšbağ* ‘to paint’, *ḏrəb-yəḏrəb* ‘to hit’, *rqaš-yərqəš* ‘to dance’, *ḏlam-yəḏlam* ‘to betray’, *mḏağ-yəḏmağ* ‘to chew’, *nfax-yənfax* ‘to blow’, *šrab-yəšrab* ‘to drink’, *nqaš-yənqaš* ‘to reduce’, *šhar-yəšhar* ‘to stay up until late’, *ḏhak-yəḏhak* ‘to laugh’, *rzaš-yərzaš* ‘to return’, *zraš-yəzraš* ‘to sow’, *ṭlaš-yəṭlaš* ‘to go up’, *ḏhar-yəḏhar* ‘to transpire, to turn out’, *mšah-yəḡmšah* ‘to wipe’, *dbah-yəḡdbah* ‘to slaughter’;

lʕab–yəlʕab ‘to play’, *ʕrah–yəʕrah* ‘to herd’, *qtaʕ–yəqtaʕ* ‘to cut’, *mnaʕ–yəmnaʕ* ‘to prohibit’, *ʕʕab–yəʕʕab* ‘to get tired’, *ʕmaʕ–yəʕmaʕ* ‘to listen’, *ʕbaʕ–yəʕbaʕ* ‘to get up early’, *ʕbaʕ–yəʕbaʕ* ‘to eat one’s fill’, *fraʕ–yəfraʕ* ‘to rejoice’;
 /a/–/ə/: *gləb–yaḡləb* ‘to defeat’, *xdəm–yaxdəm* ‘to work’, *qʕəm–yaqʕəm* ‘to divide’, *xmər–yaxmər* ‘to ferment, to go rotten’, *hʕar–yahʕar* ‘to dig’, *hʕəb–yahʕəb* ‘to count’, *hbəʕ–yahbəʕ* ‘to arrest’, *hləb–yahləb* ‘to milk’, *hləm–yahləm* ‘to dream’, *ʕarəf–yaʕarəf* ‘to know’, *hbət–yahbət* ‘to go down, to descend’, *qbəl–yaqbəl* ‘to agree’, *ḡʕəl–yaḡʕəl* ‘to wash’, *ʕtəʕ–yaʕtəʕ* ‘to be thirsty’;

/ə/–/u/: *ʕkut–yəʕkut* ‘to be silent’;

/u/–/u/: *ʕkər–yuʕkur* ‘to thank’;

Mixed type, i.e., two variations have been attested: *xrəʕ–yəxrəʕ* / *yaxrəʕ* ‘to go out’, *dxəl–yədxəl* / *yədxul* ‘to enter’, *mṛaḍ–yəmṛaḍ* / *yumṛaḍ* ‘to get sick’, *fṭər–yəfṭər* / *yəfṭar* ‘to have breakfast’.

Active and Passive Participles

Apart from the three basic verbal forms, there exist in Jewish Gabes also active and passive participles. As has been mentioned in the introduction (§1.0), the distinction between them has been retained only in stem I, while in the remainder of the stems we observe a merger of these forms. The occurrence of the *fāʕəl* pattern in Jewish Gabes is highly irregular, occurring only in a limited number of verbs. As will be argued in chapter 6, §2.7.4, their common denominator is presumably their day-to-day usage.

Even less frequently attested is the passive participle, which, similarly to the passive verb stems, has been replaced by analytic constructions involving active verbs.

Active participle: *qāʕəd, qāʕda, qāʕdīn*

Passive participle: *məktūb, məktūba, məktūbīn*

3.1.2. Geminated Roots

Table 16: Paradigm of *šədd–yšədd* ‘to seize’ (geminated root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>šədd</i>	<i>yšədd</i>	
3FS	<i>šəddət</i>	<i>tšədd</i>	
2MS	<i>šəddīt</i>	<i>tšədd</i>	<i>šədd</i>
2FS	<i>šəddīti</i>	<i>tšəddi</i>	<i>šəddi</i>
1SG	<i>šəddīt</i>	<i>nšədd</i>	
3PL	<i>šəddu</i>	<i>yšəddu</i>	
2PL	<i>šəddītu</i>	<i>tšəddu</i>	<i>šəddu</i>
1PL	<i>šəddīna</i>	<i>nšəddu</i>	

Active participle: *šədd, šədda, šəddīn*

Passive participle: *məšdūd, məšdūda, məšdūdīn*

Suffix Stem

In CA, the geminated consonants are separated by a vowel when a form has a consonantal ending, e.g., *radda* ‘he returned’, but *radadtu* ‘I returned’. This phenomenon exists neither in the Jewish dialect of Gabes, nor in other neighbouring dialects.¹³ Instead,

¹³ This development is attested in all dialects of Arabic, with the only exception being the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula (Ferguson 1959; Ratcliffe 2011). Nonetheless, in contravention of this claim, the dialect

in forms with a consonantal ending, a linking long vowel /ī/ is inserted. As pointed out by Yoda (2005, 147), in many modern and medieval dialects, a linking diphthong /-ay/ is attested in these forms, which, following its contraction, gave rise to the aforementioned vowel. It can be assumed, therefore, that it was adopted by analogy to verbs with III /y/. The default quality of the suffix-stem thematic vowel is /ə/, which shifts to /a/ in the vicinity of guttural and emphatic consonants.

Prefix Stem

The prefix vowel in the imperfect forms starting with /t-/ and /n-/ morphemes has been completely elided. As a result, a cluster of two consonants emerges. It is worth noting that, in the case of clusters consisting of a plosive alveolar and a postalveolar fricative, a new sound emerges, namely, a palatal fricative. Thus, in the case of prefix forms of the verb *šədd* starting with /t/, the initial consonant is palatalised, and therefore the phonetic transcription of the 2MS form in IPA would be: [çədd]. The disappearance of the prefix vowel in this environment is a general tendency in the dialects examined here. As pointed out by Cohen (1912, 185), however, in the dialect of Algiers, in the 3SG and 3PL forms, the vowel of the prefix is preserved. In imperative forms, no auxiliary vowel is added, since the stem syllable has structure CvCC and therefore no consonant cluster occurs at the onset of the syllable. The stress in the prefix forms is placed on

of Mekka follows the same pattern, e.g., *ħabbēt* ‘I liked’ (based on an interview with an informant).

the ultimate syllable. The thematic vowel of the prefix stem falls into two main groups:

Thematic vowel /ə/: *ʔašš–yʔəšš* ‘to live’, *gədd–ygədd* ‘to be able’, *ləmm–yləmm* ‘to collect’, *mədd–ymədd* ‘to bring’, *məšš–yməšš* ‘to touch’, *məll–yməll* ‘to get tired’;

Thematic vowel /a/: *ʔaḏḏ–yʔaḏḏ* ‘to bite’, *ḏarṛ–yḏarṛ* ‘to harm’, *ḥašš–yḥašš* ‘to feel’, *ḥaṭṭ–yḥaṭṭ* ‘to put’;

Variation between /ə/ and /a/: *qašš–yqašš* / *yqəšš* ‘to cut’, *raḏḏ–yraḏḏ* / *yrəḏḏ* ‘to return’, *rašš–yrašš* / *yrəšš* ‘to pressure’.

3.1.3. Weak First Radical

Table 17: Paradigm of *wəṣəl* ‘to arrive’ (first radical semi-vowel /w/)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>wəṣəl</i>	<i>yūṣəl</i>	
3FS	<i>waṣlət</i>	<i>tūṣəl</i>	
2MS	<i>wəṣəlt</i>	<i>tūṣəl</i>	<i>wəṣəl</i>
2FS	<i>wəṣəlti</i>	<i>tūṣli</i>	<i>wəṣli</i>
1SG	<i>wəṣəlt</i>	<i>nūṣəl</i>	
3PL	<i>wəṣlu</i>	<i>yūṣlu</i>	
2PL	<i>wəṣəltu</i>	<i>tūṣlu</i>	<i>wəṣlu</i>
1PL	<i>wəṣəlna</i>	<i>nūṣlu</i>	

Active participle: *wāṣəl*, *wāṣla*, *wāṣlīn*

Table 18: Paradigm of *yəbəš* ‘to dry’ (first radical semi-vowel /i/)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ybəš(š)</i>	<i>yībəš</i>	
3FS	<i>yəbšət</i>	<i>tyībəš</i>	
2MS	<i>ybəšt</i>	<i>tyībəš</i>	<i>yībəš</i>
2FS	<i>yəbšti</i>	<i>tyībši</i>	<i>yībši</i>
1SG	<i>ybəšt</i>	<i>nyībəš</i>	
3PL	<i>yəbšu</i>	<i>yībšu</i>	
2PL	<i>yəbštu</i>	<i>tyībšu</i>	<i>yībšu</i>
1PL	<i>ybəšna</i>	<i>nyībšu</i>	

Active participle: *yābəš*, *yābša*, *yābšin*

Passive participle: not attested

Suffix Stem

The initial semi-vowel /w/ in the suffix conjugation is stable. In other dialects, for example in the Jewish dialect of Algiers and the Muslim dialect of Tunis, the initial semi-vowel was replaced by the vowel /u/ (Cohen 1912, 188; Singer 1984, 355). An interesting phenomenon can be observed in the dialect of Sūsa, where /w/ is realised as /w/ by the older generations, but young speakers tend to pronounce it as /u/ (Talmoudi 1980, 83). In the Jewish dialect of Tunis, on the other hand, the realisation of /w/ is conditioned by the phonetic environment, namely, /w/ is pronounced as /w/ only when followed by a vowel, e.g., *wəžnət* ‘she weighed’ but *užən* ‘he weighed’. The dialect of Douz preserves the initial /w/, but no additional vowel is inserted afterwards, e.g., *wšil* ‘he arrived’. In the 3FS, 3FP, and 3MP forms, the theme vowel moves position to between the first and second radicals, but its quality remains unchanged, e.g., *wildu* ‘they gave birth to’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 307). In the dialect of Sūsa, both vowels occur,

namely, the stem vowel is /u/, but in the 3FS and 3FP forms the retracted vowel is /i/, e.g., *wsul*, but *wislit* (Talmoudi 1985, 82).

The verb *ybaš* is the only verb with first radical /y/ that is attested in Jewish Gabes. The /y/ consonant is preserved throughout the conjugation and is followed by a long /ī/ vowel. In the 3MS suffix form, the last consonant is geminated.

Prefix Stem

In the prefix-stem forms of verbs with the first radical /w/ in CA, the initial semi-vowel disappears without leaving any trace, e.g., *yašilu* ‘he will arrive’. However, it seems that, in the Jewish dialect of Gabes, as well as in many other neighbouring dialects, the long /u/ following the prefix vowel should be treated as a vestige of the radical /w/. Presumably, the long vowel emerged as a result of a contraction of the original diphthong /aw/, and thus the original form can be reconstructed as **yawšil*. In the dialect of Douz, the assimilated /w/ gives rise to vowels of different quality, e.g., *wšil–yūšil* ‘to arrive’, *wlid–yilid* ‘to give birth’, *wḥil–yōḥal* ‘to be stuck’. In addition, as pointed out by Ritt-Benmimoun (2014, 306), in forms with imperfect theme vowel /o/, this vowel interchanges with /u/, e.g., *tūhli–tōḥli*.

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, first-radical /y/ is stable and can be easily heard throughout the conjugation. In other dialects, this consonant is either replaced by a short vowel /i/ or, as in the dialect of Sūsa, gives rise to a lengthened /i/ vowel, e.g., *tībis* ‘she will dry’ (Talmoudi 1980, 83). A short /i/ vowel is attested, among others, in the Jewish dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2004, 161). It is also recorded by one of the first grammar books of Tunisian

Arabic (Stumme 1896, 17). In the imperative, however, in the dialect of Gabes, the first radical /y/ is reduced to a short, stressed vowel /i/. In the dialect of Sūsa, on the other hand, the long /i/ vowel is retained even in the imperative.

3.1.4. Weak Second Radical

Depending on the vowel of the prefix conjugation, verbs with a weak second radical can be divided into three groups, as given below, i.e., with long /ū/, /ī/, and /ā/. The suffix-stem vowel alternates between long /ā/ in forms with suffixes starting with a vowel, and a short vowel of varying quality in forms with suffixes starting with a consonant. In order to exemplify these interchanges, the data below has been presented in the following manner: 3MS (s-stem)–1SG (s-stem)–3MS (p-stem):

Table 19: Paradigm of *qām–yqūm* ‘to wake up’ (pattern CāC–yəCūC)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>qām</i>	<i>yqūm</i>	
3FS	<i>qāmət</i>	<i>tqūm</i>	
2MS	<i>qəmt</i>	<i>tqūm</i>	<i>qūm</i>
2FS	<i>qəmti</i>	<i>tqūmi</i>	<i>qūmi</i>
1SG	<i>qəmt</i>	<i>nqūm</i>	
3PL	<i>qāmu</i>	<i>yqūmu</i>	
2PL	<i>qəmtu</i>	<i>tqūmu</i>	<i>qūmu</i>
1PL	<i>qəmnā</i>	<i>nqūmu</i>	

Active participle: *ṣāyēm*, *ṣāyma*, *ṣāymīn* ‘to fast’¹⁴

Passive participle: not attested

¹⁴ In paradigms where participles are not attested, forms from different verbs are provided.

Also in this form: *ṣām-ṣamt-yṣūm* ‘to swim’, *ḍār-ḍort / ḍurt-yḍūr* ‘to roam, to go around’, *bāš-bāšt-ybūš* ‘to kiss’, *ṣām-ṣamt / ṣomt-yṣūm* ‘to fast’, *dām-dāmt-ydūm* ‘to last’, *ṣār-ṣart-yṣūr* ‘to visit’, *lām-lāmt-ylūm* ‘to accuse’, *fāž-fāžt-yfūž* ‘to win’, *māt-mātt-ymūt* ‘to die’, *šāf-šāft-yšūf* ‘to see’.

Table 20: Paradigm of *žāb-yžīb* ‘to bring’ (pattern CāC-yəCiC)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>žāb</i>	<i>yžīb</i>	
3FS	<i>žābat</i>	<i>tžīb</i>	
2MS	<i>žabt</i>	<i>tžīb</i>	<i>žīb</i>
2FS	<i>žabti</i>	<i>tžibi (džībi)</i>	<i>žibi</i>
1SG	<i>žabt</i>	<i>nžīb</i>	
3PL	<i>žābu</i>	<i>yžību</i>	
2PL	<i>žabtu</i>	<i>tžību</i>	<i>žību</i>
1PL	<i>žabna</i>	<i>nžību</i>	

Active participle: *ṭāyəḥ, ṭāyḥa, ṭāyḥīn*

Passive participle: not attested

Also in this form: *žād-žādət¹⁵-yžīd* ‘to add’, *ṣāš-ṣašt-yṣīš* ‘to live’, *ṣāf-ṣaft-yṣīf* ‘to be fed up with’, *ṣār-ṣart-yṣūr* ‘to happen’, *ṭāḥ-ṭaḥt-yṭīḥ* ‘to fall’, *ṭār-ṭart-yṭīr* ‘to fly’, *rād-radət-yrīd* ‘to desire, to want’, *ṭāb-ṭabət-yṭīb* ‘to be cooked’, *ḡāb-ḡabt-yḡīb* ‘to disappear’, *fāq-faqt-yfīq* ‘to wake up’.

¹⁵ In verbs where the third radical is /d/, /b/, or /t/, 1SG and 2MS forms tend to have an ultrashort epenthetic vowel between the last radical and the /t/ suffix to facilitate pronunciation.

Table 21: Paradigm of *xāf*–*yxāf* ‘to be frightened’ (pattern CāC–yəCāC)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>xāf</i>	<i>yxāf</i>	
3FS	<i>xāfat</i>	<i>txāf</i>	
2MS	<i>xəft</i>	<i>txāf</i>	<i>xāf</i>
2FS	<i>xəfti</i>	<i>txāfi</i>	<i>xāfi</i>
1SG	<i>xəft</i>	<i>nxāf</i>	
3PL	<i>xāfu</i>	<i>yxāfu</i>	
2PL	<i>xəftu</i>	<i>txāfu</i>	<i>xāfu</i>
1PL	<i>xəfna</i>	<i>nxāfu</i>	

Active participle: *xāyəf*, *xāyfa*, *xayfīn*

Also in this form: *bān*–*bənt*–*ybān* ‘to appear, to look like’, *bāt*–*bətət*–*ybāt* ‘to spend the night’.

In CA, the suffix stem of verbs with second radical liquid /y/ or /w/ demonstrates interchanges between long and short vowels in their theme. Namely, the suffix-stem base of these verbs exhibits alternations of long /ā/ and short /u/ or /i/, which, in turn, reflect the quality of the medial weak consonant, e.g., *qāmat*–*qumt* (second radical /w/) ‘she stood up’–‘you stood up’, *šāra*–*širtu* (second radical /y/) ‘he became’–‘I became’ (Fischer 2002, 131). As the data indicate, this rule is not applicable in Jewish Gabes, where the theme vowel of the suffix stem seems to be conditioned by the consonantal environment of this vowel. The default /ə/ vowel is lowered to /a/ when found adjacent to emphatic and guttural sounds, e.g., *taht* ‘I/you (MS) fell’. In two verbs, an /o/ vowel has been attested, namely *ḍort* ‘I roamed’ alongside *ḍurt*, and *šomt* ‘I fasted’ alongside *šamt*. Importantly, however, almost no reflex of the historical /u/ vowel

has been attested in verbs with second radical /w/. The only exception is *ḍurt*, where, in any case, /u/ tends to interchange with /o/.

Against this background, numerous dialects of the region do exhibit some vocalic vestiges of the elided weak radical in forms with consonantal suffixes. This is particularly noticeable in verbs with second radical /w/, where the thematic suffix-conjugation vowel is /u/. Since, in many dialects, short /i/ is not phonemic, verbs with second radical /y/ tend to feature /ə/ or /e/ instead of /i/. In the Muslim dialect of Tunis, one can find the following alternations:¹⁶ /ā/-/u/: *qām-qumt* 'to stand up', /ā/-/o/: *ḥāz-ḥozt* 'to gain', /ā/-/ə/: *žāb-žəbt* 'to bring', /ā/-/e/: *ġāb-ġəbt* 'to be absent' (Singer 1984, 358–59). The Muslim dialect of Sūsa has preserved most of the original theme vowels found in CA, shifting locally from long /ā/ to /o/ in forms with second radical /w/, e.g., *qāl-qolt* 'to say'.¹⁷ Similarly, in forms with second radical /y/, which in CA have long /ā/, when a suffix starts with a vowel, a half open front vowel occurs, which subsequently shifts to /i/ in forms with consonantal suffixes, e.g., *mɛ:l* 'he inclined', but *miltu* 'you (PL) inclined' (Talmoudi 1980, 84). In the dialect of Douz (southern Tunisia), depending on the consonantal environment of the root, the theme vowel of the past form can be /i/ or /u/: *māt-mit^ət* 'to die', *dām-dumt* 'to be over' (Ritt-

¹⁶ All the following pairs designate respectively 3MS and 1SG.

¹⁷ As pointed out by Talmoudi (1980, 85), in the Muslim dialect of Sūsa, weak verbs with second radical semi-vowel in the imperfect conjugation always have the same stem vowel as in CA, the only exception being the verb *yba:t*.

Benmimoun 2014, 316). In another Bedouin dialect from southern Tunisia, namely the dialect of El-Hamma, the following alternations have been attested: /ā/-/u/: *gām-gumt* ‘to wake up’, /ā/-/o/: *rāḥ-roḥt* ‘to go’, and /ā/-/i/: *žāb-žibt* ‘to bring’ (Cantineau 1960, 220). The Jewish dialect of Wad-Souf, which exhibits numerous Bedouin traits, also demonstrates reflexes of the historical /w/: *lām-lumt* ‘to accuse, to blame’, *fāz-fuzt* ‘to win’, *šām-šumt* ‘to fast’, *bās-bust* ‘to kiss’.

As the data indicate, the Jewish dialect of Gabes follows a different pattern, and the rule according to which the quality of the suffix-stem vowel depends on the second radical is less operative. In forms with consonantal suffixes, the long /ā/ vowel is reduced by default to /ə/ and conditionally to /a/, regardless of the quality of the second radical. This is also the case in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2014, 160), and the Jewish dialect of Tunis, where, as Cohen (1975, 102) points out, the quality of the thematic vowel of the perfect conjugation is conditioned by the consonantal environment. In a similar fashion, in Jewish Algiers, as pointed out by M. Cohen (1912, 190), short vowels of the first and the second persons of the suffix conjugation are regularly represented by /ə/.

The comparison presented above could potentially indicate that the Muslim dialects are more conservative in terms of the preservation of the CA stem vowels in forms with consonantal inflectional suffixes. Jewish dialects, on the other hand, tend to reduce short vowels in close stressed syllables to /ə/, which is prone to be assimilated to the adjacent consonants.

3.1.5. Weak Third Radical

Table 22: Paradigm of *ṛma–yərmi* ‘to throw’ (pattern CCa–yəCCi)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ṛma</i>	<i>yərmi</i>	
3FS	<i>ṛmāt</i>	<i>tərmi</i>	
2MS	<i>ṛmīt</i>	<i>tərmi</i>	<i>aṛmi</i>
2FS	<i>ṛmīti</i>	<i>tərməy</i>	<i>aṛmīy</i>
1SG	<i>ṛmīt</i>	<i>nərmi</i>	
3PL	<i>ṛmāw</i>	<i>yərmīw</i>	
2PL	<i>ṛmītu</i>	<i>tərmīw</i>	<i>aṛmīw</i>
1PL	<i>ṛmīna</i>	<i>nərmīw</i>	

Active participle: *bāni*, *bānya*, *baniyīn*Passive participle: *məbni*, *məbnya*, *məbnyīn*

Also in this form: *ṛṭa–yaṛṭi* ‘to give’, *bnā–yəbni* ‘to build’, *bka–yəbki* ‘to cry’, *mša–yəmši* ‘to go’, *šra–yəšri* ‘to build’, *žra* / *zra–yəžri* / *yəžri* ‘to run’.

Table 23: Paradigm of *ṛḍa–yərḍa* ‘to agree’ (pattern CCa–yəCCa)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ṛḍa</i>	<i>yərḍa</i>	
3FS	<i>ṛḍāt</i>	<i>tərḍa</i>	
2MS	<i>ṛḍīt</i>	<i>tərḍa</i>	<i>aṛḍa</i>
2FS	<i>ṛḍīti</i>	<i>təṛḍāy</i>	<i>aṛḍāy</i>
1SG	<i>ṛḍīt</i>	<i>nərḍa</i>	
3PL	<i>ṛḍāw</i>	<i>yəṛḍāw</i>	
2PL	<i>ṛḍītu</i>	<i>təṛḍāw</i>	<i>aṛḍāw</i>
1PL	<i>ṛḍīna</i>	<i>nəṛḍāw</i>	

Active participle: *rāḍi*, *rāḍya*, *rāḍyīn*Passive participle: *mənši*, *mənšya*, *mənšyīn*

Also in this form: *bda–yəbda* ‘to start’,¹⁸ *bqa–yəbqa* ‘to stay’, *nša–yənša* ‘to forget’.

¹⁸ I have recorded also a variant *bda–yəbdi*.

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, as in the vast majority of neighbouring dialects, the group with etymological third radical /w/ was integrated into the group with third radical /y/. The vestiges of /w/ can be found only in some isolated verbs, e.g., the only verb preserving original /u/ in the p-stem conjugation that is attested in the Jewish and the Muslim dialect of Tunis is *ḥba-yāḥbu* ‘to crawl (of a baby)’ (Cohen 1975, 104; Singer 1984, 360).¹⁹ The prefix conjugation exhibits one of the isoglosses of the sedentary dialects, namely the /-āw/ suffix in the plural forms of the prefix conjugation, e.g., *yənšāw* ‘they will forget’. Contrary to this, Bedouin-type dialects feature the /-u/ suffix, e.g., *nansu* ‘we will forget’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 324).

3.1.6. Verbs *kla* ‘to eat’ and *xda* ‘to take’

Table 24: Paradigm of *kla* ‘to eat’

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>kla</i>	<i>yākəl</i>	
3FS	<i>klāt</i>	<i>tākəl</i>	
2MS	<i>klīt</i>	<i>tākəl</i>	<i>kūl</i>
2FS	<i>klīti</i>	<i>tākli</i>	<i>kūli</i>
1SG	<i>klīt</i>	<i>nākəl</i>	
3PL	<i>klāw</i>	<i>yāklū</i>	
2PL	<i>klītu</i>	<i>tāklū</i>	<i>kūlu</i>
1PL	<i>klīna</i>	<i>nāklū</i>	

Active participle: *wākəl*, *wākla*, *wāklīn*

¹⁹ The dialect of Djidjelli, on the other hand, has preserved also other verbs with third radical /w/, including, among others, *šfa-yošfu* ‘to forgive’, *kba-yəkbu* ‘to drowse’, *žga-yəžgu* ‘to wail’; see Marçais (1956, 171).

To this category belong verbs that in CA are classified as first radical *hamza*. There are only two roots attested: *kla* ‘to eat’ and *xda* ‘to take’. As noticed by Cohen (1975, 109), the conjugation of this subgroup follows two different patterns, namely, the s-stem conjugates according to the pattern of forms with a weak third radical, whereas the imperative is formed according to the pattern of forms with a weak second radical.

3.1.7. Two Weak Radicals

Table 25: Paradigm of *ufa* ‘to stop’ (pattern Iw + IIIy)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ufa</i>	<i>yūfa</i>	
3FS	<i>ufāt</i>	<i>tūfa</i>	
2MS	<i>ufit</i>	<i>tūfa</i>	<i>ūfa</i>
2FS	<i>ufiti</i>	<i>tufāy</i>	<i>ūfāy</i>
1SG	<i>ufit</i>	<i>nūfa</i>	
3PL	<i>ufāw</i>	<i>yūfāw</i>	
2PL	<i>ufitu</i>	<i>tūfāw</i>	<i>ufāw</i>
1PL	<i>ufīna</i>	<i>nūfāw</i>	

The verb *ufa* is the only root attested for this paradigm. It contains the first radical /w/ and the third one /y/. Thus, its conjugation follows two patterns simultaneously. As can be observed, /w/ in this verb in the s-stem does not have a consonantal character and is realised as /u/, even though in the regular I-w paradigm it is preserved as /w/. The long /ū/ in the p-stem has presumably emerged due to contraction of the /aw/ diphthong.

3.1.8. Irregular Forms

Table 26: Paradigm of *ža* ‘to come’

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ža</i>	<i>yži</i>	
3FS	<i>žāt</i>	<i>tži</i>	
2MS	<i>žit</i>	<i>tži</i>	<i>iža</i>
2FS	<i>žiti</i>	<i>tžiy</i>	<i>ižiy</i>
1SG	<i>žit</i>	<i>tži</i>	
3PL	<i>žāw</i>	<i>yžiw</i>	
2PL	<i>žitū</i>	<i>tžiw</i>	<i>ižiw</i>
1PL	<i>žina</i>	<i>nžiw</i>	

Table 27: Paradigm of *ra* ‘to see’

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ra</i>	<i>yra</i>	
3FS	<i>rāt</i>	<i>tra</i>	
2MS	<i>rit</i>	<i>tra</i>	N/A
2FS	<i>riti</i>	<i>trāy</i>	N/A
1SG	<i>rit</i>	<i>nra</i>	
3PL	<i>rāw</i>	<i>yṛāw</i>	
2PL	<i>ritū</i>	<i>trāw</i>	N/A
1PL	<i>rīna</i>	<i>nṛāw</i>	

These two verbs have been categorised in a separate section, since they cannot be assigned to any of the patterns discussed above. They correspond to the CA forms *jāʔa* and *raʔa*. As has already been mentioned before, *hamza* has completely disappeared from the dialect of Gabes and consequently, both verbs possess only one strong radical. The verb *ra* is a unique case, since despite the existence of its prefix-conjugation forms as included in the table, most speakers use forms of the verb *šāf* instead. As noted by D. Cohen (1975, 106), this dichotomy can be observed

in other Maghrebi dialects as well. The same scholar notes also that, in the Jewish dialect of Tunis, the s-stem conjugation of *ra* preserves the Classical diphthong /ay/, i.e., *rayt* ‘I saw’. In the dialect of Gabes, this diphthong underwent a process of contraction, and thus the form *rit* emerged.

3.2. Derived Stems

3.2.1. Stem II

Table 28: Paradigm of *ṣarrəf* ‘to cash money’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ṣarrəf</i>	<i>yṣarrəf</i>	
3FS	<i>ṣarrəfət</i>	<i>tṣarrəf</i>	
2MS	<i>ṣarrəft</i>	<i>tṣarrəf</i>	<i>ṣarrəf</i>
2FS	<i>ṣarrəfti</i>	<i>tṣar(r)fi</i>	<i>ṣar(r)fi</i>
1SG	<i>ṣarrəft</i>	<i>nṣarrəf</i>	
3PL	<i>ṣarrəfu</i>	<i>yṣar(r)fu</i>	
2PL	<i>ṣarrəftu</i>	<i>tṣar(r)fu</i>	<i>ṣar(r)fu</i>
1PL	<i>ṣarrəfna</i>	<i>nṣar(r)fu</i>	

Participle: *mbəddəl*, *mbədlā*, *mbədlīn*

Also in this form: *ʕalləm–yʕalləm* ‘to teach’, *ʕayyət–yʕayyət* ‘to scream’, *bəddəl–ybəddəl* ‘to change’, *ṭallaq–yṭallaq* ‘to divorce’, *daxxəl–ydaxxəl* ‘to make something enter’, *ḥaddəd–yḥaddəd* ‘to iron’, *nəžžəm–ynəžžəm* ‘to be able’, *naggəz–ynaggəz* ‘to jump’, *ražžəf–yražžəf* ‘to return (trans.)’, *qayyəd–yqayyəd* ‘to register’, *ṭallaʕ–yṭallaʕ* ‘to take out’, *ṭayyəb–yṭayyəb* ‘to cook’, *xarrəf–yxarrəf* ‘to tell a tale’, *xayyət–yxayyət* ‘to sew’.

Table 29: Paradigm of *xamməm* ‘to think’ (geminated root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>xamməm</i>	<i>yxamməm</i>	
3FS	<i>xamm(əm)ət</i>	<i>txamməm</i>	
2MS	<i>xamməmt</i>	<i>txamməm</i>	<i>xamməm</i>
2FS	<i>xamməmti</i>	<i>txamm(əm)i</i>	<i>xamm(əm)i</i>
1SG	<i>xamməmt</i>	<i>nxamməm</i>	
3PL	<i>xamm(əm)u</i>	<i>yxamm(əm)u</i>	
2PL	<i>xamməmtu</i>	<i>txamm(əm)u</i>	<i>xamm(əm)u</i>
1PL	<i>xamməmna</i>	<i>nxamm(əm)u</i>	

Participle: *mdəlləl*, *mdəlləla*, *mdəlləlīn*

Also in this form: *dəlləl–ydəlləl* ‘to spoil’.

Table 30: Paradigm of *wəṛṛa* ‘to show’ (weak third radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>wəṛṛa</i>	<i>ywəṛṛi</i>	
3FS	<i>wəṛṛāt</i>	<i>twəṛṛi</i>	
2MS	<i>wəṛṛit</i>	<i>twəṛṛi</i>	<i>wəṛṛi</i>
2FS	<i>wəṛṛiti</i>	<i>twəṛṛīy</i>	<i>wəṛṛīy</i>
1SG	<i>wəṛṛit</i>	<i>nwəṛṛi</i>	
3PL	<i>wṛṛāw</i>	<i>ywəṛṛīw</i>	
2PL	<i>wəṛṛītu</i>	<i>twəṛṛīw</i>	<i>wəṛṛīw</i>
1PL	<i>wəṛṛīna</i>	<i>nwəṛṛīw</i>	

Participle: *mṣabbi*, *mṣabbya*, *mṣabbyīn*

Also in this form: *ṣabba–yṣabbi* ‘to fill’.

The most characteristic feature of stem II is the geminated middle consonant of the root. In regular roots, both vowels in s-stem forms are /ə/; however, when the doubled consonant is guttural or emphatic, the first vowel is /a/. The same tendency appears in the p-stem conjugation, i.e., instead of **yḥəddəṛ* one finds *yḥaddəṛ* ‘he will prepare’. In p-stem forms ending with a vowel, the gemination of the middle consonant is hardly audible. The

same phenomenon is attested in the dialect of Sūsa (Talmoudi 1985, 99). In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, the first vowel of the p-stem forms is stable and never undergoes elision. Contrary to this, in the Jewish dialect of Algiers, this vowel tends to be reduced and, as a result, a cluster of three consonants emerges (Cohen 1912, 200).

Verbs with a weak first radical do not exhibit any fluctuations and inflect as a regular verb. However, verbs with identical second and third radicals have a strong tendency to reduce the last consonant in forms with vocalic suffixes. The same phenomenon is attested, among others, in the dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 168) and the Jewish dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975, 116). In addition, verbs with a weak second radical adjust their first vowel according to the quality of the following consonant, i.e., when *w* is geminated, the vowel is usually /u/, whereas forms with /y/ have /i/, e.g., *əḏuwwaq* ‘he lets taste’, *tbiyyat* ‘she passes a night’.

3.2.2. Stem III

Table 31: Paradigm of *qābəl* ‘to meet’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>qābəl</i>	<i>yqābəl</i>	
3FS	<i>qāblət</i>	<i>tqābəl</i>	
2MS	<i>qabəlt</i>	<i>tqābəl</i>	<i>qābəl</i>
2FS	<i>qabəlti</i>	<i>tqābli</i>	<i>qābli</i>
1SG	<i>qabəlt</i>	<i>nqābəl</i>	
3PL	<i>qāblu</i>	<i>yqāblu</i>	
2PL	<i>qabəltu</i>	<i>tqāblu</i>	<i>qāblu</i>
1PL	<i>qabəlna</i>	<i>nqāblu</i>	

Table 32: Paradigm of *ʕāwən* ‘to help’ (weak first radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ʕāwən</i>	<i>yʕāwən</i>	
3FS	<i>ʕāwnət</i>	<i>tʕāwən</i>	
2MS	<i>ʕawənt</i>	<i>tʕāwən</i>	<i>ʕāwən</i>
2FS	<i>ʕawənti</i>	<i>tʕāwni</i>	<i>ʕāwni</i>
1SG	<i>ʕawənt</i>	<i>nʕāwən</i>	
3PL	<i>ʕāwnu</i>	<i>yʕāwnu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʕawəntu</i>	<i>tʕāwnu</i>	<i>ʕāwnu</i>
1PL	<i>ʕawənnə</i>	<i>nʕāwnu</i>	

Also in in this stem: *ʕāwəḏ–yʕāwəḏ* ‘to repeat’, *ʕāwər–yʕāwər* ‘to consult’.

Table 33: Paradigm of *nāda* ‘to call, to warn’ (weak third radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>nāda</i>	<i>ynādi</i>	
3FS	<i>nadāt</i>	<i>tnādi</i>	
2MS	<i>nadīt</i>	<i>tnādi</i>	<i>nādi</i>
2FS	<i>nadīti</i>	<i>tnadīy</i>	<i>nadīy</i>
1SG	<i>nadīt</i>	<i>nnādi</i>	
3PL	<i>nadāw</i>	<i>ynadīw</i>	
2PL	<i>nadītu</i>	<i>tnadīw</i>	<i>nadīw</i>
1PL	<i>nadīna</i>	<i>nnadīw</i>	

The characteristic feature of stem III is a long /ā/ vowel after the first radical. However, as the above paradigm shows, contrary to CA, this vowel tends to be shortened in forms with a vocalic ending, in both the p-stem and the s-stem. Similarly to stem II, verbs with a first radical semivowel are not subject to any fluctuations. In addition, a second radical semivowel does not bring about any shift of the vowel, i.e., /a/ remains stable, even though its length can vary.

The length of the stem vowel differs in various dialects. In some dialects, like the dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 347) or the dialect of Algiers (Cohen 1912, 208), long /ā/ is retained throughout the whole conjugation. The Jewish dialect of Tunis, similarly to the Jewish dialect of Gabes, exhibits a tendency to shorten the vowel in the suffix conjugation (Cohen 1975, 119). On the other hand, the dialect of Tlemcen presents exactly the opposite tendency, that is, it retains long /ā/ in s-stem forms with a consonantal ending and an epenthetic vowel after the second radical, i.e., Jewish Gabes: *ṣāwān-ṣawānt* ‘to help’; Tlemcen: *rakeb-rākābt* ‘to ride’ (Marçais 1902, 75).

3.2.3. The /t-/ Passive Stem

Table 34: Paradigm of *taktāb* ‘to be written’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>taktāb</i>	<i>yātaktāb</i>	
3FS	<i>taktābt</i>	<i>əttaktāb</i>	
2MS	N/A	N/A	N/A
2FS	N/A	N/A	N/A
1SG	N/A	N/A	
3PL	<i>əttaktbu</i>	<i>yātaktbu</i>	
2PL	N/A	N/A	N/A
1PL	N/A	N/A	

Also in this stem: *əttāxnāb* ‘to be stolen’, *ətlāmm* ‘to gather’ (cf. Bedouin Douz *ltām*).

As has been pointed out in §2.2, numerous roots in stem I form their passive voice in the purely dialectal /t-/ passive stem. In the 3PL form of the s-stem and the 3FS form of the p-stem, the /t-/ prefix tends to be geminated and preceded by an epenthetic vowel.

3.2.4. Stem V

Table 35: Paradigm of *tkalləm* ‘to talk’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>tkalləm</i>	<i>yətkalləm</i>	
3FS	<i>tkəl(l)mət</i>	<i>tətkalləm</i>	
2MS	<i>tkalləmt</i>	<i>tətkalləm</i>	<i>ətkalləm</i>
2FS	<i>tkalləmti</i>	<i>tətkəl(l)mi</i>	<i>ətkəl(l)mi</i>
1SG	<i>tkalləmt</i>	<i>ntkalləm</i>	
3PL	<i>tkəl(l)mu</i>	<i>yətkəl(l)mu</i>	
2PL	<i>tkalləmtu</i>	<i>tətkallmu</i>	<i>ətkəl(l)mu</i>
1PL	<i>tkalləmna</i>	<i>nətkəlmu</i>	

Also in this stem: *tkəššər* ‘to be broken’, *təfakkər* ‘to remember’, *təgəššə* ‘to get upset’.

Table 36: Paradigm of *txabba* ‘to hide oneself’ (weak third radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>txabba</i>	<i>yətxabba</i>	
3FS	<i>txabbāt</i>	<i>tətxabba</i>	
2MS	<i>txabbīt</i>	<i>tətxabba</i>	<i>txabba</i>
2FS	<i>txabbīti</i>	<i>tətxabbāy</i>	<i>txabbāy</i>
1SG	<i>txabbīt</i>	<i>nətxabba</i>	
3PL	<i>txabbāw</i>	<i>yətxabāw</i>	
2PL	<i>txabbītu</i>	<i>tətxabāw</i>	<i>txabbāw</i>
1PL	<i>txabbīna</i>	<i>nətxabāw</i>	

Participle: *mətxabbi*, *mətxabbya*, *mətxabbyin*

Stem V is reflexive-passive in relation to stem II, e.g., *kaššər* ‘to break’–*tkəššər* ‘to be broken’. In addition, this stem includes some verbs inherited directly from CA which have active meaning, e.g., *təlləm* ‘to learn’. The characteristic feature of stem V is the /t-/ prefix and doubled second radical. In the dialect of Gabes, the /t-/ prefix of the stem is stable and does not undergo any assimilation. On the contrary, in the dialect of Djidjelli, as

pointed out by Marçais (1956, 188), /t/ tends to be assimilated to the first radical, e.g., *ṭṣarrəf–ṣṣarrəf* ‘to manage’. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the dialect of Maṛāzīg, in which the prefix is assimilated to the first radical when it is an alveolar or postalveolar fricative, e.g., *ʔzzayyan* ‘he prepared’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 351). A form with a doubled first radical is preceded by an epenthetic vowel that prevents a consonantal cluster at the beginning of the word. This occurs also in the dialect of Sūsa, where a prosthetic vowel is added to a form with a radical dental stop, e.g., *itdarraq* ‘he hid himself’ (Talmoudi 1985, 101). As argued by Talmoudi, the function of this epenthetic vowel is to create a syllable boundary separating the prefix from the first radical.

3.2.5. Stem VI

Table 37: Paradigm of *tṣāžəb* ‘to be surprised’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>tṣāžəb</i>	<i>yəṭṣāžəb</i>	
3FS	<i>tṣāžəbət</i>	<i>təṭṣāžəb</i>	
2MS	<i>tṣažəbt</i>	<i>təṭṣāžəb</i>	<i>əṭṣāžəb</i>
2FS	<i>tṣažəbti</i>	<i>təṭṣāžbi</i>	<i>əṭṣāžbi</i>
1SG	<i>tṣažəbt</i>	<i>nəṭṣāžəb</i>	
3PL	<i>tṣāžəbu</i>	<i>yəṭṣāžəbu</i>	
2PL	<i>tṣažəbtu</i>	<i>təṭṣāžəbu</i>	<i>əṭṣāžəbu</i>
1PL	<i>tṣažəbna</i>	<i>nəṭṣāžəbu</i>	

Also in this form: *tṣārək* ‘to dispute, to have an argument’, *tqābəl* ‘to meet with someone’.

The basic meaning of this form, as in CA, is reciprocity (Fischer 202, 99). Most of the verbs in this pattern have their active counterparts in form III. Verbs with weak first or second

radical do not exhibit any variations, e.g., *ytṣāwnu* ‘they help each other’. The length of the stem vowel /a/ in the suffix conjugation depends on the character of the ending, i.e., only the vocalic suffix preserves the long /ā/, whereas in the rest of the forms it is shortened. The same long vowel is retained throughout the whole p-stem and s-stem conjugations in the dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 357).

3.2.6. Stem VII

Table 38: Paradigm of *nədbah* ‘to be slaughtered’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>nədbāḥ</i>	N/A	
3FS	<i>ndəbaḥt</i>	N/A	
2MS	N/A	N/A	N/A
2FS	N/A	N/A	N/A
1SG	N/A	N/A	
3PL	<i>ndəbḥu</i>	N/A	
2PL	N/A	N/A	N/A
1PL	N/A	N/A	

The /n-/ prefix form in Jewish Gabes is attested only in the 3SG and 3PL. From a cross-dialectal perspective, stems expressing passivity and reflexivity, depending on the region, have developed either in the direction of the /n-/ stem, i.e., $nəC^1C^2əC^3$, or the /t-/ stem, i.e., $tC^1əC^2əC^3$. Moreover, as will be shown in the following paragraphs, in Jewish Gabes, a secondary process takes place that attests to an analogical change.

3.2.7. Stem VIII

Table 39: Paradigm of *xṭār* ‘to choose’ (weak second radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>xṭār</i>	<i>yəxṭār</i>	
3FS	<i>xṭārət</i>	<i>təxṭār</i>	
2MS	<i>xṭart</i>	<i>təxṭār</i>	<i>axṭār</i>
2FS	<i>xṭarti</i>	<i>təxṭāri</i>	<i>axṭāri</i>
1SG	<i>xṭart</i>	<i>nəxṭār</i>	
3PL	<i>xṭāru</i>	<i>yəxṭāru</i>	
2PL	<i>xṭartu</i>	<i>təxṭāru</i>	<i>axṭāru</i>
1PL	<i>xṭarna</i>	<i>nəxṭāru</i>	

Participle: *məxṭār*, *məxṭāra*, *məxṭārīn*

Also in this form: *rtāh–yərtāh* ‘to rest’, *ḥtāž–yəḥtāž* ‘to need’.

Form VIII is reflexive in character, and its distinctive feature is the /-t-/ inserted after the first radical. The form known from modern dialects was, in CA, preceded by a prosthetic vowel, i.e., *ʔiftaʕala* (Fischer 202, 100). The stem vowel /a/ in the p-stem is invariably long, while in the dialect of Wad-Souf, it tends to be shortened, and the stress tends to be placed on the prefix, i.e., *yúxṭar*.

The stem in question is poorly attested in Jewish Gabes and no sound roots have been attested in this stem. This is primarily due to the movement of the infix /-t-/ to the prefixal position, presumably due to the influence of the /t-/ passive stem, e.g., *ltām* ‘to gather’ in Maṛāzīg is rendered in Jewish Gabes as *tlāmm* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 373). In the Jewish and also the Muslim dialect of Tunis, there exist only some vestiges of this pattern. As pointed out by Cohen (1975, 126), one of the most frequent verbs of this form in the Jewish dialect of Tunis is *ṣḏāḏ* ‘he hunted’, in which the first /ḏ/ represents the assimilated /t/. In addition,

there is no strong root in stem VIII in this dialect. Also, in the Jewish dialect of Algiers, most of the reflexive verbs with active counterparts in the first stem belong instead to patterns with prefixes /t-/ and /n-/ (Cohen 1912, 222). Nonetheless, it seems that this form is much more frequently attested in Muslim dialects than in Jewish ones. In the dialect of Douz, one finds a wide variety of regular and irregular verbs in stem VIII (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 368–74). Forms of the suffix conjugation are preceded by a short epenthetic vowel /ə/, which presumably resembles the CA prosthetic vowel, e.g., *ʔntaḥḥ* ‘he was removed’. In the dialect of Cherchell, as in other Algerian dialects (Djидjelli, Tlemcen), pattern VIII is no longer morphologically operative (Grand’Henry 1972, 63). Despite this, several archaic forms have been preserved in these dialects, most of them having weak roots (Marçais 1956, 196).

3.2.8. Stem X

Table 40: Paradigm of *štafžəb* ‘to be surprised’ (strong root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>štafžəb</i>	<i>yəštafžəb</i>	
3FS	<i>štafžəbət</i>	<i>təštafžəb</i>	
2MS	<i>štafžəbt</i>	<i>təštafžəb</i>	<i>əštafžəb</i>
2FS	<i>štafžəbti</i>	<i>təštafžbi</i>	<i>əštafžbi</i>
1SG	<i>štafžəbt</i>	<i>nəštafžəb</i>	
3PL	<i>štafžbu</i>	<i>yəštafžbu</i>	
2PL	<i>štafažəbtu</i>	<i>təštafžbu</i>	<i>əštafžbu</i>
1PL	<i>štafžəbna</i>	<i>nəštafžbu</i>	

Participle: *məštafžəb*, *məštafžba*, *məštafžbīn*

Table 41: Paradigm of *ʃtħaqq* ‘to be in need of’ (geminated root)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ʃtħaqq</i>	<i>yəʃtħaqq</i>	
3FS	<i>ʃtħaqq(q)ət</i>	<i>təʃtħaqq</i>	
2MS	<i>ʃtħaqqəqt</i>	<i>təʃtħaqq</i>	<i>əʃtħaqq</i>
2FS	<i>ʃtħaqqəqti</i>	<i>təʃtħaqqi</i>	<i>əʃtħaqqi</i>
1SG	<i>ʃtħaqaqt</i>	<i>nəʃtħaqq</i>	
3PL	<i>ʃtħaqaqu</i>	<i>yəʃtħaqqu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʃtħaqaqtu</i>	<i>təʃtħaqqu</i>	<i>əʃtħaqqu</i>
1PL	<i>ʃtħaqaqna</i>	<i>nəʃtħaqqu</i>	

Participle: *məʃtħaqq*, *məʃtħaqqə*, *məʃtħaqqin*

Table 42: Paradigm of *ʃtāhəl* ‘to deserve’ (weak first radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ʃtāhəl</i>	<i>yəʃtāhəl</i>	
3FS	<i>ʃtāhlət</i>	<i>təʃtāhəl</i>	
2MS	<i>ʃtāhəlt</i>	<i>təʃtāhəl</i>	N/A
2FS	<i>ʃtāhəlti</i>	<i>təʃtāhli</i>	N/A
1SG	<i>ʃtāhəlt</i>	<i>nəʃtāhəl</i>	
3PL	<i>ʃtāhlu</i>	<i>yəʃtāhlu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʃtāhəltu</i>	<i>təʃtāhlu</i>	N/A
1PL	<i>ʃtāhəlna</i>	<i>nəʃtāhlu</i>	

Table 43: Paradigm of *ʃtağna* ‘to become rich’ (weak third radical)

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ʃtağna</i>	<i>yəʃtağna</i>	
3FS	<i>ʃtağnət</i>	<i>təʃtağən</i>	
2MS	<i>ʃtağnīt</i>	<i>təʃtağən</i>	N/A
2FS	<i>ʃtağnīti</i>	<i>təʃtağni</i>	N/A
1SG	<i>ʃtağnīt</i>	<i>nəʃtağən</i>	
3PL	<i>ʃtağnu</i>	<i>yəʃtağnu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʃtağnītu</i>	<i>təʃtağnu</i>	N/A
1PL	<i>ʃtağnīna</i>	<i>nəʃtağnu</i>	

Participle: *məʃtağni*, *məʃtağnya*, *məʃtağnyin*

Stem X corresponds to the CA pattern *ʔistafʔala*. However, as in the case of stem VIII, the initial vowel has been reduced, and thus this verb stem, in the dialect of Gabes, begins with /ʔt-/. The prefix has a few variations within the Maghrebi dialects. The Jewish dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 181), Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912, 232), and the dialect of Cherchell (Grand'Henry 1972, 65) tend to substitute /ʔt-/ with /st-/, e.g., *staxboʔ* 'he was informed'. On the other hand, in the dialects of Djidjelli (Marçais 1956, 197) and Tlemcen (Marçais 1902, 83), the prefix /t-/ has been assimilated to the preceding /s/, giving rise to a cluster of two identical consonants, e.g., *ssoxbar* 'he asked for news'. In the dialect of Douz, the stem X prefix is preceded by a short epenthetic vowel /ə/, e.g., *ʔstʔwadd* 'to wish, to desire' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 377).

The vowel between the second and third radicals in the root *ḥqq* is stable, as opposed to in Jewish Tunis, where one finds the development *ṣṭḥaqqīt* 'you needed'. The suffix of this form is characteristic of verbs of the geminated pattern, and thus the type of inflection found in the Jewish dialect of Gabes is unexpected. In the dialect of Algiers, in turn, in the aforementioned form, the stem vowel was also reduced, and consequently, a monosyllabic word with an initial consonantal cluster emerged, e.g., *ṣṭḥqīt* (Cohen 1912, 233). When it comes to the p-stem forms of the geminated verb, in the dialect of Gabes, second and third radicals are separated by a short epenthetic vowel /ə/, as in the regular verb. On the contrary, in most of the neighbouring dialects, no vowel is inserted between them.

3.2.9. Stem XI

Table 44: Paradigm of *ḏṣāf* ‘to lose weight’

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ḏṣāf</i>	<i>yəḏṣāf</i>	
3FS	<i>ḏṣāfat</i>	<i>təḏṣāf</i>	
2MS	<i>ḏṣāfit</i>	<i>təḏṣāf</i>	N/A
2FS	<i>ḏṣāfiti</i>	<i>təḏṣāfi</i>	N/A
1SG	<i>ḏṣāfit</i>	<i>nəḏṣāf</i>	
3PL	<i>ḏṣāfu</i>	<i>yəḏṣāfu</i>	
2PL	<i>ḏṣāfitu</i>	<i>təḏṣāfu</i>	N/A
1PL	<i>ḏṣāfīna</i>	<i>nəḏṣāf</i>	

Participles: *məḏyān*, *məḏyāna*, *məḏyānin*

Stem XI corresponds to the CA pattern *(ʔi)ḏṣālla* and, as argued by Yoda (2005, 143), it replaces stem IX.²⁰ It retained a long /ā/ vowel after the second radical with simultaneous loss of gemination. The basic meaning of stem XI is the acquisition of a certain property, e.g., *ṭwāl* ‘he became long’, *ḏyān* ‘he became beautiful’ (Cohen 1975, 122).

When it comes to the inflection of the XI pattern in Jewish Gabes, there exist two parallel variants. On the one hand, there is the one presented above, where the original /ā/ vowel is preserved in the suffix conjugation, while the suffix presents an unexpected development, namely, forms with a consonantal suffix have a linking vowel /ī/, which is usually characteristic of verbs with a semi-vowel third radical. The same tendency is attested in

²⁰ As observed by Singer (1984, 392), the occurrence of the XI form is a characteristic feature of western dialects of Arabic, since in eastern dialects, form IX replaced XI.

the Jewish dialect of Algiers (Cohen 1912, 236), the Jewish dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 183), and the dialect of Tlemcen (Marçais 1902, 85). On the other hand, there exists also another variant, where no linking vowel appears, while long /ā/ is shortened in forms with consonantal suffixes, i.e., *ḏḥaft*. The Jewish dialect of Tunis exhibits this tendency, e.g., *ḏḥaft* ‘you lost weight’ (Cohen 1975, 121).

An interesting development of pattern XI is attested in the dialect of Maṛāzīg, where the long stem vowel /ā/, in forms with consonantal suffixes, interchanges with short /i/, e.g., *ʔṭwāl* ‘he became long’, *ʔṭwīlʔt* ‘I became long’. Moreover, this phenomenon occurs regardless of the phonetic environment, and the /i/ is inserted also after emphatic and guttural consonants, e.g., *ʔxḏār* ‘he became green’, *ʔxḏūrʔt* ‘she became green’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 385).

4.0. Conclusions

The analysis presented above enables us to assess to what extent the verbal system of the Jewish dialect of Gabes is similar to other Maghrebi dialects, on the one hand, and what the points of disagreement are, on the other. Unlike Jewish Tunis, both Jewish Gabes and Jewish Djerba have gender distinction in the 2FS forms, which are marked by the /-i/ suffix. In Jewish Tunis, on the other hand, this distinction does not exist and masculine forms are used also for the feminine. The data analysed in this chapter confirms the sedentary character of Jewish Gabes, since the suffix of verbs with a weak third radical in stem I is /-āw/, and not /u/, as found in the Bedouin dialects. Concerning the

vowel distribution of verbal forms of stem I, Jewish Gabes exhibits several commonalities with neighbouring Jewish dialects, particularly in the use of /ə/ as the basic theme vowel, which is lowered to /a/ in the vicinity of gutturals. Muslim dialects and Jewish Wad-Souf, on the contrary, demonstrate a much wider array of vowel qualities. Moreover, as has been argued (§2.2), Jewish Gabes has developed an alternative way of expressing the passive, by means of a bipartite construction involving an active verb with a personal object pronoun.

4. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

The present section describes the nominal morphology of Jewish Gabes. Since in many aspects it does not differ from other dialects, this survey aims at a detailed presentation of the collected data. I will first provide some theoretical preliminaries on the characteristics of the nominal morphology of Jewish Gabes, and subsequently, I will present all the attested patterns, first of singular nouns, and then of plural.

1.0. Theoretical Preliminaries

1.1. The Definition of ‘Noun’ and the Classification of the Nominal Patterns

In the present study, I will not apply a differentiation between nouns, adjectives, and numerals, since Jewish Gabes, like many other modern Arabic dialects, does not make any morphological distinction between them, and adjectives very often function as substantives. In this respect, I will follow the method of Yoda (2005, 197), rather than that of Cohen (1975, 140), who sets a very clear distinction between these parts of speech. The lexical items found in this chapter have been classified according to their morphological structure, and not their properties as parts of speech; hence, along with substantives, adjectives, prepositions, and numerals have been included. This approach is analogous to Wright’s (2005, 104) definition of the noun, which includes: substantives, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, conjunctions, and pronouns.

It has been mentioned that various grammars differ in terms of the definition of the noun. An additional point of divergence is the way the nominal patterns are organised, particularly when it comes to the choice between diachronic and synchronic approaches. Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages. The diachronic one can be considerably confusing for the reader, as it is not clear whether semi-consonants like /ج/, /ي/, or long /ā/ *alif* are to be considered consonants and therefore part of the root, or should rather be perceived as a vocalic element of a pattern. For example, *bāb* ‘door’ can theoretically be classified both as C̄vC and, if one considers *alif* part of the root, as CvCC. The distinction between trilateral and biliteral nouns seems to be somewhat inconsistent and vague as well. Yoda (2005, 215, 218) classifies *ṣṣra* ‘woman’ (< CA *marʔa*) as a biliteral noun, while *ḡda* ‘medicine’ (< CA *ḡadāʔ*) is classified as a trilateral noun with third radical y/h, placed in the pattern CvCC, even though both of them have two strong consonants and *hamza*.

On the other hand, the synchronic approach tends to lack information on the historical development that led to the present situation. In light of these observations, I decided to apply a blend of both approaches, namely to focus on synchronic classification of the patterns, but simultaneously to give the corresponding CA forms.¹ This means, therefore, that words like *līl* ‘night’ and *bīr* ‘well’ are both classified under the same C̄vC pattern, but have been broken down in two categories, since /ī/ is

¹ A similar approach has been applied by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (2014) in her description of the Bedouin dialect of Douz.

brought about in the former by contraction of the diphthong /ay/, but in the latter by the elimination of *hamza*. I hope this method will facilitate navigation of the text, while simultaneously providing some crucial historical data.

Finally, in contrast to the method of Cohen (1975, 143), I decided not to break down into separate categories those roots with semivowels where the semivowels do not bring about any morphological change; for example, the word *dānya* ‘world’, with third radical /y/, does not differ morphologically from *ṣaẓra* ‘tree’, which has three regular consonants. I did, however, separate the roots whose second and third radical are alike, in order to avoid any confusion with the patterns that possess geminated consonants.

1.2. Gender

Jewish Gabes possesses two genders, namely masculine and feminine, but only the feminine is morphologically marked, by an /-a/ suffix, e.g., *mra* ‘woman’, *ḍarba* ‘slap’, *fərša* ‘mare’, *kbira* ‘big’, *ḡdida* ‘new’, *ḡābla* ‘pregnant’. This corresponds to several CA endings marking the feminine, i.e., /-t/, /-ah/, /at/, /-ā/, /ā?/ (Wright 2005, 169). When the masculine form finishes with /-i/, the feminine one admits the ending /-ya/, e.g., *tūnši-tūnšiya* ‘Tunisian’. Nonetheless, there are exceptions to this rule, and some feminine nouns are unmarked. This group includes some words that are feminine by default, e.g., *uṃṃ/oṃṃ* ‘mother’; parts of the body: *ṣīn* ‘eye’, *yədd* ‘hand’, *ḡṭən* ‘belly’, *wdən* ‘ear’; cities: *tūnāš* ‘Tunis’; and others, like, for example, *aṛḍ* ‘Earth, soil, land’, *bīt* ‘room’,

dār ‘house, family’, *šəmš* ‘sun’, *trīq* ‘road’. Yoda (2005, 201) classifies also *axt* ‘sister’ and *bənt* ‘daughter’ as exceptions; however, taking into account the historical background of these forms, they should be considered vestiges of the original feminine /t/ marker, rather than exceptions.

On the other hand, there exist also nouns that resemble the feminine because of their /-a/ suffix, but whose gender is masculine, e.g., *dwa mārṛ* ‘bitter medicine’.

In some dialects, certain feminine nouns that in Jewish Gabes possess the /-a/ marker are listed as unmarked and presumably reflect an earlier stage of linguistic development. Items like *ʕʕzūz* ‘old woman’ and *fṛaṣ* ‘mare’ in the Bedouin dialect of Douz correspond to Jewish Gabes *ʕaʕzūza* and *fṛṣa* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 210).² In addition to the cross-dialectal differences, Jewish Gabes exhibits some differences in gender in comparison to CA. Below I present several selected nouns:

Table 45: Gender divergence in Jewish Gabes as compared to CA

Jewish Gabes–masculine	CA–feminine
<i>drāṣ</i> ‘arm’	<i>ḏirāṣ</i>
<i>šbaṣ</i> ‘finger’	<i>ʔiṣbaṣ</i>
<i>fxaḏ</i> ‘shin’	<i>faxiḏ</i>
<i>qdām</i> ‘heel’	<i>qadam</i>
<i>ktəf</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>kataf</i>
<i>bīr</i> ‘well’	<i>biṛ</i>

In addition to the alternations of CA feminine–Jewish Gabes masculine, there are also reversed alternations, i.e., words which

² The form *ʕaʕzūz* has been attested in Jewish Wad-Souf.

were of masculine gender in CA are feminine in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *bīt* (F) ‘room’–CA *bayt* (M), *kāš* (F) ‘cup’–CA *kaʔs* (M).

There exists a group of nouns wherein the feminine form originates from a root that is wholly distinct from its masculine counterpart. Below one can find a list of the most commonly used pairs in Jewish Gabes:

Table 46: Nouns with irregular gender formation

Masculine	Feminine
<i>bu</i> ‘father’	<i>uṃṃ/oṃṃ</i> ‘mother’
<i>ḥṣān</i> ‘horse’	<i>fəṣṣa</i> ‘mare’
<i>rāžəl</i> / <i>ṛāžəl</i> ‘man’	<i>mṛa</i> ‘wife’
<i>šəbbāni</i> ‘old man’	<i>ʕažžūža</i> ‘old woman, dowager’
<i>šīd</i> ‘master’	<i>ləlla</i> ‘madam’
<i>wəld</i> ‘boy’	<i>bənt</i> ‘girl’
<i>xu</i> ‘brother’	<i>uxt</i> ‘sister’

1.3. Definite Article

In Jewish Gabes, as in many other North African dialects, /l-/ serves as the definite article. The CA rule of the assimilation of /l-/ before the solar letters operates also in Jewish Gabes. Similarly to other dialects, like Jewish Tripoli for example, the assimilation results in the emergence of a short auxiliary vowel /ə/ before the geminated consonant. Below one can find a list of all the consonants which bring about the assimilation of /l-/ , along with examples. The list does not include the emphatic variants of some non-phonemic consonants, like /l/ for example, as the assimilation of the article is not subject to any fluctuations in this respect, and non-phonemic emphasis tends to be irregular and depend on the speaker.

- l + d > dd, e.g., *əd-drūž* ‘the stairs’;
 l + ḏ > ḏḏ, e.g., *əd-dhərr* ‘the back’;
 l + l > ll, e.g., *əl-līl* ‘the night’;
 l + n > nn, e.g., *ən-nhār* ‘day’;
 l + t > tt, e.g., *ət-tānya* ‘the second’;
 l + ṭ > ṭṭ, e.g., *əṭ-ṭayba* ‘the cooked, ripe (F)’;
 l + r > rr, e.g., *ər-rīḥa* ‘the smell, scent’;
 l + ʀ > ʀʀ, e.g., *əʀ-ʀmān* ‘the pomegranate’;
 l + š > šš, e.g., *əš-šəltān* ‘the sultan’;
 l + ṣ̌ > ṣ̌ṣ̌, e.g., *əš-šhūd* ‘the witnesses’;
 l + z > zz, e.g., *əz-zġīr* ‘the small one’;
 l + ž > žž, e.g., *əž-žnūn* ‘the ghosts’.

1.4. Construct State

In Jewish Gabes, the distribution of the construct state is rather limited, as this construction, widely used in CA, has been replaced in the majority of cases by the analytic construction involving the genitive marker (*n*)*tāf*. Nonetheless, in some instances, the analytic construction is impossible, and the construct state is used instead. Its specific distribution will be explained in chapter 5, §2.3; here I will limit myself only to the morphological aspects of this construction.

Forming the construct state of masculine nouns does not involve any morphological change, e.g., *ʕžəb ʀəḃḃi* ‘the miracle of God’. In turn, feminine nouns terminating with /-a/ admit /-t/. Monosyllabic nouns, like *šla* ‘synagogue’ or *šma* ‘sky’, turn their final /-a/ into /-t/ without any change within the syllable struc-

ture, e.g., *šlāt al-blād* ‘the synagogue of the city’. The only exception to this rule is the word *mṛa* ‘woman’, which in the construct state becomes *mṛt*, e.g., *mṛt bu* ‘father’s wife, step-mother’. Other feminine nouns, i.e., those not belonging to the pattern CCv, admit the ending /-ət/, e.g., *maklāt aḡ-žmāl* ‘the camel’s food’, *šxānət aḡ-šif* ‘the heat of the summer’.

It is worth mentioning that words related to the semantic field of family and affinity usually appear in the construct state and not in the analytic construction. Therefore, most speakers will say: *bənt uxti* ‘the daughter of my sister’, rather than **bənt tāš uxti*. Some of these expressions are fixed, like *mṛt būya* ‘my step-mother’, *ṛāḡəl bənti* ‘my daughter’s husband, son-in-law’,³ *wəld wəldi* ‘my grandson’.⁴ In the case of some words denoting family relations, both the construct state and a specific term are used interchangeably, e.g., *mṛt wəldi-kənti* ‘my daughter-in-law’.

1.5. Number

In Jewish Gabes, there are three types of number, i.e., singular, dual, and plural. The usage of the second one is very limited, and, as pointed out by Cohen (1975, 186), all the Maghrebi dialects either have already lost or are in the process of losing the dual. Jewish Gabes represents in this respect an example of gradual

³ The word *nšīb* also serves as the equivalent of son-in-law, but the expression *ṛāḡəl bənt* is much more popular. *nšīb* / *nšība* designates all kinds of affinity acquired through marriage.

⁴ As far as I could establish, Jewish Gabes does not have one specific word for ‘grandson’, unlike Jewish Tunis, where *hfīdi* ‘my grandson’ exists.

substitution of the CA ending /-ayn/ by the analytic construction with *žūž* 'two'. There are, however, several exceptions.

1.5.1. Dual

The dual in CA is one of three types of number and its distribution is widely attested. It designates a group of two individuals and can be formed from any noun by adding the suffix /-āni/ to the root of the noun (Wright 2005, 189). In case of feminine nouns ending in /-a/, the final *ā* changes into *at*, just like in the construct state. As has been mentioned above, this is not the case in the North African dialects. In his description of Jewish Algiers, Marcel Cohen (1912, 289) reports that there are two types of number in this dialect, namely singular and plural, simultaneously excluding the dual due to a limited number of attested examples. The elimination of the dual seems to exceed the boundaries of the sedentary dialects, as limited distribution of the dual is also attested in the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 220). There, as in other dialects, the classical dual has been replaced by the analytic construction and survives only in words denoting time and measures.

In Jewish Gabes, the distribution of the dual is similar. Due to contraction of diphthongs, the suffix of the dual is /-īn/. Below I present two semantic groups where the dual occurs:

1. Parts of the body

Singular	Dual	Meaning
<i>ʕīn</i>	<i>ʕīnīn</i>	eyes
<i>yədd</i>	<i>yəddīn</i>	hands
<i>rʒəl</i>	<i>rəʒlīn</i>	legs
<i>wɗən</i>	<i>wəɗnīn</i>	ears
<i>drāʕ</i>	<i>darʕīn</i>	arms

Not every paired part of the body can be formed in this way. Some nouns that, in other Semitic languages—for example in Hebrew—form the dual, like *xədd* ‘cheek’, form only the internal plural, i.e., *xdūd*. Similarly, some nouns that possess dual forms have also parallel plural forms that can function as duals, e.g., *ʕyūn* ‘eyes’.

2. Time expressions

Singular	Dual	Meaning
<i>ʕām</i>	<i>ʕāmin</i>	two years
<i>līl</i>	<i>līltīn</i>	two nights
<i>maṛṛa</i>	<i>maṛtīn</i>	twice
<i>nhār</i>	<i>nharīn</i>	two days
<i>šāʕa</i>	<i>šāʕtīn</i>	two hours
<i>ṣhaṛ</i>	<i>ṣahrīn</i>	two months
<i>tqīqa</i>	<i>tqīqtīn</i>	two minutes

In the case of time expressions, the differentiation between dual and plural is very clear and marked morphologically, e.g., *ṣahrīn–ṣhūr* ‘two months–months’. Therefore, the dual and the plural forms cannot be used interchangeably, as they can in the case of other nouns, e.g., *ʕīnīn–ʕyūn* ‘eyes’.

1.5.2. Plural

Two basic ways of forming the plural can be distinguished. The first one involves addition of a suffix at the end of a noun, while the other can be defined as an ‘internal plural’ and entails rearrangement of the order of the sounds within the word. The dual, as described above, belongs to the former category. Both substantives and adjectives form the dual/plural and very often, when combined, they follow different paths of formation, e.g., *rəžlīn ṭwāl* ‘long legs’, where the first word represents the dual, which is formed externally, and the other the internal plural. As has been pointed out by Cohen (1975, 188), the internal plural is much more prevalent than the external one, and indeed the majority of nouns form their plural in this way. On the other hand, the external plural is applied in words of foreign origin, hence, as observed by Cohen (1975, 188), it has a propensity to expand.

The internal plural will be analysed, together with its patterns, in §3.0; here I will limit myself to presenting the distribution of the external plural. The following suffixes can be distinguished as markers of the external plural:

1. /-īn/

This suffix corresponds to the CA termination *-ūna* / *-īna*, which characterises the so-called *pluralis sanus* (Wright 2005, 192). It can mark the plural of both masculine and feminine nouns (Cohen 1975, 189). As concerns its distribution, below are listed the major grammatical groups in which it appears:

- active and passive participles of the first stem:
ṣāyāš-ṣāyšīn ‘alive’, *dāxəl-dāxlīn* ‘entering’, *xārəž-*

xāržīn ‘exiting’, *məktūb–məktubīn* ‘written’, *maqli–maqliyīn* ‘fried’, *māši–māšiyīn* ‘going’;⁵

- nouns of the pattern with geminated second radical (CvC²C²ṽC) that denote names of professions and occupations, e.g., *kəddāb–kəddābīn* ‘liars’, *šarrāq–šarrāqīn* ‘thieves’, *xabbāž–xabbāžīn* ‘bakers’, *xaddām–xaddāmīn* ‘slaves, workers’;⁶
- adjectives terminating with /-ān/, e.g., *farḥān–farḥānīn* ‘happy’, *ğədbān–ğədbānīn* ‘angry’, *məlyān–məlyānīn* ‘full’, *ḥafyān–ḥafyānīn* ‘barefoot’;
- adjectives terminating with /-i/:⁷ *axxrāni–axxrānīn* ‘last, final’, *fuqqāni–fuqqānīn* ‘upper’, *lūṭāni–lūṭānīn* ‘lower’;
- some adjectives with second radical semi-vowel, e.g., *ḍəyyəq–ḍəyyqīn* ‘narrow’, *məyyət–məyytīn* ‘dead’;
- some adjectives of the pattern CCūC, e.g., *ḥlu–ḥlūwīn* ‘sweet’, *šxūn–šxūnīn* ‘hot’;

⁵ It is worth noting that, in the case of the active participle, the original long /ā/ following the first consonant, e.g., *māši* ‘the one who is going’, is significantly shortened when the plural marker is added, mostly due to the repositioning of the stress.

⁶ It is important to note, however, that these nouns can also form the plural by means of the /-a/ suffix, e.g., *xaddāma* ‘slaves’.

⁷ In Jewish Tunis, this suffix shifts to /-ən/ when added to an adjective ending with /-i/, e.g., *axxrāni–axxrāniyən* ‘last, final’ (Cohen 1975, 190). Contrary to this, in Jewish Gabes, the suffix maintains its original form and, as a result, the /i/ is geminated.

- some adjectives with second and third radicals alike, e.g., *ḥəṛṛ–ḥəṛṛīn* ‘hot’, *ḥayy–ḥayyīn* ‘alive’, *məṛṛ–məṛṛīn* ‘bitter’.

2. /-āt/

The /-āt/ ending has /-wāt/ and /-yāt/ variants, which occur when the noun terminates with /-u/ or /-a/ respectively (Cohen 1912, 296). In Jewish Gabes, as in Jewish Tunis, this suffix is much more frequent than /-īn/ (Cohen 1975, 190). The vast majority of nouns that admit this ending are feminine. The following items form their plural with /-āt/:

- nouns ending with /-a/, e.g., *ḥarka–ḥarkāt* ‘movements’, *qābla–qablāt* ‘midwives’, *ṣəṣra–ṣəṣrāt* ‘trees’. Also included in this category are nouns of unity (singulatives), which usually terminate with /-a/ and are formed from collectives without the /-a/ ending. However, when reference is being made to a real plural, which is usually preceded by a number, rather than to a collective, a plural form is used, e.g., *bəṭṭīx* ‘melons (coll.)’, *bəṭṭīxa* ‘a melon (singulative)’, *tlāta bəṭṭīxāt* ‘three melons’; similarly: *nəmmāla* ‘an ant (singulative)’, *nəmmālāt* ‘ants (PL)’, *xūxa* ‘a peach (singulative)’, *xūxāt* ‘peaches’ (PL);
- some nouns of the pattern CCa, which in the plural admit the suffix /-wāt/, e.g., *bla–blāwāt* ‘disasters’, *ṣla–ṣlāwāt* ‘synagogues’, *šma–šmāwāt* ‘sky’;

- some nouns of the pattern CCa, which in the plural admit the termination /-yāt/, e.g., *dwa-dwāyāt* ‘medicaments’, *ṛḍa-ṛḍāyāt* ‘agreements’;
- some feminine nouns that do not have the typical feminine marker, e.g., *uṃṃ-uṃṃāt* ‘mothers’;
- some masculine nouns admit the /-āt/ ending, e.g., *ḡamm-ḡammāt* ‘paternal uncles’, *lbāš-lbāšāt* ‘clothing’, *qbūr-qbūrāt* ‘graves’, *xāl-xālāt* ‘maternal uncles’, *ḡnāḡ-ḡnāḡāt* ‘wings’, *ḡwāb-ḡwābāt* ‘letters’;
- numerous nouns of foreign origin form their plural with /-āt/, e.g., *ḡāḡūr-ḡāḡūrāt* ‘ships’, *ḡalkūn-ḡalkūnāt* ‘balconies’, *fāmīya-fāmīyāt* ‘families’, *šbīrītu-šbīrītawāt* ‘high-percentage alcohols, poison’.

1.5.3. Collective

The collective as a grammatical notion is on the border between singular and plural. It can be perceived as a separate category of the plural denoting a group of objects without specific individual identities, but at the same time, the plurality it conveys is treated as a unit, hence it is often treated as a type of singular (Ferrando 2011). The Arabic term designating the collective is either *ism al-jins* or *ism al-jamʿ*, indicating that this category covers nouns denoting different species (*jins*) and simultaneously refers to the notion of plurality (*jamʿ*; Dayf 1990, 57). Usually, the use of the collective is determined by the lack of a numerical specification preceding the noun, namely, it never appears when the quantity is clearly specified. In that case, the plural is used instead. Nouns

that form the collective often refer to animals, plants, vegetables, and fruits:

Table 47: Formation of the collective in Jewish Gabes

Singular	Collective	Plural	
<i>bəṭṭīxa</i>	<i>bəṭṭīx</i>	<i>bəṭṭīxāt</i>	‘melons’
<i>xūxa</i>	<i>xūx</i>	<i>xūxāt</i>	‘peaches’
<i>nəmmāla</i>	<i>nəmmāl</i>	<i>nəmmālāt</i>	‘ants’

2.0. Singular Nominal Patterns

2.1. Patterns with One Consonant

This small group includes words which in CA contain *hamza*: *ma* ‘water’ (corresponding to CA *māʔ*), *bu* (corresponding to CA construct state of آب *ʔabū*), *xu* (corresponding to CA construct state of أخ *ʔaxū*; Yoda 2005, 215).

2.2. Patterns with Two Consonants

2.2.1. CṽC

These forms correspond to the CA patterns CṽC, CaʔC, and CawC/CayC and include roots with second radical ʔ/w/y. In Jewish Tunis, the group CawC/CayC has been preserved in an unaltered form, while in Jewish Gabes, the diphthongs have been contracted to a single vowel, namely, /aw/ has contracted either to /ō/ or to /ū/, while /ay/ has contracted to /ī/. This pattern contains, among others, nouns designating collectives which correspond to singulative nouns of the pattern CṽCa.

- a) corresponding to CA CāC/Ca?C:
ṣām ‘year’, *bāb* ‘door’, *ḏār* ‘house’, *fār* ‘mouse’, *fāš* ‘pick-axe, hoe’, *ḥāl* ‘situation’, *kāš* ‘cup’, *nār* ‘fire’, *nāš* ‘people’, *rāš* ‘head’, *rāy* ‘opinion’,⁸ *tāž* ‘crown’, *xāl* ‘maternal uncle’,⁹ *zār* ‘neighbour’;
- b) corresponding to CA CīC/Ci?C:
ṣīd ‘festival’, *bīr* ‘well’, *dīb* ‘wolf’, *dīl* ‘tail’, *dīn* ‘religion, debt’, *fīl* ‘elephant’, *rīḥ* ‘wind’, *rīq* ‘saliva’, *xīr* ‘better’;
- c) corresponding to CA CayC:
ṣīn ‘eye’, *bīt* ‘room’, *dīn* ‘debt’, *gīr* ‘without’, *kīf* ‘enjoyment, pleasure’, *līl* ‘night’, *šīf* ‘summer’, *šīf* ‘sword’, *ṭīr* ‘bird’, *xīr* ‘better’, *xīṭ* ‘thread’, *žīb* ‘pocket’, *žīn* ‘beauty’, *žīt* ‘oil’;
- d) corresponding to CA CūC:
būq ‘trumpet’, *fūl* ‘beans’,¹⁰ *rūḥ* ‘spirit’, *šūq* ‘market’, *šūk* ‘thorn (coll.)’, *tūm* ‘garlic (coll.)’;

⁸ This word can be found in the expression: *kull ḥaḏḏ ṣal rāyu* ‘everyone acts according to their opinion, judgement’.

⁹ This word appears in a proverb related to the relationship between a daughter and her paternal and maternal uncles: *žīt l-ṣammi ṣammāni, žīt l-xāli xallāni* ‘I came to my paternal uncle—he made me blind, I came to my maternal uncle—he secretly talked to me’. Usually, the paternal uncle was perceived as a serious and uncompromising figure, while the maternal one was associated with affection and understanding.

¹⁰ There is an incredibly rich assortment of proverbs and riddles involving this word in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *ṛəḇḇi yaṣṭi əl-fūl li ma ṣandūs əz-zrūs* ‘God gives beans to one who does not have chewing teeth’ (Tobi 2016, 270).

- e) corresponding to CA CawC:
dūd ‘worms (coll.)’, *fūq* ‘above’, *ḥūt* ‘fish’ (coll.),¹¹ *lūn* ‘colour’, *mūt* ‘death’, *ṣūt* ‘voice, sound’, *tūt* ‘berries’ (coll.),
xūx ‘peaches’ (coll.), *ṣūṣ* ‘two’.

2.2.2. CṽCa

This group principally includes feminine nouns of roots with second radical ?/w/y. From a semantic point of view, some nouns of this group designate collectivity.

- a) corresponding to CA CāCah, Ca?Cah:
ḡāba ‘forest’, *ḥāra* ‘Jewish quarter’, *ḥāža* ‘thing, something’, *nāga* ‘female camel’, *šāʿa* ‘hour’, *ṣāra* ‘neighbour (F)’;
- b) corresponding to CA CayCah, CīCah:
bīḍa ‘white (F)’, *dīma* ‘always’, *ḡība* ‘absence’, *ḥīla* ‘fraud’, *mīla* ‘circumcision’, *mīya* ‘hundred’, *rīḥa* ‘smell’, *rīya* ‘lung’, *šīra* ‘side’,¹² *xība* ‘disappointment’;
- c) corresponding to CA CawCa, CūCah:
dūda ‘worm’, *ḍūra* ‘round trip’, *ḥūta* ‘a fish’,¹³ *lūḥa* ‘board, wood’, *šūda* ‘black (F)’, *šūka* ‘thorn’, *tūma* ‘garlic clove’.

¹¹ Due to social taboo, it is prohibited to pronounce this word, and instead the expression *fi-wəṣṣ l-ʿadū* ‘on the face of the enemy’ is used.

¹² This word occurs in the expression *mən šīra wāḥda... wa mən oxra...* ‘on the one hand... on the other...’.

¹³ This word also serves a female name. Interestingly, its diminutive *ḥwīṭa* is a male name (e.g., rabbi Hwita Cohen from Djerba).

2.2.3. CCv

Words classified in this group derive from CA roots with third radical *hamza*, i.e., CvCā?, and words with third radical semi-vowel:

ʕša ‘stick’, ʕša ‘dinner’,¹⁴ bla ‘problems, worries’,¹⁵ dwa ‘medicine’, ʕlu ‘sweet’, ʕma ‘mother-in-law’,¹⁶ kra ‘rent’, mra ‘woman’, rda ‘God’s will’, šma ‘sky’, šta ‘winter’, šla ‘synagogue’ (< CA *šalāh*), šqa ‘fatigue’.

2.2.4. vCC

Words in this group derive from CA words with first radical *alif*:

āmš ‘yesterday’, aṛḍ ‘soil, Earth’, ašm ‘name’, ašl ‘origin’, umm/om̄m ‘mother’.

¹⁴ This corresponds to the CA word *ʕašāʔ* which was originally masculine. Jewish Gabes has retained the masculine gender of this word and therefore the final /a/ does not turn into /t/ when a personal pronoun is added, e.g., *ʕašāna* ‘our dinner’. Contrary to this, in Jewish Tripoli, this word is feminine (Yoda 2005, 218).

¹⁵ This noun designating troubles and quarrels appears in the following proverb: *yəṭṭab l-bla, lqa l-bla qāllu: əža ʕandi* ‘the person who is looking for troubles, found troubles and told them: come to me’—meaning that problematic people attract problems by themselves.

¹⁶ In Djerba, the word for mother-in-law is *ʕažūža*, literally ‘old woman’. The figure of the mother-in-law occurs in a plethora of poems, songs, and proverbs used in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *məktūb ʕla bāb əž-žənnā / ʕatta ʕma ma θabb əl-kənnā* ‘On the door of the Garden of Eden is written: no mother-in-law likes her bride’ (see Tobi 2016, 314).

2.2.5. CāCi

From a diachronic perspective, items belonging to this group should be classified as trilateral words of the pattern *fāʿil*, since in CA, many of them have either *hamza* or /y/ as their third radical. Nonetheless, the final consonants have been reduced without any compensatory vowel lengthening, and therefore, on the synchronic level, roots with third radical *hamza* or /y/ belonging in CA to the pattern *fāʿil* should be classified as CāCi:

- a) corresponding to CA third radical *hamza*:
dāfi ‘mild, warm’, *ḥāfi* ‘barefoot’,¹⁷ *wāṭi* ‘low, flat’, *xāṭi* ‘not belonging to anyone’;
- b) corresponding to CA third radical /y/:
bāhi ‘good’, *ḡāli* ‘expensive’, *lāhi* ‘busy, occupied’, *ṣāfi* ‘clear, pure’, *tāli* ‘last, previous’, *tāni* ‘second’.

2.2.6. CvCa

The word *lūṭa* ‘ground, floor’ is the only item attested in this pattern. It appears in two variants with different stress placement, i.e., *lūṭa* ‘down’, and *lūṭá* ‘floor’. The latter has a shorter variant, *wṭa*.¹⁸

¹⁷ Apart from its basic meaning, this word also denotes a lack of any additions, e.g., *āna ka-nākāl xabṣ ḥāfi* ‘I am eating bread without anything’, i.e., there is nothing on the top of the slice.

¹⁸ The equivalent of this word in the northern communities, like Moknin and Tunis, is *qāṣa*.

2.3. Patterns with Three Consonants

The nominal forms with one short vowel before or after the second radical constitute the biggest group among all the patterns in the Maghrebi dialects. This group covers a wide array of nominal patterns known from CA, which, due to various historical changes like reduction of the vowel system or disappearance of *hamza*, have lost their distinctiveness from one another. In addition, in Jewish Gabes, as in many other Maghrebi dialects, there is a general tendency to geminate the last consonant in monosyllabic words, and therefore words that, in CA, had two consonants, like فم ‘mouth’ or يد ‘hand’, are, on the synchronic level, trilateral, i.e., *fuṃṃ*, *yədd*.

2.3.1. CvCC

- three strong consonants, $C^1vC^2C^3$:
ʕarš ‘wedding’, *ʕaql* ‘brain’, *baʕd* ‘after, afterwards’, *bənt* ‘girl, daughter’, *bard* ‘cold’, *ḏuww* ‘light’, *farx* ‘little bird, bastard, naughty child’, *ǧalt* ‘errors (coll.)’, *ḥabš* ‘prison’, *fərn* ‘oven’, *kəbš* ‘lamb’, *kəlb* ‘dog’,¹⁹ *məlḥ* ‘salt’, *nəfš* ‘spirit’, *qəlb* ‘heart, centre’, *ʕarq* ‘east’, *ʕarf* ‘change (coins)’, *šəlf* ‘brother-in-law’, *šəməš* ‘sun’, *taʕb* ‘tiredness’, *taḥt* ‘under, beneath’, *taʕf* ‘piece’, *təʕž* ‘snow’, *waqt* ‘time’, *xabž* ‘bread’, *xamš* ‘five’, *žəld* ‘leather’, *žənš* ‘kind’;

¹⁹ This word served also as a disdainful synonym for ‘Jewish’ among Muslim speakers of Gabes Arabic. Interestingly, Jews used to refer to Muslims in the same way, changing the initial /k/ into /x/, i.e., *xlāb* ‘Muslims’ (disdainful).

- second and third radical alike, C¹vC²C²:
baṛṛ ‘continent, remote place’, *bəyy* ‘ruler, bey’, *dəmm* ‘blood’, *fəmm* ‘mouth’, *ḥašš* ‘voice’, *ḥaqq* ‘justice’, *ḥažž* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’, *maxx* ‘brain’, *məṛṛ* ‘bitter’, *qadd* ‘size’, *ṣaṛṛ* ‘secret, mystery’, *šənn* ‘tooth’, *šəyy* ‘nothing’, *yədd* ‘hand’, *wəžž* ‘face’, *xədd* ‘cheek’, *žədd* ‘grandfather, ancestor’.

2.3.2. CCvC

ʕbəd ‘man’, *ʕdəš* ‘lentils’, *ʕmər* ‘age’, *ʕqal* ‘intelligence’, *ʕraq* ‘sweat’, *ʕšəl* ‘honey’, *bdən* ‘body, corpse’,²⁰ *bḥaṛ* ‘sea’, *blaḥ* ‘dates (coll.)’, *braq* ‘lightning (coll.)’, *bšal* ‘onion (coll.)’, *bṭan* ‘stomach’,²¹ *ḥbəl* ‘rope’, *ḥnəš* ‘snake’, *ḥṭab* ‘fire logs (coll.)’, *qwəy* ‘strong’, *mṭaṛ* ‘rain’, *nšər* ‘eagle’, *šṭar* ‘hair’, *šbaṭ* ‘finger’, *šqaf* ‘roof’, *šdər* ‘chest, breast’, *tlət* ‘a third’, *tmən* ‘eighth’, *wdən* ‘ear’, *xšəm* ‘nose’, *žbəl* ‘mountain’, *žməl* ‘camel’, *žnəb* ‘side’.

2.3.3. CvCCa

This category includes a wide array of grammatical forms. Many words classified here are feminine counterparts of the patterns CvCC and CCvC, feminine nouns designating abstract objects,

²⁰ A more popular word for ‘body’ in Jewish Gabes is the Hebrew word *gūf*. The word *bdən* appears, however, in the expression *šəḥḥat bdən* ‘good physical condition’.

²¹ In Jewish Tunis, this word has two variants, namely, it appears also with a short vowel after the first consonant. Contrary to this, in Jewish Gabes, only *bṭan* is used. The communities in the North use *žūf* as the word for ‘stomach’.

and feminine names of colours. In addition, singulative forms of collectives of the pattern CCvC have been included here:

- three different consonants, C¹vC²C³a:
ṣaḍma ‘egg’,²² *ṣafya* ‘fire’, *ṣaqrāb* ‘scorpion’,²³ *baqra* ‘cow’,
bālḥa ‘a date’, *bālga* ‘slipper’, *baṣla* ‘an onion’,²⁴ *ḍarba*
‘blow, bump’, *dānya* ‘world’, *dāxla* ‘entry’, *farḥa*
‘happiness’, *fərṣa* ‘mare’, *ḡadwa* ‘tomorrow’, *ḡaṣra* ‘worry’,
ḥamra ‘red (F)’,²⁵ *ḥalwa* ‘candies (coll.)’, *kālba* ‘bitch’,
kālma ‘word’, *kālša* ‘sock’, *kāmša* ‘handful’, *kāšwa*
‘costume, clothing’, *laḡwa* ‘language’, *lahya* ‘beard’, *nādwa*
‘dew’, *nāšda* ‘question’, *nāxla* ‘palm tree’, *qaffa* ‘basket’,

²² In Jewish Tripoli, *dāhya* is used instead (Yoda 2005, 321). Interestingly, in Jewish Gabes, the word *ṣaḍma* has bad connotations linked to the evil eye, similarly to the number five. Euphemistically, speakers use *ṣīn l-ṣadu* ‘the eye of the enemy’ as the equivalent of ‘egg’.

²³ The figure of the scorpion in folktales and proverbs is a symbol of danger, e.g., *rābbi u l-ṣaqrāb rādḍi bālāk taqrāb* ‘it is better to avoid rabbi and scorpion’.

²⁴ Onion, similarly to beans, appears in multiple folktales, proverbs, and expressions, e.g., *bṣaltu ṭharqət*, literally: ‘his onion got burned’, an expression used for a person who is in a hurry without any reason.

²⁵ All the names of colours have ultimate stress, unlike in Jewish Tunis, where they have penultimate stress. In terms of stress placement in adjectives, Jewish Gabes seems to be somewhere in the middle between Jewish Tunis, where all the female adjectives are paroxytone, and Jewish Tripoli, in which the stress falls on the last syllable (Cohen 1975, 150; Yoda 2005, 200).

qahwa ‘coffee’, *šaʕra* ‘hair’,²⁶ *šaḥba* ‘friendship’, *šaḥra* ‘desert’, *šaḥba* ‘drinking’, *šaḥrá* ‘yellow (F)’, *šəmʕa* ‘candle’, *ṭawla* ‘table’, *xabḥa* ‘bread’, *warta* ‘heritage’, *wəzga* ‘lizard’, *xadrá* ‘green (F)’, *yəbḥa* ‘needle’, *zəḥqa* ‘blind alley’, *zarqá* ‘blue (F)’, *zərwa* ‘puppy’.

- second and third radical alike, C¹vC²C²a:

banna ‘taste’, *barra* ‘outside’, *ḥakka* ‘little box for tobacco’, *ḥanna* ‘henna’, *marra* ‘time’, *nəffa* ‘tobacco’, *šabba* ‘reason’, *šanna* ‘custom, habit’, *šaḥḥa* ‘health’, *šawwa* ‘desert’, *tuwwa* ‘now’.

2.3.4. CṽCvC

The words that belong to this pattern are principally active participles of the CA pattern *fāʕil* that have lost their verbal properties and started functioning as substantives. The phenomenon of the transition of this pattern from a verbal form into a noun is already known from CA (Wright 2005, 130). In fact, as is shown in chapter 6, §2.7.3, *fāʕil* bearing the meaning of an active participle survived in Jewish Gabes only in some isolated forms. Finally, the ordinal numbers have been assigned to this group:

ʕāṣər ‘tenth’, *bārəd* ‘cold’, *ḡāmaq* ‘dark’, *ḥāḍar* ‘ready, prepared’, *ḥāḍaq* ‘stingy’, *ḥāḍəš* ‘eleventh’, *ḥāyəf* ‘barefoot’, *ḥāžəb*

²⁶ The figure of a hair appears in the blessing against the evil eye: *ynaḥḥi mənnək əl-ʕīn kif ma ynaḥḥi w šaʕra mən ʕažīn* ‘may the evil eye leave you like a hair is taken out of the dough’. Interestingly, a similar use of the image of a hair appears in the Babylonian Talmud in the context of a painless death: מיתת נשיקה – דמיא כמשחל בניתא מחלבא ‘painless death is similar to the removal of the hair from the milk’ (b. Berakhot 8a).

‘eyebrow’,²⁷ *kātāb* ‘scribe’, *mālah* ‘salty’, *rābaʿ* ‘fourth’, *rāẓal* ‘man’, *ṣāḥab* ‘friend’, *ṣārāq* ‘thief’, *ṣāyab* ‘hard, difficult’, *ṣābaʿ* ‘seventh’, *ṣāḥad* ‘witness’, *ṣāḥal* ‘easy’, *ṣārāb* ‘lip’, *ṣātāt* ‘sixth’, *tālāt* ‘third’, *tāmān* ‘eighth’, *tānāš* ‘twelfth’, *tāšaʿ* ‘ninth’, *wāḥad* ‘one, someone’, *xādām* ‘slave’,²⁸ *xāmāš* ‘fifth’, *žāyad* ‘additional’.

2.3.5. CṽCCa

This group comprises the feminine counterparts of items belonging to the pattern CṽCvC. The addition of the final /-a/ brings about a change in the syllable structure in order to avoid a short vowel in an open syllable:

- three regular consonants, C¹ṽC²C³a:
ṣālya ‘tall’ (F), *ṣāšra* ‘tenth’ (F), *būnya* ‘fist’ (< Ital. *pugno*), *fāyda* ‘benefit’, *ḡālya* ‘expensive’ (F), *ḥādša* ‘eleventh’ (F), *qābla* ‘midwife’, *rābša* ‘fourth’ (F), *ṣābša* ‘seventh’ (F), *ṣāḥba* ‘female friend’, *šāyba* ‘old woman’, *tālta* ‘third’, *tāmna* ‘eighth’ (F), *tānya* ‘second’ (F), *ṭānša* ‘twelfth’ (F), *xāmša* ‘fifth’ (F), *žābya* ‘pool’;

²⁷ This word appears in the expression: *ḥāẓb tāʿ hlālī* ‘the moon eyebrow’, describing a pretty woman.

²⁸ Even though, morphologically, this word should be perceived as masculine, it was used to indicate slaves of both genders and mostly female ones. It is accompanied by a female demonstrative pronoun, e.g., *ḥādi ʔl-xādām* ‘this female slave’, and when a pronominal suffix is added, it acquires the feminine marker, e.g., *xadāmti* ‘my female slave’.

- second and third radical alike, $C^1\bar{v}C^2C^2a$:
dāṛra ‘second wife’, *šābba* ‘pretty, beautiful’, *šātta* ‘sixth (F)’.

2.3.6. $CC\bar{v}C$

The historical development of the CA vowel system that has led to the reduction of short vowels in open syllables in the Maghrebi dialects has significantly contributed to the productivity of this pattern: the classical patterns *faṣāl*, *fuṣāl*, and *fiṣāl*—and their feminine counterparts with the /-a/ suffix—after losing the short vowel in the first syllable, shifted to the pattern $CC\bar{v}C$ (Cohen 1975, 154).

- three regular consonants, $C^1C^2\bar{v}C^3$:
blād ‘city’, *ḍlām* ‘darkness’, *flān* ‘anonymous’, *ḥmār* ‘donkey’, *ḥṣān* ‘horse’, *ḥžām* ‘belt, loins’,²⁹ *nzās* ‘pears (coll.)’, *qbūr* ‘grave’, *ṛmād* ‘ashes’, *ṣrāb* ‘wine’, *šlām* ‘peace’, *šmāḥ* ‘pardon’, *šrāḥ* ‘permission’, *štār* ‘curtain’, *trāb* ‘soil’, *wṣīf* ‘black person’, *yṣār* ‘left’, *žmān* ‘time’,³⁰ *žnāḥ* ‘wing’, *žwāb* ‘response, letter’;
- second and third consonant alike, $C^1C^2\bar{v}C^2$:
ṛṣāṣ ‘lead’, *ṣqāq* ‘exterior, street’.

²⁹ In Jewish Gabes this word serves for both ‘belt’ and ‘loins’. It appears in the blessing: *ṛṣalla žgārək mən ḥžārək* ‘may your offspring come out of your loins’.

³⁰ This word connotes a higher register, while *wuqt* is used in an ordinary communicative situation.

2.3.7. CCvCa

This group contains only physical objects and abstract nouns:

dbāra ‘advice’, *ḥkāya* ‘story’, *mrāya* ‘mirror’,³¹ *mšāḥa* ‘towel’, *ṇzāša* ‘pear’, *qrāya* ‘lecture, reading’, *krūma* ‘neck’, *rxāma* ‘marble’, *šnāša* ‘custom’, *šxāna* ‘heat’, *zyāra* ‘visit to a holy site’.

2.3.8. CCiC

The pattern CCiC corresponds to the CA pattern *faṣīl* and covers many adjectives, as well as some collectives:

- three regular consonants, C¹C²iC³:
bṣīd ‘distant, remote’, *ḍṣīf* ‘skinny, slim’, *mlīḥ* ‘good’, *ṇrīd* ‘sick’, *nšīb* ‘a person close to the family’, *qdīm* ‘old’, *qrīb* ‘close’, *qṣīr* ‘short’, *šṣīr* ‘barley’, *šmīn* ‘fat’, *ṭwīl* ‘long’, *xrīf* ‘autumn’, *zḡīr* ‘small’, *žbīb* ‘raisins’,³² *žmīṣ* ‘together’, *žrīd* ‘palms (coll.)’;
- second and third consonant alike, C¹C²iC²:
bnīn ‘tasty’, *ḥdīd* ‘iron’, *ḥrīr* ‘silk’, *ḥšīš* ‘herb’, *šḥīḥ* ‘healthy’, *xṣīf* ‘light’, *ždīd* ‘new’.

2.3.9. CCiCa

- three regular consonants, C¹C²iC³a:
dbīḥa ‘slaughter’, *ktība* ‘writing’, *mžīya* ‘favour’, *nbīla* ‘kind of bracelet’, *qṭīla* ‘killing’, *tnīya* ‘route, way’;

³¹ The plural form of this noun, *mrāyāt*, means also ‘glasses’.

³² This occurs in a proverb related to friendship: *māṣand ḥbība ḥatta žbība*, literally: ‘from a friend, even a raisin’, meaning that even a small gift from a friend brings a lot of joy.

- second and third consonant alike, C¹C²īC²a:
ḥdīda ‘bracelet’, *tšiša* ‘a bit’ (mostly used in Djerba).

2.3.10. CCūC

- three regular consonants, C¹C²ūC³:
dxūl ‘entering’,³³ *flūš* ‘money’, *šxūn/šxūn* ‘hot’, *xrūž* ‘leaving’;
- second and third consonant alike, C¹C²ūC²:
ḥmūm ‘soot, bad thing, misery’.

2.3.11. CCūCa

- three regular consonants, C¹C²ūC³a:
fqūba ‘punishment’, *flūka* ‘ship, boat’, *ḥrūša* ‘bride’;
- second and third consonant alike, C¹C²ūC²a:
šžūža ‘old woman’, *ḍrūra* ‘harm’.

2.3.12. C¹vC²C²āC³

The aforementioned process of the loss of short vowels in open syllables has brought about a vast unification of various intensive patterns known from CA, which have as a distinctive feature the gemination of the second radical followed by a long vowel. Historically, the CvCCāC pattern comprises principally nouns indicating professions, but the whole CvCCvC group includes also some intensive adjectives (Wright 2005, 137). The patterns with

³³ *dxūl* designates the action of entering, as opposed to *daxla*, which means the physical entrance of a house. The night of the wedding, the Hebrew ליל החופה, is called in Jewish Gabes *līlāt əd-dxūl*, namely the night when the bride enters the house of the groom.

geminated second radical are often called ‘intensive’, as they denote agents who repeatedly perform an action (Cohen 1975, 162):

- three different consonants, $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3$:
bənnāy ‘builder’, *bəyyāʔ* ‘vendor’, *dəbbāg* ‘tanner’,³⁴ *dəbbāḥ* ‘butcher’, *dəbbān* ‘flies (coll.)’, *dəllāʔ* ‘watermelon’, *dəxxān* ‘smoker’, *fəllāḥ* ‘farmer’, *gəddāb* ‘liar’, *gənnāy* ‘singer’, *ḥammāl* ‘porter’, *ḥaššād* ‘jealous person’,³⁵ *ḥawwāt* ‘fisherman’, *ṣəyyād* ‘hunter’, *šəbbāt* ‘Sabbath’, *təffāḥ* ‘apples (coll.)’, *ṭabbāx* ‘cook’, *xabbāž* ‘baker’, *xannāb* ‘thief’, *xarrāž* ‘outdoors merchant’, *xawwān* ‘swindler, fraud’, *xəyyāt* ‘tailor’, *ṣəḇḇāt* ‘shoe’;
- second and third radicals alike, $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^2$:
ʕaššāš ‘guard, watchman’, *ḥaddād* ‘blacksmith’, *ḥammām* ‘bath’, *ḥaṭṭāb* ‘lumberjack’.

2.3.13. $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3a$

Most of the items in this group designate feminine names of occupations, as well as names of instruments and tools:

³⁴ This appears in the proverb: *əbtən ətžīb sabbāg o dəbbāg* ‘the same belly can give birth to either a tanner or a painter’, meaning that the same mother can give birth to two very different children.

³⁵ The figure of the jealous person is strongly connected to the phenomenon of the evil eye, and the word *ḥaššād* therefore appears in multiple proverbs and prayers against the evil eye, which are called *təlwīda*, e.g., *ʕīn l-aḥšūd fīha ʕūd*, *məḥ wəddād fī ʕīn əl-ḥaššād* ‘splinter in the eye of jealousy, salt and repelling smoke in the eye of a jealous person’ (Tobi 2016, 286).

dabbāna ‘fly’, *fəllāya* ‘thin comb’, *məllāḥa* ‘salt cellar’, *nəmmāla* ‘ant’, *ṣəkrāna* ‘drunk (F)’, *xarrāfa* ‘story, anecdote’, *zəffāra* ‘whistle’, *žəbbāna* ‘cemetery’, *žərrāya* ‘mattress’.

2.3.14. C¹vC²C²ūC³

As has been noted by Cohen (1975, 164), the aspect of intensity is hardly perceivable in this pattern. It includes, nevertheless, some items denoting tools and concrete substantives:

ʕallūš ‘lamb’, *bəkkūš* ‘mute’, *fərrūž* ‘cock’, *faqqūš* ‘cucumbers (coll.)’, *kəmmūn* ‘cumin’, *qaṭṭūš* ‘cat’, *šəllūm* ‘ladder’, *xarrūb* ‘carobs (coll.)’, *žəllūž* ‘almonds (coll.)’.

2.3.15. C¹vC²C²ūC³a

ḡallūta ‘earring’, *dabbūža* ‘bottle’, *kəmmūna* ‘Kəmmūna’ (female proper name), *žəllūža* ‘almond’.

2.3.16. C¹vC²C²īC³

bəṭṭīx ‘melons (coll.)’, *šəbbīk* ‘window’.³⁶

2.3.17. C¹vC²C²īC³a

rəṭṭīla ‘spider’ (possibly < Ital. *rangatela* ‘spiderweb’), *šəkkīna*³⁷ ‘knife’, *šurriya* ‘shirt’.

³⁶ There exists also a variant *šəbbāk*.

³⁷ This item in Jewish Tunis is masculine and has the form *šəkkīn* (Cohen 1975, 185).

2.4. Patterns with Four Consonants

It is rather difficult to ascribe one specific semantic value to this pattern. In some respects, it collects items of similar meaning to words of the $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{v}C^3$ pattern, namely, nouns denoting instruments and professions. Additionally, items of a foreign provenance have been included in this paradigm. It is worth noting that many of the items found here in fact repeat the first two consonants of the root in the second syllable of the word, i.e., $C^1vC^2C^1\bar{v}C^2$.

- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{v}C^4$:
fənžān ‘coffee cup’, *məšmāš* ‘apricots (coll.)’, *qəbqāb* ‘wooden shoe’, *ṣəltān* ‘sultan’, *ṣəmsār* ‘mediator, go-between’;
- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{v}C^4a$:
məšmāša ‘apricot’, *ṣaqṣāqa* ‘savings box, puppet making noise’, *ṣaqlāla* ‘scandal’, *ṣərlīya* ‘lock’;
- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{u}C^4$:
baṣbūṣ ‘female reproductive organ’,³⁸ *barkūn* ‘balcony’,³⁹ *darbūž* ‘balustrade’, *gənfūd* ‘hedgehog’,⁴⁰ *karmūš* ‘figs’

³⁸ Surprisingly, this rather low-register and vulgar word denotes, in Jewish Tunis, the tail of an animal (Cohen 1975, 170). Due to the connotation of this word, Jewish speakers from Gabes use *dīl* to denote ‘tail’.

³⁹ This word comes from Italian and appears also as *balkūn* due to the interchanges of the liquids.

⁴⁰ The hedgehog is a symbol of something unimportant and insignificant. It appears in the proverb: *Ṣīṭa u šhūd Ṣal dbīḥāt gənfūd*, literally ‘shouting and testimony because of the slaughter of a hedgehog’, meaning that there is a lot of fuss for no significant reason.

(coll.)', *šəlšūl* 'spinal column', *šərdūk* 'cock', *šəndūq* 'box, case', *zərbūf* 'rat';

- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{u}C^4a$:
ħarbūša 'pill', *gərzūma* 'throat',⁴¹ *šakšūka* 'shakshouka',
xənfūša 'beetle, cockroach';
- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{i}C^4$:
barmīl 'barrel',⁴² *yašmīn* 'jasmine (coll.)';
- $C^1vC^2C^3vC^4$:
fəlfəl 'pepper', *kərkəm* 'turmeric', *šaħlāb* 'sweet beverage
made of sorghum', *zəftər* 'thyme';
- $C^1Cv^2C^3C^4$:
krəmb 'cabbage', *šfanž* 'doughnut';
- $C^1vC^2C^3C^4a$:
fədkla 'joke', *žəlzla* 'earthquake'.

2.5. Items with Five Consonants

This small group contains mostly items of foreign origin: *sfaržəl* 'quinces (coll.)', *qranfəl* 'carnation', *zmagārd* 'emerald'.

⁴¹ On the metaphorical level, this word serves also as a synonym for 'beautiful voice', e.g., *šandu gərzūma* 'he has beautiful voice, he sings very well'.

⁴² Metaphorically, this word also designates an obese person.

2.6. Patterns with Prefixes

2.6.1. Prefix /m-/

As has been noticed by Yoda (2005, 233), patterns with the prefix /m-/ represent a wide array of morphological functions, including names of places and names of instruments, as well as verbal nouns, participles of derived stems, and passive participles of the first stem. Many of the passive participles have acquired properties of nouns and function in the dialect as items independent from the verbal form.

- mvCāC:
məžān ‘scale’;
- mvCCūC:
mahbūl ‘crazy, insane’, *maḥlūl* ‘open’, *məktūb* ‘written’, *maqrūd* ‘sweet pastry made of honey’, *mazrūḥ* ‘hurt, wounded’, *məlbūs* ‘dressed’;
- mvCCāC:
məftāḥ ‘key’, *məṣmār* ‘nail’;
- mvCCvC:
mənkəb ‘elbow’,⁴³ *məšlām* ‘Muslim’, *maxžən* ‘storeroom, shed’, *məžləš* ‘council’;
- mCvCCa:
mğərfa ‘spoon’, *mṭərqa* ‘hammer’;

⁴³ This item appears in the proverb: *mūt l-nṛa l-rāžəl kif dəṛḃa fi-l-mənkəb tūžaf wa fišfa təmši* ‘when one’s wife dies it is like hitting an elbow—it hurts a lot, but it goes away quickly’.

- mvCCāCa:
mərwāḥa ‘fan’.

2.6.2. Prefix /v-/

Historically, this pattern corresponds to CA *ʔaffal* and includes adjectives in the comparative and superlative. Names of colours and physical features are also classified in this group.

- vCCv
Nouns classified in this pattern have as the third radical of their root /w/ or /y/:
aḥla ‘sweeter’ (< *ḥlūw*), *aḡla* ‘more expensive’ (< *ḡālī*);
- vCCvC:
abrəd ‘colder’, *aḃyəd* ‘white’, *aḃyəq* ‘narrower’, *aḥdəq* ‘stingier’, *aḥmar* ‘red’, *akbər* ‘bigger’, *ašwəd* ‘blacker’, *aṭṭaṣ* ‘deaf’, *awšaf* ‘wider’, *aḃfəf* ‘easier’, *aḃḡər* ‘smaller’.

2.7. Patterns with Suffixes

2.7.1. Suffix /-ān/

In Jewish Gabes, as in other Maghrebi dialects, this scheme corresponds to the CA forms *faṣlān*, *fuṣlān*, and *fiṣlān* (Wright 2005, 111). As has been pointed out by Cohen (1912, 281), this suffix indicates a state, rather than a quality. From a morphological point of view, many of the items in this group are verbal nouns of the first stem.

- three regular consonants:
ʕaryān ‘naked’, *ʕaṭšān* ‘thirsty’, *bənyān* ‘action of constructing’, *ḡoḏlān* ‘gazelles (coll.)’, *ḥafyān* ‘barefoot’, *ṣəkrān*

‘drunk’, *šəryān* ‘buying, action of purchase’, *žafān* ‘hungry’.

2.7.2. Suffix /-i/

As in CA, the /-i/ suffix is added to nouns to turn them into adjectives, i.e., designating the property denoted by the root. From a morphological point of view, compared to CA, in the Maghrebi dialects, this suffix has been reduced to a single /-i/ vowel, which corresponds to the suffix /-ya/ in the feminine. Among many functions of this suffix, it is worth noting that, when added to the name of a country or city, it designates nationality or provenience, e.g., *tūnəš* ‘Tunis’–*tūnši* ‘Tunisian’.

- CṽCi:
žiri ‘Algerian’;
- CvCCi:
baḥri ‘marine, western’,⁴⁴ *gabši* ‘from Gabes’, *mašri* ‘Egyptian’, *šayfi* ‘summery’, *šətwi* ‘wintry’, *žərbi* ‘from Djerba’;
- CṽCCi / CCṽCi:
flāni ‘anonymous’, *grīgi* ‘Greek’, *šwāki* ‘brown-red’.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The basic meaning of this adjective is ‘marine’, as it derives from *bḥar* ‘sea’. However, probably due to association with the sunset, it also means ‘western’. In Jewish Gabes, this form replaced the original CA word for ‘western’, i.e., *garbi*.

⁴⁵ This word designates also shells of unripe nuts which were used by women to dye their lips. Chewing the peel gave the lips a brown-red tinge, hence the name of the colour. In addition, these nutshells were used to dye clothes. The colour of clothes dyed in this way is called *ḥrām šwāki*.

2.7.3. Suffix /-īya/

gabšīya ‘woman from Gabes’,⁴⁶ *grīgrīya* ‘Greek woman’, *tūnšīya* ‘woman from Tunis’, *žīrīya* ‘woman from Algeria’ (also a female proper name), *žərbīya* ‘woman from Djerba’.

2.7.4. Suffix /-āni/

The morpheme /-āni/ is characteristic of adjectives formed from prepositions denoting location or time, hence Cohen (1975, 180) calls them “the adjectives of position:”

axrāni ‘last, the one that is at the end’, *barrāni* ‘external, foreigner, the one that is outside’, *daxlāni* ‘interior, the one that is inside’, *fuqqāni* ‘the one that is below, beneath’, *lūtāni* ‘lower, the one that is on the ground’, *wuṣṭāni* ‘middle, the one that is between’.

2.7.5. Suffix /-ži/

This suffix is of Turkish origin and designates names of professions. As mentioned by Cohen (1975, 180), the morpheme in question is already attested in CA, but its distribution in the Tunisian dialect intensified over time:

ḥammāmži ‘owner of the hammam’, *qahwāži* ‘owner of the coffee shop’.

⁴⁶ This word appears in the proverb: *ya wāxəd gabšāya, tənṭra sala mšīya* ‘when a man gets married to a woman from Gabes, she is like a precious date’.

2.7.6. Suffix /-ūt/

Similarly to the morpheme mentioned above, the suffix /-ūt/ is also of foreign origin, namely, it is a loan from Hebrew. In Jewish Gabes, as in Hebrew, it denotes abstract nouns. Some words with this ending have been assimilated into the dialect whole, while others have an Arabic root combined with the Hebrew suffix:

šahhūt ‘avarice’,⁴⁷ *tmimūt* ‘naivety’, *xzariūt* ‘cruelty’.

2.8. Irregular Nouns

This group contains nouns that are formed irregularly and to which no CA pattern can be ascribed. The vast majority of them are loans from other languages, mostly Italian, Turkish, French, and Spanish:

buḷṣu ‘wrist’ (< Ital. *polso*), *brūdu* ‘stock’ (< Ital. *brodo*), *fāmīlya* ‘family’ (< Ital. *famiglia*), *gəṛṛa* ‘war’ (< Ital. *guerra*), *gūf* ‘body’ (< Heb. גוף), *mīstru* ‘teacher, professor’ (< Ital. *maestro*), *mubīlya* ‘furniture’ (< Ital. *mobilia*), *rfūa* ‘medicine, medication’ (< Heb. רפואה), *rīgālu* ‘gift’ (< Ital. *regalo*), *ḥānūt* ‘shop’ (< Heb. חנות), *tīla* (< Sp. *tela*) ‘fabric’.

⁴⁷ While the other two words listed here are of clearly Hebrew provenience, the case of *šahhūt* is interesting from both a morphological and an etymological point of view. It consists of the Arabic root *š.h.h.*, to which has been agglutinated the Hebrew morpheme /-ūt/. The basic meaning of the root is ‘dry’, which was subsequently extended to denote also lack of generosity.

3.0. Internal Plural Patterns

As I have already mentioned in §1.5.2, there exist in Jewish Gabes two types of plural, namely the external, which is formed by the addition of fixed suffixes, and the internal, which is characterised by a high degree of unpredictability. The formation of the internal plural is based on the allomorphy developed by the transition of a singular pattern into a different syllabic structure denoting the plural. This change might involve the input of additional consonants or vowels of a new quality (Ratcliffe 2011). As observed by Cohen (1975, 194), the number of possible plural patterns has significantly shrunk compared to CA. In Jewish Tunis, seventeen patterns are attested, as opposed to the twenty-six of the classical language. Wright (2005, 199) gives an even higher number, twenty-nine, of which five are defined as rare. As in the case of singular patterns, the reason behind this reduction is the loss of *hamza* and elision of short vowels in open syllables.

In the vast majority of grammars, both of CA and of Maghrebi dialects, the topic of the broken plural is limited to an analytic presentation of all the attested patterns along with their examples; sporadically, the corresponding singular patterns are given. As argued by Ratcliffe (2011), this approach might suggest that the broken plural is formed in a completely random way and there is no phonological or morphological motivation behind the way the singular is associated with the plural. However, numerous studies have undermined this assumption, showing that the distribution of the plural patterns is conditioned by a few factors. For CA, five principal criteria have been established with reference to the singular form that determine the distribution of its

plural counterpart: (1) prosodic structure of the singular stem, moraic, then syllabic; (2) presence of the gender marker; (3) quality of the stem vowel; (4) word class (adjective/noun); (5) rational or non-rational referent (Ratcliffe 2002, 89). These factors differ in terms of their nature, namely, (1) and (3) are phonological, (2) is formal, and (4) and (5) are functional. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to build any taxonomy of the singular based on all the criteria. Ratcliffe chose the first three factors, grouping the singular patterns into six categories and assigning to them attested plural patterns. This scheme involves only items attested in CA and shows that both phonological factors (e.g., presence of a glide or a weak consonant) and morphological ones (e.g., gender marker) condition the choice of a plural pattern.

As has already been mentioned previously, the system of plural patterns in modern dialects of Arabic is considerably different from the one described above. One might posit a question as to whether the incorporation of new nouns in modern dialects leads to the reinforcement of already existing patterns, or, on the contrary, brings about the emergence of new allomorphs. Ratcliffe (2002, 103) studied a corpus of nouns in Moroccan Arabic and reached the conclusion that the natural loss of allomorphs is followed by changes in the distribution of others, and, finally, by the creation of new patterns. This discovery provides evidence that native speakers are indeed capable of developing new grammatical rules regarding the allomorphs, and therefore that they possess deep morphological comprehension.

The present section will therefore have three principal aims: (1) presentation of the collected data, (2) establishment of

possible rules conditioning the association of singular patterns with a given plural allomorph, (3) detection of possible new internal plural patterns in Jewish Gabes.

3.1. Patterns with Two Consonants and One Long Vowel

- CūC:
dūd (< *dūda*) ‘worms’, *ṣūd* (< *aṣwad*) ‘black’;
- CīC:
ḥīl (< *ḥāyl*) ‘not fertilised’;
- CCa:
nša ‘women’.⁴⁸

3.2. Patterns with Three Consonants

3.2.1. CCvC

As this allomorph is associated with several singular patterns, I will break down the paradigms according to their singular forms:

- a) singular feminine forms of the pattern CvCCa:
ṣḍam (< *ṣaḍma*) ‘eggs’, *ṣlāb* (< *ṣalba*) ‘tins’, *ṣlāq* (< *ṣalqa*) ‘leeches’, *ṣṛam* (< *ṣarṃa*) ‘piles’, *ḡlāl* (< *ḡalla*) ‘fruits’, *ṣṇaq* (< *ṣṇqa*) ‘blind alleys’;
- b) singular nouns and adjectives with long /ī/:
qdām (< *qdim*) ‘old’, *ṭraq* (< *ṭriq*) ‘roads’, *ḡdād* (< *ḡdīd*) ‘new’;

⁴⁸ There exists also another variant of the plural of this word, found predominantly in Bedouin dialects, namely, *nšāwīn* ‘women’.

- c) singular adjectives designating colours and properties:
ʔwār (< *aʔwār*) ‘one-eyed’, *kḥāl* (< *akḥāl*) ‘black’, *zraq* (< *aʔraq*) ‘blue’.

3.2.2. CəCCa

ṭabba (< *ṭīb*) ‘doctors’, *wəʔra* (< *wʔir*) ‘ministers’.

3.2.3. CCāC

The following groups are associated with this pattern:

- a) nouns of the singular schemes CvCC(a) and CCvC(a):
ʔbād (< *ʔbəd*) ‘people, men’, *ʔwām* (< *ʔām*) ‘years’, *ʔrāš* (< *ʔarš*) ‘weddings’, *bgār* (< *bagra*) ‘cows’, *bnāt* (< *bant*) ‘daughters’, *ffām* (< *famm*) ‘mouth’, *ḥbāl* (< *ḥbəl*) ‘ropes’, *ḥbāš* (< *ḥabš*) ‘prisons’, *kbāš* (< *kəbš*) ‘muttons’, *klāb* (< *kəlb*) ‘dogs’, *nḥāš* (< *nəfš*) ‘halves’, *ryāḥ* (< *riḥ*) ‘winds’, *šwād* (< *ašwəd*) ‘black’, *ṭfār* (< *ṭfər*) ‘nails’, *wdān* (< *wudən*) ‘ears’, *wqāt* (< *wuqt*) ‘times’, *xšām* (< *xšəm*) ‘noses’, *žnāš* (< *žənš*) ‘species, kinds’, *žbāl* (< *žbəl*) ‘mountains’, *žmāl* (< *žməl*) ‘camels’;
- b) nouns of the patterns CūC, CāC, and CiC, where the second radical semi-vowel reappears in the plural:
ʔyād (< *ʔīd*) ‘festivals’, *ḏyār* (< *ḏār*) ‘houses’, *ḥwāš* (< *ḥūš*) ‘houses, properties’, *lwāḥ* (< *lūḥ*) ‘planks, boards’, *šwāq* (< *šūq*) ‘souks’;
- c) adjectives of the pattern CCiC:
bnān (< *bnīn*) ‘tasty’, *ḥbāb* (< *ḥbīb*) ‘beloved, dear’, *ḡlād* (< *ḡlīd*) ‘thick’, *kbār* (< *kbīr*) ‘big’, *mlāḥ* (< *mlīḥ*) ‘good’, *mṛād* (< *mṛīd*) ‘sick’, *nḏāf* (< *nḏīf*) ‘clean’, *qrāb* (< *qṛīb*)

‘near, close’, *šmān* (< *šmīn*) ‘fat’, *ṭwāl* (< *ṭwīl*) ‘long’, *xfāf* (< *xfīf*) ‘light, easy’, *zġār* (< *zġīr*) ‘small (PL), children’, *ždād* (< *ždīd*) ‘new’;

- d) some nouns of the pattern CāCvC:

ržāl (< *rāžəl*) ‘men’, *šhāb* (< *šāḥəb*) ‘friends’.

3.2.4. CCūC

This allomorph is closely related to the CCāC pattern and covers a similar range of singular schemes:

- a) nouns of the pattern CvCC(a)/CCvC:

ḥṭūn (< *ḥṭən*) ‘bellies’, *byūr* (< *bīr*) ‘water wells’, *drūf* (< *drāf*) ‘arms’, *drūž* (< *dəržə*) ‘stairs’, *dyūb* (< *dīb*) ‘wolves’, *flūs* ‘money’, *frūx* (< *farx*) ‘little birds, bastards’, *mlūk* (< *malk*) ‘kings’, *ktūf* (< *ktəf*) ‘shoulders’, *kṭūt* (< *kəṭṭ*) ‘cats’, *nžūm* (< *nəžma*) ‘stars’, *qlūb* (< *qəlb*) ‘hearts’, *ryūs* (< *rās*) ‘heads’, *šyūf* (< *šīf*) ‘summers’, *šhūd* (< *šāḥəd*) ‘witnesses’, *šhūr* (< *šḥər*) ‘months’, *šyūf* (< *šīf*) ‘swords’, *ṭrūf* (< *ṭərḥ*) ‘pieces’, *ṭyūr* (< *ṭīr*) ‘birds’, *žlūd* (< *žəld*) ‘belts’, *žnūb* (< *žnəb*) ‘sides’, *žnūn* (< *žənn*) ‘ghosts’, *žyūt* (< *žīt*) ‘olives’;

- b) nouns of the pattern CvC²C²:

dmūm (< *dəmm*) ‘blood’, *šrūr* (< *šarṛ*) ‘secrets’,⁴⁹ *šnūn* (< *šənn*) ‘teeth’, *xdūd* (< *xədd*) ‘cheeks’, *ždūd* (< *žədd*) ‘ancestors, grandparents’;

⁴⁹ The vowel quality of this form is conditioned by the phonetic environment, namely, in lieu of the expected /ū/, the /ō/ vowel occurs due to vowel rounding between two instances of emphatic /r/.

c) nouns of the pattern CīC:

byūt (< *bīt*) ‘rooms’, *dyūl* (< *dīl*) ‘tails’, *dyūn* (< *dīn*) ‘debts’, *xyūt* (< *xīt*) ‘sewing threads’.

3.2.5. CCīC

This pattern is extremely rare in Jewish Gabes, just as it is in CA. Cohen (1975, 196) points out that, in Jewish Tunis, there is only one noun that forms its plural in this way, namely *maṣṣā-mṣīṣ* ‘goats’. In Jewish Gabes *ḥmār-ḥmīr* ‘donkeys’ is also attested. In Jewish Tripoli and Muslim Tunis, apart from the two paradigms mentioned here, one can find also *ṣabd-ṣbīd* ‘black servants’ (Singer 1985, 583; Yoda 2005, 240).

3.2.6. CvC²C²āC

This corresponds to the CA pattern *fuṣṣāl* and is associated with the singular pattern CṽCvC, which usually denotes names of professions (Wright 2005, 206; Cohen 1975, 196):

ḥakkām (< *ḥākām*) ‘judges’, *kəffār* (< *kāfār*) ‘blasphemers’, *šəkkān* (< *šākān*) ‘inhabitants’, *ṣarrāq* (< *ṣārāq*) ‘thieves’, *xaddām* (< *xādām*) ‘servants’.

3.2.7. CCāyvC

Most of the plural forms in this class derive from the singular pattern CCṽC(a). Nonetheless, occasionally some nouns of the CvCC(a) pattern are associated with this allomorph as well:

ḥdāyəd (< *ḥdīda*) ‘bracelets’, *ḥṣāyən* (< *ḥṣān*) ‘horses’, *qmāyəṣ* (< *qməṣṣa*) ‘shirts’, *šlāyəf* (< *šālfā*) ‘sisters-in-law’, *ṭbāyəx*

(< *ṭbīxa*) ‘meals, foods’, *dqāyəq* (< *dqīqa*) ‘minutes’, *xlāyəq* (< *xlīqa*) ‘figures, shapes, creatures’, *ḥwāyəž* (< *ḥāžza*) ‘things’.

3.2.8. Suffix /-ān/

Here have been classified both forms possessing three regular radicals (CvCCān) and forms with second radical semi-vowel (C¹vC³ān). The second group is particularly abundant:

- a) nouns with three regular consonants:
baldān (< *blād*) ‘cities’, *xərfān* (< *xrūf*) ‘lambs’;
- b) nouns of the singular pattern CāC (second radical semi-vowel):
bībān (< *bāb*) ‘doors’, *bīṭān* (< *ḥāṭ*) ‘armpits’, *fīrān* (< *fār*) ‘mice’, *ḥīṭān* (< *ḥīṭ*) ‘walls’, *kišān* (< *kāš*) ‘mugs’, *šišān* (< *šāš*) ‘foundations’, *žīrān* (< *žār*) ‘neighbours’;
- c) nouns of the singular pattern CCv̄ (third radical semi-vowel):
ʕadwān (< *ʕdū*) ‘enemies’, *ʕašyān* (< *ʕša*) ‘sticks’.

3.3. Patterns with Four Consonants

This pattern corresponds to two CA patterns, namely CaCāCiC and CaCāCiC (Yoda 2005, 241). A wide array of singular patterns form the plural by means of this allomorph, including both nouns with geminated second radicals and nouns with four radicals.

- a) nouns with four radicals:
ʕqārəb (< *ʕaqrab*) ‘scorpions’, *ʕšāfər* (< *ʕašfūr*) ‘birds’, *fkārən* (< *fakrūn*) ‘tortoises’, *fnāžən* (< *fənžān*) ‘coffee cups’, *kwākəb* (< *kawkəb*) ‘planets’, *mnākəb* (< *mənkəb*) ‘elbows’, *mšāmər* (< *məšməār*) ‘nails’, *šbāḇət* (< *šəḇḇāt*)

‘shoes’, *ṣmāṣar* (<ṣamṣār) ‘brokers’, *ṣnādaq* (<ṣandūq) ‘boxes’, *škākən* (<šakkina) ‘knives’, *šnāšəl* (< šənšla) ‘chains’, *xrārəž* (<xərrāža) ‘drains’;

- b) nouns with second radical geminated:

blālət (<bəllūta) ‘earrings’, *bžāžəl* (<bažžūla) ‘udders’, *kšākəš* (<kəškāš) ‘colanders’, *šbābəl* (<šəbbāla) ‘fountains’;

- c) there is one attested noun which originally had *hamza* as its first radical that forms its plural according to this scheme:

arānəb (<arnəb) ‘rabbits’.

3.3.1. CwāCəC

In the vast majority of the grammars, this pattern is not treated separately, but rather is classified as an allomorph of the CCvCvC pattern (Cohen 1975, 198; Yoda 2005, 242; Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 254). Nonetheless, I decided to give it the status of a separate pattern, as there is a regular shift from the /ā/ vowel in the singular to /-wa/ in the plural, similar to that of long /ī/ to /ay/ in the CCayvC pattern. The shift is attested in nouns that, in the singular, contain both long and short /a/:

- a) nouns with long /ā/ after the first radical:

ḥwāžəb (<ḥāžəb) ‘eyebrows’, *mwākəl* (<mākla) ‘foods’, *šwārəb* (<šārəb) ‘lips’, *šwāraʔ* (<šāraʔ) ‘streets’, *ṭwāwīl* (<ṭāwla) ‘tables’, *žwāmaʔ* (<žāmaʔ) ‘mosques’;

- b) nouns with short /a/ after the first radical:

dwāməš (<damūš) ‘caves, tunnels’, *kwānən* (<kanūn) ‘ovens’, *šwābən* (<šabūn) ‘soaps, detergents’;

- c) some monosyllabic words possessing short /ā/ also form their plural in this way:

ḏwāfar (< *ḏfar*) ‘nails’, *ṣwābaṣ* (< *ṣbaṣ*) ‘fingers’, *ḏwānaḥ* (< *ḏnāḥ*) ‘wings’.

3.4. Patterns with Suffixes

3.4.1. Suffix /-i/

As in Jewish Tunis, this pattern in Jewish Gabes is highly productive and covers a variety of singular patterns, the majority of which are feminine. The only masculine noun in this pattern is *krāši* (< *kərši*) ‘chairs’.

- a) feminine nouns with suffixes /-īya/ and /-ya/:
fwāki (< *fākya*) ‘dried fruits’, *wṣāgi* (< *wəṣḡa*) ‘lizards’,
ṣrābi (< *ṣarbiya*) ‘carpet’;
- b) feminine nouns with geminated second radical and third radical /y/:
flāli (< *fəllāya*) ‘combs’, *ṣrāri* (< *ṣərrāya*) ‘mattresses’;
- c) feminine nouns with third radical /w/:
kšāwi (< *kəšwa*) ‘costumes’, *lḡāwi* (< *ləḡwa*) ‘languages’;
- d) some nouns of the pattern CCā:
ṣašāwi (< *ṣaša*) ‘dinners’, *rdāwi* (< *rda*) ‘curtains, blinds’;
- e) some nouns with first radical /a/ or /y/ due to the loss of *hamza*:
aṣādi (< *aṣḏ*) ‘grounds’, *ašāmi* (< *ašm*) ‘names’, *ybāri* (< *yəbra*) ‘needles’.

3.4.2. Suffix /-a/

There is a relatively small group of plural patterns that, in addition to the internal modulation of syllable structure, also admit the /-a/ suffix. This type of pattern has been termed a ‘mixed’ plural by Cohen (1975, 201), due to the double marking.

CvCCa

All the examples classified in this category derive from the singular pattern CCiC:

ħarfa (< *ħrīf*) ‘clients’, *šarka* (< *šrik*) ‘companies, firms’, *šalba* (< *šlib*) ‘crosses’, *ṭabba* (< *ṭbīb*) ‘doctors’.

CCāCa

Some items of the pattern CvCCān form their plural in this way:

šrāya (< *šaryān*) ‘naked’, *ħfāya* (< *ħafyān*) ‘barefoot’, *xḍāra* ‘vegetables’.

Additionally, some names of origins and ethnicities are associated with this allomorph:

grāba (< *garbi*) ‘Moroccans’, *rwāma* (< *rūmi*) ‘Christians’, *žrāba* (< *žarbi*) ‘from Djerba’.

CCūCa

dkūra (< *dkar*) ‘males’, *šyūḍa* (< *šayḍ*) ‘lions’.

CwāCCa

šwālda (< *šūldi*) ‘pennies’, *twānša* (< *tūnši*) ‘Tunisians’.

4.0. Diminutive

Both substantives and adjectives can form the diminutive. The CA pattern of the masculine diminutive, *CuCaC*, has been replaced in Jewish Gabes, as well as in Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Tunis, by *CCəyyəC* (Cohen 1975, 204; Yoda 2005, 244). As pointed out by Cohen (1975, 204), the use of the diminutive is limited to women and children, and men use it mostly in an ironic context. Selected examples:

- biliteral nouns, e.g., *CvC* > *CCvCa*, *ḏār* > *ḏwīra* ‘little house’;
- trilateral nouns, e.g., *CCvC* / *CvCC* > *CCvyyvC*: *kəlb* > *kləyyəb* ‘small dog’, *nəfš* > *nfəyyəš* ‘small half’,⁵⁰ *wəld* > *wləyyəd* ‘little boy’;
- *CaCCa* > *CCiCCa*, e.g., *ṭawla* > *ṭwīwla* ‘little table’;
- *CvCCi* > *CCvCi*, e.g., *kərši* > *kriši* ‘little chair’;
- quadrilateral nouns, e.g., *CvCCūCa*, *CvCCāC* > *CCiCiCa*: *qattūša* > *qītīša* ‘kitten’, *šəbbāt* > *šbībīt* ‘small shoe’.

5.0. Numerals

5.1. One to Ten

Counted nouns appear in the plural only when preceded by numbers 2–10. When accompanied by any higher numbers, the counted noun is in the singular. Below have been listed cardinal numbers with examples of masculine and feminine nouns. As can

⁵⁰ The etymological form of this item is *nəšf*, but in Jewish Gabes there exists also a parallel form with metathesis, i.e., *nəfš*.

be inferred, only number 1 distinguishes formally between the two genders and causes inversion of the word order:

1. *ʕabd wāḥəd, mṛa waḥda* ‘one man, one woman’;
2. *žūž ɾəžžāla, žūž amṛá* ‘two men, two women’;
3. *tlāt zḡār, tlāt əbnāt* ‘three boys, three girls’;
4. *arbʕa ḥyūt, arbʕa xūxāt* ‘four fish, four peaches’;
5. *xamš(a) aɾwāzəl, xamša amṛá* ‘five men, five women’;
6. *šətta wlād, šəta amṛa* ‘six boys, six women’;
7. *šəbʕa aɾwāzəl, šəbʕa amṛá* ‘seven men, seven women’;
8. *tmanīya aɾwāzəl, tmanīya amṛá* ‘eight men, eight women’;
9. *təšʕa dyār, təšʕa amṛá* ‘nine houses, nine women’;
10. *ʕašra qbūrāt, ʕašra amṛá* ‘ten graves, ten women’.

5.2. Eleven to Nineteen

11 *ḥdāš*, 12 *tazžīna*, 13 *ṭəlləṭāš*, 14 *arbʕatāš*, 15 *xaməštāš*, 16 *šəttāš*, 17 *šəbʕatāš*, 18 *təməntāš*, 19 *təšʕatāš*.

5.3. Twenty to Ninety

The units always precede the tens.

20 *ʕašrīn, wāḥəd wa ʕašrīn*, 30 *tlatīn, wāḥəd wa ʕašrīn*, 40 *arbʕīn, wāḥəd wa arbʕīn*, 50 *xamšīn, wāḥəd wa xamšīn*, 60 *šəttīn, wāḥəd wa šəttīn*, 70 *šəbʕīn, wāḥəd wa šəbʕīn*, 80 *tmanīn, wāḥəd wa tmanīn*, 90 *təšʕīn, wāḥəd wa təšʕīn*.

5.4. Hundreds and Thousands

Unlike with tens, when units appear with hundreds, they are placed after the hundreds.

100 *mīya*, 101 *mīya wa wāḥəd*, 102 *mīya wa tnīn*, 103 *mīya wa tlāta*, 132 *mīya u tnīn u tlatīn*, 200 *miytīn*, 300 *tlat mīya*, 400 *arḃḃa mīya*, 500 *xəmša mīya*, 1000 *alf*, 2000 *alfīn*, 3000 *tlāt alāf*.

5.5. Days of the Week

nhār əl-ḥadd ‘Sunday’, *nhār ət-tnīn* ‘Monday’, *nhār ət-tlāt* ‘Tuesday’, *nhār əl-arḃḃa* ‘Wednesday’, *nhār əl-xmīš*⁵¹ ‘Thursday’, *nhār žəmḥa* ‘Friday’, *nhār šəbbāt* ‘Saturday’.

6.0. Pronouns

6.1. Personal Pronouns

6.1.1. Independent Personal Pronouns

Table 48: Independent personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
3M	<i>hūwa</i>	<i>humma/hūma</i>
3F	<i>hīya</i>	
2M	<i>ənti / ənta</i>	<i>əntūm</i>
2F	<i>ənti</i>	
1	<i>ānā / āna</i>	<i>aḥna</i>

The stress in the first person singular and plural is not fixed and varies between ultimate and penultimate. In other dialects of the region, on the contrary, we observe a form with penultimate stress, i.e., *āna* (Cohen 1975, 210; Singer 1984, 250; Yoda 2005, 115). The classical form of the first-person plural, i.e., *naḥnu*, has

⁵¹ Due to the social taboo relating to the evil eye, this day has two additional names: *nhār əl-fardi* ‘unpaired day’ and *nhār ḥīn əl-ḥdu* ‘day in the eye of the enemy’.

been reduced in the majority of the Maghrebi dialects to *hna/ħnān*. The absence of the initial /n/ has been explained by Cohen (1912, 87) as dissimilation, which is supposedly an early development, given its wide distribution among the dialects of Arabic. The /a/ quality of the initial vowel in Jewish Gabes is the same as in Muslim Tunis (Singer 1984, 250) and can be explained by the proximity of the pharyngeal /ħ/. Contrary to this, Jewish Tunis has in this place a rather unexpected /ə/ vowel (Cohen 1975, 211). In the Bedouin dialect of Maṛāzīg, both singular and plural forms of the first person have long ē at the end, i.e., *anē* ‘I’, *ʔħnē* ‘we’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 66).

Across many Jewish dialects of the region, the initial /h/ sound in the third person singular and plural is omitted; however, in the case of Jewish Gabes, the original consonantal manifestation is retained, mirroring a similar phenomenon found in Muslim dialects (Singer 1985, 250). Conversely, in various other Jewish dialects, this initial consonant has been excised, consequently giving rise to the emergence of the *ūwa* form (Cohen 1912, 336; Cohen 1985, 210; Yoda 2005, 115).

The forms of the second person singular are also somewhat exceptional compared to other Maghrebi dialects and especially the Jewish ones. The general tendency across the majority of the dialects is for the feminine form to be used for both feminine and masculine (Cohen 1975, 211).⁵² Jewish Djerba utilises *anti*

⁵² The historical background of this phenomenon has been given by Cohen (1975, 211), who claims that the predominance of the feminine form is related to the agglutination of the particle /-ya/ to the masculine form *anta* in some dialects, i.e., *antiya*. This hypothesis is supported by

for 2MS and *əntīn* for 2FS (Behnstedt 1998, 72). There is a similar situation in Jewish Algiers, where the latter has the form *əntīna* (Cohen 1912, 336). On the other hand, Muslim Algiers, Jewish Wad-Souf, and Bedouin Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 66) have both forms. Jewish Gabes utilises both of these forms, with *ənti* being the dominant variant. Interestingly, the merger of these pronouns has not affected the verbal morphology, where the feminine forms of the second person are marked as such. The second person plural in Jewish Gabes preserves the classical form *ʔantum*, unlike Jewish Tunis and Jewish Algiers, which use a variant *(ə)ntumān*, or Jewish Djerba, where we find *əntūn*. As explained by Cohen (1975, 212), the /-ān/ suffix in this form could be an analogy to the plural marker of the nouns.

6.1.2. Pronominal Suffixes

Table 49: Pronominal suffixes

	Singular	Plural
3M	-u, -ū, -h	-həm
3F	-ha/-a	
2M	-ək, -k	-kəm
1	-i, -ni, -ya	-na

The distribution of the variations of some suffixes depends on the ending of the default form, namely, whether it ends with a consonant or a vowel. In the third person masculine singular, when a verb or a noun has a /u/ vowel at the end, the /u/ of the pro-

evidence from the dialect of Djidjelli, where the masculine form has two variants, i.e., *ənta* and *əntīna*.

noun is assimilated and subsequently long *ū* emerges, which attracts the stress. This phenomenon is attested in many Maghrebi dialects; however, some of them still possess traces of the original /h/. As reported by Cohen (1912, 338), in Muslim Algiers, nouns ending with a vowel regularly admit /-h/, e.g., *ʕadūh* ‘his enemy’. When it comes to the Jewish speakers of Algiers, most of them tend to omit the final /h/, but, as pointed out by Cohen (1912, 339), some individuals do pronounce /h/, especially in 3PL forms of the past tense, e.g. (*h*)*ašplū^hu* ‘they destroyed him’. Interestingly, in the same form, Muslim speakers use an /-ah/ suffix, e.g., *nsāuah* ‘they forgot him’ (Cohen 1912, 339). In Jewish Gabes, the original /h/ is attested to a limited extent, in past-tense forms of verbs with a weak third radical that have an /a/ vowel in the third person singular. In this case, instead of /u/, /h/ is added, e.g., *nšāh* ‘he forgot him’. Alternatively, an extra long /ā/ vowel emerges, e.g., *xda* ‘he took’, *xdā* ‘he took him’. Also, nouns ending with /-a/ admit the /h/ suffix (see *ġda* ‘lunch’ below).

In the second person singular, the CA suffix /-ka/ contracted in the Maghrebi dialects to /-k/ when a word finishes with a vowel, and to /-ək/ when the ending is consonantal. The same variation is attested in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 213). In the plural, the suffix corresponds to classical /-kum/, and in Jewish Gabes, as in other dialects, can be realised either as /-kəm/ or, in a labial and pharyngeal context, as /-kom/.

The suffix of the first person singular has three possible variants, namely /-ni/, /-i/, and /-ya/. Their distribution is conditioned grammatically, namely, /-ni/ is added only to verbs, /-i/

and /-ya/ to nouns. The latter is applied only to nouns ending with vowels.

Nouns ending with /-i/, like *kərši* ‘chair’, constitute a separate category. As is demonstrated below, the final vowel is elided in the singular and the personal pronouns are added to the root *kərš-*, but the final vowel is retained in the rest of the persons, where the suffix starts with a consonant. Contrary to this, in Jewish Tripoli, the final vowel of the noun is preserved throughout the whole inflection (Yoda 2005, 121).

Below are presented some examples including both consonantal and vocalic endings.

Table 50: Examples of nouns with pronominal suffixes

3MS	<i>qalbu</i>	his heart	<i>xū(h)</i> ⁵³	his brother
3FS	<i>qalbha</i>	her heart	<i>xūha</i>	her brother
2MS	<i>qalbək</i>	your heart	<i>xūk</i>	your brother
1SG	<i>qalbi</i>	my heart	<i>xūya</i>	my brother
3PL	<i>qalbham</i>	their heart	<i>xūham</i>	their brother
2PL	<i>qalbkəm</i>	your (PL) heart	<i>xūkəm</i>	your (PL) brother
1PL	<i>qalbna</i>	our heart	<i>xūna</i>	our brother
3MS	<i>gdāh</i>	his lunch	<i>kəršu</i>	his chair
3FS	<i>gdāha</i>	her lunch	<i>kəršha</i>	her chair
2MS	<i>gdāk</i>	your lunch	<i>kəršək</i>	your chair
1SG	<i>gdāya</i>	my lunch	<i>kərši</i>	my chair
3PL	<i>gdāham</i>	their lunch	<i>kəršihəm</i>	their chair
2PL	<i>gdākəm</i>	your (PL) lunch	<i>kəršikəm</i>	your (PL) chair
1PL	<i>gdāna</i>	our lunch	<i>kəršina</i>	our chair

The aforementioned examples do not demonstrate any fluctuations in terms of syllable structure. Nonetheless, some nominal

⁵³ The final /h/ is usually audible when an informant is asked to pronounce an isolated form; in free speech it tends to be elided.

patterns require replacement or deletion of a vowel once the pronoun is added. This is the case, for example, in disyllabic nouns with a short last vowel, e.g., *ṣāḥab* ‘friend’–*ṣāḥbi* ‘my friend’. In turn, in nouns of the pattern CCəC, the position of the short vowel /ə/ is changed after adding the pronominal suffix in order to avoid a short vowel in an open syllable. Below the example of *ṣḍar* ‘breast’ is given:

Table 51: *ṣḍar* ‘breast’ with pronominal suffixes

3MS	<i>ṣḍaru</i>	his breast
3FS	<i>ṣḍarha</i>	her breast
2MS	<i>ṣḍrak</i>	your breast
1SG	<i>ṣḍri</i>	my breast
3PL	<i>ṣḍrahəm</i>	their breast
2PL	<i>ṣḍrkəm</i>	your (PL) breast
1PL	<i>ṣḍrna</i>	our breast

Many words, however, do not admit pronominal suffixes, and instead the possessive particle (ə)*ntāʕ* is used. This applies particularly to words of foreign origin.

Table 52: *livro* (Ital.) ‘book’ with possessive particle

3MS	<i>livro əntāʕu</i>	his book
3FS	<i>livro əntāḥa</i>	her book
2MS	<i>livro əntāʕk</i>	your book
1SG	<i>livro əntāʕay</i>	my book
3PL	<i>livro əntāḥəm</i>	their book
2PL	<i>livro əntāʕkəm</i>	your (PL) book
1PL	<i>livro əntāʕna</i>	our book

Below are presented examples of the weak verbs *nṣa* ‘he forgot’, which has a vocalic ending, and *ṣāt* ‘she came’, which has a consonantal ending, with personal pronouns added.

Table 53: *nša* ‘he forgot’ and *žāt* ‘she came’ with pronominal suffixes

3MS	<i>nšāh</i>	he forgot him	<i>žātu</i>	she came to him
3FS	<i>nšāha</i>	he forgot her	<i>žātha</i>	she came to her
2MS	<i>nšāk</i>	he forgot you	<i>žātək</i>	she came to you
1SG	<i>nšāni</i>	he forgot me	<i>žātni</i>	she came to me
3PL	<i>nšāhəm</i>	he forgot them	<i>žāthəm</i>	she came to them
2PL	<i>nšākəm</i>	he forgot you (PL)	<i>žātəkəm</i>	she came to you (PL)
1PL	<i>nšāna</i>	he forgot us	<i>žātna</i>	she came to us

It is worth noting, however, that in Jewish Gabes the verb *ža* with a personal pronoun in the role of direct object is used to refer to abstract phenomena rather than people. It occurs often in expressions related to health conditions, e.g., *š-šhar l-lāxər žātni šxāna* ‘last month I got fever’, *žātha* ‘she got her period’. In turn, when it comes to a meeting of two people, a particle *ʕandi* or */-li/* is used, e.g., *hiya žāt ʕandna* ‘she came to us’.

Above I presented short verbs, which do not change their syllable structure when a personal pronoun is added. In the case of verbs with three full radicals, however, the syllabification is modified:

Table 54: Strong verb with pronominal suffixes

3MS	<i>qatlu</i>	he killed him
3FS	<i>qtəlha</i>	he killed her
2MS	<i>qatlək</i>	he killed you
1SG	<i>qtəlni</i>	he killed me
3PL	<i>qtəlham</i>	he killed them
2PL	<i>qtəlkəm</i>	he killed you (PL)
1PL	<i>qtəlna</i>	he killed us

6.1.3. Dative Marker /l-/

In addition to regular agglutination of a personal pronoun as a direct object, some verbs admit also what Yoda (2005, 126) calls the ‘enclitic dative marker’, which corresponds to the classical preposition /-li/. The order is therefore as follows: verb, pronominal suffix, dative marker, pronominal suffix. Below I present examples of the prefix conjugation:

Table 55: Prefix conjugation with enclitic dative marker

3MS	<i>yžibūlu</i>	he brings him to him
3FS	<i>yžibūlha</i>	he brings him to her
2MS	<i>yžibūlāk</i>	he brings him to you
1SG	<i>yžibūli</i>	he brings him to me
3PL	<i>yžibūlhām</i>	he brings him to them
2PL	<i>yžibūlkām</i>	he brings him to you (PL)
1PL	<i>yžibūlna</i>	he brings him to us

The inflection presented above includes only verbs with a vocalic ending. Below one can find an inflection with a consonantal ending:

Table 56: Suffix conjugation with enclitic dative marker

3MS	<i>žābēthālu</i>	she brought her to him
3FS	<i>žābēthālha</i>	she brought her to her
2MS	<i>žābēthālāk</i>	she brought her to you
1SG	<i>žābēthāli</i>	she brought her to me
3PL	<i>žābēthalhām</i>	she brought her to them
2PL	<i>žābēthalkām</i>	she brought her to you (PL)
1PL	<i>žābēthalna</i>	she brought her to us

6.2. Reflexive Pronoun

In Jewish Gabes, as in many other dialects of Arabic, the particle /rūḥ-/ is used to express reflexivity. It is inflected as follows:

Table 57: Inflection of particle /rūḥ-/

3MS	<i>hažž rūḥu</i>	he raised himself
3FS	<i>qatlāt rūḥḥa</i>	she killed herself
2MS	<i>ḍarṛiti rūḥək</i>	you (FS) harmed yourself
1SG	<i>ḍarṛit rūḥi</i>	I harmed myself
3PL	<i>ḍarbu rūḥḥəm</i>	they hit themselves
2PL	<i>ḍarbtu rūḥkəm</i>	you (PL) hit yourselves
1PL	<i>ḍarabna rūḥna</i>	we hit ourselves

Another reflexive pronoun used in Jewish Gabes is /nəfš-/. This, however, has slightly different connotations. While /rūḥ-/ expresses physical reflexivity, /nəfš-/ is used in a more abstract context, e.g., *aḥšəb nəfšək li qāʿad fi-žnān* ‘imagine yourself sitting in the garden’.⁵⁴ However, some verbs admit both variants. One of them is the verb ‘to become’, which in Jewish Gabes is expressed by the verb *ʕmāl* + reflexive pronoun. In this case, both /rūḥ-/ and /nəfš-/ are correct. In Jewish Tunis, the situation is exactly the opposite: /nəfš-/ is predominant, while /rūḥ-/ serves to express reflexivity in more specific contexts (Cohen 1975, 218). Moreover, /rūḥ-/ forms another pronoun, namely /brūḥ-/ meaning ‘by oneself’, e.g., *žit brūḥi* ‘I came alone’. The most popular expression for ‘by oneself, alone’ in Jewish Gabes, however, is /waḥd-/, which has the following inflection:

⁵⁴ Interestingly, when *nəfš* stands alone it means ‘evil eye’, e.g., *ʕandu nəfš* ‘he is sick because of the evil eye’.

Table 58: Inflection of particle /waḥd-/

3MS	<i>žā waḥdu</i>	he came alone
3FS	<i>žāt wḥadha</i>	she came alone
2MS	<i>žit waḥdak</i>	you came alone
1SG	<i>žit waḥdi</i>	I came alone
3PL	<i>žāw wḥadhām</i>	they came alone
2PL	<i>žitū wḥadkām</i>	you (PL) came alone
1PL	<i>žīna wḥadna</i>	we came alone

This pronoun seems to be very common in Tunisia, although there exist several exceptions; for example, Muslim Tunis uses /bid-/ to express the meaning ‘by oneself’ (Singer 1985, 257), while Jewish Tripoli prefers /brūḥ-/ (Yoda 2005, 129). Nonetheless, /waḥd-/ has been attested in Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912, 355).

6.3. Relative Pronoun

The principal pronoun that introduces relative clauses in Jewish Gabes is *li*, which is not affected by gender or number, e.g. *tlāta baṭṭixāt li bṣaṭəṭḥām bəntək* ‘three melons that your daughter has sent you’, *təmma wāḥəd li hūwa ma ṭarrəkš* ‘there is a man who does not move’, *āna hūwa li žitək āms* ‘I am the one who came to you yesterday’, *li nḥabb humma liāvər li šəfṭhām* ‘what I want is the book that I saw’. There exists also an allomorphic variant *əlli*. The use of the relative pronoun in Jewish Gabes will be analysed more closely in chapter 6, §1.1.

Apart from the aforementioned *li*, which prevails in Jewish Gabes, one can find in Muslim Tunis also a widespread vestigial use of the pronoun *ma* (Singer 1985, 260), e.g., *xūd ma ṭabb* ‘take whatever you want’. It has been replaced by *li* in the role of

the relative pronoun, probably in order to avoid misunderstanding due to the second function of *ma*, which is as a negation particle, e.g., *āna ma nḥabbūš* ‘I do not like him’. In Jewish Gabes, the pronoun *ma* does exist, but it serves as a highlighter of the object, often contradicting the statement or the presumption of the collocutor, e.g., *māk klīt baʿda* ‘but you have already eaten’, *māni qaltlak* ‘I already told you’.

6.4. Reciprocal Pronoun

As in other Maghrebi dialects, *mʿa bʿaḍ* is an equivalent of ‘each other’, e.g., *āna wa ʔnti nəmšīw mʿa bʿaḍna* ‘I and you will go together’, *humma tnīn žāw mʿa bʿaḍhəm* ‘they came together’, *əz-žgār yəḍərbru mʿa bʿaḍhəm* ‘the children hit each other’.

6.5. Interrogative Pronouns

- *šnūwa, aš* ‘what’:
šnūwa nqüllək? ‘what will I tell you?’, *aš yaʿsməl?* ‘what will he do?’, *šnūwa šāʿa?* ‘what time is it?’ *waqt wʿəlt l-hūni šnūwa šāʿa li kənət?* ‘when you arrived in here, what was the time?’, *šnūwa maʿnatha?* ‘what is the meaning (of the word)?’;
- *(h)āni* ‘which’:
(h)āni tnīya nūṣəl biha fi-l-blād? ‘which way will lead us to the city?’, *(h)āni ʿawla tḥabbi?* ‘which table do you like?’, *(h)āni liāvər tḥabbi?* ‘which book would you like?’, *(h)āni ašəm ʿṯiti l-wəldək?* ‘what name have you given to your child?’, *mən (h)āni blād žit?* ‘which country did you come from?’;

- *škūn, aškūn* ‘who’:
škūn ər-rāzəl li ža āməš? ‘who is the man who came yesterday?’
aškūn l-mṛa li žāt? ‘who is the woman who has come?’
aškūn nāš šəft fi-š-šūq? ‘which people did you see in the market?’
škūn ənti? ‘who are you?’, *wəld škūn ənta?* ‘whose son are you?’.

This interrogative pronoun is usually not inflected. However, in Jewish Gabes, one can occasionally find forms like *škūnək?* ‘who are you?’ *škun hūwa?* ‘who is he?’.

- *kəddāš* ‘how much/how many’
kəddāš tḥabbi təffāḥ? ‘how many apples would you like?’
- *kīfāš, ša* ‘how’
ša yšəmmīw? ‘what is he called?’, *ša ḥālək?* ‘how are you?’,
kīfāš šaməlt hāda? ‘how did you do that?’.

6.6. Exclamative Pronouns

The particle *ma-* serves to form the following exclamative pronouns:

- *madabi-*
 This word is used to express a wish that it is possible may come true. It is inflected regularly, i.e. *madabiya*, *madabīk*, etc.
- *mā-/ša-* + elative
 This construction expresses amazement, astonishment, or surprise. It brings about some fluctuations within the syllable structure of an adjective as it admits the personal suffixes, e.g.:

Table 59: *mā-/ša-* + elative with pronominal suffixes

Elative	Masculine	Feminine
<i>akbər</i> ‘bigger’	<i>ma-kabru</i> ‘how big he is!’	<i>ma-kbarha</i> ‘how big she is!’
<i>ažğar</i> ‘smaller’	<i>ma-žağru</i> ‘how small he is!’	<i>ma-žğarha</i> ‘how small she is!’
<i>aṭwəl</i> ‘longer’	<i>ša-ṭūlu</i> ‘how long he is!’	<i>ša-ṭūlha</i> ‘how long she is!’
<i>axəff</i> ‘lighter’	<i>ma-xaffu</i> ‘how light he is!’	<i>ma-xəfha</i> ‘how light she is!’
<i>aḥla</i> ‘sweeter’	<i>ma-ḥla(h)</i> ‘how sweet he is!’	<i>ma-ḥlāha</i> ‘how sweet she is!’
<i>axyəb</i> ‘worse’	<i>ma-xaybu/xibu</i> ‘how bad he is!’	<i>ma-xayba/xiba</i> ‘how bad she is!’
<i>šaḥḥ</i> ‘stronger’	<i>ma-šāḥu</i> ‘how strong he is!’	<i>ma-šaḥha/šīḥa</i> ‘how strong she is!’ ⁵⁵

6.7. Demonstrative Pronouns

6.7.1. Near Reference

Table 60: Near demonstrative pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	<i>hāda</i>	<i>hādu</i>
Feminine	<i>hādi</i>	

The position of the pronoun within the sentence is not fixed, and it can either follow the noun, e.g., *əl-ḥṣān hāda* ‘this horse’, or precede it, e.g., *hāda ər-rāzəl* ‘this man’.

⁵⁵ The primary meaning of this adjective is ‘strong’; however, due to the social taboo, it serves also as a euphemistic equivalent of ‘fat’, especially with reference to a woman, e.g. *ṣanda šīḥa*, literally ‘she has a strength’.

6.7.2. Far Reference

Table 61: Far demonstrative pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	<i>hādāk</i>	
Feminine	<i>hādīk</i>	<i>hādūk</i>

There exists in Jewish Gabes also another pronoun indicating far reference, namely, *hāk-əl*, e.g., *hāk-əṛṛāzəl* ‘that man’. It is attested also in Jewish Tunis, where the initial /h/ is elided, i.e., *āk-əl* (Cohen 1975, 225). As suggested by Cohen, this form probably stems from CA *hādāk-əl*. Interestingly, in Jewish Gabes, only the masculine form is attested. It seems to be the same situation also in Jewish Tunis, since Cohen (1975, 225) presents only the masculine form, without mentioning its feminine counterpart. In Jewish Algiers, in turn, one can find an abbreviation of *hādāk*, namely *dāk* (Cohen 1912, 346).

6.7.3. Vestiges of /-ha/

The particle /-ha/, known from CA as a component of the demonstrative *hādā*, forms in Jewish Tunis a separate demonstrative pronoun inflected for person and number, and indicating the physical presence of someone (Singer 1985, 259). As reported by Cohen (1975, 225), the pronoun in question is represented in Jewish Tunis by a compound form *awāda* (< **hāhu hādā*). In Jewish Gabes it seems to have survived only in two isolated forms, i.e., *hāni* (< **hā + āna*) and *hawwa* (< **hā + huwwa*). The second form serves as a demonstrative pronoun not only for the third person singular, but also for all the persons except the first person

singular, which has its own form, namely *hāni*, e.g., *hāni žit* ‘here I came’, *hāwwa ža* ‘here he came’, *hāwwa žīna* ‘here we came’.

6.8. Indefinite Pronouns

- *wāḥad*, *waḥda* ‘someone’;
- *mnādām* ‘somebody, one’ (< Heb. *בן אדם*);
- *ʿbād* ‘a person, somebody’, e.g., *tamma ʿbād wāḥad f-əḏ-ḏār* ‘there is someone at home’;
- *ḥadd* ‘no one’

This pronoun is used exclusively in negative sentences or in the expression *kall ḥadd* ‘everyone’, e.g., *ma tamma ḥadd f-əḏ-ḏār* ‘there is no one at home’, *ḥadd ma ža* ‘no one came’, *ḥadd ma xnəbhəm* ‘no one stole them’;

- *bʿaḏ əl-ḥadd* ‘unknown person, someone’, e.g., *qəlt l-uḡḡni li bʿaḏ əl-ḥadd ža* ‘I told my mother that someone came’, *bʿaḏ əl-ḥadd hūni* ‘someone is here’;
- *bʿaḏ* ‘some, unspecified place or item, few’, e.g., *ʿla bāli šəftu fi-bʿaḏ əl-blād* ‘in my opinion, I have seen him in a town’, *bʿaḏ ən-nāš žāw* ‘few people came’, *hūwa šalla bʿaḏ šlawāt* ‘he prayed some prayers’;
- *flān* ‘someone’

This pronoun is used only for human beings and cannot be followed by any noun, e.g., *flān wəšəl l-ḏ-ḏār* ‘someone has arrived at home’ (i.e., not: *flān rāžəl wəšəl*);

- *ḥāžza* ‘something’, e.g., *madabīya ḥāžza naṣṣrabha* ‘I would like to drink something’, *nḥabb nqūllək ḥāžza* ‘I would like to tell you something’, *tamma ḥāžza li tḥayyərni* ‘there is

something that worries me’, *aṣṭīni hādik əl-ḥāža* ‘give me that thing’;

- *bṣad əl-ḥāža* ‘something’, e.g., *aṣṭīni bṣad əl-ḥāža* ‘give me something’;
- *šəyy* ‘nothing’, used only in negative sentences, e.g., *ma ʕandiš šəyy* ‘I have nothing’, *ma nḥabb šəyy* ‘I do not want anything’;
- *šwīya*⁵⁶ ‘a bit’, e.g., *aṣṭīni šwīya mənha* ‘give me just a bit of this’;
- *āxər/ōxər* ‘another’, e.g., *žāt mṛa āxra* ‘another woman came’, *šəft nāš oxrīn* ‘I saw other people’, *nḥabb ḥāža āxra* ‘I want something else’, *aṣṭīni təffāḥa oxra* ‘give me one more apple’.

6.9. Pronouns Related to Quantity

- *trəyyəf* ‘a slice, a piece’, e.g., *ʕīthi trəyyəf xabž* ‘I gave him a small slice of bread’;
- *bərša* ‘many, a lot’, e.g., *hūwa yḥabḥ bərša ḥwāyəž* ‘he wants many things’, *ma təmmāš bərša rman* ‘there are not many pomegranates’;
- *yāsər* ‘many, a lot’, e.g., *təmma nāš yāsər* ‘there are a lot of people’;
- *kattər* ‘the majority’ (in Muslim Tunis: *mukṭər*; see Singer 1985, 286), e.g., *kattər əl-nāš yḥabbu yəmsīw l-šla* ‘the majority of people want to go to the synagogue’;

⁵⁶ In Jewish Djerba, instead of *šwīya*, *tšiša* is used.

- *bāqal* ‘the rest, the leftovers’, e.g., *nāxəd əl-bāqal* ‘I will take the rest’;
- *kull* ‘all, every, whole’, e.g., *xdəmt nhār kullu* ‘I worked all day’, *əl-nāš əl-kull žāw hūni* ‘all the people came here’, *kull fāyla fandha žūž zḡār* ‘in every family there are two children’.

PART III

DIACHRONIC AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SYNTAX

Introduction

The study presented below investigates several syntactic phenomena attested in Jewish Gabes. Since no comparative description of North African Arabic syntax exists, the selection of topics studied here has been made based on Kristen Brustad's (2000) work on the syntax of spoken Arabic, but several modifications have been made as well. One of the major differences is the methodology adopted in this chapter, namely, the syntax of Jewish Gabes has been approached from a typological and historical point of view. The data for every topic has been extracted from the text corpus and is presented at the beginning of every section. The comparative analysis is of particular importance in this chapter, since data from the neighbouring dialects can provide valuable information for understanding the development of syntax in Jewish Gabes.

5. SYNTAX OF NOUNS

1.0. Definiteness

1.1. Introduction

The primary aim of this section is to specify the nature of definiteness in Jewish Gabes based on the data presented below. I am going to study the factors determining the level of definiteness and revisit the rules established for CA and other dialects. The primary question posed in this survey is whether definiteness is a fixed grammatical category, or should rather be perceived functionally as a result of interaction between different grammatical features. The second question addressed in this section is of a comparative nature, namely, whether the same factors condition definiteness in all the North African dialects, or some variations occur.

1.2. Data

Definite

1. *l-kbira xdāha rāzəl, xda wəld wʒir, wa l-tānya xdāha rāzəl* (2:13)
'He married the eldest to a man, the son of the minister, he married also the second one.'
2. *humma mšāw yāsər, ət-tniya ṭwila u ufālham əl-ma* (2:56)
'They walked a lot, the way was long and they ran out of water.'
3. *əl-bāḅa ʃəlṭān ʒa: wīn bənti?* (4:12)
'The father sultan came: where is my daughter?'

Indefinite

4. *ḥaṭṭi šəkkīna u nqaššūha* (1:22)
'Bring a knife and we will cut it.'
5. *rqāt mra samya* (4:18)
'She found a blind woman.'
6. *dəxlət, tərqa šūbīrya kbīra* (4:25)
'She entered and found a big bowl.'

Indefinite Specific

7. *wāḥəd mša yaṭṭlab ya krīm tāf alla* (1:2)
'A man went to beg for money.'
8. *qāmət samlätlu wāḥda oxra* (1:31)
'She got up to make another one.'
9. *šūfu wāḥəd l-əktər agžān, l-əktər məxnān, l-əktər zāwāli, xūdūla* (2:14)
'Look for the one that is the laziest, the dirtiest and the poorest and marry her to him.'

1.3. The Arabic System of Definiteness and its Challenges

Most grammars of Arabic present the system of definiteness dichotomically, implying that nouns can be either marked by the definite article and therefore definite, or unmarked and therefore indefinite. In the case of Jewish Gabes, as in many other modern dialects, this approach is inaccurate and fails to represent multiple levels of definiteness in natural language. As has been mentioned by Brustad (2000, 18), native speakers of Arabic make flexible use of various shades of definiteness in order to manipu-

late the discourse. The same observation has been made by Dominique Caubet (1993, 185) in her analysis of the morphosyntax of Moroccan Arabic.

What characterises the North African group in terms of definiteness is the use of the article *wāḥad*, meaning ‘someone, one, somebody’. Its occurrence is attested particularly frequently in Moroccan Arabic, but it occasionally appears also in the Eastern dialects, e.g., in Syrian and in Egyptian dialects, in the latter being used exclusively with nouns that refer to humans. In addition to *wāḥad*, one can find in Maghrebi Arabic also *šay*, meaning ‘some’.¹ The particle *šay* is also attested in Syrian; however, it has been pointed out that it functions there more as a partitive noun (Cowell 1964, 467). These two articles, therefore, prove that there is a ‘grey space’ between the classic extrema of definiteness and indefiniteness, within which native speakers exercise different degrees of determination. Caubet (1993, 185) associates them with the action of extraction, as a result of which an item becomes separated from the anonymous whole and acquires some kind of specificity, yet remains anonymous.

Before establishing the rules that govern the system of definiteness and indefiniteness in Jewish Gabes, I would like to discuss some additional grammatical concepts that might have an impact on the notion of definiteness. I will adopt the view of Brustad (2000, 18), who argues that definiteness constitutes a continuum interacting with concepts like number and animacy.

¹ The particle *wāḥad* finds its parallel in Berber *jirane* ‘one, someone’.

1.4. Animacy—Individuation—Discourse

Definiteness is a notion closely related to a speaker's perception and their idea of discourse. The speaker chooses to assign greater definiteness to items that they can see by themselves or are close and akin to them. The egocentric dimension of definiteness has been already noted by many scholars, including Khan (1988, XXXVI), but it is crucial to highlight also in the present study that the choice of a specific level of definiteness is embedded in the perceptual subjectivity of the speaker, and it therefore might not be correlate with commonly established grammatical rules. There are, however, several other factors which might help explain the system of definiteness and indefiniteness in Jewish Gabes.

To begin with, definiteness as a concept of perceptual salience formally reflected in the language has some parallels with animacy (in general linguistics) and virility (in Slavic languages). Animacy can be explained as the ability of a noun to be alive and animate, i.e., to act in a conscious manner. Thus, in order to establish the definition of animacy, Comrie (1981, 185) proposes the following hierarchy: human > animals > inanimate, arguing that it is relevant for numerous morphosyntactic developments cross-linguistically, but at the same time interacts with other parameters rather than functioning independently. Comrie's hierarchy notwithstanding, the most common and most attested distinction within the category of animacy is that of human and non-human. In terms of definiteness, therefore, human referents are more definite than other items, as they are aware of their acts and thus they acquire more prominence.

However, the concept of animacy is not reflected equally in every language, and therefore the phenomena stemming from it can be manifold.² Perception of which nouns have the ability to act in an aware way depends to a large extent on socio-cultural factors in each speech community. Some languages make a more specific distinction as to what deserves an additional marking in the language as being more animate/salient, disambiguating nouns related to kinship from the rest by means of clitic doubling. Both in Berber and in Maghrebi Arabic, the possessors of kinship terms are often doubled, resulting in the construction: kinship term + pronominal clitic + genitive particle + possessor, e.g., *yammā-ha ntāf bāya* ‘the mother of Baya’ (Souag 2017, 58). Some examples of the impact of animacy can be found also in North-west Semitic. As argued by scholars of Biblical Hebrew, the direct object marker **אֵת** *ʾet* occurs often with definite and animate nouns (Khan 1988; Bekins 2014). In terms of subject-verb agreement, it has been argued that, similarly to Ancient Greek, inanimate collectives in Hebrew are accompanied by singular verbs when in the position of subject, e.g., **וְלֹא יִרְדּוּ דִמְעָתְךָ** ‘and nor shall your tears run down’ (Ezek. 24.16; Gzella 2013, 110). This kind of morphological marking reflects the way in which speech communities perceive which referents are more animate and alive.

² As an example, consider Russian and Polish, where in the former, plurality increases the degree of animacy, and causes a noun to admit a special animate accusative morpheme, while in the latter, the situation is exactly the opposite (Comrie 1981, 188).

Another parameter relevant for noun phrases with regard to animacy is gender. This is of special significance in Slavic languages, where the discriminating category has been called ‘virility’ by Janda (1999, 209). It has multiple morphological implications and as a term is not dichotomous, but, similarly to definiteness in spoken Arabic, demonstrates diversification. Different levels of virility are reflected in the declension of human nouns in Polish, which, when in the nominative, might admit three possible endings: honorific virile, neutral virile and deprecatory non-virile (Janda 1999, 202). As has been suggested by Janda, the most animate and the most prominent category, honorific virile, was shaped by a sociolinguistic concept of the idealised and prototypical self, which is highly specific and unique. The personal and perceptual dimension of virility/animacy therefore corresponds to the egocentric hierarchy of salience. A parallel discriminative distinction was suggested for the Proto-Semitic morpheme /-t/, which originally marked inferiority, being used especially for diminutives and pejoratives, and subsequently acquired the function of the feminine marker (Hasselbach 2014, 324).³

Bearing in mind that various aspects of animacy may have an impact on the system of definiteness and indefiniteness, I

³ The /t/ morpheme as a marker of inferiority is a widespread phenomenon not only in Proto-Semitic, but in the entire Afro-Asiatic group; it is attested, among others, in the Bantu languages. The cross-linguistic regularity of this morpheme was observed at an early stage of Semitic scholarship (Brockelmann 1908).

would now like to discuss another satellite concept, namely individuation. This serves as one of the key factors relevant to the Transitivity Hypothesis formulated by Hopper and Thompson (1980) in their cross-linguistic study of transitivity and its discourse implications. In their view, transitivity is a global phenomenon which is central in every natural language and has multiple, predictable grammatical consequences. Rejecting the classical definition of transitivity as the presence or absence of an object, they propose to interpret it as a continuum consisting of various components that determine whether a clause is more or less transitive. Their hypothesis also has other aspects relevant for discourse analysis, but for the time being, I would like to focus on the parameters of transitivity formulated by Hopper and Thompson (1980, 252):

Table 62: Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity

	HIGH	LOW
PARTICIPANTS	two or more participants	one participant
KINESIS	action	non-action
ASPECT	telic	atelic
PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
MODE	realis	irrealis
AGENCY	agent high in potency	agent low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS OF OBJECT	object totally affected	object not affected
INDIVIDUATION OF OBJECT	object highly individuated	object not individuated

This table shows that individuation correlates with other grammatical categories and participates in much wider processes like

transitivity, which subsequently has serious discourse implications. Definiteness, animacy, and individuation of an object affect the syntax of most of the natural languages. Hopper and Thompson illustrate the importance of these features in several languages. In Hungarian, the word order of a sentence reflects the level of individuation of the object, while in Chukchee, when the object is non-referential and non-individuated, it is incorporated into a verb, which is in turn marked as intransitive (Comrie 1973, 243–44; Hopper and Thompson 1980, 257). It can be assumed, therefore, that there is a clear correlation between the categories of individuation of an object and transitivity of a verb. This statement can be reformulated in the following way: individuated nouns tend to occur in telic and punctual verbal clauses expressing actions. Contrary to this, atelic, non-punctual verbal forms, which do not significantly affect the object, attract non-individuated and indefinite objects.

The Transitivity Hypothesis has been widely discussed and reanalysed, especially within the framework of a single language. Čech and Pajas (2009) have tested its effectiveness in Czech and, based on their data, rejected some of Hopper and Thompson's predications related to the number of participants. I would like to pay special attention to their findings regarding the language form (spoken vs written), as it is of a special relevance for the study of individuation/definiteness in Jewish Gabes. Hopper and Thompson (1980, 53) have argued that spoken language forms like conversation are low in transitivity, because speakers tend to talk about themselves, describing views and attitudes rather than relating actions, which, as has been pointed out, have high levels

of transitivity. This hypothesis was rejected for Czech, as the data analysed by Čech and Pajas (2009, 47) clearly indicate that, statistically, there are no differences in distribution between one- and two- and more-participant clauses in spoken and written language. Hence, a corpus of transcribed spoken language can serve as a basis for analysis of definiteness.

A dichotomic hierarchy parallel to that of Hopper and Thompson has been proposed by Khan (1988) in his study of object marking and agreement pronouns in Semitic in the context of individuation. According to this model, there are eight qualities that determine whether a noun is individuated and salient or non-individuated and non-salient. Brustad (2000, 23), in turn, has expanded Khan's hierarchies by adding, among others, the notion of agency, understood as an ability to act independently. Both Hopper and Thompson and Khan define individuation as distinctness of a nominal form from other forms found in a clause, but also from the background. Out of all the hierarchies proposed by the aforementioned scholars, some are more accurate, while others contain qualities not necessarily applicable in Jewish Gabes. Below I propose a provisional hierarchy of individuation, which matches my findings in the most accurate way:

Table 63: Hierarchy of individuation based on Khan (1988)

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
Definite	Indefinite
Animate	Inanimate
Specific	General
Count	Mass
Textually prominent	Secondary for the discourse
Concrete	Abstract

These features designate tendencies rather than fixed rules.⁴ Nonetheless, I would like to pay special attention to the relationship between discourse and individuation, which in my view has a critical impact on the syntactic behaviour of nouns. Nominals that are of relevance to the line of discourse are almost always more individuated and definite. Therefore, the pair singular vs plural that appears in Hopper and Thompson's hierarchy is not always relevant, since plural entities relevant to the discourse will usually be definite and individuated. On the other hand, the category of agency proposed by Brustad would acquire more importance, as entities acting independently are usually more prominent in the discourse.

The correspondence between discourse and definiteness is of special importance in this study, as the vast majority of the collected text corpus consists of folktales, where discourse span and topics are clearly marked. In a situation where a speaker delivers to a hearer a story that is unknown to them, the definiteness of the entities appearing in this story depends to a great extent on the degree to which the hearer is familiar with them (Khan 1988, XXXVII). Therefore, if the storyteller assumes that the hearer is able to retrieve a nominal from their memory or knowledge, this nominal will acquire more individuation and definiteness, namely, a noun will function as an associative anaphora. The new information in a story can therefore be two-fold; it can be either discourse-related, or part of assumed famil-

⁴ The vagueness of this kind of hierarchy has already been highlighted by Brustad (2000, 24).

ilarity-related newness/givenness. This distinction was first introduced by Prince (1981) and subsequently extended by other scholars including Rudy Loock (2013). The latter proposed the following hearer-orientated definition of information in the discourse: HEARER NEW vs HEARER OLD INFORMATION—is the information given or new, depending on the speaker’s assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her addressee(s) (Loock 2013, 88)? Hence, the speaker matches the degree of definiteness of the nominals used in the story to the state of knowledge of the hearer.

Theoretically, it could be established, therefore, that there is a straightforward correspondence between individuation/textual prominence and definiteness. This hypothesis, even though it is applicable in many cases, has some impediments. In particular, in Arabic, as in many other languages, abstract and generic nouns attract the definite article. An example of this exceptional behaviour is found in passage (1:3). This sentence appears at the very beginning of the story and the house at which the beggar arrives is unknown to the reader. The house itself will not play any significant role in the further discourse of the story, neither will the door. Nonetheless, they are both marked with the definite article. The first is definite due to its generic character. As argued by Krifka (1987, 19), a kind-referring generic nominal phrase can occur in an object position and can fulfil several roles, one of them being representation. A representative object in this case refers to a “typical representative of this kind.” Namely, the speaker did not mean any specific house, as it does not have any

significance for the story, but rather refers to an entity representative of the ontological category of houses.⁵ The definiteness of the noun ‘door’ can be explained by the phenomenon of associative anaphora. As every house usually has a door, the speaker uses the definite article in the frame of cognitive psychology. Löbner (1998, 1) argues that “associative anaphora involves a hidden link or anchor which has to be introduced earlier.” In the analysed passage, therefore, the definiteness of the door is anchored in the cognitive frame of the house.

1.5. The Indefinite-Specific and New Topic Marking

I already have pointed out that this study takes a particular interest in the space between absolute definiteness and absolute indefiniteness, namely, different degrees of individuation. As observed by Khan (1988, XXXVIII): “It is more accurate to state that some [nominals] are more individuated than others.” One instance of such ambiguity is the indefinite-specific, which designates nouns that are syntactically indefinite, but possess a higher level of referentiality than indefinite nouns normally do (Wald 1983; Brustad 2000, 26). In Jewish Gabes, *wāḥad* functions as the marker of indefinite-specific nouns, while simultaneously playing an important role in the discourse, namely, introducing a new topic. This article seems to be well-established in the dialect and its occurrence is relatively high, as can be inferred from the data

⁵ Similar interpretation of the term ‘generic’ appears in the Egyptian joke provided by Brustad (2000, 32). There, parallel to the definiteness of the house in the passage I am analysing, a restaurant occurring at the very beginning of the joke bears the definite article.

presented above. This calls into question the statement made by Marçais (1977, 163), who claims that the distribution of *wāḥda* in Maghrebi Arabic follows a decreasing tendency from West to East, with extremely high occurrence in Morocco and vestigial distribution in Libya and Tunisia, where it is “impossible.” Both my findings and a text from Jewish Tripoli prove this statement to be wrong (Yoda 2005).

Brustad (2000, 36) argues that a new topic can be introduced in many ways in different dialects of Arabic, and can be indefinite, indefinite-specific, or sometimes definite. Based on her data, she established that the last option is particularly well attested in Moroccan. In contradistinction, in Jewish Gabes, the indefinite-specific almost always introduces a character who is new to the hearer but will reoccur and play a significant role in the discourse, like in the following example:

(1) *mša l-wāḥda ʕažūža u qālla*

go.SFX DEF-one.FS old woman and say.SFX.3MS.her

aʕmālli mžiya əmši u əxtbiha

make.IMP.FS.me favour go.IMP.FS and ask.IMP.FS.her

‘He went to an old woman and said to her: please do me a favour, go and ask her for her hand.’ (5:16)

Here the old woman is preceded by *wāḥda* by virtue of her newness in the story, but simultaneously, soon she will become one

of the key figures in this part of the tale, and the speaker therefore needed to highlight her textual prominence.⁶ Very often, a nominal that is at first marked by *wāḥad* is immediately repeated followed by the definite marker and proximal demonstrative pronoun:

(2) *tamma ṣalṭān wāḥad aṣ-ṣalṭān hāda*

there.is sultan INDF DEF-sultan this

ʕandu bənt ʕžžə ʕalī yāsər

at.him daughter dear.FS on.him a lot

‘There was a sultan, this sultan had a daughter who was very dear to him.’ (4:1–2)

Example (2) illustrates the mechanism by which a figure that was introduced as unknown to the hearer is at the same time one of the key players of the discourse. Apart from the discourse dimension of this example of indefinite-specific marking, a sultan, as an entity of high animacy and agency, always attracts definiteness and individuation. A similar way of introducing a textually prominent yet indefinite figure entails a relative clause. The following example comes from Jewish Tunis, and the boy who appears in this passage is at the same time the main topic of the discourse:

⁶ Another difference between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes is that, in the former, *wāḥad* is followed by the definite article and a noun. By contrast, in Jewish Gabes, the noun is usually not preceded by the definite article.

- (3) *māš nədūyu ʕla wāḥəd wləd ʔlli*
 go.AP.MS talk.PFX.1PL on INDF boy REL
ža l-waqt tāʕu bāš yəlbəš tʔəllimu
 come.SFX.3MS DEF-time of.him SUB wear.PFX.3MS tefilin.his
 ‘Nous allons parler d’un garçon qui a atteint l’âge auquel
 on procède à la cérémonie de la majorité religieuse.’
 (Cohen 1964, 28)

Contrary to this example, in some instances, a nominal which will not play any role in the discourse and is of low animacy is not marked in any way:

- (4) *tamma bīr ġārəq yāsər wa l-bīr hāda*
 there.is well deep a lot and DEF-well this
li yədxal fī ymūt ma yəṭlaʕ
 REL enter.PFX.3MS in.it die.PFX.3MS NEG leave.PFX.3MS.NEG
 ‘There was a very deep well and whoever goes in dies, does
 not go out.’ (2:57)

As the above example indicates, the adjective that follows the nominal changes its status from indefinite to something that can be described as unmarked indefinite specific. The speaker states the existence of the specific water well, but at the same time, it will not reappear in the discourse and it could therefore not admit *wāḥəd*.

The same rule of a lack of any marking on textually non-prominent nouns applies also to animate entities, as in the following example:

- (5) *rqāt mra samya u tarhi fi-l-qamḥ*
 find.SFX.3FS woman blind and grind.PFX.3FS in-DEF-wheat
 ‘She found a blind woman, she was grinding wheat.’ (4:18–19)

Here again, the indefinite and general character of this woman is cancelled by additional information about her provided by the adjective and the following verbal clause. Nevertheless, the referent does not have discourse prominence and therefore is not flagged by the indefinite specific.

1.6. Definite Marking in Jewish Gabes as opposed to Moroccan

To delineate the fundamental characteristics of the definiteness system in Jewish Gabes, I intend to scrutinise specific examples from Moroccan Arabic and subsequently juxtapose them with analogous usages in Jewish Gabes. According to Brustad’s (2000, 36) analysis, among all Arabic dialects, Moroccan Arabic exhibits the highest prevalence of definite nouns, often contravening established definiteness norms. Consequently, this typological comparison has the capacity to unveil substantial disparities in the definiteness framework within the same dialectal cluster, i.e., the Maghrebi varieties. One notable instance of unexpected definite article usage occurs in the initial mention of an entity in a story:

Table 64: Points of divergence between the system of definiteness in Jewish Gabes and Moroccan Arabic

Jewish Gabes	Moroccan ⁷
(1) <i>l-məštaǧni ma ʕandūš wlād u l-ṣāwāli ʕandu yāsər zǧār</i> (3:3) ‘The rich one does not have children and the poor one has a lot of them.’	<i>hāda wāḥəd ər-rāžəl maʕandūš l-wlād, ʕandu ġi[r]</i> <i>l-mra</i> ‘This is a man who has no children. He has only a wife.’
(2) <i>kif ənti māši l-raḥḥi, aṭəlbū ʕalāš āna ma ʕandīš ḥūt fi-l-bḥar</i> (3:19) ‘Once you go to God, ask him why I do not have fish in the sea.’	<i>maši tšūf b-ʕīnk tqūl rāh kāyn l-ḥūt</i> ‘You will see with your own eyes and say there are fish.’
(3) <i>hrab mən-l-blād u ʕfār l-blād oxra</i> (6:66) ‘He fled from the town and travelled to another city.’	<i>xəllāwha b-l-kərš w xwāw blād w ʕamməru blād</i> ‘They left her pregnant and moved to another city.’

As can be seen in the first two examples, the dialects differ in terms of the use of the definite article. In example (1) in Moroccan, the non-existent noun is marked as definite despite the low level of salience. On the other hand, the same noun in Jewish Gabes is treated as non-individuated and therefore indefinite. In a similar vein, in example (2), a generic and non-specific noun ‘fish’ is marked as definite, while in this specific passage in Jewish Gabes, it is indefinite.⁸ Contrary to this, an indefinite noun

⁷ The examples have been borrowed from Brustad (2000, 36-37).

⁸ In the final part of the story, this noun reappears in the same question and is marked as definite. This discrepancy is presumably owed to the fact that ‘fish’ were mentioned previously and are therefore textually more specific in this context.

occurs in both dialects in the third example. The syntactic behaviour exhibited by Jewish Gabes is in line with the usual grammatical rules, namely, first mentions of non-individuated nouns are usually unmarked.

The unexpected definite marking in Moroccan, according to Brustad (2000, 38), is best explained by the specificity and animacy factors. All three examples from Moroccan are of low individuation and salience, but the first two are animate and hence the definite marking appears. In Jewish Gabes, the animacy factor is operational, but only in a limited way, namely, inanimate nouns of low individuation are almost always unmarked, but, as the above examples show, some animate entities are not marked either. Passages (1:22), (4:25), (4:63), and (4:92) contain exclusively inanimate nouns with zero marking. Passage (7:85) is an example that could theoretically call this statement into question, since animate entities with low individuation are marked as definite:

(6) *qām* *f-əṣ-ṣbāḥ* *u* *lqa* *l-qatṭūša*

get up.SFX.3MS in-DEF-morning and find.SFX.3MS DEF-cat

tmaʕwi *u* *l-ḡāḡa* *tgərgər* *u* *hāda*

meow.PFX.3FS and DEF-hen chirp.PFX.3FS and this

qāllu: *šnūwa* *hāda?*

say.SFX.3MS.him what this

‘He woke up in the morning and found a cat meowing and a hen crowing and he said: what is that?’ (7:85)

Similarly to passage (4:18–19), one would expect here zero marking, signalling the first mention on the one hand, and the hearer’s unfamiliarity with the referent on the other. The sultan fell victim

to his wife's ambush and woke up in a completely unknown place. The reason why these nouns are definite is their high agency, as they are agents of verbs. Here, in this particular topic span, they play an active role in the dynamic of the situation; it is the end of the story, and this scene leads the sultan to the final confrontation with his wife, hence the agency and definite marking.

Another example of an unusual use of the definite article is related to what has previously been mentioned in this chapter as virility. Brustad (2000, 38) quotes a woman who, when referring to giving birth to a girl, does not use any marking, but the definite article appears when she says that she delivered a son. Below, one can find the example in question with parallel examples from Jewish Gabes containing word *wəld* 'son':

(7) Moroccan:

gā[l]t-lu wlədt bənt. gāl-lha gūli-li šnu wlədti rāh ?ila wlədti l-bənt⁹ ga-ndəbħk wndbəħha. Ta šāft-u zāyd-lha b-l-mūs, gā[l]t-lu hda, wlədt l-wəld

'She told him, "I had a girl." He told her, "Tell me what you had—if you had a girl, I will slay you and slay her." Until she saw him coming at her with the knife. She told him, "Calm down, I had a son.'"

⁹ The definite marking of the 'daughter' in this sentence is presumably due to its mention in the previous sentence.

(8) Jewish Gabes:

*mər̥tu əl-lūwla kənət žərbīya mātətlu, kānu sandu bənt u wəld,
əl-bənt xdāha rəbbi bīrəs, u l-wəld hrəq rūḥu, xātər šāf ša samlu
fī-ruṣalayim, ma tāqəš* (8:20)

‘His first wife was from Djerba, she died, he had a daughter and a son, the daughter got married to rabbi Peretz, while the son killed himself because he had seen what they did in Jerusalem, he did not stand it.’

(9) *əl-mṛa ḥablət, tžīb wəld, ma təmmaš škūn yaqtlu* (2:55)

‘The woman was pregnant, gave birth to a son, there is no one to kill him.’

(10) *baʿd yāmāt, hīya žābət wəld* (4:45)

‘After some time, she gave birth to a boy.’

(11) *hīya žābət wəld, ḥattətlo bəžawonk ʿal fəddu* (6:12)

‘She gave birth to a boy and put the bracelet on his shin.’

The examples from Jewish Gabes clearly indicate that the concept of ‘virility’ does not attract definite marking as it does in Moroccan. The gender of a child notwithstanding, it is the first mention which brings about the encoding of the item as indefinite.¹⁰ Similarly, in the Bedouin dialect of Douz, the factor of virility does not seem to affect the system of definiteness (e.g.,

¹⁰ In Jewish Tripoli, similarly to Jewish Gabes, the gender of a child does not affect the indefinite marking (Yoda 2005, 298).

yžahhim šalā wlad b-is-sīr kābis nuṣṣa,¹¹ Ritt-Benmimoun 2011, 280).

Nonetheless, there are some similarities between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes in terms of definite marking. One of them is inalienable possession, especially in the context of nouns designating familial relations. As has been observed by Brustad (2000, 39), these nouns in Moroccan almost never occur without any marking. This is also the case in Jewish Gabes, where all of them either are preceded by the definite article or have a possessive pronoun.

- (12) *omha ṡātām flūš ṡātām*
 mother.her give.SFX.3FS.them money give.SFX.3FS.them
əlbāš u mšāw
 clothes and go.SFX.3PL
 ‘Her mother gave them money, gave them clothes and they left.’ (2:21)

- (13) *waqt l-omṡa kānət fi-l-kūžina əl-bənt*
 when DEF-mother be.SFX.3FS in-DEF-kitchen DEF-daughter
ḥaṭṭətlā šəmm wa l-omṡa ma ṡarfəṭš
 put.SFX.3FS.her poison and DEF-mother NEG understand.SFX.3FS.NEG
 ‘While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter put poison [in the mother’s food], but the mother did not know that.’ (4:118)

¹¹ Ritt-Benmimoun gives the following translation: “Es jagt einem Jungen Furcht ein, der mit einem Riemen seine Körperhälfte zusammensnürt.”

Another point of convergence between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes is an asymmetry of noun-adjective phrases. According to the rules of Arabic, when a phrase is definite, both its members should be definite.¹² However, as shown by Brustad (2000, 41), in Moroccan, a definite phrase where only the noun bears the definite article is permitted. A similar example has been found in Jewish Gabes:

(14) Moroccan:

ka-ytbāʕu f-l-ḥānūt ʕaʕri
 PVPT-be.sold.PFX.3PL in-DEF-shop modern
 ‘They are sold in a modern house.’

(15) Jewish Gabes:

xdāw rəbṭū fi-l-ḥbəl ḡlīḍ
 take.SFX.3PL tied.up.SFX.3PL.him in-DEF-rope thick
u daxxlū hbaṭ lūṭa
 and enter.SFX.3PL.him descend.SFX.3MS down
 ‘They took him and tied him up with a thick rope and put him [in the well], he descended.’ (2:62)

This inconsistency can potentially be explained by the continuum of individuation. The less individuated the noun, the higher the probability that the adjective will not be definite (Brustad 2000, 42). Such an explanation would be valid for Jewish Gabes, since the ‘thick rope’ from the above example is inanimate, non-individuated, and textually non-prominent. Nonetheless, the phrase

¹² Despite this general tendency, there are in Classical Arabic cases of noun phrases where only the first part of the construct state is marked by the definite article, e.g., *ath-thalāthu rijālīn* ‘the three men’ (Wright 2005, II:264).

is definite by virtue of associative anaphora, i.e., the action of tying someone up presupposes the use of a rope.

Lack of agreement between definiteness of noun and adjective is not only a characteristic feature of the aforementioned North African dialects, but also plays a part in the discussion regarding the very origin of the definite article in Semitic. According to the common explanation, the definite article in West Semitic, reconstructed as **han* for Arabic and Hebrew, derives from an attributive demonstrative (Rubin 2005, 72–76). However, as has been shown by Pat-El (2009, 42), this theory is at odds with numerous examples of the use of the definite article in Semitic languages. Based on her findings, she argues that, originally, the article was attached only to non-predicative adjectival forms, and only later was it expanded also to the head noun. Indeed, there are numerous languages, including Judaeo-Arabic and modern Arabic dialects (especially those of the Gulf and the Levant), where only the adjective bears the definite article (Blau 1952, 33; Pat-El 2009, 33). Both Blau (1961, 161) and Feghali (1928) attempted to explain this inconsistency through ‘compositum’, namely, according to this theory, speakers treat a noun modified by an adjective as one entity. Pat-El (2009, 37) rejected this assumption, arguing that, if the phrase were supposed to be understood as a whole, the article would be prefixed and not medial. In the case of Jewish Gabes and Moroccan, where the nominal phrase is indeed preceded by the definite article, this assumption would be valid, and thus it may be concluded that speakers would indeed treat a nominal phrase of low animacy and individuation as a single whole.

1.7. The Animacy Factor in Jewish Gabes

It has previously been mentioned that textually non-prominent entities with low animacy usually tend to be unmarked. Nonetheless, in my data from Jewish Gabes, there are a few exceptional instances, where an inanimate noun acquires animacy through a literary device. Text (7) contains several examples of anthropomorphism, which is the principal feature of the metaphoric language of the main character of the story:

Table 65: Anthropomorphism in Text (7)

Inanimate definite article	Anthropomorphic use
<i>əṣ-ṣəltān tʃadda, lqā yəzra fi-l-bṣəl</i> (7:7)	<i>qāllu: əl-bṣəl hāda, tāklu wəlla yāklək?</i> (7:8)
‘When the sultan was passing by, he found [him] planting onion.’	‘He asked him: this onion, you will eat it, or will it eat you?’
<i>qāllu: tuwwa nḥabbək tqūlli əz-zrāra</i> (7:21)	<i>kif ytaḷḷsu ṣtaḷḷ mən bīr, šnūwa yqūl</i> (7:22)
‘He said: now I want you to tell me, a water well.’	‘When people take out a bucket from a well, what does it say?’
<i>nḥabbək tqūlli: šnūwa yqūlu, əš-šəžwa, kif haṭṭūha ʔal əl-nār</i> (7:16)	<i>šnūwa tqūl, kif yṭəyybu əl-qahwa bə-šəžwa, šnūwa tqūl?</i> (7:16)
‘I want you to tell me now: what they would say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on the fire.’	‘What does it say? When people prepare a coffee in a kettle, what does it say?’

In all three examples, the highlighted nouns occur in questions and seemingly do not have any textual prominence, yet they are marked as definite. Their definiteness is best explained as being rooted in their level of animacy. Every question presupposes that the entity is able to speak. In the answers given to the sultan, these entities turn out also to be able to act independently, and thus they possess some degree of agency.

1.8. Conclusions

This section has shown that the notion of definiteness does not function independently, but rather coexists with other linguistic concepts in creating various shades of specificity present in a natural language. Of the wide array of different qualities that condition the definiteness of a noun, there are in Jewish Gabes two factors that should be highlighted: animacy and textual prominence. The latter is of special importance, since, as this study has proven, textual prominence as a quality is more important than other features. The comparison with Moroccan indicates that Jewish Gabes is not governed by the same rules of definiteness, and the factors of animacy and virility do not operate in the two dialects in question in the same way. Finally, this study has confirmed that the traditional dichotomic approach to definiteness is inaccurate in the case of Jewish Gabes, and speakers utilise other syntactic devices in order to differentiate levels of definiteness.

2.0. Genitive Constructions

This section aims to explore genitive constructions present in Jewish Gabes. As in virtually every modern Arabic dialect, the genitive can be expressed in two ways, namely synthetically or analytically. Eksell (2009, 35) argues that these two forms of a genitive relationship in fact represent two parallel systems, each possessing its own dynamics. From a historical point of view, the analytic system, which encodes the genitive by means of a special exponent, is a dialectal innovation (Eksell 1980, 10). Indeed, in CA, the default way to express a genitive relationship is through

annexation of two terms and inflection of the second one with the genitive case. Nevertheless, throughout the history of Arabic, there also existed alternative, analytic, means of expressing a genitive. Blau (1965, 82) mentions the particles *li* ‘for, belonging to’ and *min* ‘of’ as ways of introducing genitive constructions in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic. The emergence of a fully established and functional analytical genitive construction can be accounted for by the fact that almost all modern Arabic dialects have lost their case system.¹³ Nowadays, both systems coexist and encode different types of possession. The present study will attempt to determine the factors conditioning the distribution of the two types of genitive construction in Jewish Gabes, as well as identifying some cross-dialectal parallels.

2.1. Data

Construct State

1. *šnūwa yhūd žbāl yaʕmlu? ya žbālī, əl-ʕōmər kla bhīm*
‘And what were the Jews of mountains doing? O mountaineer, a donkey has eaten the Omer.’
2. *qāl: āna ^{HE}ʕani^{HE} u əl-xabža nḥabb nākəlhə, aʕtini nfayyəs xabža, wa aʕtini ḥžina šmīʕa, u qritiš wqīd bāš nəšʕlha*
(1:19)
‘He said: I am poor and I would like to eat the bread, so give me half of it and give me a (poor, miserable) candle and a box of matches so I can light it.’

¹³ Vestiges of the case system can be found in some Bedouin dialects of the Gulf, especially in the poetic register and in speech of some less educated speakers, where a suffix /-in/ denotes an indefinite noun (Brustad 2000, 28).

3. *ašmlilu ḥžina oxra u daxlilu kəməša lwīž fi-l-šažin* (1:38)
 ‘Make another [pitiful bread] and put a handful of coins inside the dough.’

Genitive Exponent

4. *yāxdu šwəya mən mālḥ tāš ōmer waqt yəmsīw yšaḷḷiw*
 ‘They were taking a bit of the Omer salt when they were going to pray.’
5. *tamma wāḥəd, yəqʕad taḥt šəzra tāš blaḥ* (2:15)
 ‘There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm.’
6. *mšāt l-naxla tāš rman, qaššət l-šarūf, nəzrəthum u təḍrəblu fi-rəžlih mən lūṭa* (2:23)
 ‘She went to the pomegranate tree, collected some branches, bound them, and started hitting his feet from beneath.’

2.2. The Genitive Exponent from a Cross-Dialectal Perspective

The distribution of genitive exponents is uneven, both typologically and geographically, across the Arabic-speaking world. It has been pointed out by many scholars (Marçais 1977; Eksell 1980; Naim 2011) that the synthetic construction is preferred in the Bedouin dialects of the Sahara, while the analytic one prevails in sedentary dialects. One can expect, therefore, that the distribution of *iḍāfa* in Jewish Gabes will be considerably limited. Below, one can find some selected genitive exponents from different geographical regions:¹⁴

¹⁴ The table is based mostly on Naim (2011).

Table 66: Genitive exponents in selected dialects of Arabic

Genitive exponent	Region
<i>dyāl</i> / <i>d-</i>	Morocco
<i>əddi</i> (Djиджели), <i>əlli</i> (Constantine)	Algeria
<i>ntāʕ</i> , <i>mtāʕ</i> , <i>tāʕ</i>	Libya, Tunisia
<i>ḥagg</i> , <i>ḥaqq</i>	Arabian Peninsula, Galilee Bedouin, Sudan
<i>māl</i>	Iraq, Oman, Yemen
<i>dīl</i> , <i>dēl</i>	Qəltu dialects of upper and lower Iraq, Anatolia, Syria–Lebanon–Palestine
<i>lēl</i>	Qəltu dialects, Daragözü, Sudan
<i>bitāʕ</i>	Egypt

This provisional comparison clearly indicates that the genitive exponent in various dialects has different etymological origins. Eksell (2009, 39) divides them in two main groups: those deriving from a noun denoting possession, e.g., *ḥagg* in Şanʕānī Arabic, which, when isolated, means ‘property, right’ (Watson 1993, 220), and those that originate in a relative/demonstrative pronoun, e.g., CA *allāḏī* > Moroccan *dyāl*. Tunisian *ntāʕ* would therefore fall into the first category, as it originally denoted property or possession.

From a historical point of view, the function of *ntāʕ* as a genitive exponent is already attested in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic (Blau 1961, 159). It is well established in a wide array of the North African dialects and is particularly operative in sedentary dialects. Similarly widespread is Moroccan *dyāl*, which, according to Brustad (2000, 85), is found in the highest frequency of any genitive particle among all Arabic dialects covered by her research. On the other hand, *dēl*–*lēl* exponents in Mesopotamia and Anatolia are obsolete and not productive. This discrepancy

has been explained by Eksell (2009, 48) by means of an Aramaic substratum. According to Eksell, while Moroccan *dyāl* seems to derive from *allāḏi*, Mesopotamian *ḏēl* presumably originates in the Aramaic particle /d-/ and therefore has ultimately been rejected as a foreign element. Nevertheless, as argued by Heath (2015), the Arabic-internal origin of the Moroccan particle *dya*l is dubious. Instead, it has been suggested that *dya*l stems from the Late Latin genitive particle *dē* and reflects the earliest stages of the formation of Moroccan Arabic.

2.3. The Synthetic Genitive in Jewish Gabes

In this section, I shall discuss two types of synthetic genitive present in Jewish Gabes, namely, an annexation phrase consisting of two nominals, and an annexation phrase in which the annexed term is modified by a pronoun.¹⁵ Several restrictions govern the first type of annexation: the annexed term cannot admit the definite article, nor can it be an inherently definite noun, like a proper name or pronoun. When a phrase is definite, only the annex takes the definite article. In an annexation phrase, when the annexed term ends with /-a/, this is replaced by an allomorph -ət/at. Jewish Gabes, like many other modern Arabic dialects, does not usually permit a phrase consisting of more than two nominal annexes.¹⁶ Potential multiple annexation strings are broken by the genitive exponent. An annexation phrase can be

¹⁵ These terms have been borrowed from the syntax of Ṣanṣānī dialect (Watson 1993, 173).

¹⁶ The same rule exists, *inter alia*, in Ṣanṣānī Arabic and in other Maghrebi dialects (Marçais 1977, 171; Watson 1993, 176).

modified attributively by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun, in which case the attribute is mandatorily in agreement with the annexed term.

An annexation phrase is applied in a number of genitive constructions associated with certain semantic fields. Below I present the main types of genitive occurring in Jewish Gabes, named after the semantic value of the relationship they denote. Their character can be either identificatory, indicating the relationship of possession, or classificatory, indicating a type or kind of the annexed term.¹⁷ The examples come from both the text corpus and questionnaires.

2.3.1. Synthetic Genitive of Place

The first example is clearly classificatory, as it distinguishes the group of the Jews living in the mountains from other Jews. The next two examples are identificatory and indicate an inalienable possession. While, in the first and second examples, the synthetic genitive could be replaced respectively by the analytic prepositional construction with *ntāf* and by the preposition *fī* 'in', i.e., **yhūd ntāf žbəl* and **žāra fī-l-ḥamma* (lit. 'pilgrimage in El-Hamma'), in the third one, meaning literally 'the heart of the house', such replacement is rejected as ungrammatical, probably due to the fixed character of the phrase.

¹⁷ This distinction has been borrowed from *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic* by Mark W. Cowell (1964, 458).

1. *yhūd əž-žbəl* 'Jews of mountains'
2. *žyārat əl-ḥamma* 'pilgrimage to El-Hamma'
3. *qəlb əd-dār* 'the house interior'

2.3.2. Synthetic Genitive of Quantity

This type of annexation is exclusively classificatory and, contrary to Moroccan, cannot be replaced analytically by means of *ntāf*.¹⁸ As can be inferred from the following examples, the genitive of quantity is very often indefinite:

1. *nfayyəs xabža* 'little half a bread loaf'
2. *nəfš šāfa* 'half an hour'
3. *rāš əl-bšəl* 'one onion'

2.3.3. Synthetic Genitive of Description

The basic function of the genitive of description is to add an attributive value to the annexed term. Therefore, the type of annexation it represents should be defined as classificatory. It can be replaced periphrastically by the genitive exponent.

1. *lḥam ṣallūš* 'lamb meat'
2. *ṣətt əl-bḥar* 'seashore'
3. *žin əl-gumra* 'the beauty of the moon'

¹⁸ Brustad (2000, 89) gives an example of *xəmsa d drāḥəm* 'five drahms', which in Jewish Gabes was categorically rejected as ungrammatical. Similarly, in Šanfānī Arabic, the use of the genitive exponent is not permitted in this case; nonetheless, a periphrasis with the preposition *min* is acceptable (Watson 1993, 186).

2.3.4. Synthetic Genitive of Possession

This type of genitive covers both alienable (e.g., house) and inalienable (e.g., parts of the body) possession. It is particularly operative in the semantic field of kinship and parts of the body. As the first example demonstrates, the annex can be indefinite. While an alienable possession can be expressed analytically, e.g., *ḍār ntāṣ ḥāḥāy* ‘my father’s house’, some phrases expressing human relationships cannot. An informant categorically rejected the forms **l-uṣṣṣ ntāṣk* ‘your mother’, **l-ḥū ntāṣk* ‘your father’, and **l-xū ntāṣk* ‘your brother’ as ungrammatical, but accepted the form *wāld ntāḥḥa* ‘her child’ as an indicative equivalent of *wāldha*. On the other hand, body parts are acceptable in a periphrasis, e.g., *l-wdān ntāṣk* ‘your ear’.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>mārt xūya</i> | ‘the sister of my brother’ |
| 2. <i>wāld əṣ-ṣəltān</i> | ‘the sultan’s son’ |
| 3. <i>ḍār ḥāḥāy</i> | ‘my father’s house’ |
| 4. <i>wādṇək wa yāddək</i> | ‘your ear and your hand’ |

2.4. The Analytic Genitive in Jewish Gabes

The genitive exponent *ntāṣ* in Jewish Gabes has several truncated allomorphs: *tāṣ*, *taṣ*, and *ta*. Eksell (2009, 36) points out that, in Morocco and Algeria, the analytic genitive is the ordinary way to express the genitive. This suggests, therefore, that its occurrence would be high in Tunisia also, especially among sedentary dialects. Indeed, as can be inferred from my data, the use of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes is much more frequent than that of the synthetic one. As has been mentioned above, in many

cases, the analytic annexation can replace the synthetic one, but there are cases where only the periphrasis is possible.

In Jewish Gabes, the exponent does not exhibit number or gender agreement with the annexed term. Despite the fact that lack of agreement is the prevalent option in the Maghrebi dialects, some Bedouin dialects of Algeria and Morocco possess also feminine *mtāṣat* and plural *mtāwṣ* forms. Similarly, parallel forms have been attested in several Bedouin dialects of Southern Tunisia and Libya, where one finds also distinct plural forms: *mtāṣīn* and *mtāṣāt* (Marçais 1977, 168). However, among all the Arabic dialects, only in Egyptian are gender and number agreement obligatory (Brustad 2000, 72).

Following the taxonomy applied to the synthetic genitive, I shall now itemise the main types of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes.

2.4.1. Analytic Genitive of Alienable Possession

This type of genitive can be used interchangeably with the synthetic genitive of possession; however, the analytic genitive highlights the annexed term, often in a contrastive manner:

1. *l-žnəbb ntāṣ l-bənt* ‘the daughter’s side’
2. *əṣ-ṣūra tāṣ l-ṣarūša* ‘the bride’s dowry’
3. *l-məžān tāṣkəm* ‘your scale’
4. *ləbša tāṣ* ^{HE}saba^{HE} ‘grandfather and grandmother’s
u ^{HE}sāvta^{HE} clothes’

2.4.2. Analytic Genitive of Attribution

This corresponds to the synthetic genitive of description and can potentially be replaced by it. It seems, however, that the analytic annexation denotes more individuated referents:

1. *ṣəzʒra kbīra tāʃ blaḥ* 'the big fruit tree'
2. *naxla tāʃ ʔmān* 'the pomegranate tree'
3. *məlh tāʃ ^{HE}ōmer^{HE}* 'the Omer salt'

2.4.3. Analytic Genitive of Time

While the first two examples can be replaced by synthetic annexation, expression of time can only be achieved analytically, either by means of the genitive exponent, or by the preposition *fī*.

1. *^{HE}xōdəš^{HE} tāʃ ^{HE}nissan^{HE}* 'the month of Nissan'
2. *līl tāʃ ^{HE}bīšaḥ^{HE}* 'the night of Passover'
3. *tlāta tāʃ šbāḥ* 'three in the morning'

2.4.4. Analytic Genitive of Place

The basic function of this type of genitive is to narrow the focus of the annexed term. It can potentially be replaced by the synthetic construction, but the two types of genitive differ in meaning. While *yhūd tūnəš* bears the meaning of classification, pointing taxonomically to the distinctiveness of the Jews of Tunis from other Jews, *yhūd tāʃ tūnəš* is focusing on the place of their origin. In the sentence: *žāw yhūd tāʃ tūnəš* 'the Jews of Tunis came', the speaker is stressing the fact that the Jews came from Tunis, and therefore the focus is on their place of origin, and not on their ethnic distinctiveness from other Jews.

1. *yhūd tāf tūnəš* 'the Jews of Tunis'
2. *əz-ʒgār tāf škūla* 'the children of the school'
3. *xabž tāf šūq* 'bread of the market'

2.5. Formal Restrictions

As has been observed by many scholars (Marçais 1977, 171; Eksell 1980, 106; Brustad 2000, 74), the choice between the synthetic and the analytic genitive is very often restricted by some formal factors. In the case of Jewish Gabes, a few motivations can be distinguished. The first of them is related to the high occurrence of Hebrew loans, which never form synthetic annexation. My data includes the following examples: ^{HE}agada^{HE} *ntāʕna* 'our Aggāda', ^{HE}abīl^{HE} *ntāʕu* 'his mourning', ^{HE}šəbbat^{HE} *ntāʕu* 'his shabbat', *məllḥ tāf* ^{HE}ōmer^{HE} 'the Omer salt'. Secondly, a multi-term noun phrase is usually broken by the genitive exponent, e.g., ^{HE}rōš^{HE} *əl-*^{HE}xōdəš^{HE} *tāʕa* ^{HE}nissān^{HE} 'the beginning of the month of Nissan'. Finally, the syllable structure of some words does not permit direct annexation, namely, when a noun ends with a vowel other than the feminine marker /-a/, e.g., *əl-kərši ntāʕi* 'my chair', *əd-ḏuww ntāʕha* 'her light'.

2.6. The Genitive and Definiteness

It is widely accepted that the genitive exponent in the dialects of Arabic is the domain of specific and individuated phrases, as opposed to the construct phrase, which tends to be correlated with general relations of kinship and possession (Brustad 2000, 80). I also previously mentioned another distinction, namely, that any

type of genitive can function either for individuation, or for classification. The former is closely related to the notion of possession, and therefore denotes highly individuated items, which can potentially also be expressed by synthetic annexation with a pronoun. Contrary to this, the classificatory genitive is associated with annexation phrases of low individuation and general identity, which function as generic examples of their kind (Brustad 2000, 80). Nonetheless, this distinction is not always completely clear. For example, Brustad (2000, 80) argues that the example from Egyptian given by Eksell (1980, 87), *il-kitāb bitāf is-siḥr* 'the book of magic', demonstrates the use of a classificatory construction, since it refers to a specific type of book. This interpretation rather goes against the rules established by Cowell (1964, 461) for Syrian Arabic. Even though the phrase is definite, the type of genitive indicates a type of book, i.e., a book of magic and not, for example, a book of prayers, and thus does not contain the element of possession required for identification.

Brustad (2000, 81) also noticed that, while Egyptian Arabic uses the exponent only to identify and not to classify, in Moroccan and Kuwaiti it serves both purposes. It could be assumed, therefore, that the individuation and specificity of a noun do not entirely dictate the use of the genitive exponent in Moroccan, as it also fulfils a classificatory function, which is usually associated with low-individuation phrases. The situation in Jewish Gabes seems to resemble that of Moroccan, namely, the individuation and definiteness of the annexed term are only tangentially related to the distribution of the genitive exponent, i.e., the genitive exponent does not occur exclusively in definite phrases. However,

depending on the definiteness of the phrase, it can fulfil different functions. When it is found in a definite phrase, it can have contrastive or deictic value, while in an indefinite phrase, its function is mainly classificatory. An example of the latter is seen in the following passage:

- (1) *mšāt l-naxla tāf řmān qaššət l-řrūf*
 go.SFX.3FS to-palm GEN pomegranate cut.PFX.3FS DEF-branches
 ‘She went to the pomegranate tree, cut some sticks.’ (2:23)

The reference here is the type of tree, namely, the speaker highlights that it is a pomegranate tree because it has sharp branches, and this in turn will be important in the following part of the story. On the other hand, when the exponent functions as identificatory in a definite phrase, it can have a contrastive aspect:

- (2) *řamlət kəřkřu u řařřətla*
 make.SFX.3FS couscous and put.SFX.3FS.her
řəmm ři-l-řnəbb tāř l-bənt
 poison in-DEF-side GEN DEF-daughter
 ‘She prepared couscous and put poison on the daughter’s side.’ (4:116)

In this example, the exponent introduces a contrast between the side of the daughter, which has poison, and the side of the mother. This distinction plays a key role in the story, because ultimately the daughter will change the sides and, as a consequence, cause the death of her mother-in-law.

Another role of the analytic genitive particle is to draw special attention to the annex through the function of deixis, e.g.:

(3) *əl-wəld tāʕ hādi əl-mʁa*

DEF-boy GEN this DEF-woman

‘The child of this woman.’

However, in some cases, the definiteness of an analytic annexation is affected by associative anaphora. In the following example, there is no reference to any specific dowry. The passage comes from the description of a typical wedding in Gabes, and the general and universal dimension of this narrative is reflected by the impersonal verb form. Nonetheless, the dowry, notwithstanding its non-individuated character, is definite, since every wedding presupposes the existence of a dowry:

(4) *l-nhār yəxšlu əʕ-ʕūra tāʕ l-ʕarūʕa yaʕmlu*

DEF-day clean.PFX.3PL DEF-dowry GEN DEF-bride make.PFX.3PL

u mən ɡadwa ʕḥābha yḥaddədu

and from tomorrow friends.her iron.PFX.3PL

‘One day they would clean the dowry of the bride, make it up, the day after the friends of the bride would iron.’

In sum, it can be established that the genitive exponent in Jewish Gabes plays a classificatory role when in an indefinite phrase, and an identificatory (contrastive, expositive, deictic) role when in a definite one. This assumption confirms Cowell’s (1964, 458) argument that “identification is fundamentally a function of definiteness and classification a function of indefiniteness.”

3.0. Grammatical Concord¹⁹

In this section, I will present the main features of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes, simultaneously outlining the historical background of this phenomenon in Semitic. The term ‘agreement’ denotes a syntactic congruence of words in gender, number, person, and determination (Levi 2013). My investigation will focus primarily on the agreement between adjective and head noun and between subject and predicate. As argued by Hasselbach (2014, 35), agreement depends either on syntax, or on semantics of the phrase. She gives an example of the word ‘committee’, which can be perceived as a unity and therefore take singular agreement, or the focus can be placed on the plurality of its members, in which case the agreement will be plural.²⁰ The semantic perception of the head noun by the speaker will be of particular interest in the following part of the discussion.

3.1. Historical Perspective

Semitic languages exhibit several agreement systems, the origins of which are still matter of discussion among scholars. In North-West Semitic, and especially in Biblical Hebrew and in Aramaic, strict agreement in gender and in number is a general rule gov-

¹⁹ An extended version of this section can be found in a paper ‘Between Analogy and Language Contact: A Case Study of Grammatical Change in Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic Dialects’ (Gębski, forthcoming b).

²⁰ Following Corbett (2006, 4), in my study, I will apply the following terminology: ‘controller’, i.e., the element determining agreement, and ‘target’, i.e., a form determined by agreement (Hasselbach 2014, 35).

erning syntactic relationships between both head nouns and attributive adjectives, and subjects and predicates.²¹ In Classical Ethiopic, on the other hand, only nouns denoting human beings form agreement, while all other animate and inanimate entities lack any agreement. Somewhere between these two extrema is CA, where agreement depends both on animacy, i.e., inanimate nouns take feminine singular agreement, and on position in the sentence, i.e., the subject agrees with the predicate only when it precedes it, not when it follows.

From a historical point of view, nominal agreement arose in different circumstances from verbal agreement. The latter, as argued by Givón (1976) and Hasselbach (2014, 41), is closely related to the grammaticalisation of pronouns, which began with appositional constructions, and subsequently became incorporated into the verb. This theory is supported by evidence from Akkadian and Neo-Aramaic dialects. However, the origin of nominal agreement is less straightforward. One of the theories is related to grammaticalisation, namely, that nominal agreement could have arisen from weak deictic pronouns (Lehmann 1988, 59–60). An alternative explanation, based on parallels found in the Bantu languages, suggests that agreement stems from noun classifiers such as ‘human’, ‘abstract/mass’, etc., which originally had their own markers.

The emergence of agreement is closely related to the rise of gender marking. In Semitic, masculine is the default gender and

²¹ There are numerous examples of incongruence in Biblical Hebrew, stemming from re-writing and editing of the biblical text in different periods of time (Levi 2013).

is unmarked, while feminine is marked by the /-(a)t/ suffix. There are, however, numerous exceptions to this rule, and every Semitic language has a set of unmarked feminine nouns denoting basic vocabulary, like, for example, *ummum* ‘mother’, as well as nouns of variable gender (Hasselbach 2014, 44). Moreover, Semitic has many examples of heteroclisis, i.e., some nouns exhibit mismatch between plural form and gender marker. How exactly the feminine marking arose is still matter of debate among scholars. It is widely accepted that, at an early stage of Semitic, the gender was not marked by an affix, but rather through vowel ablaut and suppletion, and only highly animate nouns were marked for gender. Subsequently, gender marking by means of suffixes started appearing on some targets, while controllers remained unchanged. This suggests that nominal agreement is a secondary development, stemming from gender marking on adjectives, which later spread onto controllers. Beyond this point, each language applied its own rules governing agreement. In the case of CA, two restrictions were imposed, i.e., animacy and position.

3.2. Data Analysis

The data presented below has been obtained by means of a questionnaire:

1. Human feminine plural head nouns:

1. *ən-nša žāw yaṭlbu l-ma*
‘The women came to ask for water.’
2. *ən-nša l-oxrīn kānu yxāfu mənhu*
‘Other women were scared of him.’

3. *bnāt mǝžyānīn yǝžīw l-ʕarš*
'Beautiful women will come for the wedding.'
4. *šāʕāt l-bnāt yǝmšīw yǝštħu*
'Sometimes girls go to dance.'
5. *qḅal kānu nša yūldu fi-l-gīṭūn*
'Earlier women would give birth in tents.'

2. Human masculine plural head nouns:

1. *fi-bdu l-ʕarš əržāla yǝšrbu qahwa*
'At the beginning of the wedding men drink coffee.'
2. *ǝgīrāt dīma yǝlʕabu f-ǝš-šətwān*
'Boys would always play in the court.'
3. *l-nās l-əkḅār žāw*
'The elders have arrived.'
4. *nāš l-kull/kulla žāw yšūfu l-ʕarūša*
'Everyone came to see the bride.'
5. *l-ʕbād l-kḅār ma yǝṭlaʕūs mən dārħəm*
'The elderly people do not leave their homes.'

3. Singular nouns denoting groups of people:

1. *ḍār l-ʕarīš bdāw yǝgannīw*
'The family of the groom started singing.'
2. *l-ḅūliṣīya žāw u ḥabbšūhum l-kull*
'The police came and arrested everyone.'

4. Animal head nouns:

1. *l-ʕalālīš mšāw əl-l-wād yǝšrbu l-ma*
'Lambs went to the river to have some water.'
2. *l-ʕšāfir əlli šəfthəm āməš žāw mən ǝš-šahra*
'The birds that you saw yesterday had come from the desert.'

3. *l-tyūr žāw*
'Birds have come.'
4. *tlāta aḥṣānāt, xaṃṣa bgār*
'Three horses, five cows.'
5. *əl-bgār ndəbḥu qbəl l-ṣīd*
'The cows are slaughtered before the festival.'

5. Inanimate head nouns:

1. *ṣrīna bībān əždəd*
'We bought new doors.'
2. *əl-nhārāt yəṭṣaddu bə-šwiya*
'The days pass by slowly.'
3. *tmənya nəxlāt hādu*
'These eight palm trees.'
4. *tlāta xabžāt hādu*
'These three loaves of bread.'
5. *šəbṣa ḥaḡrāt mdəwwrīn u nfathīn*
'Seven round and flat rocks.'

The data presented above clearly demonstrate that there is strict agreement in Jewish Gabes in both the nominal and verbal phrase. The examples have been classified according to the categories of animacy and gender. As can be inferred, regardless of the gender or level of animacy of the controller, almost all the targets are in complete agreement. In what follows, I shall discuss this phenomenon in the wider context of the Jewish and Muslim dialects of North Africa.

Patterns of grammatical agreement have recently gained a lot of attention in scholarship on both literary and dialectal forms of Arabic. The general interest in grammatical concord resulted in several pioneering studies that cast new light on its diachronic

development. In dialectology, agreement patterns in Tunisian Arabic are well described thanks to studies on the Southern Bedouin dialects of Tunisian Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017), as well as those of the urban north (Procházka and Gabsi 2017). There exist numerous studies on this phenomenon in Cairene Arabic (Belnap 1991; 1993; 1994; 1999), the Libyan dialect of Fezzan (D'Anna 2017), and Omani Arabic (Bettega 2018). Similarly, in the realm of Quranic and Classical Arabic, the topic has received a lot of scholarly attention (Ferguson 1989; Belnap and Shabaneh 1992; 1994; Dror 2013; 2016; D'Anna 2020). Finally, the problem of grammatical concord in both written and spoken forms of Arabic has been extensively treated in Bettega and D'Anna (2022). Against this background, grammatical concord in Jewish varieties of North African Arabic remains *terra incognita*. The exception to this tendency is the grammar of Jewish Tripoli, where Yoda (2005, 285) mentions that plural nouns always agree with their arguments.

A study of grammatical concord in Judaeo-Arabic has the potential to make a significant contribution to our knowledge of this grammatical phenomenon for two reasons. Firstly, there exists a wealth of textual Judaeo-Arabic sources, which reflect both the literary and the colloquial language alike, and therefore might reveal invaluable information about the diachronic development of agreement. Secondly, since Judaeo-Arabic dialects were, in the second half of the twentieth century, transplanted from their natural environment into Hebrew-speaking Israel, one can assume that the Israeli Hebrew system of strict agreement

has affected the Judaeo-Arabic system. The study of this phenomenon could be crucial for establishing the sensitivity of grammatical concord in a language contact situation. To this end, in the following paragraphs, I will analyse several examples of grammatical concord in a few dialects of North African Arabic, simultaneously providing historical data where possible. I argue that, as in the case of the /t-/ prefix marking the passive (see chapter 3, §2.2), the generalisation of strict agreement in modern dialects of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic took place at the intersection of analogy and language contact.

One of the most striking features of the syntax of the surviving varieties of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic is their strict grammatical agreement. This tendency stands in striking contrast to the Muslim and Bedouin dialects, where plural controllers low in animacy and individuation trigger agreement with the third person singular feminine. This latter type of agreement will, in the present study, be called ‘deflected’.²² The situation prevalent in these Muslim and Bedouin dialects has in fact a long historical tradition. Some modern dialects, like Cairene and Damascus Arabic, feature a variation between strict and deflected agreement similar to that found in Old Arabic sources (e.g., pre-Islamic poetry) and Christian Middle Arabic, where it reflects colloquial language (Belnap and Gee 1994, 131). In contradistinction to this tendency, in Classical Arabic, a rapid generalisation of the rule

²² This term has been chosen following Belnap and Gee (1994) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2017).

of deflected agreement with nonhuman controllers took place.²³ Against this historical background, two questions arise regarding the evolution of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic. Firstly, do Judaeo-Arabic sources reflecting the spoken language point to a similar level of variation, or rather, has the distribution of deflected agreement in this variety always been rather limited? And secondly, has the prevalence of strict agreement in modern varieties been caused by language contact with Israeli Hebrew, or is it rather rooted in the internal development of Judaeo-Arabic?

In order to better understand the nature of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic, let us first discuss this phenomenon in non-Jewish Arabic from a diachronic perspective. As pointed out below, we can assume with a high degree of certainty that, in contradistinction to Classical Arabic, the system of agreement in non-Jewish Arabic has remained relatively stable, exhibiting variation between the strict and the deflected options. Belnap and Gee (1994), in their quantitative study of the occurrence of different variants of agreement in textual sources from between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrate that agreement with non-human plural heads was at first almost equally distributed between feminine singular, feminine plural, and broken plural. For instance, in works of Imru' al-Qays, from the sixth century, these categories account respectively for 38, 31, and 31 percent of the occurrences, while in Al-Xansaa', from the seventh century, they

²³ As argued by Belnap and Gee (1994, 141), the generalisation of the pre-existing deflected agreement in CA might have taken place due to the scribal practices of non-native speakers of Arabic, who were unsure of the rules of variation between the two types of agreement.

account for 48, 27, and 25 percent. These proportions are disrupted from the seventh century onwards, when deflected agreement becomes the only option for non-human heads. The explanation for this development is rather complex, but we can assume that, with the introduction of the Quran and the activities of grammarians and intellectuals who were not native speakers of Arabic, written Arabic became more prescriptive and more detached from the spoken language.

As stated above, many modern dialects of Arabic still reflect the OA system, which exhibits the two types of agreement. This is also the case in North African dialects when the head is low in individuation and generic. Some examples from Muslim Tunis can be found below (elicited from an informant):

- (1) *l-klēb bdēt tēkal*

DEF-dogs start.SFX.3FS eat.PFX.3FS

‘The dogs started eating.’

- (2) *kif l-ʕbēd bdēt təžri l-qṭaṭes harbət*

when DEF-people start.SFX.3FS run.PFX.3FS DEF-cats flee.SFX.3FS

‘When people started running, the cats fled.’

However, controllers with a higher degree of individuation are in strict agreement with their targets:²⁴

- (3) *ər-ržēl qāʕdīn yošrbu fi-qahwa*

DEF.men sit.AP.PL drink.PFX.3PL in-coffee

‘The men are drinking coffee.’

²⁴ As pointed out by Brustad (2000, 38), the gender of the controller can also affect the choice of agreement, with masculine nouns being more individuated and animate.

As confirmed by Procházka and Gabsi (2017, 245), deflected agreement with human controllers is rather rare and limited to *nās* and *ṣabēd* as collectives denoting people, but other groups of nouns demonstrate a wide array of variation. A similar tendency is attested in the Bedouin dialect of Nifzāwa (Tunisia) and in Benghazi (Libya; Benkato 2014, 88; Ritt-Benmimoun 2017).²⁵

Against this background, in several Jewish dialects of North African Arabic, strict agreement is the only available variant. This has already been pointed out by Yoda (2005) with regard to Jewish Tripoli. Jewish Gabes (Southern Tunisia) and Wad-Souf (Eastern Algeria) are an additional two dialects where, at least synchronically, we observe this tendency. Let us have a look at several examples from Jewish Wad-Souf:

- (4) *kān ṣakkāt kānu yuḍrubu nṣāwīnhām maṣrūfīn*
 be.SFX.3MS families be.SFX.3PL hit.PFX.3PL women know.PP
 ‘There were families, which were known for hitting their women.’
- (5) *kānu nās ygūlu hādī aṣ-ṣakka ṣakkāt aṣ-ṣabda*
 be.SFX.3PL people say.PFX.3PL this DEF-family family DEF-butter
 ‘People would say: this family is very mild (literally: this family is a family of butter).’

²⁵ This tendency is attested to a lesser extent in the south-Libyan dialect of Fezzan, where deflected agreement accounts for only 10% of occurrences of plural heads. Nevertheless, the data for this dialect do not contain abstract and less individuated nouns and are therefore not representative of the overall distribution of deflected agreement (D’Anna 2017, 119).

- (6) *l-mʕāz mātu bi-l-mṛād*

DEF-sheep die.SFX.3PL in-DEF-disease

‘The sheep perished because of the disease.’

- (7) *l-wlād l-kull xaržu mən madrāsa*

DEF-children DEF-all exist.SFX.3PL from school

‘All the children went out of school.’

- (8) *kānu ʕanda tlāṭa arbaʕ xarrāfāt tʕāwəd*

be.SFX.3PL at.her three four tales repeat.PFX.3FS

ʕalim kull maṛra hādākum xarrāfāt

on.them.3PL every time those.3PL tales

‘She had three or four tales, she would repeat them every time, those tales.’

These examples clearly indicate that strict agreement is the general rule in the dialects in question, regardless of the level of individuation, human/non-human distinction, or abstract/concrete distinction. Since neither the dialect of Gabes nor that of Wad-Souf preserved the feminine forms of the plural, all the plural controllers are followed by targets in the masculine form of the plural. This tendency is particularly surprising in the case of Wad-Souf. Inasmuch as Gabes is a first-wave, sedentary dialect, Wad-Souf exhibits numerous Bedouin features, e.g., the realisation of /q/ as /g/ as in *yḡūlu* ‘they say’; preservation of interdental, as in *hāḏi* ‘this (FS)’; and the plural form *nsāwīn* ‘women’, instead of the sedentary form *nsa*. One would expect, therefore, that this explicitly conservative dialect would also reflect the Bedouin-type pattern of agreement, characterised by widespread variation between the strict and deflected options. Since no case of deflected agreement has been attested in this conservative variety,

it seems that either its distribution in the past was only marginal, or that it has never been an option. This assumption is further confirmed by a statistical survey of agreement in Jewish Tunis. Below one can find a table summarising my survey of Cohen's text corpus from 1964:²⁶

Table 67: Agreement patterns in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964)

	Verbs	%	Adjectives	%	Pronouns	%	Total %
Masculine plural	104	90	17	100	31	100	93
Feminine singular	11	10	0	0	0	0	7
Total	115		17		31		

The corpus in question contains mainly transcriptions of free-speech narratives related to the Jewish community in Tunis, but several poems have been included too. The survey has revealed several striking tendencies. Firstly, deflected agreement occurs only in verbs. No occurrences of deflected agreement have been found in adjectives or pronouns. Secondly, out of 163 occurrences of plural heads with targets, only 11 of the targets are in 3FS, which amounts to only seven percent of all the examples. It is important to notice, however, that out of the 11 examples of deflected agreement, three appear in poetry, where they were apparently conditioned by rhyme, as in the following example (Cohen 1964, 123):

²⁶ If a plural head is followed by more than one target in the same person, they have been counted as one. Generic sentences without a subject always contain the verb in the 3PL form and have therefore not been considered in the survey. The system of transcription used for the examples from Jewish Tunis has been adopted from the source.

(9) *yūm ʒəmʕa ʕal-bəkriya*

Friday early

rūhi xarʒət wəntfāt

spirit.mine leave.SFX.3FS and.extinguish.SFX.3FS

‘Early on Friday, my soul left and extinguished.’

hīn ʕəmʕat ənnāš biya

immediately hear.SFX.3FS people in-her

ʒġār u-kbār ʕaliya bkāt

small.PL and-big.PL on-her cry.SFX.3FS

‘Immediately people learn about it, young and old cry over me.’

Another unexpected tendency is that all 11 occurrences of deflected targets accompany human controllers; these are usually *nāš* ‘people’, *nša* ‘women’, or *ʕawwadiya* ‘musicians’. Surprisingly, non-human controllers that are low in individuation trigger strict agreement: *daxlu lə-qṭātoš* ‘the cats entered’, *wel-fonctions ntaḥḥa yəlzəmməm yəbdāw doubles* ‘her functions must start being double’ (Cohen 1964, 136, 49). This significantly differs from the situation found in Muslim Tunis, where groups of animals treated as a whole and abstract nouns trigger deflected agreement (Procházka and Gabsi 2017).

The data from Jewish Tunis is of paramount importance, as it has been recorded in its natural environment, without any interference from Israeli Hebrew. The question arises as to whether this type of marginal deflected agreement with non-individuated plural human controllers reflects a situation common to all the varieties of spoken Judaeo-Arabic of the region, or different dia-

lects utilise different types of agreement. Unfortunately, a diachronic survey, which could potentially elucidate this issue, is hindered by a lack of available textual Judaeo-Arabic sources from the Maghreb that reflect the spoken language. Nevertheless, various studies on pre-modern Judaeo-Arabic suggest that deflected agreement has never reached the same level of distribution there as in the Muslim varieties, but has rather remained marginal throughout history.

Blau (1961, 131) points out that, in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic, strict agreement is almost the rule in verb-subject alignment. Both animal and non-animate heads trigger strict agreement in this type of sentence. Interestingly, the only exception to this rule is human controllers, in which case the verb is occasionally in the 3FS form. Similarly, non-human controllers are in strict grammatical agreement with their targets as far as subject-verb alignment is concerned. On the other hand, human controllers sporadically trigger deflected agreement. This situation reveals a striking resemblance to Jewish Tunis, where no cases of non-human heads with deflected agreement have been attested. The rule of strict grammatical agreement has also been attested in sources containing the Egyptian *šarḥ*, i.e., translations of the Bible into Judaeo-Arabic. Although one might argue that this tendency could stem from verbatim translation of the Hebrew text, where strict agreement prevails, Hary (2009, 275) argues that strict grammatical concord is a feature of both Classical Judaeo-Arabic and colloquial Jewish Egyptian. This evidence could potentially point to a difference between the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement, and the Muslim one, where, as argued before, deflected

agreement remained an option with non-individuated plural heads.²⁷

After discussing patterns of agreement from a comparative perspective, let us now return to the question posited in the first paragraphs: has the strict agreement of some Jewish dialects of the Maghreb (Tripoli, Gabes, Wad-Souf) been triggered by Israeli Hebrew, or is it rather a result of the internal evolution of Judaeo-Arabic? The textual evidence from Judaeo-Arabic, in conjunction with Cohen's transcriptions from 1964, suggests that the system of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic differs from that in the continuum of pre-Classical poetry and modern Muslim dialects. Specifically, in the latter group, deflected agreement exists as an option with both human and non-human plural controllers, while in the former it is primarily applied with human ones, and only

²⁷ I am aware of two types of Judaeo-Arabic sources where deflected agreement appears with non-human plural heads. I have spotted a couple such cases in Egyptian folktales and letters of merchants also from Egypt and the Maghreb (Connolly 2018; Wagner 2010). Nevertheless, since no transcription corpus is available, nor does a systematic description of agreement in these sources exist, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Naturally, Judaeo-Arabic did not evolve in complete isolation and one should therefore assume that there were cases of interference of the Muslim variety, or imitation of it. Wagner (2010, 14) points out that the Egyptian varieties of Judaeo-Arabic, which were more central within the Muslim empire, were generally more progressive than the peripheral Maghrebi ones, which retained more conservative features. Thus, examples of deflected agreement with non-human controllers from Egyptian sources should be taken with a pinch of salt, as they might have been affected by the non-Jewish varieties.

to a very limited extent. It is rather difficult to offer a historical explanation of how this discrepancy emerged, as the past of the spoken language is poorly documented. Nevertheless, one can assume that the correlation between deflected agreement and non-individuated controllers has never been fully adopted in spoken Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic. This state of affairs might tentatively be accounted for by languages that Jews had been speaking before the first wave of Arabisation of the Maghreb, i.e., Late Latin, Berber, and presumably Punic, as in none of these languages does deflected agreement exist. The liturgical usage of Hebrew and Aramaic could also potentially have contributed to the emergence of the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement. Nevertheless, if we accept the assumption that there existed a limited usage of deflected agreement in different Jewish dialects of Arabic, how do we explain its complete absence in Jewish Tripoli, Gabes, and Wad-Souf? *Prima facie* the easiest explanation is the influence of Israeli Hebrew, which does not utilise agreement with 3FS. However, as the above study demonstrates, deflected agreement has never been used to the same extent in Judaeo-Arabic as in Muslim Arabic. I would thus like to raise the possibility that, as in the case of the /t-/ prefix, the rejection of deflected agreement came about at the intersection of language contact and analogy. Since there existed within Judaeo-Arabic itself potential for the analogical extension of strict agreement, i.e., deflected agreement has never been fully adopted as a viable option, language contact with Israeli Hebrew triggered the definitive extension of this pattern. It is plausible that analogical extension of the strict pattern

had been operating at different stages of the historical development of Judaeo-Arabic, preventing the spread of deflected agreement, whose presence is attested in historical sources. In this way, in the second half of the twentieth century, deflected agreement, additionally weakened by Israeli Hebrew, has been entirely replaced through analogical extension of strict agreement, which, historically, had been by far the most common variant.²⁸

3.3. Conclusions

As has been demonstrated, Jewish Gabes exhibits a pattern of strict agreement. In this respect, it aligns with several other Jewish dialects of the region. It is reasonable to presuppose that, at an earlier stage, it had a mixed type, similar to that of Jewish Tunis, in which both animacy and position played a role. I have argued that the uniformity of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes could potentially be explained by a conjunction of two factors: analogy and language contact with Modern Hebrew. The historical sources suggest that deflected agreement has never been fully adopted in the Jewish dialects. A North-West Semitic substrate, in which strict agreement prevails, could be a plausible

²⁸ Using Optimality Theory, the divergence between the Jewish and Muslim dialects in terms of their choice of agreement pattern can be accounted for by distinct ranking of the output constraints (Prince and Smolensky 2004; Archangeli 1999). The Evaluation mechanism in the Jewish dialects ranks the rule of grammatical agreement between the subject and its modifiers higher than the level of its individuation and animacy. On the other hand, the evaluation of the input in the Muslim dialects is conditioned by the requirement to adjust the grammatical form of the modifier to the identity of the subject.

explanation of the peculiarity of the Jewish varieties in this sense.²⁹ A historical investigation involving a text corpus reflecting spoken language in Gabes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as a comparative study of Jewish Gabes with its Muslim counterpart, would certainly shed more light on the development of agreement patterns.

²⁹ A hypothesis related to a North-West Semitic substrate in Judaeo-Arabic is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6, §2.0.

6. SYNTAX OF VERBS AND CLAUSES

1.0. Clausal Subordination

According to the definition of subordination, it “refers to a syntactic dependency between clauses in a multiclausal sentence, in which the subordinate clause must be annexed to an independent clause but not conversely” (LeTourneau 2011). On the other hand, Pat-El (2012, 21), following Otto Jespersen, applied, in her study on the historical development of Aramaic syntax, a definition of subordination based on the ‘nexal hierarchy’, where the main nexus contains the lower one, which is syntactically dependent on it. The term ‘subordination’, therefore, is perceived as the opposite of ‘coordination’, which describes the relationship between two independent clauses that are not embedded.¹ From both definitions quoted here, one can gather that subordination is a relatively wide category, which covers numerous types of syntactic dependency. In my study of subordination in Jewish Gabes, I will consider three types of subordinate clauses: relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and complements. I shall analyse these syntactic structures from two perspectives, namely, the historical one, aimed at demonstrating the place of Jewish Gabes in a wider Semitic framework, and the cross-linguistic one, which will enable a typological approach.

¹ As will be shown in the course of this chapter, this is not always the case, and the two categories can interconnect.

1.1. Relative Clauses

The relative clause is a syntactic construction that permits description and specification of the noun it modifies in a form of a clause. In this sense, the relative clause functions as an adjective, since it provides additional information about the item. Any relative clause has the following components: (1) head noun, often referred to in this study as 'head', (2) relative pronoun, which, as will be demonstrated, is omitted in asyndetic constructions, and (3) clause. In terms of the spectrum that relative clauses cover, we can distinguish two types, namely, restrictive and non-restrictive. The former limits the reference of the head noun in order to assist the hearer in identifying its referent. The function of a non-restrictive relative clause, on the other hand, is to add information about the head noun, whose referent is already identifiable by the hearer. Another distinction, which will be of special interest in my investigation, is that between attributive and non-attributive relative clauses. The attributive type assigns a feature or property to the noun. Therefore, both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses are included in this category. On the other hand, non-attributive clauses do not specify the item, but rather have an 'open' reference, which in English is introduced by pronouns like 'whoever', 'whatever', 'everyone', etc.

In this section, I will discuss several types of relative clauses present in Jewish Gabes. I will analyse both attributive and non-attributive relative clauses, paying special attention to the syntactical behaviour of definite and indefinite heads. Before demonstrating the structure of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes, I shall present some typological aspects of relative clauses, followed by

a brief outline of the development of relative clauses in Semitic. This approach may help explain the syntactic behaviour of some types of relative clauses in Jewish Gabses.

1.1.1. Data

Below, I present examples of relativisation occurring in Jewish Gabses. The passages that are followed by a number placed in brackets have been taken from the text corpus and thus represent free speech, while those that are not followed by a number have been obtained by means of a questionnaire. It should be marked, therefore, that the latter, notwithstanding their correctness, do not reflect the most acceptable and natural relative clauses.

The examples presented below have been divided into groups with definite and indefinite heads, and subsequently further classified according to the position of the head noun.²

1. Attributive clause with definite head noun

a. Head that has the grammatical role of object

1. *hāk əl-xabža li ʕiṯṯhālək ʃa ʕməlt biha?* (1:27)
‘The bread that I gave to you, what have you done with it?’
2. *hāk ər-ṛāzəl li ʕaḍḍātu l-kəlba hūwa ʃāḥbi*
‘That man whom the bitch bit is my friend.’

² This taxonomy has been borrowed from the grammar of ʕanʕānī Arabic (Watson 1993, 230), and the reason I find it useful is its relevance for examination of the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

3. *l-šāfir əlli šəfthəm āməš žāw mən əš-šəhṛa*
 ‘The birds that you saw yesterday had come from the desert.’

b. Head that has the grammatical role of subject

4. *ərsəm əl-yədd li ʔātni (ə)l-kəff tətqašš* (6:85)
 ‘Write: the hand that hit me will be cut.’
5. *l-ḥāža əlli ʔažiža ʔalik xūdiha* (7:89)
 ‘The thing that is valuable for you, take it.’
6. *nḥār wāḥəd žāt əxt l-mṛa hədik li təṣri mənḥu əl-kmāž*
 ‘One day the sister of that woman who buys from him fabric came.’
7. *əxti rāxəl əlli təškən fi-tūnəš žāt tṣūrna*
 ‘My sister Rachel, who lives in Tunis, came to visit us.’

c. Head that has a noun as an annex

8. *əl-mṛa ḍārha kbīra bərša*
 ‘The woman whose house is big.’

d. Head that is the complement of a preposition

9. *əl-bīr əlli nša yāxdu mənnu l-ma*
 ‘The well from which women take water.’

2. Attributive clause with indefinite/indefinite-specific head noun

a. Head that has the grammatical role of object

1. *ma ʔandūš mākla yaṣti l-žgāru* (3:4)
 ‘[he] does not have food to feed his children.’

b. Head that has the grammatical role of subject

2. *tamma wāḥad li hūwa ma ṭharrəkš, hūwa yaštənnə ḥatt yṭīḥlu mākla fi-fəmmu* (2:16)
‘There is a man who does not move, he waits for the food to fall down in his mouth.’
3. *qāllu: škūn li qāṣəd mxabbi* (4:37)
‘They said: who is the person who is hiding?’
4. *kānu žūž familyāt yaṭṣārqu mša bīnāthəm*
‘There were two families, which were arguing with each other.’
5. *ṭṣadda ḥda rāzəl u kān rāqəd*
‘He passed next to a man who was sleeping.’
6. *rqāt mra ṣamya u tərḥi fi-l-qamḥ* (4:18–19)
‘She found a blind woman who was grinding wheat.’

c. Head that is the complement of a preposition

7. *ər-rāzəl ṭlaṣ u rqa žmāl ṣalī šənḏūq kbīr* (4:85)
‘The man came out and found the camel with a big box on it.’
8. *rqa hādīk əl-mərt wāḥda li ṣandha ḍarba* (2:47)
‘He found that woman who has a mark.’
9. *ḥānūt kbīra wa fiha wāḥad ybīṣ kmāž*
‘A big shop, in which a man was selling fabric.’

The relative particle in Jewish Gabes is either *əlli* or *li*. As in virtually all modern Arabic dialects, the relative particle in Jewish Gabes is not inflected for gender, number, or person. As argued by some scholars, it stems from the CA relative pronoun *alladī*, which was inflected for gender, person, and number (Wright

2005, 1:270).³ Three components of this pronoun can be identified, namely the demonstrative element /al/, the demonstrative morpheme /l/, and the demonstrative pronoun *ḏā* or *ḏū*. The relationship between the relative pronoun and demonstratives is attested also in Biblical Hebrew, which, according to historical-comparative reconstruction, used at an early stage to utilise the near demonstratives as relative pronouns (Holmstedt 2011).⁴

1.1.2. Cross-Linguistic Typology

Relative clauses, due to their complex character, can be divided into multiple categories based on various criteria. In terms of the position of the head noun, a relative clause can be either post-nominal (as in English and Jewish Gabes, for example), prenominal (as in Alambak, a variety of languages spoken in Papua New Guinea), or internal, where the head occurs within the restricting

³ As observed by Pat-El (2017, 257), there is no phonological motivation behind this etymology. It is more plausible that the CA relative pronoun is an innovation combining the two elements /l/ and /d/, which already existed in the dialects. The vast majority of modern varieties of Arabic use the /lli/ variant, whose relationship to the CA one is disputable. It is worth noting, however, that there are dialects which use the /d/ variant, presumably reflecting the Proto-Semitic relative morpheme /d/, e.g., Cypriot Arabic, and some varieties of Moroccan and Yemeni Arabic. The closest dialect to Jewish Gabes which uses this pronoun is Djidjelli, where one finds /əddi/ (Marçais 1956).

⁴ Apart from a presumed early relative strategy involving near demonstratives, Biblical Hebrew also possesses another relative complementiser of a dual nature, namely, the definite article /ha-/ (Holmstedt 2011). This in turn indicates a similarity between relative clauses and attributive adjectives (Goldenberg 1995).

clause (as in languages spoken in Southern California and North-West Mexico). Moreover, within the category of internally headed relative clauses, scholars distinguish also correlative clauses, in which the relative clause is outside the main clause, but linked anaphorically to the noun phrase (Dryer 2005).⁵ Thus, a more general division can be drawn based on the position of the head noun, namely, relative clauses can be either externally-headed or internally-headed (Holmstedt 2011). As will be shown in §1.1.4, Jewish Gabes uses external, postnominal relative clauses.

In an extensive study of the formation of relative clauses in about fifty languages, Keenan and Comrie (1977, 66) attempted to produce a set of universal properties shared by relative clauses appearing in all those languages. They pointed out a further division of relative clauses, based on the strategy of their formation: case + /case -. In the case strategy, the nominal element in the restricting phrase unequivocally codes the grammatical role of the head noun that is being relativised. This strategy is particularly common in languages which possess a case-marking system (e.g., Slavic languages). Nonetheless, languages without cases can also utilise the case strategy by means of prepositional phrases, e.g., ‘the house in which the family lived’. Here the preposition ‘in’ is included in the restrictive clause and clearly indicates which grammatical role of the head noun is relativised. This

⁵ Some more detailed divisions include also adjoined relative clauses, present in some Australian languages (e.g., Diyari), and double-headed relative clauses, represented by a single language, Kombai (Trans-New Guinea; Austin 1981, 188; Dryer 2005).

strategy will also be relevant to the formation of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes.

The investigation conducted by Keenan and Comrie resulted in the establishment of the Accessibility Hierarchy, which aims to indicate the positions in a sentence from which a noun phrase can be relativised. Keenan and Comrie claim that the relativisability of these positions is uneven and can be presented in the form of a gradually decreasing sequence, where the left extreme designates the most relativisable position, while the right one marks a position that is unlikely to be relativised:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique >
Genitive > Object of Comparison (Keenan and Comrie
1977, 66)

This means that, from a cross-linguistic perspective, the subject is the position of the head noun that is most frequently relativised by a restrictive phrase, while an object of comparison would usually not be.⁶ The hierarchy has some constraints, however, and languages usually allow only certain positions to be relativised

⁶ This is the case in some Romance languages, where the comparative preposition and the relative pronoun are homonymous or closely related, and therefore objects of comparison are not relativisable. For example, in Spanish, any preposition in a restrictive clause precedes the relative particle, e.g., *el cajon del que saqué el arma* ‘the drawer from which I took the gun’. The relative pronoun used for inanimate nouns has the same form as the comparative particle, i.e., /que/, thus a sentence where the homonyms stand next to each other is ungrammatical, e.g., * *la casa que que mi casa es mas alta* ‘the house than which my house is higher’. The same situation is found in French (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 74).

by means of the primary strategy (i.e., without promoting the noun phrase to the position of subject by, for example, changing the voice). Thus, one finds languages where only a subject can be relativised (Western Malayo-Polynesian languages), only subjects and direct objects (Welsh), only subjects and indirect objects (Basque), etc. According to the results of the investigation, virtually all the languages permit only the subject to be relativised by means of the primary strategy. The explanation of the constraints of the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed in the study involves a psychological dimension of comprehensibility (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 88). It has been demonstrated by various additional studies that speakers deal with the unacceptability of certain positions being relativised by reformulating the idea expressed by the unacceptable sentence. My informant of Spanish categorically rejected as ungrammatical the following phrase involving relativisation of an object of comparison: **el hombre que que Maria es mas alta* 'the man whom Maria is taller than', and immediately proposed: *el hombre, que es mas bajo de Maria* 'the man who is shorter than Maria', where 'the man' has been promoted from object of comparison to subject. In Modern Hebrew, in turn, an object of comparison seems to be more acceptable when followed by a verb. My informant accepted the following sentence as natural and correct: הגבר שרחל גבוהה יותר ממנו, דחף אותה 'the man, whom Rachel is taller than, pushed her' but found the sentence without the predicate somewhat unnatural.

Hence, it can be assumed that an accessibility hierarchy established for a certain language based on free speech will represent the most acceptable instances of relativisation, which were

judged by a speaker as most comprehensible and natural. Keenan and Comrie (1977, 90) point out that their hierarchy should not be treated as a fixed grammatical order but rather as a continuum of acceptability. It is plausible, therefore, that some positions will not be relativised in free speech but will be accepted by the speaker to some degree in a questionnaire.

1.1.3. Relative Clauses from a Semitic Perspective

The nature of relative clauses has been discussed extensively in scholarship on Semitic languages. Undoubtedly, relativisation constitutes a sort of ‘promotion’ of the head noun, which, by means of extraposition, acquires a higher level of prominence. Holmstedt (2011), in his description of relative clauses in Biblical Hebrew, points out that every relative clause can be characterised by two factors, namely, subordination, since the relativised clause is syntactically dependent on the head noun; and the pivot constituent, which relates to the polyfunctionality of the head noun in a relative clause.

From a historical point of view, relative clauses are linked to the construct state. As pointed out by Pat-El (2012), all Semitic languages have two strategies for marking nominal attribution, namely, nominal dependents and adnominal complements. Relativisation in Proto-Semitic was expressed by means of a relative-determinative pronoun *dV/tV, which was fully inflected for gender, number, and case (Huehnergard 2006). Moreover, it was in the construct state and the clause following it depended on it. At a later stage, the pronoun lost its inflection and became a particle. It has been assumed, therefore, that the original construction

used to express adnominal attribution was the construct state. As has been demonstrated by Goldenberg (1995), adjectives and relative clauses in Semitic also originally reflected dependence on a head noun. Numerous examples from Akkadian indicate that both the head noun and the attributive verb bear marks of attribution (lack of case marking in the former, and a 'subjunctive' -u suffix in the latter). Biblical Hebrew too reflects vestiges of an attributive structure of relative clauses: קריית חנה דוד 'the city where David settled' (Isa 29.1).

This type of syntax is reflected in some modern dialects of Arabic. In the dialect of the mountain Arabs in northern Morocco who are known as *Žbāla*, variants of the particle /d/ are used both in relatives and in genitives.⁷ A similar function is performed by the Aleppan particle /il/, which nominalises the relative clause and stands in the construct state as *nomen regens* of the head noun (Brustad 2000, 101, 109). As will be demonstrated in §1.3.5, some temporal clauses reflect a parallel construction.

⁷ The fact that the /d/ element marking genitives is attested almost exclusively in the western Maghreb (Morocco and Algeria) means that it could have emerged due to contact with Romance languages. In opposition to this claim, it could be argued that the /d/ genitive exponent is attested, albeit scarcely, in the Quran, and therefore reflects the original morpheme. As an alternative solution, it could be proposed that the /d/ element existed as an obsolete form in some varieties of Arabic, but the presence of a Romance-speaking population in north-western Africa, and the fact that these languages utilise a homonymic morpheme to mark a genitive relationship, might have brought the /d/ element into wider use (Heath 2015).

One of the central questions in investigation of the syntax of relative clauses is whether the relative pronoun syntactically operates within the relative clause. This question has already been addressed by Pat-El and Treiger (2008), and their study of CA is of particular interest for understanding the modern dialects as well. Unlike most other Semitic languages, Arabic does demonstrate case inflection of relative pronouns in the dual, and the syntactic function of the relative pronoun can therefore be precisely determined (Wright 2005, I:271). Contrary to what has been argued by some Semitists (Reckendorf 1921, 428), the relative pronoun is conditioned by the syntagm of the noun phrase, and not by the relative clause. This is the major difference between Semitic and Indo-European languages.⁸ The two following examples should illustrate this difference:

(1) Arabic:

*arinā š-šaytānayni llaḏayni ʔaḏallānā*⁹

show.IMP.US devil.DU.ACC REL.ACC lead.astray.SFX.DU.US

(2) Polish:

wskaż nam dwóch diabłów którzy nas zwiedli

show.IMP US two.ACC devils.ACC REL.NOM US lead.astray.PERF

‘Show us two devils who led us astray.’

In Polish, which is an Indo-European language with an abundantly developed case system, the case of the relative pronoun (*który*) is conditioned by the syntax of the relative clause, while

⁸ This discrepancy has already been observed by Wright (2005, II:320).

⁹ This example originally occurs in Wright (2005 II:320); the transcription is quoted according to Pat-El and Treiger (2008). The translation in Polish has been done by the author.

in Arabic, it agrees with the head noun. Nonetheless, the gender and number inflection of the relative pronouns in Indo-European languages is derived from the head (pro)noun. It can therefore be assumed that, in Indo-European languages, the relative pronoun constitutes a syntactic link between the head (pro)noun and the relative clause. In Semitic languages, on the other hand, the (pro)nominal phrase is connected to the relative clause by means of the resumptive pronoun.

In sum, previous studies undertaken in the historical syntax of Semitic clearly indicate that adjectives, genitives, relative clauses, and prepositional clauses are manifestations of the same attributive relation. The relative pronoun is best explained as a substantival modifier standing in apposition to the head (pro)noun. As a result of this assumption, the relative clause in Semitic is treated syntactically as a substantive (Pat-El and Treiger 2008).

1.1.4. Data Analysis

I shall start the discussion of the syntactic behaviour of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes by arguing against the claim made by Harell (1962, 164) regarding Moroccan Arabic that the subordinate clause is a restrictive adjectival modifier. Not only is this statement not true for Moroccan Arabic, as has been proven by Brustad (2000, 89), but it does not hold water in other Arabic dialects either. In Jewish Gabes, relative clauses can modify restricted and non-restricted nouns alike. Example (1.7) above (§1.1.1) confirms this assumption, i.e., the head noun ‘my sister

Rachel' is already restricted and there is no doubt which sister the speaker is referring to.

The data clearly demonstrates that relative clauses in Jewish Gabes display different behaviour depending on the definiteness of the head noun. First, the relative pronoun tends to occur primarily in sentences with highly individuated antecedents. Therefore, the *li/ʔalli* pronoun often, as in examples (1.1) and (1.2), accompanies nouns preceded by demonstrative pronouns, whose referent is very clearly specified. Similarly, in example (1.6), the elder woman had appeared in the story before, and thus her individuation and textual prominence are well established.

Apart from the instances of conspicuous specificity of the head noun, the relative pronoun occurs also in clauses whose antecedent is indefinite-specific. In this kind of sentence, the referent, notwithstanding its formally indefinite character, is in fact narrow and textually prominent. In example (2.3), the identity of the man is not specified, but the speaker is referring to a specific person possessing a defined quality. Example (2.8) represents a usage of the indefinite-specific article that is even more explicit, since it is preceded by a demonstrative, and there is hence no doubt that the referent is individuated.

On the other hand, clauses modifying entities of low individuation that are textually non-prominent lack the relative pronoun. This is the case, for example, in statements of non-existence, as in (2.1). In addition to the omission of the relative pronoun, in some indefinite clauses, a conjunctive particle occurs, as demonstrated by examples (2.3) and (2.6). The question arises as to the type of circumstances in which an indefinite head noun is

relativised *asyndetically*, and when, on the other hand, the relativisation is realised by means of coordination. It seems that, in *asyndetic* clauses, the verb functions as an adjectival modifier, as in example (2.4), i.e., ‘there were two arguing families’. On the other hand, /*wa*/ or /*u*/ introduces a verbal modifier, and the focus is on the actual action, as in example (2.6), rather than on the quality of the modified term.

Relativisation coded by means of coordination is of particular typological interest. It can be analysed in terms of the so-called *Mismatch Problem* discussed by Cristofaro (2005, 21) in her study on subordination. In a number of languages, the relationship between coordination and subordination is vague, and the meaning must be inferred from two non-embedded juxtaposed clauses. This is the case in Gumbaynggir (Australia), which does not utilise any grammaticalised construction to convey relativisation. Jewish Gabses, on the other hand, does possess a specific construction for clearly coding relativisation, but examples (2.5) and (2.9) suggest that, in sentences with an indefinite head noun followed by a relative clause containing a verb, the coordinative structure, with or without *waw*, is preferred. Such syntactic behaviour is best explained by a continuum approach, according to which clause linkage is not seen as a fixed grammatical category, but rather in terms of coordinate-like or subordinate-like types (Foley and Van Valin 1984). Consequently, based on the criteria of dependency and embedding, a third category has been proposed, namely *co-subordination* (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, chapter 8). It combines the lack of embedding typical of

coordination on the one hand, and the dependency that characterises subordination on the other. Therefore, the instances of ambiguous relativisation in examples (2.5) and (2.9) could be explained as co-subordinative, since they do not involve embedding, but they do involve the dependency of one action upon another, i.e., in (2.5), the action of seeing semantically engages the action of sleeping.

The correlation between the indefinite-specific category and the occurrence of the *li/əlli* pronoun is attested in many modern Arabic dialects. Even though Brustad (2000, 95) does not present any examples of indefinite noun phrases with conjunctive relative clauses, she reaches the same conclusion regarding indefinite nouns followed by *əlli*, namely, the primary function of this construction is to narrow the reference of the head noun. Nonetheless, in her data, only unmarked indefinite-specific nouns are treated in this way, while those accompanied by *wāḥad* behave like indefinites (Brustad 2000, 96). This is a rather paradoxical conclusion, since *wāḥad* usually marks indefinite-specific nouns with a higher degree of individuation and textual prominence (new topic marker). In Jewish Gabes, by contrast, *wāḥad* does attract the relativiser. Brustad mentions, however, that in Moroccan Arabic, nouns marked with another indefinite-specific article *ši* can be relativised with *li*. It might be possible, therefore, that North African dialects permit the relativisation of indefinite-specific nouns with the relativiser, but to different degrees.

The lack of a straightforward correlation between definiteness and use of relative pronouns does not seem to be an innovation of modern Arabic dialects. As has been observed by Blau

(1961, 232), in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic, there are numerous cases of interchanges between asyndetic and syndetic relative clauses.¹⁰ Usually, when an indefinite head noun is followed by the syndetic construction, either it has a distributive meaning, it is an ordinal number, or the head noun is generic (Blau 1979, 232). In other words, the head noun displays some features of definiteness, as ordinal numbers tend to narrow the reference, while generic nouns fall under the category of generic definiteness (see chapter 5, §1.4). This is the case with the use of *wāḥad* followed by the relative pronoun in Jewish Gabes. As has been shown in chapter 5, §1.5, the indefinite-specific article often refers to an individuated entity. At the other extreme lie definite head nouns followed by an asyndetic construction. These are well attested in CA, especially in sentences where the head noun bears the definite article due to its genericity (Wright 2005, II:318). In Jewish Gabes, however, this usage seems to be limited only to heads followed by a nominal phrase with a possessive pronoun.

Another aspect of the syntactic behaviour of relative clauses related to the definiteness of the head noun is the resumptive pronoun. Here, again, the presence of the resumptive pronoun seems to be conditioned by the individuation of the head noun, namely, it is mandatory when the head noun is definite. The examples from Jewish Gabes confirm this assumption. All five passages where the relativised position is the object pronoun

¹⁰ Another type of interchange found in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic involves mismatch between the gender/number of the head noun and the form of the relative pronoun (Blau 1961, 235–37).

possess a resumptive pronoun. On the other hand, no instances of indefinite head nouns with resumption have been attested.

This relatively uniform system, which prevails in many modern dialects, diverges significantly from Medieval Judaeo-Arabic, where one finds numerous cases of omission of the resumptive pronoun in both syndetic and asyndetic constructions (Blau 1961, 240). Similarly, in Moroccan Arabic, resumption does not take place in all positions. As reported by Brustad (2000, 109), a resumptive pronoun in the position of direct object is rare. However, when the syntactic position of the referent of the head noun is that of a genitive or the object of a preposition, it is obligatory. Contrary to this, in Jewish Gabes, resumption occurs with both direct objects and objects of prepositions.

Finally, based on the examples of relativisation in Jewish Gabes, one can affirm the applicability of the Accessibility Hierarchy. Indeed, the subject (four examples) and the direct object (five examples) are the two single positions that are most commonly relativised in Jewish Gabes. The third most frequent type is relative clauses with a prepositional annex, which occur mostly with indefinite nouns. While it is possible that one may also find other positions relativised in free speech, these constructions are the ones speakers find the most understandable and natural.

To sum up, relative clauses in Jewish Gabes display a strong dependence on the definiteness of the head noun: the more individuated it is, the higher the probability that the *li/əlli* pronoun will occur. Indefinite-specific nouns are very often followed by the relative pronoun, which indicates that they fall within the

definite range of the definiteness hierarchy, in contrast to the situation in the dialects studied by Brustad, including Moroccan. In addition, it has been shown that some indefinite head nouns form relative-like clauses by means of coordination coded by *waw* or *asyndetically*. This can be explained by the category of co-subordination, which combines features of both subordination and coordination. Finally, as has been demonstrated, the relative pronoun *li/ʾalli* can introduce both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

The present study has been based mostly on spoken, colloquial language, which is characterised by a relative lack of syntactic complexity. In these forms of speech, *asyndetic* constructions are much more widespread than in literary, written language. This assumption is confirmed by Wagner, who finds numerous cases of mismatch between the definiteness of the antecedent and the occurrence of the relative pronoun. Based on letters from the Cairo Genizah, which often reflect a spoken and informal register, Wagner (2010, 217) has demonstrated that, very often, a definite head is followed by an *asyndetic* relative clause. As will be shown in §1.3, *adverbial* constructions also very often tend to be constructed *asyndetically*. This phenomenon, attested also in Late Judaeo-Arabic, seems to be one of the traits of the spoken register, which, in contradistinction to the written language, demonstrates less syntactic complexity and morphological marking (Wagner 2014).

1.2. Non-Attributive Relative Clauses

Head which has the grammatical role of object

1. *wa fāwəd li fmal mḃārah* (1:34)
'And he repeated the same as he did yesterday.'
2. *qāllu: ngədd, li tḥaḃḃ naḥmallək* (2:28)
'He told him: I will guard, I will do whatever you want.'

Head which has the grammatical role of subject

3. *ža li wāqəf faləyəm, qālla: žibi* (2:26)
'The person in charge came and told her: bring him!'
4. *əl-mṛa ḥablət, tžib wəld, ma təmmaš škūn yaqtlu* (2:55)
'The woman was pregnant, gave birth to a son, there is no one to kill him.'
5. *təmma bīr gārəq yāsər wa l-bīr hāda li yədxal fi ymūt, ma yəṭlaḥ* (2:57)
'There was a very deep well and whoever goes in dies, does not go out.'
6. *āna qahwa wa li yəṣṛəbni šahwa wa li yəṭṣalləm biha təmknu daḥwa* (7:19)
'I am coffee, and those who drink me enjoy, and those who get used to me, I become their curse.'

In addition to the relative clauses analysed in the previous section (§1.1), Jewish Gabes also possesses two types of non-attributive clauses. The first one involves the relative pronoun *li/əlli* without a head noun. As can be seen, this type is the most prevalent in the above examples, and its reference can be either human (e.g., 5) or non-human (e.g., 2). The second type, which occurs across

the dialects of Arabic, utilises non-specific, non-attributive pronouns. In Jewish Gabes, however, this is attested only scarcely.¹¹ The majority of dialects employ *ma* for ‘what’ and *mīn* for ‘who(m)’ (Brustad 2000, 99). As demonstrated by example (4), the interrogative particle *škūn* functions in Jewish Gabes as a non-specific relativiser for human referents, while non-human referents are relativised by *li*, as exemplified by example (2). Finally, applying the Accessibility Hierarchy, one can infer that the subject position by far outranks the object.

1.3. Adverbial Clauses

In this section, I shall consider adverbial clauses occurring in Jewish Gabes. To this end, I will first present some preliminary notes on the definition of an adverbial clause and its various types. The theoretical underpinnings of this section are mainly based on a study by Cristofaro (2005, chapter VI).¹² Subsequently, I shall discuss some aspects of the historical development of adverbial clauses in Semitic and some Arabic dialects.

¹¹ The occurrence of the two particles seems to be uneven and conditioned geographically. According to Brustad (2000, 100), while *ma* is well attested in Moroccan, it has not been found in Kuwaiti, and in Egyptian and Syrian Arabic it is used irregularly. On the other hand, *mīn* is often employed by speakers of Syrian Arabic, but has not been attested in Moroccan.

¹² In my study, I will utilise terminology applied by Cristofaro in her study on subordination. The events coded by the main and the dependent clause shall therefore be referred to as ‘states of affairs’. This term has been borrowed from Functional Grammar (Siewierska 1991) and is

1.3.1. Definition and Cross-Linguistic Typology

An adverbial construction combines two clauses in such a way that the clause conveying a dependent state of affairs describes the circumstances under which the main state of affairs (henceforth: SoA) takes place. Following Cristofaro (2005, 155), I shall reject the traditional definition, which stipulates that the dependent clause is embedded in the main one. As will be shown in the following analysis, adverbial relations in Jewish Gabes are not always expressed by means of embedding, and, similarly to relative clauses, can be coded by coordination.

The following types of state of affairs will be examined in my investigation:

- i) purpose
- ii) temporal
- iii) conditional
- iv) reason
- v) manner
- vi) contradiction

This taxonomy aims to capture the types of adverbial clause as precisely as possible. Therefore, building on Cristofaro's model, which was based on the studies of other typologists (Givón, Kortmann, Thompson, and Longacre), I decided to expand it and add the two last categories.

Apart from the different semantic values ascribed to each type of dependent SoA, adverbial clauses differ also in terms of

more precise than 'event', as the latter implies dynamicity and punctuality (Cristofaro 2005, 25).

predetermination of some grammatical features represented by the SoAs. Thus, temporal and purpose clauses predetermine the time reference of the SoAs, by indicating their sequential time order (e.g., a purpose clause presumes that the independent SoA is anterior to the dependent one), or simultaneous co-realisation, as in temporal overlap. On the other hand, conditional or reason clauses do not have any inherent time reference, and their time coding depends on the context. Adverbial clauses vary also in terms of semantic integration of the linked SoAs. Purpose clauses consist of two semantically interconnected entities, which imply that the realisation of the main SoA is motivated by the dependent one. Temporal clauses, by contrast, do not convey any semantic relation between SoAs, as they occur independently of each other (Cristofaro 2005, 167).

From a cross-linguistic point of view, it is worth noting that languages code adverbial relations in various different ways. In terms of the form of the verb, a verb occurring in a dependent SoA can be either unaltered (balanced) or modified (deranked). Deranking often involves reduction of time, aspect, mood, or person agreement distinctions, resulting in a form that cannot be used independently. One of the languages that codes adverbial relations in this way is Tamil, which utilises a nominalised form with a special case marker (Cristofaro 2005, 56). The CA subjunctive can also be interpreted as a sort of deranked form, since it is marked by *fathā* at the end of the imperfective form, as opposed to *ḍamma* in the indicative (Wright 2005, II:60). Contrary to this, Jewish Gabes demonstrates a balanced strategy, coding subordination by means of structurally equal forms.

1.3.2. Semitic Perspective

The development of adverbial subordination in Semitic is parallel to that of relative clauses. Presumably, adverbial clauses have their origin in the same model as relative clauses, where the relative pronoun was in the construct state as the *nomen regens* of the following adnominal complement.¹³ When the pronoun lost its inflection, it became a frozen particle treated as the marker of adnominal attribution, and not as part of the matrix sentence (Pat-El 2012, 24). Similarly, some nouns denoting time or place underwent a process of grammaticalisation and started functioning as adverbial particles. Arabic, following the path of North-West Semitic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Ethiopic, developed a system of nominal markers introducing adverbial subordination.¹⁴

In CA, the accusative serves as a default marker of adverbial relations. There are numerous cases of nouns which acquire adverbial function when inflected in the accusative case, e.g., *marrat-an* ‘once’. Alongside these forms exist also adverbs marked by the archaic suffix /-u/, e.g., *qabl-u* ‘previously’, and entities that function purely as adverbs, e.g., *ḡad-an* ‘tomorrow’, though

¹³ This proves the claim made in §1.1.3, that the construct state was the default way of expressing attribution in Semitic (Goldenberg 1995; Pat-El 2008).

¹⁴ As has been shown by Pat-El (2012, 28), Aramaic diverged significantly from other Semitic languages in terms of subordination strategies. It did not utilise nominal dependence and the only way of coding subordination was by means of the determinative-relative pronoun.

their distribution is limited (Watson 2011). The adverbial function of the accusative is conspicuous also in locative adverbs and adverbs of direction, e.g., *qarīb-an* ‘near’, *dāxil-an* ‘inside’.

It can therefore be established that, in CA, the vast majority of adverbials are derived from nouns which function also outside adverbial contexts. This is not the case in modern dialects of Arabic, where one finds predominantly pure adverbs (Watson 2011).

1.3.3. Purpose Clauses

1. *wāḥəd mša yəṭṭab ya krīm tāš alla* (1:2)
‘A man went to beg for money.’
2. *ma yašrfūš škūn yāxdu yəqtlu* (2:37)
‘They did not know who took it to kill it.’
3. *aṣṭini ḥžina šmiša, u qritiš wqiḍ bāš nəššalha* (1:19)
‘Give me a (poor, miserable) candle and a box of matches so I can light it.’
4. *baṣṭu bāš ymūt* (2:60)
‘They sent him to death.’
5. *hāk əḏ-ḏāwāli kull nhār xmiš, yəmši l-xu yaṣṭi flūš* (3:2)
‘That poor one goes every Thursday to his brother so he gives him money.’
6. *xūya kif yži aṣṭi flūš bāš yaṣmāl šəbbāt* (3:9)
‘If my brother comes, give him money so he can have shabbat.’
7. *qāllu: āna māši l-ṛaḥḇi yaṣṭini bāš nwəkkəl ḏḡāri* (3:18)
‘He said to him: I am going to God so he gives me something and I feed my children.’
8. *qāl: mšit l-ṛaḥḇi nəḏbalkəm bāš tāklu* (3:42)
‘He said: I went to God to bring you (food) so you can eat.’

9. *lāžma ttabḥaš bāš tadxəl* (4:16)
'She had to lean down to go in.'
10. *ža wāḥəd əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE} yaškīlu* (7:66)
'A man came to the king to complain to him.'

Judging from the data above, two types of purpose clauses can be distinguished in Jewish Gabes: (1) an asyndetic type, where the subordinated verb has a prefix form and is not preceded by any particle; (2) a syndetic type, where the purpose clause is introduced by means of the particle *bāš*. The rule governing the distribution of the variant with the particle seems to combine two factors:

1. It is utilised in the case of what can be defined as switch-reference. This term is traditionally used to describe a phenomenon in some languages of Australia, New Guinea, Northern Asia, and both Americas, which entails "verbal affixing systems indicating whether or not the subject of the affixed verb is coreferential with the subject of some other verb" (Cristofaro 2012, 70). This definition cannot be directly applied to Jewish Gabes, but without doubt, *bāš* can function as a switch-reference device.¹⁵ In other words, it appears when the subject of the predicate in the main clause is not co-referential with the subject of the dependent clause. For instance, in example (4), the subject of the verb *bṣaṭu* is different from that of *ymūt*, hence the particle. On the other hand, in example (1), the

¹⁵ Switch-reference morphology and personal agreement might interact in many ways. As pointed out by Cristofaro (2012, 70), modifications of personal agreement can be used to code switch-reference.

subject of both verbs is co-referential—*wāḥad mša yəṭlab*—and therefore *bāš* does not occur.

2. *bāš* is applied in multi-verbal clauses in order to break a chain of predicates referring to the same subject. Example (9) demonstrates this usage of *bāš*.

1.3.4. Temporal Clauses

1. *aṣṭyī əl-xabza yəštaḡna biha wa waqt ywəlli* ^{HE}aṣṣīr^{HE}, *nāxdū* (1:13)
‘Give him this bread so that he becomes rich from it and when he is already rich, we will marry him [to you].’
2. *waqt l-oṃṃa kānət fi-l-kūžina əl-bənt kānət taxšəl əl-fxār*
‘While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter was washing the dishes.’
3. *nhār li nāxdək ma tədwəyyəš mša əl-nāš* (7:64)
‘From the day I marry you, you will not talk to people.’
4. *taṣddāw šəbša ayyām mən ən-nhār əlli mša*
‘Seven days have passed since the day he left.’
5. *lilətha li ṣarrəš, yaḥləm wāḥad dərbu kəff* (6:64)
‘On the night of the wedding he had a dream that someone hit him with the palm of a hand.’
6. *kull mra li tūləd, tlāt arbša ayyām u yāxdū l-wəld yləwwḥu* (2:36)
‘Every woman who gives birth, after three or four days someone would take the child and throw it away.’
7. *yḥall fəmmu wa yəštənnə ḥatt əl-blah yṭiḥlu fi-fəmmu* (2:15)
‘He would open his mouth and he would wait until the date fell into it.’

8. *waqt hūwa ka-yʕašš fi-nəfṣ əl-līl, žāt waḥda mṛa, žāt u ləwwḥat ḥāža, hūwa yḥabb yaṣrəf šnūwa ləwwḥat (2:32)*
 ‘While he was guarding at midnight, a woman came, she came and threw something, he wanted to know what she had thrown.’
9. *hūwa ka-yəmši fə-ṣətt əl-bḥar mḥayrān, wa hiya qaṣdət fi-l-balkūn šāfəthu yəmši (7:70)*
 ‘While he was walking worried on the beach, she sat down on the balcony and saw him walking.’
10. *yāxdu šwəyy mən məlḥ tāṣ ^{HE}ōmer^{HE} waqt yəmšiw yṣalliw*
 ‘They would take a bit of the Omer salt when going to pray.’
11. *baʕd təšṣ u arbṣīn ykəmməlu l-^{HE}ōmər^{HE} u yaṣlqu l-məlḥ*
 ‘After forty-nine days they would complete the Omer by hanging the salt.’
12. *kif ža ʕammi āna ma kəntš fə-ḍ-ḍār*
 ‘When my uncle came, I was not at home.’
13. *hūwa, kənt mīta hūwa bāš ymūt ʕaləya, kān yži yərqa ʕāyša, mšāt ʕaləya (4:102)*
 ‘He, when she was dead, was ready to die for her, so now if he comes and finds her alive, she will be in real trouble.’
14. *aṣ-ṣəlṭān tʕadda, lqā yəzṛaṣ fi-l-ḥṣəl (7:7)*
 ‘When the sultan was passing by, he found him planting onions.’
15. *baʕd ma mātət ʕarrəš mṣa mṛa oxra*
 ‘After [his wife] died, he got married to another woman.’
16. *aqbəl ma bdīt naxdəm kənt lāhi b-oṃṃi*
 ‘Before I started working, I had been taking care of my mother.’

The data presented above includes different types of temporal clauses in Jewish Gabes. The vast majority of the passages consist

of two adjacent verbal clauses, one of which represents a dependent SoA, and the other the major one. However, there have been included in the data pool also a few examples of adverbial clauses which do not possess a dependent SoA, like example (11).

Typologically, three principal types of temporal clauses can be distinguished with respect to the temporal position of the dependent clause in relation to the main one (Cristofaro 2012, 159):¹⁶

- i) temporal posteriority ('before' relations), where the dependent clause occurs after the main clause, as exemplified by example (16);
- ii) temporal overlap ('when' relations), where both the dependent SoA and the main one occur at the same time, as in example (8), in which the main clause, i.e., the coming of the woman, falls within the temporal span of the dependent clause, i.e., the guarding of the livestock;
- iii) temporal anteriority ('after' relations), where the dependent SoA takes place before the main clause, as exemplified in example (1), i.e., first the man will become rich (dependent SoA) and then the wedding will take place (main SoA).

This somewhat general and simplified taxonomy fails to cover some aspects of temporal relations expressed by adverbial

¹⁶ Other scholars, for example Givón (1990, 330), propose a taxonomy based on the temporal position of the main clause in relation to the dependent one; according to his classification, therefore, Cristofaro's temporal posteriority is classified as 'precedence'.

clauses. I shall therefore propose a more detailed classification, aimed at a more accurate description of the temporal clauses present in Jewish Gabes. The division below is based on the studies of Givón (1990, II:330) and Kortmann (1997, 80), and supplements the three main types proposed by Cristofaro:

Simultaneity Overlap ‘when’: one of the SoAs is punctual, while the other one is continuous:

12. *kīf ža šammi āna ma kəntš fə-ḏ-ḏār*
 when come.SFX.3MS uncle.my I NEG be.SFX.1SG in-DEF-house
 ‘When my uncle came, I was not at home.’

Simultaneity Duration ‘while’: indicates two continuous SoAs overlapping in the time:

2. *waqt l-oṃṃa kənət fi-l-kūžina*
 while DEF-mother be.SFX.3FS in-DEF-kitchen
əl-bənt kənət taxšəl əl-fxār
 DEF-daughter be.SFX.3FS wash.PFX.3FS DEF-dishes
 ‘While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter was washing the dishes.’

Point of coincidence: the dependent SoA is continuous and is interrupted by a punctual independent SoA:

14. *aš-šəltān tšadda lqā yəzraʕ fi-l-bšəl*
 DEF-sultan pass. SFX.3MS find.SFX.3MS.him sow.PFX.3MS in-DEF-onion
 ‘When the sultan was passing by, he found him planting onion.’ (7:7)

Terminal boundary: the dependent SoA indicates the final point of the independent SoA:

7. *yħall fəmmu wa yəštənnə*
 open.PFX.3MS mouth.his and wait.PFX.3MS
ħatt əl-blaħ yṯīħlu fī-fəmmu
 until DEF-date fall.PFX.3MS.to.him in-mouth.his
 ‘He would open his mouth and he would wait until the date fell into it.’ (2:15)

Initial boundary: the dependent SoA indicates the initial point of a continuous SoA expressed by the main clause:

3. *n-nħār li nāxdək ma tədwīyāš mša ən-nāš*
 DEF-day REL take.PFX.1SG.you NEG talk.PFX.2FS.NEG with DEF-people
 ‘From the day I marry you, you will not talk to people.’
 (7:64)

As can be seen in the above examples, Jewish Gabes utilises several ways of expressing temporal relations in adverbial clauses. The most common particle is the grammaticalised CA noun *waqt* ‘time’. It is principally used to introduce a dependent SoA of a continuous or repetitive character, as in (2) and (8). On the other hand, *kīf* marks punctual and singular SoAs, as in (12). Terminal boundary relations are marked by *ħatta*.

In addition to the syndetic constructions, Jewish Gabes also employs the asyndetic option in temporal clauses. Among other scenarios, this occurs when the dependent SoA contains the verb ‘to be’, as in (13), where the particle is omitted. The coordinative type of adverbial clause is also employed in the passage exemplifying a point of coincidence, (14). Here, the continuous character

of the dependent SoA is expressed by the verb itself, which implies an extended duration of time. Similarly, in example (9), the imperfective aspect of the verb is marked by the preverbal particle /ka-/. Hence, it can be tentatively established that the coordinative construction is preferred when the dependent clause contains a continuous verb.

Adverbial clauses involving temporal nouns can be formed by means of either parataxis or hypotaxis. In the former, there is no formal relativisation, while in the latter, the temporal noun is followed by the relative particle *alli/li*. The status of this particle is somewhat problematic, as, in this construction, it relativises indefinite nouns. Brustad (2000, 102) has observed that, in some modern dialects of Arabic, the *illi* particle can function as a nominaliser of an adverbial phrase when the head noun refers to time and is of low individuation. This resembles the original Semitic structure of nominal dependence employed with adjectives and relative clauses (Goldenberg 1995). Moreover, these constructions very often occur at the beginning of the sentence and therefore function as topic markers. This use of ‘quasi-relativisation’, or co-subordination, is exemplified by passage (3) and can be contrasted with passage (4), which contains the same temporal noun, but in a fully-fledged relative clause.

In sum, temporal clauses in Jewish Gabes can be expressed either through subordination by means of a temporal particle, or

through co-subordination, where two SoAs are juxtaposed without any lexical link.¹⁷ Regarding the temporal particles, it has been pointed out that *waqt* tends to mark continuous or repetitive actions, while *kīf* is generally used for punctual and singular ones. The classification proposed by Cristofaro has been expanded by several more specific categories borrowed from Givón and Kortmann.

1.3.5. Conditional Clauses

1. *ma naqtūkš kān tžibna agžān mən Baǧdād* (2:65)
'We will not kill you if you bring us the idle man from Baghdad.'
2. *twəlli žin kān yži hadāk əl-ʕagžān mən Baǧdād* (2:67)
'You will turn back into a ghost if the idle man from Baghdad comes here.'
3. *kān ənti təṭṭab mənni bāš(i) nži, nžik*
'If you ask me to come, I will come to you.'
4. *kān ʕraft li ənti qāʕad fi-l-blād, kənt nži nžūrək*
'If I had known that you were in the town, I would have come to visit you.'
5. *hūwa, kānt mīta hūwa bāš ymūt ʕaləya, kān yži yərqa ʕāyša, mšāt ʕaləyha* (4:102)
'He, when she was dead, was ready to die for her, so now if he comes back and finds her alive, she will be in real trouble.'

¹⁷ The pitfalls of the traditional distinction between subordination and coordination, and the fact that subordination does not necessarily involve clauses, have also been pointed out in relation to European languages (Kortmann 1997, 57).

6. *kān šṭannītni tqīqa wa āna dawwītāk* (5:40)

‘If you had waited for me a minute, I would have cured you.’

The particle *kān* introduces conditional clauses in Jewish Gabes. Following the distinction proposed by Givón, the above passages can be classified in two groups (Givón 1990, II:331):

- 1) irrealis: (1), (2), (3), (5);
- 2) counterfactual: (4), (6).

The structure of the first group involves two clauses, a protasis and an apodosis, and the truth value of the SoA in the apodosis is contingent on the truth value of the SoA in the protasis. The apodosis has a future time reference relative to the protasis. The irrealis is encoded by use of the p-stem in both parts of the sentence:¹⁸

<i>kān</i> + p-stem	p-stem
<i>protasis</i>	<i>apodosis</i>

On the other hand, the counterfactual conditional clause does not have any factual truth value. Since the condition expressed by the SoA in the protasis has not been met, the main apodosis clause is false. In Jewish Gabes, counterfactual clauses have the following structure:

<i>kān</i> + s-stem	s-stem form of the verb ‘to be’
<i>protasis</i>	+ p-stem verb form
	<i>apodosis</i>

¹⁸ Although the Bedouin dialect of Nifzāwa, spoken in the south of Tunisia, often features the s-stem in the protasis (Ritt-Benmimoun 2020), I have not found any examples of this construction in my corpus. This could potentially point to language contact with Israeli Hebrew, where the p-stem in the protasis of the irrealis is the norm.

However, they can also occasionally have the structure exemplified by passage (6):

<i>kān</i> + s-stem		s-stem verb form
<i>protasis</i>		<i>apodosis</i>

It seems that, in the latter type, the main clause bears some degree of probability, albeit very low. The perfective form in example (6) apparently signals that the woman still has some hope of saving the man, although she is aware of his terminal condition. This use of the perfect to express low-likelihood SoAs is attested also in Biblical Hebrew (Givón 1990, II:334; 1997).

1.3.6. Clauses of Reason

1. *ənti ʕala xāṭər ʕāḥbi āna nʕāwnək*
‘Because you are my friend, I will help you.’
2. *ma mšāš l-xadma ʕala xāṭər mriḏ*
‘He did not go to work because he was sick.’
3. *hiya habṭət lūṭa, u l-bīt krātha xāṭər xāyba mātu fiha bərša zḡār*
‘She went down and rented the room because it was bad, too many children had died in it.’
4. *l-wəld ḥrəq rūḥu, xāṭər šāf ša ʕamlu fi-ruṣalaym*
‘The son burnt himself because of what they had done in Jerusalem.’
5. *āna ma žəlt ma ʕarrəštš mʕāha li ma ʕititkš l-mahar (2:88)*
‘I have not married her yet because I did not give you the mahr.’

This type of adverbial clause combines two SoAs connected through the logical relation of cause and effect. The dependent SoA expresses the reason for the occurrence of the main one. In Jewish Gabses, the reason relationship is expressed through *xāṭər* or *aʕla xāṭər*, or through the explanatory particle *li*. The former

is widely used across the North African dialects and is attested, among others, in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 263). As the above examples demonstrate, no co-subordination occurs in this type of adverbial clause.

Typologically and semantically, reason subordination is related to ‘when’ and ‘after’ temporal clauses, in the sense that both of them are causally related. Moreover, the dependent SoA of a reason clause, just like that of a temporal clause, is factual. For this reason, many languages code both types of subordination with the same morphology. Cristofaro (2012, 162) presents the example of the Greek particle *hōs*, which in the Homeric language coded purpose and ‘when’ clauses, whereas in Classical Greek it was extended to express relations of reason too. In Jewish Gabes, the factual value of the dependent SoA is signalled by elision of the verb ‘to be’ before predicative adjectives. While example (1) is referring to the present, and the dependent clause in example (2) could refer to both past and present, example (3) has clear past reference.

1.3.7. Clauses of Manner

1. *rākəb ʕal əl-bhīm u rəʒlīn fī-lūṭa* (7:34)
‘He rides the donkey with his legs on the floor.’
2. *baʕd təšʕ u arbʕīn ykəmmalu l-^{HE}ōmər^{HE} u yaʕlqu l-məlḥ*
‘After forty-nine days they would complete the Omer by hanging the salt.’
3. *yḏūru fī-l-blād wa yšūfu kifāš əl-ʕbād yʕīšu*
‘They would patrol the city, looking at how people live.’
4. *hūwa yxayyət wa yqīm rāšu fūq*
‘He sews raising up his head.’

Manner constructions consist of two SoAs, the dependent SoA indicating how the main one is executed. In Jewish Gabes, this construction is expressed by means of coordination. Unlike in the majority of other adverbial clauses, in manner constructions, the main SoA comes first, before the dependent one.

1.3.8. Concessive Clauses

1. *ma xašlətš əl-fxār u āna t̪əbt mənha bāš taxšəl*
'She did not wash the dishes even though I asked her to do so.'
2. *ḥatta k̪ān l-m̪tar əqwiya, m̪lžūm ʕalīna nət̪ʕu mən əd-dār*
'Although there was heavy rain, we had to leave the house.'
3. *k̪ānət m̪rīda bərša u qāmət (qadrət) təlləf bi z̪gārha*
'Despite her severe illness, she made an effort to take care of her children.'

Concessive adverbial constructions consist of two SoAs which are linked by a relationship of opposition. The dependent clause expresses circumstances that theoretically should have prevented the occurrence of the main clause, but the event nevertheless takes place, as in examples (2) and (3); or the dependent clause theoretically should have brought about the occurrence of the event in the main clause, but it did not take place, as in (1). Therefore, the dependent SoA is always factual. In Jewish Gabes, the concessive relation can be expressed either coordinatively, as in examples (1) and (3), or through the concessive particle *ḥatta*.

1.3.9. Summary

To sum up the syntactic behaviour of adverbial constructions in Jewish Gabes, several points should be made. The primary strat-

egy used in the dialect is balancing, although some degree of de-ranking can be identified as well, since the verb in some dependent clauses (e.g., purpose clauses) cannot admit verbal particles (e.g., the /ka-/ particle indicating a continuous action). The semantic classification based on Cristofaro's model has been expanded by several additional categories. Special attention was paid to the distinction between subordination and coordination. As I have shown, some adverbial constructions—like, for example, clauses of manner and concessive clauses—show a strong tendency towards coordination.

1.4. Complementation

In my investigation of complementation in Jewish Gabes, I shall apply the following definition of complementation, proposed by M. Noonan (2007, 52): “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate.” In other words, complementation provides information which is necessary for conveying the full meaning of a sentence. In this respect, complement clauses differ from those types of subordinate clauses that provide additional information without which the sentence would remain grammatically correct. Modern studies try to avoid defining complementation in terms of embedding, since, in many languages, complementation can take place without formal embedding (Cristofaro 2012, 96).

1.4.1. Typological Preliminaries

Numerous historical studies of various languages indicate that complementation derives from non-embedded, apposition-like

structures involving nouns and pronouns (Noonan 2007, 57). In this kind of construction, which was particularly common in the early stages of development of Indo-European languages, the main clause contained a pronominal element, while the dependent clause presented further specification about it and was connected to the main one through a resumptive pronoun.

The morphology of complements varies from one language to another and can be coded by means of different grammatical categories; nevertheless, several types can be distinguished cross-linguistically. The most common type is a sentence-like complement, which can have two kinds of form. The first one behaves like an independent sentence, and the predicate is in the indicative mood. The second type involves subjunctive forms, which are morphologically distinct from the indicative ones and, in virtually all languages, can stand in an independent sentence in several grammatical contexts (imperative, cohortative, irrealis, etc.). The subjunctive often conveys a sense of doubt and therefore accompanies negated main clauses. This is exemplified by the usage of the particle *by* in Russian, or the distribution of subjunctive forms in negated sentences in Spanish. Complements may be preceded by a complementiser, but some languages convey complementation by means of parataxis and verb serialisation, a method that is particularly common in sub-Saharan languages. Moreover, a single grammatical form can serve as a complement, e.g., an infinitive or a participle. The former, depending on the language, can code a variety of SoAs. In Ancient Greek, infinitives express a full range of tenses, while in Slavic languages, they are coded for aspect and voice (Noonan 2007, 68).

Syntactically, complements can function as subjects or objects of the matrix clause. There is a number of phenomena related to the syntactic behaviour of complements. Some of the most common of them will be mentioned here. Firstly, many of the world's languages make use of what Noonan (2007, 75) calls 'equi-deletion' (henceforth: *equi*). As a result of this process, a predicate argument of the complement clause is deleted when it is co-referential with the matrix, and the complement becomes of non-sentence-like type. *Equi* is found mostly in languages where the use of an overt subject is necessary, and therefore will not take place in those that code the subject by means of verb morphology. On the other hand, the phenomenon by which, despite the deletion of an independent subject constituent, the complement remains a sentence, is called anaphoric ellipsis. Applying this rule to Jewish Gabes, one should expect to find the phenomenon of anaphoric ellipsis rather than *equi*, since deletion of an overt subject from the complement does not bring about a non-sentence-like constituent.

Another phenomenon that is related to the syntagm of complements and involves deletion of an argument is raising. It entails removing an argument of the predication from the dependent SoA and promoting it to the matrix; as a result, the argument acquires a new grammatical function. This process usually takes place when the raised argument is syntactically part of the complement, but semantically constitutes part of the matrix (Noonan 2007, 79). The most common type of this process is subject-to-object raising, which occurs in desiderative and volitive clauses.

It involves promotion of the subject argument from the dependent SoA in an embedded structure to the direct object of the predicate in the matrix. According to Noonan, raising, similarly to equi, brings about a non-sentence-like complement.¹⁹

Complement clauses are prone to undergoing various kinds of reduction, of which two deserve special attention. Simple clause reduction takes place in three-place manipulative predicates, where, notwithstanding equi-deletion of the subject of the complement predicate, the complement maintains a grammatical structure independent from the syntagm of the matrix. On the other hand, a process called clause union causes both matrix and dependent clause to share the same grammatical features (Noonan 2007, 83). This process usually involves the merging of both predicates in such a way that all the arguments of the sentence are subordinated to the same syntagm. An example from French can provide further explanation of this phenomenon: *Roger laissera manger les pommes à Marie* ‘Roger will let Marie eat the apples’ (Noonan 2007, 84). In this sentence, ‘let’ and ‘eat’ from a ditransitive predicate, both of them having the same arguments, namely, ‘Roger’, ‘apples’, and ‘Marie’.

So far, I have discussed morphological and syntactical relations between the matrix and complement clauses. I have pointed out the distinction between indicative and subjunctive forms and briefly described the processes of deletion and raising of comple-

¹⁹ Another type of raising common across world’s languages is negative raising, which entails removing the negative particle from the complement and promoting it to the matrix clause (Noonan 2007, 100).

ments. At this point, it should be argued that both the morphology and the syntax of the complements are, to a large extent, governed by the semantics of the matrix predicate, which can in turn produce a number of interconnections between the two clauses. The semantic integration between the matrix and the complement SoAs has been the subject of extensive studies. Givón (1990, 526) has observed that the semantic interconnection between the clauses is stronger when the agent of the matrix controls the realisation of the complement. According to this statement, manipulative predicates will generate stronger semantic correlation with the complement, than, for example, utterance or proposition. Moreover, Givón (1990, 526) has suggested that, due to semantic integration, events from both clauses merge into one spatio-temporal dimension.²⁰ This view has been called into question by Cristofaro (2012, 119), who adduces a number of cases where, despite spatio-temporal integration, there is no semantic correlation between the clauses.

The semantics of the matrix predicate are the decisive factor also when it comes to the mood and tense reference of the complement. In this respect, the complement predicate is dependent on the matrix when part of the information it conveys is coded by the main predicate (Noonan 2007, 102). The dependency of the complement on the matrix predicate can be threefold.

²⁰ As pointed out by Noonan (2007, 101), the syntax of the complement can also signal the degree to which the clauses are semantically integrated. Sentence-like complements tend to be more independent than reduced ones, which, due to their incorporation into the matrix, represent a higher degree of semantic integration.

The first type of dependency is time reference, which is sometimes also referred to as time predetermination (Cristofaro 2012, 116). With this dependency, the tense coding of the complement predicate is dictated by the meaning of the matrix predicate. Otherwise, the complement can have a tense constituency of its own, in which case it is described as having indetermined tense reference (Noonan 2007, 103). The former situation is exemplified by predicates expressing a wish, order, command, or desire, since the predicate of the following component will always have future reference. On the other hand, knowledge and utterance predicates do not imply any particular time reference for the complement.

Another dimension of clause dependency is truth-value, or epistemic dependency. This means that the epistemic status of the complement clause depends on the level of truthfulness and probability expressed by the matrix predicate. This type of dependency has indetermined tense reference. As has already been mentioned, some languages code the irrealis mood of the complement by means of the subjunctive (e.g., Spanish) or a distinct form of complementiser (e.g., Russian).

In sum, the world's languages utilise various types of morphological and syntactical reduction in complements that exhibit dependency on the matrix clause. This behaviour can be explained through pragmatic concepts, such as syntagmatic economy and information recoverability (Cristofaro 2012, 248). Usually, when mood and tense are not coded by the complement predicate, this information is recoverable from the matrix predicate, and therefore the reduction reflects the tendency to reduce

the complexity of the message. This is also the case when the participant of the dependent SoA is coreferential with the participant of the matrix. Moreover, some of the processes involving merging of the clauses discussed above can be seen as manifestations of aspects of iconicity, namely iconicity of independence and iconicity of distance (Givón 1980; Cristofaro 2012, 251). According to the former, linguistically independent forms represent independence of the concepts that the forms code. Similarly, iconicity of distance points to the correlation between formal distance between forms and their conceptual distance. In light of these statements, it becomes clear why desiderative and modal predicates tend to bring about merging of the clauses by means of raising, namely, the will of the agent and the target of his/her will are conceptually interconnected.²¹ On the other hand, utterance predicates almost always involve use of a complementiser, because the act of speaking and its content are not related conceptually.

1.4.2. Complementation in CA

In the previous section (§1.4.1), it was pointed out that the world's languages code complement dependency by means of different syntactical and morphological devices. In what follows, I

²¹ In CA, this correlation is exemplified by, among others, interchangeability between the complementiser *?an al-mašdariyya* and the actual *mašdar* in desiderative clauses whose matrix and complement have coreferential subjects. In this case, the conceptual closeness between the wish and its content is expressed by a reduced, nominalised form of the complement (LeTourneau 2011).

shall briefly discuss forms of complementation present in CA. The grammarians distinguish three types of complementiser in CA, each of them being associated with different semantic values of the complement.²² The first one, *ʔanna*, follows propositional predicates denoting factual assertions, and therefore the tense reference is often past (Wright 2005, II:26). The predicate in the complement is in the indicative, while its subject is in the accusative case. The second kind of complementiser is *ʔinna*, which occurs exclusively after the utterance predicate *qāla*. Finally, the third type, namely *ʔan*, has a twofold usage. It can follow predicates expressing order, necessity, duty, permission, etc., and in this case, the predicate in the complement clause is in the subjunctive. The tense reference of the complement is therefore future. On the other hand, *ʔan* can also accompany emotive or knowledge predicates, in which case the reference can be present or past, and the complement predicate is in the indicative. Traditionally, the former is called *ʔan an-nāṣibatu* ‘the *ʔan* that governs the subjunctive’ and the latter is called *ʔan muxaffafa* ‘the lightened *ʔan*’ (LeTourneau 2011).

It can be inferred, therefore, that the semantics of the matrix predicate in CA are the factor that conditions the syntactic behaviour of the complement. On this basis, one would expect to find in CA the syntactic processes described in §1.4.1. Indeed, Persson (1999), in a study of complement-taking predicates in Arabic, observes that raising occurs when the agent of the matrix

²² Some linguists add to the list of the CA complementisers also *allaḏi* since it appears in the expression: *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi llaḏi* ‘God be praised that...’ (Spitaler 1962).

is able to control the way the agent of the complement acts. This proves that there is a strong relationship between the type of predicate in the matrix and the form of the whole complement sentence.

1.4.3. Semantic Taxonomy of Complement-Taking

Predicates²³ in Jewish Gabes

In the previous sections (§§1.4.1–1.4.2), it has been repeatedly highlighted that there is a strong correlation between the semantics of a complement and its syntax. As has been observed by Givón (1990, II:40), the isomorphism of these two dimensions gives rise to clause union and event integration, which in turn significantly affects the syntax of the entire sentence. Bearing in mind the importance of the semantics of the matrix predicate, in what follows, I shall categorise the passages containing complements according to the meaning of the complement-taking predicate (henceforth: CTP). They have been taken from the text corpus and from questionnaires.

Noonan (2007, 121), in his cross-linguistic study on complementation, proposed a very detailed taxonomy of CTPs appearing in various languages. Some of them are only sporadically attested and do not demonstrate any syntactic peculiarities. Hence, I will follow rather the model proposed by Cristofaro

²³ Following Noonan (2007, 121), henceforth, the abbreviation CTP will be used.

(2012, 99), which outlines the most common categories, with some minor modifications.²⁴

1.4.4. Modal

1. *lāžəm nšūfu šnūwa řandu fi-l-bit* (4:91)
'We must see what he keeps in his room.'
2. *ğadwa əl-mélex fi-řatta tāř řbāḥ lāžəm yəṭmařša řal řəṭṭ l-bḥar* (7:75)
'Tomorrow at six in the morning the king is supposed to take a stroll on the beach.'
3. *muř lāžəm nəḍfnūha* (4:79)
'We cannot bury her.'
4. *tnəžžəm tədxəl tuwwa*
'You can enter now.'
5. *ma ynəžžmūř yədxlu řla xāṭər ma řandhumř əl-məřtāḥ*
'They cannot enter because they do not have the key.'
6. *məłžūm řaliya bāř nəmři əl-yūm l-ṭḥīb*
'I must go to the doctor today.'
7. *bařd ma tkařřət rəžlu tuwwa ma ynəžžəmř yəmři řaliha*
'After he broke his leg, he cannot walk yet.'
8. *ḥatta kān l-mṭar əqwīya, məłžūm řalīna nəṭ!řu mən əḍ-ḍār*
'Although there was a heavy rain, we had to leave the house.'
9. *yəłžəmha ṭṭaḅḅař bāř tədxəl* (4:16)
'She had to lean down to enter.'

²⁴ Givón (1990, II:41) proposes an even more general classification of CTPs, outlining three main categories: modality verbs, manipulation verbs, and perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs.

It is widely recognised by linguists that there are two main distinct types of modality (Comrie 1985; Givón 1990 II, 52; Cristofaro 2012, 60). The first is epistemic modality, which refers to the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition. The other is deontic modality, which conveys obligation or permission regarding an event as yet unrealised. A third type relates to ability and is sometimes termed dynamic modality.

As the above passages demonstrate, Jewish Gabes utilises three different ways of conveying modality. The distinction between ability and obligation is clearly marked lexically and syntactically. Thus, the former is expressed by means of conjugated verbal forms of the root /nžm/.

Obligation, on the other hand, can be conveyed in several ways, depending on the nature of the obligation. The first one involves an uninflected particle *lāžəm* and is used when the subject feels an internal need or moral obligation to perform the action expressed by the complement.²⁵ However, as example (2) demonstrates, the particle in question also has another usage, namely, it can introduce an event that is highly likely to occur. In example (2), *lāžəm* does not denote a personal need or obligation of the king to walk, but rather indicates that this is what he usually does, or what he has planned, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that tomorrow he will walk on the seashore. This, therefore, expresses epistemic necessity.

²⁵ This uninflected particle is widespread in modern varieties of Arabic. It has been attested, among others, in Gulf Arabic (Holes 1990, 201) and in Šanšānī Arabic, where it can occur in a hypotactic construction with the complementiser /innih/ (Watson 1993, 160).

Apart from the particle *lāžəm*, obligation is expressed also by means of a construction involving the passive participle *mālžūm* and the inflected preposition *ʕal*.²⁶ However, unlike *lāžəm*, which denotes the personal obligation of the subject, this construction is used when the subject is forced by a third person to perform the action conveyed by the complement, or when the obligation is conditioned by external factors. Thus, in example (6), the subject is forced to go to the doctor by their health condition. Similarly, in example (8), the subject does not feel an independent and personal need to leave, but rather is forced by external conditions.

Example (9) presents yet another way of expressing obligation. It involves the 3MS form of the root /lžm/ followed by a direct object pronoun. In this construction, the verb form is impersonal and the subject who is obliged to perform the action expressed by the complement is coded by the direct object. Jewish Tunis supplies numerous examples demonstrating the syntactic behaviour of this form:²⁷

- (1) *mṛa yəlzəmha taʕməl fonctions tāʕ ɾāžəl*
'une femme (...) doit remplir les fonctions d'un homme'
- (2) *əlli umān «ḥəšbūn iš» u yəlzəmma taʕməl əl-fonctions ntāʕ ɾāžəl*
'qui est le compte de ?iš et doit exercer les fonctions d'un homme'
- (3) *wəl-fonctions ntaḥḥa yələzmməm yəbdāw doubles*
'et dont les fonctions vont être doubles'

²⁶ In Jewish Tunis, there exists also the variant *lāžəm ʕal* (Cohen 1964, 48). However, this has not been attested in Jewish Gabes.

²⁷ All the examples have been borrowed from Cohen (1964, 48-60).

- (4) *ma yəlzəmnāši bāš barmənnām barmənnām nqūlu lli israil zāda gālīn*
 ‘nous ne devons pas dire que Israël est dans l’erreur’
- (5) *flān yəlzəməlna nuqfūlu, ulā flān «barmənnām barmənnām naftār» yəlzəmma bāš nūqfu fi rīgla-lli-īya təlzəm*
 ‘nous assurer la défense d’un tel, ou bien, hélas, un tel est décédé, nous devons nous mobiliser pour telle chose qui est nécessaire’

The semantic value of this construction is by no means homogeneous. The first three examples illustrate an obligation being the result of external circumstances. Thus, the subject is involuntarily forced to perform the action expressed by the complement. On the other hand, in examples (4) and (5), *yəlzəm* denotes an obligation that is dictated by morality. The subject is not forced to undertake an action, but is required on a personal level to act in a certain way. Nonetheless, as can be inferred from the above passages, *yəlzəm* never represents an internal, personal need of a subject. Its primary function is hence to denote external obligation.

1.4.5. Phasal

1. *bdāt təmši təmši təmši* (4:16)
 ‘She started walking, she walked, and walked.’
2. *təḍrəblu fi-rəžlih mən lūṭa ḥatta əl-rāzəl bda yəṭharrək wa dəmmu bda yəzri* (2:23)
 ‘[She] started hitting his feet from beneath until the man started moving and the blood started running in his body, he stood up on his feet and started walking.’
3. *humma wəqfu yəbnīw əl-dār*
 ‘They stopped building the house.’

4. *ərʒaʕt naxdəm kif ma kənt aqbəl*
'I continued working as I worked before.'
5. *kəmməlt nṭəyyəb əl-marqa*
'I finished cooking the soup.'

The function of phasal predicates is to mark the point in time when the complement SoA is happening. Thus, it can express either the onset of an action, its continuation, its cessation, or its termination. Unlike aspectual operators, phasal predicates do not modify the temporal constituency of the complement predicate (Siewierska 1991, 118; Cristofaro 2012, 102). This assumption is confirmed by example (3), where the reference being made is only the suspension of the construction and not its temporal aspect. In other words, we learn about the development of the construction with reference to its own time-frame, but there is no information about when this SoA takes place.²⁸

Jewish Gabes utilises several verbs to express the phase in which the dependent SoA is:

<u>onset</u>	<u>continuation</u>	<u>cessation</u>	<u>completion</u>
<i>bda</i>	<i>rʒaʕ</i>	<i>wqəf</i>	<i>kəmməl</i>

It is worth noting that the verb *rʒaʕ* 'to come back, to return', in other dialects of Arabic, codes different temporal categories. While, in Jewish Gabes, it means to come back to the point where

²⁸ The distinction between internal and external temporal constituency is coded by different grammatical categories. As has been observed by Siewierska (1991, 118), external time reference is rendered by adverbs or other aspectual operators, which place certain SoAs on a timeline. Contrary to this, phasal predicates code only internal progress of the SoA, and therefore cannot be regarded as aspectual operators.

the action was suspended, and therefore ‘to continue’, in Moroccan Arabic, it designates a start of the action (Brustad 2000, 215). On the other hand, in some varieties of Syrian Arabic, it denotes a repetitive action.²⁹ Interestingly, due to language contact, the iterative meaning of *rʒaʃ* has also been adopted in the Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Maʿlūla, where it occurs in the asyndetic construction *rkʃ* + verb (Correll 1978, 83).³⁰

The time reference of the complements is predetermined by the matrix predicate (Noonan 2007, 139). Since phasal predicates indicate a stage of an action, and not a punctual event, complement predicates always have a prefix form.

1.4.6. Manipulative

1. *hūwa ʔlāb mənni bāš nəmši bə-šwīya*
‘He asked me to walk slowly.’
2. *hūwa li xallāha bāš təqtəl rāzəlha*
‘It is he who made her kill her husband.’
3. *qabbərt ʕalī bāš yšəlləfha flūš*
‘I convinced him to lend her money.’
4. *hūwa ǧaššəbha bāš təkəl*
‘He forced her to eat.’

Manipulative CTPs can be divided into two principal groups: (1) expressions of causation (force, make, persuade) and (2) expressions of request (ask, order, request, command). Within both

²⁹ Other varieties of Syrian Arabic, like, for example, the dialect of Damascus, utilise the verb *raḏḏ* (Grotzfeld 1965, 90).

³⁰ I am indebted to Dr Ivri Bunis for providing me with the comparative data from the dialect of Maʿlūla.

those groups, the agent causes an affectee to perform the action expressed by the complement. Similarly to phasal predicates, manipulative CTPs also have predetermined time reference, since the complement SoA always takes place after the matrix predicate.

In Jewish Gabes, manipulative predicates are followed by the particle *bāš*, due to the lack of coreference between the matrix and the complement subjects. Example (1) represents a request predicate, while the other examples fall within the category of causation.

1.4.7. Desiderative

1. *tuwwa bnīwli qṣarṛ qbal ḍār bāḇāy, xīr mən tāṣu, u nḥabba ṣahrīn takmāl* (2:82)
'Now build me a castle in front of my father's house, even better than his, and I want it to be finished within two weeks.'
2. *hūwa yḥabb yaṣrəf šnūwa ləwwḥat* (2:32)
'He wanted to know what she had thrown.'
3. *tḥabb tədxal ənti?* (2:58)
'Would you like to go in?'
4. *tuwwa nḥabbək tqūlli škūn hādi li qāṣda tfaššərlək fi-ḥwāyəž hādi kulla*
'Now I want you to tell me who this person is, who explains all those things.'
5. *āməš ḥabbītək tzi tṣāwənni*
'Yesterday I wanted you to come and help me.'
6. *qāl: āna ^{HE}anī ^{HE}u əl-xabža nḥabb nākəlhə* (1:19)
'I am poor and I would like to eat the bread.'
7. *ma ḥabbūš yqūlūla qatlū l-ṣarāb*
'They did not want to tell her that the Arabs had killed him.'

Desiderative CTPs express a wish for the realisation of an action conveyed by the complement predicate. Either the subject of the matrix predicate may be coreferential with the experiencer of the complement, or the dependent clause may be brought about by a third person (Cristofaro 2012, 103). The time reference of desiderative predicates is predetermined, and the complement predicate always has future meaning.

In Jewish Gabes, the verb associated with this class is invariably *ḥabb*. As examples (1), (4), and (5) demonstrate, *ḥabb* very often brings about raising of the subject from the complement clause to the position of the direct object in the matrix. According to Noonan's (2007, 79) definition, one of the outcomes of raising is a non-sentence-like complement type. However, in light of the data from Jewish Gabes, this assumption turns out to be inadequate. Without doubt, raising takes place, since the argument of the lower clause is promoted to the higher one, but the complement remains a sentence-like type. Example (5) is equal to: *āmāš ḥabbīt tži tšāwənni*, where the subject of the complement predicate, coded by verbal inflection, is in the nominative case. Once raising is applied, it is coded by a pronominal object suffix. Nonetheless, the promotion of the argument does not affect the grammatical independence of the complement.

1.4.8. Perception

1. *āna wəld šəlṭān, šmašt li tašməl šarš tāš bəntək* (6:91)
'I am a son of the sultan and I have heard that you held a wedding for your daughter.'

2. *šmašt tādwi wāḥda u bašd dānya šəktət wa rqiṯa mīta* (4:77)
‘I heard a woman talking and then everything became silent and I found her dead.’
3. *f-əl-līl šmaštu yətkəlləm mša əz-zār*
‘At night I heard him talking to the neighbour.’
4. *əl-ḥūliši šāf əl-xannāb kif ṭlaṣ mən əl-^{HE}xanūt^{HE}*
‘The policeman saw the thief escaping from the shop.’

Perception predicates are applied in sentences where the subject witnesses, by hearing or seeing, an event coded by the complement. Their tense reference is predetermined, since the act of perception takes place at the same time as the event itself (Noonan 2007, 142). In Jewish Gabes, as in many other languages, the subject of the complement predicate is coded as the direct object of the CTP. The complement predicate is, in the majority of the examples, in the prefix conjugation, indicating the durative character of the verb.³¹ Example (4) is an exception to this rule, as the dependent predicate is punctual and thus the perceived SoA is coded by the suffix inflection. Somewhat problematic is example (1). Lexically, it belongs to the perception category, since it includes the verb ‘to hear’, but the form of the complement suggests that it could also be classified in the next group, namely, CTPs of knowledge.

³¹ Due to the immediate and durative character of the act of perception, it is common across the world’s languages to code the complement predicate with a participle (Noonan 2007, 142).

1.4.9. Knowledge

1. *l-kbīra taṣrəf li ma ṣandhāš šəmm wa əz-zǧīra taṣrəf li ḥatṭatla* (4:121)
‘The old one knew she did not have any poison and the young one knew she did give her poison.’
2. *l-bnāt ṣarfu li ma ṣandiš ǧlamm*
‘The girls learnt that I did not have livestock.’
3. *yəšhədu ṣaliya ənžūm u šma li āna žītək* (5:40)
‘My witnesses the moon, the stars and the sky that I have come.’

Knowledge CTPs indicate either a state of knowledge, or the process in the course of which the subject acquires certain knowledge. In Jewish Gabes, the same verb *ṣrəf* expresses both possibilities. Example (3), which contains the verb *šədd* ‘to witness’, has been classified in this group, since the act of witnessing represents a level of knowledge. Both *ṣrəf* and *šədd* are followed by the complementiser *li*, which nominalises the complement.

1.4.10. Propositional Attitude

1. *ṣandək əl-ḥaqq li šahrīn ma mšītš, nəmšilo* (5:10)
‘You are right that I have not gone to him for two months, I will go to him now.’
2. *āna fi-bāli əlli hūwa mūš ḥabb yərbaḥ*
‘I think he is not going to win.’

Through propositional CTPs, the subject expresses an evaluation of the content conveyed by the complement. Since this evaluation usually pertains to the truth of the dependent clause, the matrix predicate will involve verbs relating to thinking, believing, expressing opinion, etc. In Jewish Gabes, this class is scarcely attested, and comprises two expressions, both of them followed by

the complementiser. Their time reference is undetermined, since the complement of example (1) refers to the past, and that of example (2) to the future.

1.4.11. Utterance

1. *hūwa qālli ʕamru ma yərʒaʕ əl-hūni*
'He told me that he would never come back to this place.'
2. *āna qatlu ma ʕātəʕ tamma məlʒūm bāʕ tḡaddəl ʕəlha*
'I told him that it was not possible to change the stock.'

Utterance predicates describe a process of transferal of the information which is coded by the complement. As pointed out by Cristofaro (2012, 121), the transferred information can be expressed in the form of either direct or indirect quotation. The vast majority of utterance predicates in Jewish Gabes function within direct discourse, and therefore cannot be analysed in terms of complementation. Both of the examples presented above have been obtained by means of a questionnaire. It is worth noting that no complementiser occurs in them, and as a matter of fact the dependent clause has a form similar to that of direct speech.

1.4.12. Emotion

1. *farḡat mərt ḡūha li ʕāt (4:66)*
'The step-mother was happy that she came.'
2. *āna nādəm əlli ma ʕāwəntūʕ waqt əlli kān mḡīḡ*
'I regret that I did not help him when he was sick.'
3. *āna ɡlat li ma qḡəltʕ əl-xadma hādi*
'I am sorry that you have not got this job.'

This category is not included either in Cristofaro's model or in Noonan's.³² Predicates of emotion express an emotional attitude of the subject towards the SoA expressed by the complement. Their time reference is not predetermined. In Jewish Gabes, they attract the occurrence of the *li-elli* complementiser.

1.5. Summary

After analysing the three types of subordination, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the coding of dependency in Jewish Gabes. Throughout the course of my investigation, two dimensions were considered—a cross-linguistic and a Semitic one. The latter was aimed at demonstrating the origins of relative and adverbial clauses. The former approach, on the other hand, was applied in order to place Jewish Gabes within a wider typological framework.

I have argued that relative clauses in Jewish Gabes are of an external, post-nominal type and can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. Historically, they derive from the pattern of nominal dependency, similarly to adjectives and adverbial clauses. As in many other modern Arabic dialects, the syntactic behaviour of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes is, to a large extent, dependent on the definiteness of the head noun. It has been demonstrated that definite nouns attract the relative pronoun and bring about resumption in the relative clause. On the other hand, when the relativised item is indefinite, relativisation tends to be realised by means of coordination or asyndetically. Finally, my data have

³² Noonan's model includes, however, predicates of fearing: see Noonan (2012, 130).

confirmed the accurateness of the Accessibility Hierarchy, demonstrating that subject and direct object are the two most relativised positions in Jewish Gabes.

The investigation of adverbial clauses provided a thorough presentation and taxonomy of data. It was argued that, historically, Semitic languages used nominal dependency to express adverbial relations, and at a later stage, some grammaticalised nouns started serving as adverb markers. The data analysis involved six semantic groups of adverbial clauses in Jewish Gabes. Special attention was paid to temporal clauses. I utilised the model proposed by Givón (1990, II:330) and Kortmann (1997, 80), which allowed me to demonstrate different aspects of temporal dependency. In addition, I argued that some clauses use coordination in order to render adverbial relations. This was the case in some temporal clauses, as well as clauses of manner and concessive clauses.

The analysis of the third type of subordination, complementation, was primarily concerned with syntactic phenomena caused by the semantics of the matrix predicate. I argued that the meaning of the main predicate to a large extent conditions the syntagm of the complement. From a historical point of view, it was demonstrated that CA utilises three types of complements depending on the semantics of the main predicate. Subsequently, a semantic taxonomy of complement-taking predicates was presented. Each class of complements has been classified with respect to tense predetermination. I have argued that Jewish Gabes makes a clear distinction between deontic and epistemic modal-

ity. Moreover, I have shown different ways of expressing obligation in the dialect, involving the particle *lāžəm*, *mālžūm ʕal*, and *yālžəm* + personal pronoun. Finally, it has been demonstrated that some types of predicate, like for example desiderative predicates, bring about raising of the complement subject to the position of the direct object of the matrix predicate.

2.0. Expressions of Tense and Aspect

2.1. Introduction³³

There is a general scholarly consensus that the verbal system of modern Arabic dialects incorporates both aspect- and tense-coding devices (Eisele 1991, 193; Brustad 2000, 203).³⁴ Indeed, these two categories are inextricably linked, and both play a part in expressing events. However, Brustad (2000, 202), after comparing data from several dialects, reaches the conclusion that it is aspect that prevails in the verbal system of spoken Arabic, and indicates that separate mechanisms are used to convey time. This might give the impression that all Arabic dialects code aspect and tense in the same way. Unsurprisingly, this is far from correct. The dialects in fact display immense differences in their verbal

³³ This section is a modified version of my paper: ‘Expressions of Tense and Aspect in the Tunisian Varieties of Arabic: A Comparative Study of Jewish and Muslim Dialects’ (Gębski 2022).

³⁴ It is worth noting that the debate on the nature of the verbal system is not limited only to Arabic. The puzzling relationship between tense and aspect seems to be one of the most frequently discussed issues in scholarship on Semitic languages, the best example being Biblical Hebrew.

syntax (use of participles, preverbal particles, auxiliary verbs), which, in turn, have a significant impact on the coding of the two categories in question. The aim of the present study, therefore, is to present a thorough investigation of the relationship between tense and aspect in Jewish Gabes, and of its wider context in relation to other Arabic dialects. Comparative material has been excerpted from Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964, 1975), Muslim Tunis (interview with an informant), ṢAulād Msalləm (Simeone-Senelle 1985), the Bedouin dialect of Douz in Southern Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011; 2014), and Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005). The introductory remarks include a short presentation of the verbal system of Jewish Gabes, as well as discussion of the origin of the /ka-/ preverbal particle. In §2.7, I demonstrate that the p-stem and the s-stem in Jewish Gabes are mostly aspectual, and their temporal value is conveyed by external elements. Subsequently, I discuss the expressions of the perfect in modern Tunisian dialects, where, as will be shown, there are salient functional divergences between the Jewish and Muslim varieties. I provide an explanation of this phenomenon involving a North-West Semitic substrate underlying the Jewish dialects. The final part of the section (§2.8) deals with the compound forms of the p-stem (/qāṣd/, /qāṣ/, /ḳa/, /kān/, and /ḥābb/).

2.2. Syntax of Verbs in Jewish Gabes

The structure of the verb phrase in Jewish Gabes comprises the following primary elements: the verb itself, negation particles, and preverbal particles or auxiliary verbs. The inventory of the

last two elements differs from dialect to dialect. This issue will be analysed more closely in the following section (§2.3).

The two basic forms of the verb in Jewish Gabes are called in the present study the s-stem (*fʕəl*) and the p-stem (*yafʕəl*). Scholars of spoken Arabic have also been known to use the terms perfective and imperfective (e.g., Brustad 2000), the former occasionally being replaced by the term ‘perfect’ (Eisele 1990, 174). This terminology in Jewish Gabes is not always accurate, especially in light of the distinction between lexical and formal (view-point) aspect, and the possible tense-related implications it might bear. Thus, in order to avoid any imprecisions, in what follows, I will be using terminology based on morphology. Moreover, the term ‘perfect’, in some studies, designates a specific aspectual value coded formally by the active participle (Eisele 1990, 173; Brustad 2000, 142). As will be shown in §§2.7.3–2.7.4, the active participle in Jewish Gabes has limited usage, and fulfils a different function. As regards negation, the dialect in question has two basic patterns: (1) verbal negation, expressed by *mā* verb + /š/ clitic, and (2) predicate negation, expressed by the particle *muš*.

2.3. Distinction between Preverbal Particles and Auxiliaries

The emergence of preverbal particles in any language is closely related to its internal, diachronic processes of grammaticalisation and morphological reduction (Owens 1998, 105). The category of preverbal particles is, in Jewish Gabes, interconnected with that of auxiliary verbs, and it is therefore sometimes difficult to unequivocally draw a distinction between them. Certain verbs

are in the process of a functional ramification, serving on the one hand as fully-fledged, inflected verbal forms, and on the other as frozen particles. Their double nature seems to present some difficulties for the analysis of Arabic dialects. Harrell (1962, 178) classifies under the category of ‘auxiliaries’ in Moroccan both those items lacking a full conjugation and those with regular verbal forms. Contrary to this, Eisele (1992, 160), when investigating auxiliaries in Egyptian Arabic, sets out four features they display, one of which is obligatory subject coreferentiality among members of the verb phrase. In the present section, following Eisele, a clear distinction between these two categories is made. Thus, lexical items lacking a full conjugation will be classified as preverbal particles, while verbs coreferential with the subject will be grouped under the category of auxiliaries.

2.4. The Origin of Preverbal Particles in Jewish Gabes

Four preverbal particles can be distinguished in Jewish Gabes. They stem from two separate verbal forms, namely, *qāṣād* and *kān*. The first particle is an uninflected form of the active participle *qāṣād*. As I shall argue, this form gave rise to a number of clitics, the most obvious being *qāṣ*, which presumably emerged due to the loss of the final consonant. This might have taken place after it underwent devoicing to [t] and subsequent assimilation to the [t] prefix of the 2SG, 3FS, and 2PL.³⁵ The two other particles

³⁵ The tendency of the preverbal particles to assimilate to the personal prefixes of the main verb has already been pointed out by Stewart (1998, 117), who gives the example of the Egyptian /bi-/ clitic turning into /mi-/ in the 1PL, i.e., *minākul* ‘we are eating’, instead of **binākul*.

are /ka-/³⁶ and *kān*. While the latter is no doubt a grammaticalised form of the 3MS s-stem form of the verb ‘to be’, the origin of the former is less certain. Two possible paths of development can be proposed. The particle could have emerged due to the loss of the final [n] sound of the form *kān*. Again, this could have been caused by assimilation to the /n-/ prefix of the 1SG/PL. As will be shown later, however, this explanation does not hold water in light of the data. On the contrary, as I shall argue, /k̤ā-/ developed from the participle *qāṣṣad*, being the next stage in the development of the particle *qāṣ*.³⁷

As reflected in emphasis spread, the sound [q] in Jewish Gabes is the weakest of the emphatic consonants. The sound [q] could therefore have undergone de-emphaticisation, turning into the unaspirated stop [k]. It is also worth noting that, cross-dialectally, the fronting of [q] to the post-velar position, which also reflects its weakness as an emphatic, is one of the characteristic traits of sedentary dialects (Aguadé 2018, 45). Similarly, the realisation of [ʕ] in the dialect is much weaker than in other varieties of Arabic, especially the eastern ones. Instances of the elision of [ʕ] are also attested in neighbouring Jewish Tripoli,

³⁶ In the transcription, an unaspirated stop is represented as [k̤], its aspirated counterpart as /k/. /k/ in the preverbal particle /ka-/ is always unaspirated, but it is marked as such only when this is relevant for the diachronic reconstruction.

³⁷ A similar phenomenon of phonetic reduction of a preverbal element is attested in Neo-Aramaic dialects, where the /bət/ particle in the construction *bət-qatəl* sometimes turns into /t-/. The parallelism is even more explicit considering that this particle likely originates in the MS form of the active participle of the verb ‘to want’.

where one occasionally finds the form *čā*, being a truncated version of the genitive exponent *čāḥ*.³⁸

When it comes to the vowel, since the particle always precedes a verbal form and does not constitute an independent entity with its own stress, one can expect length reduction from [ā] to short [a] in the stream of natural speech.³⁹ Another explanation for the reduction of this vowel could be a de-grammaticalisation of the original verb form. As pointed out by Stewart (1998, 118), some clitics emerge due to the loss of a personal prefix, by which they become grammatically dependent items. In the form *qāḥəd*, the long [ā] vowel is vital for coding the grammatical function of the active participle, and its reduction to a short [a] might therefore be an expression of its syntactic dependence.

In the following paragraphs, I shall present arguments in favour of reconstructing the origin of the particle /ka-/, used to denote progressive events, in the active participle *qāḥəd*. The reconstruction is based on the following phonological processes leading to the emergence of the particle /ka-/ in Jewish Gabes: *qāḥəd* > **qāḥət* > *qāḥ* > **qaḥ* > **qa* > *ka*. It is worth noting

³⁸ This is an observation made on the basis of my own transcriptions of the recordings from Jewish Tripoli available on the website of the Mother Tongue Project: <https://www.lashon.org/en/taxonomy/term/58>, accessed 30 Nov 2023.

³⁹ M. Cohen (1924, 57–58) distinguishes three stages in the formation of a clitic: 1) full word, 2) slightly reduced word, 3) considerably reduced word (e.g., the Levantine preverbal particle *šammāl* > *ša*).

that the same coexistence of *qāfʿəd*, *qāf*, and *ka* is attested in Jewish Djerba, as opposed to the Ibadite and Malekite varieties, where only *qāfʿəd* is used (Behnstedt 1998, 67).

The process described above involves a number of cross-linguistic phenomena related to language change, broadly understood, which have been under investigation over the past few decades (DeLancey 1997; Bybee 2003; Aarts 2004). Namely, as demonstrated above, the evolution of the active participle *qāfʿəd* into a progressivity marker was brought about by the subsecutive gradience of this form, which, in turn, has led to its reanalysis and subsequent grammaticalisation.⁴⁰ Moreover, the sequence of synchronically attested forms, *qāfʿəd* > *qāf* > *ka*, demonstrates that the process underlying this change consists of a number of micro-changes, which represent a gradual development. In other words, the case of the /ka-/ particle and its derivation constitutes a point of intersection between synchronic gradience, and gradualness, which by its nature is diachronic (Traugott and Trousdale 2010, 22). The coexistence in Jewish Gabes of the full verb form alongside the auxiliary and clitics deriving from it therefore offers a unique insight into the dynamics of language change.

⁴⁰ As explained by Aarts (2004, 361), subsecutive gradience denotes different levels of membership within the same category (e.g., the adjective and its ability to occur in both attributive and predicative positions). On the other hand, intersective gradience refers to one element having membership of different categories (e.g., some adverbs can mimic the adjective).

2.4.1. The Particle /ka-/ in Other Dialects

The occurrence of the progressive marker /ka-/ is in fact not limited to Jewish Gabes. In a comparative study of a vast variety of Arabic dialects (stretching from Morocco to Iraq) conducted by Agius and Harrak (1987, 164–80), it is argued that numerous dialects from different sub-groups utilise morphological variants of this particle. Agius and Harrak argue that the source of all such particles is the modal participle *qāfid*. Regarding Moroccan, however, Stewart (1998, 104) calls their claim into question, arguing that the Moroccan particle /ka-/ derives from the perfective form of the verb *kān* used in conditional clauses. Its development from marking conceptual dependency within conditional apodoses to denoting every type of the indicative mood seems to parallel the expansion of the particle /b-/ in other dialects. Owens (2018, 243) argues that the marking of evidentiality with /b-/ was facilitated by its usage in sequences of verbs occurring in narratives. This stage of development is exemplified by Nigerian Arabic. This argument has also been made by other scholars who agree that it was the modal use of the verb ‘to be’ in conditional clauses that gave rise to the particle /ka-/ (Corriente 1977, 140–41; Hanitsch 2019, 256–58). As argued by Khan (2021), a similar development is evidenced in some NENA dialects, where the construction *bāt-qaṭal*—originally used in the apodosis of conditional clauses—acquired new functions and started denoting discursively dependent events. Khan explains this by means of construction grammar, whereby syntactic spread takes place due to a cognitive schematisation of grammatical constructions.

The model proposed by Stewart and others, which derives /ka-/ in other dialects from the verb *kān* ‘to be’, does not seem to be plausible in the case of the Jewish Gabes particle /ka-/ denoting the progressive. Rather, Jewish Gabes /ka-/ is more likely to have originated in *qāʿad*. In support of this, I present two arguments, one phonetic, and the other syntactic. Firstly, within Jewish Gabes, the [k̤] of the particle differs from the [k] in *kān* in terms of aspiration. While the [k̤] of the particle is unaspirated, the [k] in *kān* is conspicuously aspirated [k^h]. The aspiration of [k] is a widespread phenomenon across Arabic dialects, resulting, in some of them (especially Bedouin dialects of the Gulf and northern Arabia), in further development to [č], e.g., in Baghdadi Arabic (Holes 1991, 655).⁴¹ In Jewish Gabes /k̤a-/, the unaspirated allophone therefore indicates the uvular origin of this consonant.

The second argument is the clear syntactic distinction between the use of *kān* and that of the /ka-/ particle and other forms deriving from *qāʿad*. Whereas *kān* marks past habitual events and occasionally fulfils a contrastive function (see §2.4.2 below), the latter particles are functionally interchangeable and denote progressivity, albeit with different time references.⁴²

⁴¹ In some dialects, for example in the Arabic spoken on the south coast of Iran, the affrication of the fronted [k] takes place only in the environment of front vowels, e.g., *samač* ‘fish’ (Leitner 2021, 230). It is worth noting, however, that the affrication of both [k] and [g] is a feature of Bedouin-type dialects and does not take place in the sedentary ones.

⁴² This issue will be further discussed in the analysis.

2.4.2. Origin and Distribution of the /kān/ + p-stem Construction

The function of *kān* in Jewish Gabes is relatively similar to its function in CA. According to Marmorstein (2016, 68), the auxiliary *kāna* in CA functions as a temporal adapter, which expresses anteriority of the predominantly aspectual predicate. In addition, as pointed out by Nebes (1982), it denotes the past tense in instances where the time reference cannot be retrieved from the context. Jewish Gabes utilises both *kān* as a frozen form of the verb ‘to be’, i.e., a preverbal particle, and a fully conjugated form, i.e., an auxiliary, from which the frozen form originates. Both mark past habitual events. This development could be interpreted as the first stage of the cliticisation of the verb ‘to be’.

It therefore appears that, in Jewish Gabes, two separate developments led to the emergence of two distinct particles, i.e., /ka-/, from *qāṣad*, which marks progressive events; and *kān*, which denotes past, predominantly habitual events. The distribution of these particles will be analysed in greater detail below.

2.5. Aspect and Tense: Theoretical Remarks

The relationship between tense and aspect in some languages can be confusing, leading to imprecise conclusions.⁴³ It is crucial, therefore, to draw clear distinctions between the two categories

⁴³ As pointed out by Comrie (1976, 94), there is a conceptual and terminological confusion of these terms in scholarship on Romance languages. The weakness of the terminology has also been observed by Eisele (1991, 76) and in Woidich’s (1975) study on active participle forms in Cairene Arabic.

and precisely define their domains. In what follows, I shall briefly present the terminology used in this section; I shall first define aspect and subsequently contrast it with tense.

2.5.1. Aspect

Aspect can be generally defined as the shape of the event expressed by a verb.⁴⁴ It indicates the character of the state of affairs and its internal temporal constituency, i.e., whether an event was punctual or durative (Comrie 1976, 3). Various types of aspect are expressed by binary oppositions used to characterise events.⁴⁵ A situation can therefore be viewed as perfective, i.e., temporally bounded, or as imperfective, i.e., expressing duration in time without indicating whether it ended or not (Forsyth 1970, 347). The distinction between these two categories also entails consideration of the way in which they are presented. The perfective presents the situation as a whole, while the imperfective focuses on its phasal nature and sees it from within (Comrie 1976, 16). Although no unequivocal definition of aspect exists, it may be tentatively assumed that, cross-linguistically, the imperfective is associated with continual, habitual, and generic meaning, while the perfective has punctual, iterative, and resultative

⁴⁴ For the history of scholarship on aspect and the questions it poses, see Binnick (1991, 135–58).

⁴⁵ As argued by Sasse (2002, 201), there is presently a scholarly consensus that the common denominator of various aspectual distinctions is the notion of ‘boundaries’, i.e., the same event can be perceived as having endpoints, or as being temporally unbounded.

connotations (Binnick 1991, 156). In addition, aspect can be divided into two subgroups, namely, formal aspect and lexical aspect (Sasse 2002, 203).

Formal aspect is expressed by the morphology of the verb. In other words, it is the strategy by which the conjugation codes a situation as perfective or imperfective. As pointed out by Eisele (2011), Arabic verb morphology, in contrast to, for example, Slavic languages, is rather poorly equipped for aspect marking. Most of the information about the temporal specification of the situation is provided by external elements—preverbal particles, auxiliaries, and the context of the sentence. Formal aspect is sometimes also called ‘viewpoint aspect’, as it expresses the way in which a speaker views the situation. Two main types of this formal aspect can be distinguished, i.e., perfective, which views an event from the outside, and imperfective, which depicts it from within.

In contrast to formal aspect, lexical aspect is not grammaticalised, but is expressed by the meaning of the verb itself. A synonymous term used in the literature is *Aktionsart*, i.e., type of action (Comrie 1976, 6; Eisele 1990, 190; Forsyth 1991, 20; Brustad 2000, 165). Lexical aspect is therefore an inherent semantic feature of a verb. As one might expect, verbs can be divided into multiple semantic categories, which in turn interact in various ways with the formal aspect (Eisele 1990; Brustad 2000, 168). A mere semantic classification of verbs is of little significance and does not provide any crucial information about a language. It is rather the interaction between these classes and the verb morphology that tells us how a language expresses aspect.

In general terms, it can be assumed that the perfective expresses actions with temporal boundaries, i.e., completion, entry into a state, or onset of action, while the imperfective expresses meanings related to habituality, progressivity, or state. Vendler (1957) distinguishes between four classes of lexical aspect: states (like, desire, want, etc.), activity (run, walk, swim, etc.), achievement (lose, find, recognise, etc.), which expresses a punctual event with an endpoint, and accomplishment (build a house, write a novel, etc.), which indicates a process leading to an endpoint. A more detailed classification based on lexical aspect and its relationship with the verbal system in Jewish Gabes will be proposed below.

2.5.2. Tense

In contradistinction to aspect, tense situates an event on a timeline and in reference to some other time, usually the time of speaking (Comrie 1976, 66; Bybee et al. 1994). It can be expressed in various ways, both lexically and by means of verbal morphology. Cross-linguistically, the most common distinction coded morphologically is that of past and non-past. As has already been mentioned, there is some disagreement about how verbal morphology in Semitic languages relates to both aspect and tense. Within the field of Arabic linguistics, scholars generally agree that the Arabic verb expresses aspect rather than tense (Eisele 1990; Brustad 2000, 203; Horesh 2011). If this is indeed the case, a question arises as to the extent to which Arabic verbal morphology provides information about tense. On this topic, in contrast to other topics in the syntax of spoken Arabic, several

insightful studies exist (Cowell 1964, 340; Eisele 1990; Horesh 2002). The results of these studies seem to converge and confirm that the only tense feature stable across various dialects is the past encoded by the s-stem.⁴⁶ The p-stem, on the other hand, is much more complex, allows for a variety of preverbal elements, and has a tense value which is much more diverse.⁴⁷ Very little is actually yet known, however, about the tense and aspect systems specific to North African dialects.

Another important term related to the notion of tense is time reference, one of the three elements in Reichenbach's (1947) system for the temporal structure of verbs. Reichenbach distinguished between three points on the timeline encoding tense: point of speech, point of event, and point of reference. The last of the three orientates an event in relation to another point in time, which is usually another event. As has been established above, tense is usually coded by verb morphology. Time reference, in turn, refers to how tense locates a state of affairs in time and can be produced by both the sentence and the context. As one might expect, in light of the weakness of the Arabic tense system, time reference will be determined primarily by lexical strategies and discourse context (Brustad 2000, 203). Two types of time reference can be distinguished: (1) absolute time reference, which presents the temporal dimension of a verb in relation

⁴⁶ Even to this rule there are some exceptions. As demonstrated by Horesh (2011), in Palestinian Arabic, some stative verbs in the s-stem might have non-past reference.

⁴⁷ The complexity of the p-stem and its dependence on the discourse has also been observed for CA (Marmorstein 2016, 239).

to the time of speaking, and (2) relative time reference, which defines the time of an event in relation to another event (Reichenbach 1947; Comrie 1976, ii). As pointed out by Brustad (2000, 204), and as the following analysis will prove, the Arabic tense system in the main clause is closely related to the time of speaking. On the other hand, the time reference of the dependent clause is determined by the main clause.

2.6. Introduction to Analysis

In the following sections (§§2.7–2.8), I shall analyse the aspectual and temporal functions of the verbal system in Jewish Gabes. I will argue that the verb without any overt time expression is in this dialect mainly aspectual and its temporal dimension is either absent, or secondary. I will apply a modified version of the model used by Simeone-Senelle (1985) in her study on systems of aspect and tense in Tunisian Arabic, which was based on data provided by a female informant from Aṣulād Msallēm (26km north of Sfax).⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the communal identity of the informant is unknown. However, certain phonological features (such as the realisation of [q] as [g]) point to a Muslim background. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only available study on aspect and tense in Tunisian Arabic, and it therefore deserves special attention. Simeone-Senelle claims that plain verb forms (i.e., those without temporal adverbial contours) are purely aspectual and do not encode any time reference. She distinguishes two

⁴⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle for sharing her article with me and providing me with some insightful comments on Tunisian Arabic.

principal forms, namely imperfective (Fr. *inaccompli*), associated with unfinished, ongoing events, and perfective (*accompli*), which expresses completed, temporally-bounded actions. This binary opposition, in turn, has evolved in order to enable the rendering of concomitance, which is understood as the co-occurrence of an event with another state of affairs—the time of speaking or another point of reference invoked in the utterance (Simeone-Senelle 1985, 58). Thus, the concomitant form of the imperfective is the actual or relative present, while the concomitance of the perfective is expressed by the perfect, which signifies a past event concomitant with the present (as opposed, in some languages, to a non-concomitant aorist that does not have any additional time dimension).

The conclusions of the study in question and the verbal forms provided by the informant differ substantially from the state of affairs in Jewish Gabes. As I shall argue, this dialect does not express the perfect in the same way as ʕAulād Msalləm, and the functional distribution of the active participle is different. Moreover, the two dialects diverge in the way they express the future tense. Not included in Simeone-Senelle's study are compound forms with auxiliary verbs (*kān* + p-stem) or forms with preverbal particles. Since their occurrence in Jewish Gabes is significant and they play an important role in the relationship between tense and aspect, I shall include them in my model. The following analysis is organised according to the morphology of the verb forms attested in Jewish Gabes. The aspectual and temporal values of each of them will be explained.

2.7. Analysis: Plain Forms

2.7.1. P-stem

The temporal value of the p-stem is undefined and strongly dependent on the context. It is compatible with the following types of lexical and viewpoint aspect. For lexical aspect, I adopt Vendler's lexical aspect classes (§2.5.1 above).

Lexical Aspect Class

(I) State

- (1) *l-kbīra taʕrəf li ma ʕandhaʕ šəmm*
 DEF-old know.PFX.3FS that NEG at.her.NEG poison
 'The old one knew she did not have any poison.' (4:121)

- (2) *qāllu la naʕrəfək u*
 say.SFX.3MS.HIM no know.PFX.1SG.you and
la žitni u la šəftək
 no come.SFX.2SG.me and no see.SFX.1SG.you
 'He told him: I do not know you, and you did not come to me and I have never seen you.' (6:23)

In both (1) and (2), the time reference is past.

(II) Activity

- (3) *yəməšīw l-əl-bħar kull nhār šəbbāt*
 go.PFX.3PL to- DEF-sea every day Saturday
 'They go to the sea every Saturday.'

The above example expresses a habitual present. However, an activity with future time reference can also be encoded by the p-stem. This includes both plain verbs, as in (4), and, according to

Simeone-Senelle's terminology, concomitant forms, accompanied by a lexical 'actualiser', i.e., an adverb indicating future reference, as in (5):

(4) *āna nṣāwnək*

I help.PFX.1PL.you
'I will help you.'

(5) *ḡadwa nṣīblək əl-flūš*

tomorrow bring.PFX.1SG-to.you DEF-money
'Tomorrow I will bring you money.'

Viewpoint Aspect Class

(I) Habitual

Both past and present habits can be expressed by this form:

(6) *yəqɬdu kull lila u yṣalliw*

sit.PFX.3PL every night and pray.PFX.3PL
'They would sit down every night and pray.'

The above passage comes from a dialogue about the way the Jews of Gabes celebrated the Omer; the reference is therefore past. However, as the next passage demonstrates, the p-stem can also encode the present.

(II) Progressive

(7) *qaɬdu u yāklū u yəṣrbu*

sit.SFX.3PL and eat.PFX.3PL and drink.PFX.3PL
u hbəṭ ɣaləhyəm əl-lil
and fall.SFX.3MS on.them DEF-night

'They sat down, ate, drank, and the night fell upon them.'

(2:30)

As the above example demonstrates, the p-stem denotes progressive events stretched over an interval, which are characterised by their homogenous character at every point within the interval.

In sum, it can be established that the p-stem does not have any fixed temporal value and its time reference is entirely dependent on the context. In terms of lexical aspect, the only category from Vendler's model that has not been demonstrated in this stem is accomplishment.

2.7.2. S-stem

The principal role of this form is encoding complete events seen as a bounded whole. In the vast majority of cases, its time reference is past. The following temporal and aspectual features can be distinguished:

Lexical Aspect Class

(I) Activity

- (8) *hūwa žra wa xda řařa*
 he run.SFX.3MS and take.SFX.3MS stick
u řrəbha fi-řharha
 and hit.SFX.3MS.her in-back.her
 'He ran and took a stick and hit her on the back.' (2:33)

(II) Accomplishment

- (9) *řaddi řəltān bəntek əř-řgira bnāt əl-qřar*
 master.my sultan daughter.your DEF-young build.SFX.3FS DEF-castle
 'Your majesty, it is your youngest daughter who has built this castle.' (2:87)

(III) Achievement

- (10) *fahmu tamma wāḥad hūni*
 understand.SFX.3PL there.is one here
 ‘They realised that someone was there.’ (4:36)

As demonstrated in all the above examples, the s-stem has a past time reference.

Viewpoint Aspect Class

The s-stem is compatible with lexemes implying iterative and perfect meaning:

(I) Iterative

- (11) *šalləf mənni flūš tlāta marṛāt*
 borrow.SFX.3MS from.me money three times
 ‘He borrowed money from me three times.’

(II) Perfect

A major difference between Jewish Gabes and other Arabic dialects has to do with encoding the perfect. Whereas in many other dialects the perfect is encoded by the active participle, in Jewish Gabes it is encoded by the s-stem.⁴⁹ Thus, an immediate past that bears a relation to the present is expressed by the s-stem:

- (12) *tuwwa xraž*
 now go.SFX.3MS
 ‘He has just gone out.’

Similarly, the s-stem also expresses a resultative meaning:

⁴⁹ In Arabic dialects outside North Africa, the perfect meaning of the active participle is a widespread phenomenon (Brustad 2000, 182).

(13) *ʕalāš ənti ʕyiti?*

why you tire.SFX.2FS

‘Why are you tired?’

(14) *tuwwa kəmməlt taṇḍif tāʕ ḍār*

now finish.SFX.1SG cleaning GEN DEF-house

‘I have just finished cleaning the house.’

Such usages of the s-stem with perfect meaning, as in Jewish Gabes (12–14), are in fact found in ʕAulād Msalləm as well, especially with certain verbs of movement and perception (Simeone-Senelle 1985, 71). However, in addition to these, there is a significant group of verbs in that dialect which express the perfect through the *fāʕil* pattern, i.e., the historical active participle. This includes verbs of perception, such as ‘to understand’, ‘to hear’, and ‘to see’, but also various telic and atelic verbs, such as ‘to buy’, ‘to run’, and ‘to give birth’. The following examples are taken from Simeone-Senelle (1985). Below, they will be contrasted with analogous examples from Jewish Gabes:

(15) *fāhma əd-dərs?*

understand.AC.PTCP.FS DEF-lesson

‘Have you understood the lesson?’

(16) *bāni filla kebīra lāken baʕīda ʕal-blēd*

build.AC.PTCP.MS villa big but far.away on-city

‘He has built a big house, but it is far away from the city.’

(17) *he-r-rāžel šāri əž-žmel*

this-the-man buy.AC.PTCP.MS DEF-camel

‘This man has just bought a camel.’

(18) *əl-mrā wēlda*

DEF-woman give.birth.AC.PTCP.FS

‘The woman has given birth.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the *fāṣil* pattern in ʕAulād Msalləm covers several types of perfect, such as resultative (17), and recent past (18).⁵⁰ According to Simeone-Senelle (1985, 72), the distribution of the s-stem and *fāṣil* pattern is somewhat inconsistent, and certain verbs appear in both forms with perfect meaning. However, the informant notes that *fāṣil* expresses a longer duration from the speaker’s point of view in the present.

By contrast, Jewish Gabes never utilises the active participle to encode the perfect. Instead, to render the recent past, it employs the s-stem with an adverbial ‘actualiser’. A resultative meaning is inferred from the context. My informant rejected the forms from ʕAulād Msalləm, and interpreted them as bearing a different meaning (the function of these forms will be discussed in detail in §2.7.3) and instead proposed the following:

(19) *fhəmt əd-dərš?*

understand.SFX.2MS DEF-lesson

‘Have you understood the lesson?’

(20) *bna filla kbīra āma baṣīda mən əl-blād*

build.SFX.3MS villa big but far.away from DEF-city

‘He has built a big house, but it is far away from the city.’

⁵⁰ For different types of perfect, see Comrie (1976, 56).

- (21) *hāk ər-ṛāžel tuwwa sra əž-žmāl*
 that DEF-man now buy.SFX.3MS DEF-camel
 ‘This man has just bought a camel.’

- (22) *əl-mṛa wəldət*
 DEF-woman give.birth.AC.PTCP.FS
 ‘The woman just gave birth.’

Due to the lack of sufficient comparative data, it is currently not possible to draw any reliable conclusions regarding the cross-dialectal coding of the perfect in North African Arabic. The use of the active participle to express a past event bearing relevance to time of speech is attested in Muslim Moroccan Arabic, as well as in Muslim Tunis and Douz (Brustad 2000, 183). By contrast, in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 308), I have found only one occurrence of the active participle that Yoda (2005, 309) translates using the English present perfect:

- (23) *š-šəltan qaʕəd məzzalu tayəh*
 DEF-sultan PVPT luck.his fall.AC.PTCP.MS
 ‘The Sultan’s luck has run out.’

On the other hand, there are numerous instances of the resultative state being expressed by the s-stem:

- (24) *ana xalčək u žič mən bʕid*
 me aunt and come.SFX.1SG from far.away
u nḥəṁ narak
 and want see.PFX.1SG.you
 ‘(...) I am your aunt, I have come from afar, wanting to see you (...)’ (Yoda 2005, 302)

Likewise, in the textual corpus of Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964), I have not found any example of the active participle expressing

the perfect.⁵¹ However, there are numerous cases of the s-stem clearly being used in a perfect context. The following passage comes from a story about an alleged appearance of a comet in the sky. One of the characters, who has not seen the comet, asks a random person about the reason for the panic in the city. The person answers:

- (25) *mnīḥ mā qās tšūf? ad-dānya*
 good NEG PVPT see.PFX.2MS DEF-world
māš tūfa baṣbūš ən-nəžma xrəž
 FUT finish.PFX.3FS tail DEF-star go.out.SFX.MS
 ‘mais tu ne vois donc pas? C’est la fin du monde, la queue
 de la comète est sortie’ (Cohen 1964, 140)

The appearance of the comet bears clear relevance to the dialogue in the present. Nonetheless, instead of the active participle /xārəž/, the s-stem is used. It seems, therefore, that Jewish Tunis expresses the perfect in the same way as Jewish Gabes. On the other hand, similarly to what Brustad has found in Muslim Moroccan Arabic, the resultative function of the active participle is well documented in the Bedouin dialect of Douz:⁵²

- (26) *hīya gāsla šaṣṣha*
 she wash.AC.PTCP.FS hair.her
 ‘She has washed her hair (and it is still wet).’

These data appear to indicate that, within the Tunisian dialect group, and perhaps within the dialects of North Africa, there is a

⁵¹ Other usages of this form in Jewish Tunis will be mentioned in §2.7.3.

⁵² The example was provided by Professor Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun in private correspondence with the author.

split between Jewish and Muslim dialects in the encoding of the perfect, with a strong preference among Jewish dialects for expressing this aspect by means of the s-stem.⁵³

In what follows, I present a proposed explanation for the lack of use of the active participle with perfect meaning and the strong preference for using the s-stem to express the perfect in Jewish Gabes.

⁵³ From a typological point of view, a parallel to the split between Muslim and Jewish dialects in the encoding of the perfect can be found within Argentinian Spanish, which, of the modern varieties of South American Spanish, is considered to be highly idiosyncratic. Compared to other dialectal variants of Spanish, the use of the *pretérito perfecto compuesto* is extremely limited in the vast majority of regional varieties of Argentinian Spanish, and the simple past tense is used instead. However, in the variety known as *Norteño*, spoken in the province of Tucumán, in the north-western part of the country, speakers use the *pretérito perfecto compuesto* regularly. In contrast to the Argentinian situation, in *Castellano*, i.e., Spanish spoken in Spain, the *pretérito perfecto compuesto* is a widely used tense, with a higher rate of occurrence than the English perfect (for example, it is possible to combine it with time specification, which is ungrammatical in English). Therefore, the sentence: *Carlos ha llegado* in *Castellano* and *Norteño* would be rendered in Argentinian Spanish: *Carlos llega* 'Carlos has arrived'. There is likely no unequivocal explanation of the discrepancy in the expression of the perfect between most varieties of Argentinian Spanish and the dialect of *Norteño*, and between Argentinian Spanish and *Castellano*, but social and cultural separation is one of the possible factors.

2.7.3. Active Participle *fāʕil*

As presented above, in many Arabic dialects, the *fāʕil* pattern, historically the active participle, bears the meaning of the perfect. Scholars of Arabic highlight the resultative (Brustad 2000, 183) and stative (Eisele 1990) nature of this form.⁵⁴ In other words, it denotes a state with relevance to the time of speaking. In addition to this principal meaning, Brustad (2000, 185) also notes that the active participle of verbs of motion indicates a progressive.⁵⁵

In Jewish Gabes, the active participle does not have the meaning of the perfect. It denotes events ongoing at speech time. Its distribution is limited to a semantically heterogeneous group of verbs including verbs of motion, perception, and state. It is worth noting that the use of the active participle is often optional, and the same meaning can be rendered by the construction *qāʕəd* + p-stem. Listed below are some active participles occurring in the textual corpus and in conversations with the informants:

- *wāqəf* ‘standing’
- *ʕārəf* ‘understanding’

⁵⁴ The term ‘stative’ is rather misleading considering the class of lexical aspect also designated ‘stative’.

⁵⁵ The double meaning of the active participle has been explained by Brustad (2000, 186). She argues that the distinction between resultative and progressive meaning stems from the opposition between telic and atelic aspect of the verbs of motion, i.e., *māʕšī* can mean both ‘to go’ and ‘to set out’. The progressive meaning, therefore, is a result of semantic expansion of the atelic perfect ‘having set out’ to ‘being in a state of going’.

- *māši* ‘going/walking’
- *rāqəd* ‘sleeping’
- *šārəb* ‘drinking’
- *wākəl* ‘eating’
- *šāyəf* ‘looking’
- *qāfəd* ‘sitting’
- *šāri* ‘buying’
- *rākəb* ‘riding’
- *fāyəs* ‘living’
- *lābəš* ‘wearing’

It is worth noting that not every verb can form an active participle. Moreover, the informant indicated regarding some of the forms on the list above that, while they are acceptable, a p-stem form preceded by *qāfəd* would sound more natural. Specifically, the active participles *māši*, *rāqəd*, *wāqəf*, *lābəš*, and *qāfəd* were considered the most acceptable, whereas the active participles *šārəb* and *wākəl* were deemed to sound more natural in the *qāfəd* + p-stem construction. The informant also rejected some forms that occur in Simeone-Senelle’s study—namely, *žāri* ‘running’, *qābəl* ‘accepting’, *wālda* ‘giving birth’, and *fāhəm* ‘understanding’—indicating that they sounded unnatural.

It should be noted that the distribution of the active participle expressing the perfect also seems to be restricted in Muslim Tunis. It is not possible in Muslim Tunis to express the perfect of

the recent past by means of the *fāṣil* pattern. Instead, *ma-zəlt-ki*⁵⁶ + s-stem is used.⁵⁷

(27) *ma-zəl-ki xrəž*

just go.out.SFX.3MS

‘He has just gone out.’

(28) *ma-zəl-ki naḏḏaft əḏ-dār*

just clean.SFX.1SG DEF-house

‘I have just cleaned the house.’

An alternative construction for expressing a very recent event is /*tawawīn*/ + s-stem:

(29) *əl-film tawwawīn bda*

DEF-film now start.SFX.3MS

‘The film has just started.’

In this usage, Muslim Tunis converges with Jewish Gabes, which utilises *tuwwa* + s-stem to express the perfect of the recent past, but differs from ṢAulād Msalləm, which uses the *fāṣil* scheme in this context (see example (17) above).

Nonetheless, Muslim Tunis does utilise the active participle to express a resultative aspect, describing a state at the time of speaking that results from a past event:

(30) *šəftu hādāka? bāni ḏār kbīra*

see.SFX.2MS.him that build.AC.PTCP.MS house big

‘Did you see that man? He has built a big house.’

⁵⁶ This construction is apparently a variant of the *ma-zal-kif* construction that appears in Singer’s (1984, 651) grammar of Muslim Tunis.

⁵⁷ I am deeply indebted to Mr Anis Mokni for providing the above examples and for sharing his insightful comments on Muslim Tunis.

- (31) *šbiha ma žētš?*

what.in.her NEG come.SFX.3FS.NEG

‘Why didn’t she come?’

- (32) *māhi wēlda ždīda*

but.her give.birth.AC.PTCP.FS new.FS

‘She has given birth.’

As noted, the use of the active participle to express the perfect occurs across the Muslim varieties of Arabic, as shown by the following examples from three different dialects:

- (33) *hād-əl-ktāb āna qārəh*

this-DEF-book I read.AC.PTCP.MS.him

‘Je l’ai lu, ce livre!’ (Moroccan; Caubet 1993, 231)

- (34) *ḥaliyyan muxtārtu*

as.of.now chose.AC.PTCP.FS.him

‘As of now, I have chosen him.’ (Syrian; Brustad 2000, 189)

- (35) *il-kahraba wāšla?*

DEF-electricity arrive.AC.PTCP.FS

‘Has the electricity arrived?’ (Kuwaiti; Brustad 2000, 189)

2.7.4. The Active Participle in Muslim and Jewish

Varieties: A Historical Account

As the previous section (§2.7.3) has demonstrated, Jewish and Muslim dialects utilise the active participle in different ways; in the former, it conveys present, ongoing events and is employed with a limited number of verbal lexemes, whereas in the latter, it is used with telic verbs to denote the perfect aspect when the result of an action is still felt. I have shown that this differing

usage is not limited geographically, but rather appears to be an isogloss that distinguishes Judaeo-Arabic from its Muslim counterparts in general. This phenomenon is therefore very likely rooted more deeply in the cultural and historical development of the two communities, suggesting the presence of a different substrate underlying Judaeo-Arabic. I would like to offer here a few possible explanations regarding such a possibility, within the context of a multifactorial conditioning of language change.

‘Substrate’ is a term denoting the result of a language contact situation, in which speakers of one language shift collectively to use of another language, usually due to geopolitical changes (Saarikivi 2006, 11). The receding language, however, leaves some traces in the adopted one, e.g., loanwords, or grammatical constructions, thus forming a stratum, or ‘layer’. In the case of North African Arabic, it is generally agreed that two main substrata exist, namely Late Latin and Berber—the former spoken in the coastal cities, the latter used in the hinterland (Aguadé 2018, 34).

A fundamental question in our case is what the language of everyday communication was for the first Jewish communities in North Africa, and in particular, what it was before they began speaking Arabic.⁵⁸ There is, however, little to no documentation

⁵⁸ Although the sources on the first Jewish settlements in North Africa are very scant, it can be assumed that a North-West Semitic language was imported to North Africa as a result of the resettlement of the Jewish population from Palestine. According to Josephus Flavius’ treatise *Against Apion* II, the beginning of the Jewish presence in the area west of Egypt was related to the decision of King Ptolemy Lagi (328–285) to settle Jews from Palestine in the Libyan city of Cyrene, which he had

of their languages. Before the advent of Islam and the subsequent spread of Arabic as the language of everyday communication, Aramaic was widely used by Jewish communities throughout the Middle East, such as the Jews of Palestine and Mesopotamia (Gzella 2015, 292, 381). Could it be tentatively assumed that the first communities in North Africa, as in other regions of the present-day Arab world, were also using varieties of Aramaic, a North-West Semitic language, before they adopted Arabic? The distinct use of the active participle in the Jewish varieties of Arabic vis-à-vis their Muslim counterparts appears to suggest this. Alternatively, the first Jewish settlements might have adopted Punic, another North-West Semitic language spoken in North Africa in the first centuries of the first millennium, mainly in the cities (Hirschberg 1974, 40). Both in the Aramaic that predates the spread of Islam (as exemplified by Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; Bunis 2018, 209–10) and in Punic (Krakhmalkov 2001, 199–200), the syntax of the active participle generally parallels that of modern Judaeo-Arabic. Already in pre-Islamic Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and closely related dialects, the active participle is integrated into the verbal system and, replacing the p-stem, encodes the present and immediate future (Stevenson 1924, 56; Gzella 2015, 302; Bunis 2018, 209–10). Moreover, this usage was

conquered around the year 300 BC. Another wave of exiles from Palestine came to North Africa after the destruction of the Second Temple (Hirschberg 1974, 24). As far as the linguistic environment of the North African Jewish communities is concerned, P. Sebag (1991, 22) suggests that, before the Roman conquest, the Jews living in the area corresponding to today's Tunisia were using Punic.

retained in certain Aramaic dialects after the spread of Islam and Arabic. This retention is documented in a group of three dialects of modern Aramaic termed Western Neo-Aramaic, which are spoken in present day Syria, in the Qalamun region, 50 kilometres north-east of Damascus. In these dialects, the historic active participle has retained the function of expressing the present and immediate future despite very extensive influence from surrounding Arabic dialects in which the active participle, as in the Muslim dialects I reviewed above, encodes the perfect (Bunis 2021).

I have noted that, in the modern Judaeo-Arabic of Gabes, the active participle is employed with a limited group of semantically heterogeneous verbs. However, the common denominator of these verbs is their prevalence in day-to-day usage. It could be argued that, due to their frequent occurrence, they preserved the Aramaic syntax, while less common verbs were more susceptible to assimilation into the Arabic verbal system. With these common verbs, the active participle remained cognitively associated with its earlier morphosyntactic function as in Aramaic, and it is for this reason that the active participle never came to encode the perfect in this dialect.

An additional argument which could point to an Aramaic substrate is perhaps provided by the vowel system of both languages. In North African Arabic, similarly to Aramaic, one observes the phenomenon of pretonic reduction, i.e., the reduction of a short vowel before the stress. This is one of the features that distinguishes Aramaic from Hebrew, where the reverse process took place, namely, pretonic lengthening (Blau 2010, 123). All

Arabic dialects, in comparison to the classical language, demonstrate some degree of reduction of the vowel inventory. Nonetheless, as pointed out by Marçais (1977, 24), the more one moves from east to west, the more conspicuous the vowel reduction becomes. Indeed, in comparison to any eastern dialect, the Maghrebi Arabic vocalic material is much poorer. Below one can find a short comparison between selected eastern and western dialects:

Table 68: Vowel distribution in Eastern and Western dialects of Arabic

Eastern	Western	
<i>kammalat</i> Ṣanfānī (Watson 1993, 138)	<i>kəmməlt</i> Jewish Gabes	‘she finished’
<i>xashim</i> Gulf (Holes 1990, 286)	<i>xšəm</i> Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005, 345)	‘nose’
<i>katab</i> Cairene (Eisele 1990, 174)	<i>ktəb</i> Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975, 95)	‘he wrote’
<i>thalātha</i> Gulf (Holes 1990, 293)	<i>tlāta</i> Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912, 365)	‘three’

It is worth noting that vowel elision is much more prevalent in sedentary North-African dialects than in their Bedouin counterparts, where short vowels are retained under certain circumstances (see Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 25; Aguadé 2018, 47). Some scholars explain the tendency to drop short vowels in open syllables as a Berber substrate (Diem 1979, 55). This view, however, was called into question by Kossmann (2013, 173), who proposed two separate and independent developments in the two language

groups. If we accept this assumption, the question remains as to what triggered the reductive tendency in sedentary Arabic in the first place. The striking similarity in this respect between Aramaic and Arabic might suggest language contact between them, and that the pretonic reduction in the latter was conditioned by the Aramaic substrate. Nonetheless, language contact with Berber cannot be excluded, and the loss of short vowels in open syllables could have been brought about by multiple factors.

The above paragraphs aimed to present similarities between Jewish North African Arabic and Aramaic, especially Palestinian Aramaic, and thereby to propose the existence of an Aramaic substrate in Maghrebi Arabic, especially the Jewish varieties. This proposal is by no means definite and would require a thorough historical investigation of the beginnings of the Jewish presence in North Africa to further support the linguistic findings. Moreover, language change is often multifactorial, and thus Punic influence in the case of the distribution of the active participle, and vowel loss due to contact with Berber, are additional, no less likely, factors.

2.8. Analysis: Compound Forms

2.8.1. /qāʔd/, /qāʔ/, /ka/ + p-stem

The origin of these preverbal particles has been proposed in §2.4. Essentially, I argue that both /qāʔ/ and /ka/ derive from /qāʔd/, and that they reflect different stages within a process of cliticisation. The *qāʔd* particle is attested in both inflected (37) and uninflected (36) forms:

- (36) *wən mšīt wən hrabt qāʕd yəbkiw*

where go.SFX.2MS where flee.SFX.2MS PVPT cry.PFX.3PL

‘Where have you gone, where have you disappeared, they were weeping.’ (3:41)

- (37) *hiya qāʕda tʕayyət*

she AUX scream.PFX.3FS

‘She is screaming.’

Example (36) demonstrates how the MS form of the active participle has become frozen. This form, in turn, undergoes further truncation, as outlined below:

- (38) *āna tuwwa qāʕ nḥaḏḏar fi mākla*

I now PVPT prepare.PFX.1SG in food

‘I am now preparing food.’

- (39) *ʕašiya əl-wlād ka yāklū wa*

evening DEF-boys PVPT eat.PFX.3PL and

šāfu əl-žmāl ža

see.SFX.3PL DEF-camel come.SFX.3MS

‘In the evening the boys were eating and saw the camel coming.’ (4:109)

The principal function of this preverbal particle is to denote ongoing events stretched over an interval, and its time reference is strongly dependent on the context. Occasionally, it is also used with ingressive verbs to indicate the start of an event, or entry into a state. When the time reference is the present, and the speaker wants to highlight the continuous character of the event, it seems that the conjugated form is preferred. This assumption is confirmed by example (37) above and further examples from

Jewish Tunis, which also include prefixed forms of the root /qʕd/:⁵⁹

- (40) *hīna bāb əd-dār yoqʕəd maḥlūl u*
 now door DEF-house AUX open and
qāʕdīn yədxlu əž-žirān w-əl-fāmilya kola
 AUX enter.PFX.3PL DEF-guests and-DEF-family all
 ‘Maintenant, la porte de la maison reste ouverte, et les voisins et toute la famille ne cessent d’entrer.’

- (41) *ən-nāš lə-kbār yoqʕədu yəddūyu*
 DEF-people DEF-big.PL AUX chat.PFX.3PL
 ‘Les grandes personnes bavardent.’ (Cohen 1964, 28)

On the other hand, /qāʕ/ and /ka-/ tend to denote durative events without a predetermined time reference. In Jewish Tripoli, /qa-/ denotes both past and present events, as well as protases in conditional clauses. This is indicated by the following examples:

- (42) *əl-bənt lə-kbira qalč qa*
 DEF-girl DEF-elder say.SFX.3FS PVPT
čədwī l-əxčə qaltla
 talk.PFX.3FS to-sister.her say.SFX.3FS-to.her
 ‘The elder sister said, while speaking to her sister, she said to her (...)’ (Yoda 2005, 298)

- (43) *ṁsugra duwčək li qa čədwī fia?*
 certain.FS story.your that PVPT tell.PFX.2FS in.her
 ‘Is your story that you are telling certain?’ (Yoda 2005, 300)

⁵⁹ I have not found any truncated forms of /qāʕəd/ in Jewish Tunis.

(44) *u kif čaraw lə-qməžža qa čğanni*

and when see.PFX.2PL DEF-shirt PVPT sing.PFX.3FS

‘And when you see the shirt singing (...)’ (Yoda 2005, 306)

It can therefore be tentatively established that the inflected forms of the active participle *qāʕəd* serve to denote strictly present events, while its truncated variations mark both past and present. However, the common denominator of all of them is the expression of ongoing, durative events.

2.8.2. /kān/ + p-stem

I argue that *kān* undergoes a similar process of cliticisation to that seen in the case of *qāʕəd*. As has already been pointed out, both frozen and conjugated forms are present in Jewish Gabes. The function of both the auxiliary verb and the preverbal particle is to mark past habitual events, whose occurrence is dependent on the circumstances:

(45) *qbəl kānu nša yūldu fi-l-gītūn*

before AUX women birth.PFX.3PL in-DEF-tent

‘Once women used to give birth in tents.’

The auxiliary verb in the above example expresses a characteristic but not completely regular event. As regards the further development of this item, it would be tempting at first glance to think that *kān* gave rise to the preverbal particle /ka-/. As pointed out in §2.4.1, this does indeed seem to be the case in Moroccan, where the use of /ka-/ was expanded from conditional clauses to marking the indicative mood in general (Stewart 1998, 104; Brustad 2000, 234). The data explicitly indicates, though, that this is not a plausible explanation in the case of Jewish

Gabes. Firstly, the distribution of *kān* is noticeably different from that of /ka-/. In contrast to *kān*, there is no instance of /ka-/ marking a habitual event or any other dependent state. On the other hand, the function of *qāṣəd* and /ka-/ as markers of durative, ongoing events is identical. In addition, in §2.4, I presented the process of phonological change that explains the origin of /ka-/ in *qāṣəd*. Therefore, although the /ka-/ particles which occur in Moroccan and Jewish Gabes Arabic are homonyms, they have notably different functions and origins.

2.8.3. *ḥabb* + p-stem

This construction is one of the ways of expressing the predictive future in Jewish Gabes. This word derives from the active participle of the volitive verb *ḥābb* ‘to want’. In natural, fast speech, one can also find the variant *ḥabb*. It seems, however, that the original meaning of this form has been lost, and, in a similar fashion to *qāṣəd* and *kān*, *ḥabb* is in the process of cliticisation and a semantic shift from volitive to future marker. On the other hand, in Jewish Djerba, the /ḥa-/ prefix is the main device for expressing the future, e.g., *ḥayəmši* ‘he will go’ (Behnstedt 1998, 67). In light of the data from Jewish Gabes, one can assume, therefore, that this prefix might have emerged from *ḥabb*.⁶⁰ Let us consider the following two examples:

⁶⁰ Behnstedt (1998, 68) argues that this particle originated in *ḥatta* ‘until’.

- (46) *hūwa ḥābb yṣarrāš*
 he want.AC.PTCP.MS get.married.PFX.3MS
mša bənt əṣ-ṣəltān
 with daughter DEF-sultan
 ‘He is going to get married to the sultan’s daughter.’

- (47) *āna fi-bāli əlli hūwa mūš ḥabb yərbaḥ*
 I in-mind.my that he NEG FUT win.PFX.3MS
 ‘I think he is not going to win.’

While *ḥābb* in the former example can still be interpreted as a volitive verb producing the meaning ‘he wants to get married’, this is not the case in the latter. The expansion from volitive verb to predictive future marker is also a feature of other Arabic dialects. To begin with, in the Ibadite dialect of Djerba, one finds a /b-/ prefix marking the future, which, according to Behnstedt (1998, 68), stems from verb *yibgi* ‘to want’. The Kuwaiti future marker /b-/ developed from the imperfective stem of the verb *yabi* ‘to want’ (Brustad 2000, 242; Owens 2018, 206). Outside the Semitic context, there are numerous other examples of this process, e.g., the Greek future marker $\theta\alpha$ presumably derives from $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ meaning ‘I want’ (Pappas and Joseph 2001). Some Arabic dialects, on the other hand, utilise variants of the verb ‘to go’ to render future reference, e.g., Syrian *raḥ* and Egyptain /ḥa-/ (Brustad 2000, 242).⁶¹ The same strategy is employed in Jewish Tunis:

⁶¹ In the Kuwaiti and Syrian dialects, there are two future particles, i.e., /b-/ and /raḥ/, which mark the epistemic and the deontic future respectively (Brustad 2000, 241).

(48) *māš nādūyu ʔla wāḥəd uləd*

FUT talk.PFX.1PL about one boy

‘Nous allons parler d’un garçon (...)’ (Cohen 1964, 28)

Nonetheless, in Jewish Gabes, this construction is not the only way of expressing the future, as the plain p-stem can also do so. The question that arises, therefore, is whether they are in fact free variants, or they encode different types of future. Based on the data and conversations with the informants, I argue that they convey different estimations regarding the probability of future events. Thus, while the p-stem expresses an event whose occurrence is highly probable, *ḥābb* seems to convey the speaker’s uncertainty. Let us compare the above examples, (46) and (47), with the following passages:

(49) *qālätlu: əlli taḥkəm yṣīr*

tell.SFX.3FS.him what rule.PFX.2MS happen.PFX.3MS

‘She told him: whatever you decide will happen.’ (7:83)

(50) *āna yṣīwni fi-nḥār u fi-llīl*

I come.PFX.3PL.me in-day and in-DEF-night

nəṣāwər mṣāk u l-maḥkma

consult.PFX.1SG with.you and DEF-court

tṣār bərək mən ḡadwa

happen.PFX.3FS only from tomorrow

‘They will come to me in the daytime and at night I will consult with you and the court will only happen the day after, after I consult with you.’ (7:91)

Example (49) is an excerpt from a dialogue between the sultan and his wife. In the dialogue, after he instructed her to leave the palace, she obediently promised him that she would do whatever

he wishes. Since she is sure about the fulfilment of her promise, she uses the p-stem. Similarly, example (50) is a statement by the sultan regarding his future relationship with his wife. Hence, both the forms he uses are in the p-stem, as the occurrence of the future events is certain.

In sum, the two ways of expressing the future in Jewish Gabes represent different types of future, namely, the epistemic and the deontic. The *ḥābb* particle, which also functions as a volitive verb, indicates an intensive, low-probability mood, while events expressed by the p-stem are characteristically high-probability, factual events. This distinction thus mirrors the two particles marking the epistemic and deontic future in the Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects. It is also worth noting that the functional expansion of *ḥābb* from volitive towards modal epistemic usage is another manifestation of the subsecutive gradience exemplified by the active participle *qāṣʿad*. Aarts (2007, 98) proposes the following scheme of the verbal gradient evolving towards modality: main verb > catenative > semi-auxiliary > modal idiom > marginal idiom > central modal. Nonetheless, as argued by Traugott and Truesdale (2010, 30), a gradual acquisition of modality by a single verb form is more widespread cross-linguistically. The reanalysis of the Jewish Gabes active participle *ḥābb* as a modality marker corroborates this assumption.

2.9. Aspect in Narrative

As has been observed by Brustad (2000, 186), narratives are a particularly important source of knowledge about both aspect and tense in any language, due to the abundance of forms and

constructions they represent. In every type of narrative, there are some events which constitute the main story line and move the narrative forward by succeeding one after another, and others which function as a skeleton or background of the main line by cooccurring with it. Hopper (1979, 213) called them respectively foreground and background. As one can expect, the two types of narrative strategies will interact in different ways with aspect.

The findings of Brustad's (2000, 188) analysis seem to confirm Hopper's (1979, 213) statement that perfective forms serve to foreground the narrative, while imperfective ones create the background to the main events. This strategy is also prominent in Jewish Gables, as exemplified by the following excerpt:

(51) *tamma wāḥad yəqʕad taḥt ʕəzra tāʕ*

there.is INDF sit.PFX.3MS under tree GEN

blāḥ yḥall fəmmu wa yəštənnā ḥatt

date open.PFX.3MS mouth.his and wait.PFX.3MS until

əl-blāḥ yṯḥlu fi-fəmmu fə-l-lāxər

DEF-fruit fall.PFX.3MS.to.him in-mounth.his in-DEF-last

hūwa yəqʕad əkāk žāw l-wəžra

he sit.PFX.3MS like.this come.SFX.3PL DEF-ministers

‘There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm, he would open his mouth and he would wait until the date fell into it; finally, when he was sitting like this, the ministers came.’ (2:15–16)

The story about the lazy man is only tangentially related to the main plot, and therefore this additional package of information is introduced by the p-stem. On the other hand, the visit of the ministers belongs to the main plotline, hence the s-stem is used.

Similarly, background information can be marked by the pre-verbal particle /ka/:

- (52) *waqt hūwa ka-yʕašš fi-nəfš əl-līl žāt*
 when he PVPT-guard.PFX.3MS in-night DEF-night come.SFX.3FS
waḥda mra žāt u ləwwḥat ḥāža
 INDF woman come.SFX.3FS and throw.SFX.3FS thing
 ‘While he was guarding at midnight, a woman came, she came and threw something’ (2:32)

The p-stem has another, seemingly contradictory function, namely, it represents the so-called ‘historical present’. In a sequence of perfective verbs, the occurrence of a single imperfective verb at the end constitutes a narrative strategy used by the speaker to highlight the present character of the story and give the audience the impression that the events are happening in front of their own eyes. This technique is exemplified by the following excerpts:

- (53) *wāḥəd mša yaṭṭlab ya-krīm tāf alla*
 INDF go.SFX.3MS ask.PFX.3MS VOC-merciful GEN God
wṣal lə-d-dār drəbb əb-bāb yaṭṭlab
 arrive.SFX.3MS to-DEF-house knock.SFX.3MS DEF-door ask.PFX.3MS
 ‘A man went to beg for money, he arrived at a house, knocked on the door and begged.’ (1:2-3)

- (54) *mərtu ḥallət zərḃiya u tərqa*
 wife.his open.SFX.3FS carpet and find.PFX.3FS
taḥta žwābāt u qrātham
 under.her letters and read.SFX.3FS.them
 ‘The wife lifted the carpet and found beneath the letters and read them.’ (5:7)

In example (54), the prefix form is found in a sequence of events, between two suffix forms. Since it is rather a punctual verb, one would expect it to be in the s-stem. However, this is not the case. The function of the p-stem in this context is presumably to mark dependency on what precedes. A habitual form, coerced by the narrative context, therefore expresses a single event (Carruthers 2012).

As observed by Hopper (1979, 213), there is a correlation between foregrounding and backgrounding and the lexical aspect of a verb. In other words, the discourse aspect conditions certain types of the lexical one. Thus, foregrounding is associated with kinetic, punctual, and dynamic verbs, while backgrounding usually involves stative and durative aspects. The former is particularly apparent in sequences of verbs:

- (55) *hūwa žra wa xda řařa*
 he run.SFX.3MS and take.SFX.3MS stick
u đrəbha fi-đharha u harbətlə
 and hit.SFX.3MS.her in-back.her and run.away.SFX.3FS.him
 ‘He ran and took a stick and hit her on the back, but she escaped from him.’ (2:33)

- (56) *žāw mən xadma əl-wlād*
 come.SFX.3MS from work DEF-boys
dəxlu u řqāw šūbīrya
 enter.SFX.3PL and find.SFX.3PL bowl
 ‘Boys came back from work, entered, and found the bowl.’
 (4:28)

The above sequences involve kinetic verbs like ‘run’, ‘take’, ‘hit’, and ‘enter’. On the other hand, as examples (51) and (52) demonstrate, in backgrounding, stative and atelic verbs are used, like ‘sit’, ‘wait’, ‘guard’, etc.

2.10. Conclusions

This section was concerned with the ways in which the verbal system of Jewish Gabes expresses tense and aspect. The central question was whether an isolated verb form has any temporal value or is mostly aspectual. As I have demonstrated in the course of my analysis, the verb in Jewish Gabes primarily encodes aspect and its tense reference is external, expressed by different lexical means. The aspectual features of the s-stem encompass completeness and punctuality, and therefore its temporal value is past. On the other hand, I have argued that the p-stem is timeless and strongly dependent on the context. In this respect, my findings converge with the observations made by Michal Marmorstein (2016, 239) regarding the function of the *yafʿalu* pattern in CA.

Part of this chapter was devoted to the description of preverbal particles and auxiliaries. I have attempted to establish the origin of the particle /-ka/ by contrasting its functions in Jewish Gabes with its functions in Moroccan Arabic. It is worth noting that the distribution of preverbal particles across the dialects of Arabic is uneven. Some dialects, like Egyptian and Moroccan, have developed particles that mark the indicative mood in general, while others, like Eastern Libyan Arabic or some Algerian dialects, lack any indicative prefixes (Owens 2018, 210). The Tunisian /qāʿəd-/ , /qāʿ-/ , and /ka-/ particles are in fact aspectual

devices indicating durativity and progressivity, which fulfil an important role within the narrative framework. They were analysed as representing different stages of cliticisation. Similarly, it has been argued that *kān* expressing past habituality and *ḥābb* used as a future marker are undergoing the same process.

My investigation was concerned also with different treatment of the *fāṣil* pattern across several Tunisian dialects. I have argued that, in contrast to the Muslim dialects, the Jewish ones do not utilise this form to express the perfect aspect. Presumably under the influence of Aramaic, this form is associated rather with present states, and perfect meaning is achieved by means of the s-stem with adverbs. However, a diachronic comparative study of more Muslim and Jewish varieties of Arabic is needed in order to corroborate the findings of this study.

3.0. Word Order

3.1. Theoretical Preliminaries

The order of the sentence constituents (verb, subject, object) has been an object of interest for typologists in the past century (e.g., Greenberg 1966; Comrie 1981). Different arrangements of these elements are associated with different discourse functions and appear in distinct types of utterance (Brustad 2000, 320). In the field of Arabic, some scholars have repeatedly expressed the view that the predominant word order in the dialects is SVO, as opposed to the VSO order of CA. This was observed, for example, in Egyptian Arabic by Gamaleldin (1967, 58). On the other hand, El Yasin (1985, 107–8) seems to be less radical and points out that both orders are equally well represented, although SVO has

become more natural and acceptable in the dialects in contradistinction to CA, where its usage was more limited. From a typological point of view, Arabic shares some syntactic features with other VSO languages, e.g., post-nominal position of adjectives, and prepositions instead of postpositions (Ingham 1994, 37; Brustad 2000, 319).

The two basic types of sentence distinguished by the classical grammarians are called *jumla ismiyya* and *jumla fiʿiliyya*, i.e., nominal and verbal sentence (Wright 2005, II:251). The former is associated with a number of discourse techniques, namely, extraposition, marking of the onset of a topic span, shift in level of description, and shift from foreground to background (Khan 1988, 37). Moreover, in terms of the type of utterance, Dahlgren (2011) observes that SV is much more frequently found in dialogues than in narratives. On the other hand, the VS order prevails in narratives. Dahlgren's analysis of an Early Arabic text clearly indicates that this order occurs much more frequently than SV. This is a natural consequence of the literary form of the text and its descriptive nature. Finally, in the absence of an independent subject, the classical language permits also OV order with fronted, focused object.

A number of pragmatic factors can affect word order. The aforementioned distinction between narratives and dialogues parallels two types of language distinguished by Brown and Yule (1983). In their discourse analysis, they pointed out that language can either express content, or convey personal attitudes and social relations. According to the terminology proposed by these two scholars, the former function is called 'transactional',

the latter ‘interactional’. As pointed out by Brustad (2000, 320), narratives, which are an example of transactional language, tend to have stable topics, and the expected order is therefore VS. On the other hand, in dialogues, which represent the interactional type, speakers, by expressing their views and attitudes, dynamically change the topic of their conversation, hence the SV order prevails.

3.2. Typological Perspective

An important contribution to the investigation of word order patterns in the world’s languages was a study by Li and Thompson (1976), which challenged the view that the basic structure of every language entails subject–predicate (henceforth: S–P) alignment. Based mainly on data from South-East Asia, they argued that, in some languages, the topic–comment structure is much more prominent. Subsequently, they proposed a typological classification, according to which a language can be: only subject prominent, only topic prominent, both subject and topic prominent, or neither category prominent. Although the study in question involves only a limited number of languages, and, as the authors point out, it is rather difficult to establish which type of word order prevails in a language based only on its reference grammar, the methodology used in this article can provide a valuable insight into the discourse strategies present in Jewish Gabes. In what follows, therefore, I shall examine selected passages from the text corpus by applying the classification outlined in the aforementioned study. The result of this investigation will

hopefully shed some light on the typological status of Jewish Gabes.

3.3. Subject–Predicate Alignment

3.3.1. Subgroups of Subject-Prominent Type

Subject-prominent types of sentences correspond to what Ingham calls ‘uninodal’ sentences (1994, 35). A uninodal sentence conveys a completely new piece of information which is delivered to the collocutor as one whole. This kind of sentence usually fronts the verb, which is the main focus of the message. Nevertheless, as will be shown below, uninodal sentences do not necessarily assume VSO form. Binodal sentences, on the other hand, consist of two elements, the first of which is a given piece of information, while the second is a new one. Thus, applying the terminology of Li and Thompson, it can be established that subject-prominent sentences are uninodal, while topic-prominent ones comprise two nodes of information.

Sentences with prevailing subject–predicate alignment can have different permutations of the three basic elements: subject, verb, and object. As demonstrated by the below tables, Jewish Gabes has two main word orders: VSO and SVO, and two peripheral ones: VOS and OSV. No examples of OVS or SOV were detected.

3.3.2. Data

VSO

1. *kānət hāk əl-xabʒa kbīra ʕaliya* (1:37)
‘The bread was too big for me.’
2. *ʔalʕat ktība fi-l-ḥiṭ* (1:42)
‘An inscription appeared on the wall.’
3. *ʒāw əʒ-ʒnūn qāllu* (2:63)
‘The ghosts came and told him.’
4. *ʔalʕat əl-fəllāya wa l-fəllāya fiha ʕəmm* (4:70)
‘She took out the comb and the comb had a poison on it.’
5. *ʔalʕat əl-xādma, kān təʕbaḥ fi* (1:4)
‘A handmaid went out and kept looking at him.’
6. *fi-l-lil ḥaṭṭətlu bəns, raqdathu raqda bṛima, xdāt əl-frāš ntāʕu, ʒābət əl-xaddāma ntāʕa u ḥawwlathu l-ḥūš bəbāha* (7:84)
‘At night she gave him sleeping drugs, she put him to sleep, took his bed, brought his servants, and moved him to her father’s premises.’

SVO

7. *l-ʒbālīya yāxdu ḥbəll u kull yūm yaʕqdu ʕaqda*
‘The mountaineers would take a rope and every day they would tie a knot.’
8. *wāḥəd mša yəṭlab ya krīm tāʕ allā* (1:2)
‘A man went to beg for money.’
9. *bəntek əz-ʒgīra bnāt əl-qṣar* (2:87)
‘It is your youngest daughter who has built this castle.’
10. *əl-ʕəd hāda kān mḥayyər* (7:69)
‘This man was worried.’

11. *hūwa ka-yəmšī fə-ṣətt əl-bḥar mḥayrān, wa hiya qaṣdat fi-l-balkūn šāfəthu yəmšī* (7:70)

‘While he was walking worried on the beach, she sat down on the balcony and saw him walking.’

12. *āna ḥkəmt ṣalīk u ənti ma wqəftis fi-kəlmək* (7:82)

‘I gave you a condition and you did not keep your promise.’

VOS

13. *xalṭətna moxxna l-mṛa hādi* (7:53)

‘This woman has messed with our heads!’

OSV

14. *hādi l-mṛa ənta tāxəd?* (7:48)

‘Are you going to marry this woman?’

3.3.3. Grammatical Features of S–P Sentences

Li and Thompson (1976) have outlined in their study the main grammatical features of subject-prominent languages, simultaneously indicating points of divergence from the topic-prominent type. The first difference is the definiteness of the noun phrase: in contradistinction to the T–C type, where the topic is definite by default, in the S–P type, the noun can also be indefinite. This can be proven by the indefinite-specific noun *wāḥəd* in example (8), and by the indefinite noun *ktība* in (2). The noun, however, has to be in agreement with the verb, which conveys the main action of the information. As will be shown in §3.5, this is not the case in the T–C structure, where the fronted noun phrase is syntactically independent from the verb in the comment (Li and Thompson 1976, 462). As a result of this assumption, one can infer that, in the T–C type, the verb does not determine the topic.

On the other hand, in the S–P structure, the verb is obligatorily correlated with the subject. From a functional point of view, the subject orientates the hearer in the event and provides insight into the action (Li and Thompson 1976, 464). This is particularly conspicuous in verbs expressing experience, state, etc. As far as position in the sentence is concerned, the above passages indicate that the subject can be located either before or after the verb. In addition, as has been observed by Li and Thompson (1976, 465), the subject is involved in a number of grammatical processes that are not possible in the case of a topic. Thus, for example, equi-deletion or verb serialisation is possible only with a subject.⁶² This is exemplified by example (6), where the same subject that occurred in the previous sentence is correlated with every verb in the sequence.

3.3.4. Discourse Features of S–P Sentences

Sentences of S–P structure are event-orientated (Brustad 2000, 329). Since they contain only one node of information, they tend to occur in dynamic narratives, where the plot is moved forward by series of verbs. There is, however, significant variation in their distribution. Using categories of foregrounding and backgrounding, it can be tentatively established that SV dominates in backgrounding, which provides commentary and support to the main storyline, while VS usually occurs in foregrounding, which builds the plot of events. Hopper (1979, 220) notices that foregrounding tends to be pragmatically unmarked. Since foregrounding moves

⁶² The process of equi-deletion in Jewish Gabses was treated in §1.4.1.

the plot forward and is characterised by high dynamicity, the new information is expressed mostly by predicates and the subject is very often presupposed, hence the VS order. This strategy is exemplified by examples (3) and (4), which contain kinetic verbs like ‘to come’, ‘to take out’, etc. On the other hand, close analysis of the backgrounding strategies in different languages, which are associated with stativity and description, indicates that the new information is here introduced by the subject or the object. One should therefore expect to find the SVO/SOV order in commentary and description (Hopper 1979, 220). This strategy is often realised grammatically by means of the preverbal particle /ka-/ (example 11) and the existential verb *kān* (example 10). Moreover, in terms of discourse function, the SVO order is very often applied in order to express contrast between two entities, as in example (12). Another form of contrastive focus is exemplified by passage (9), where the SVO order serves to single out one entity, i.e., a daughter, from a group of the king’s daughters.

3.4. Topic–Comment Alignment

3.4.1. Data

Topic is referred to in the comment as a complement of a preposition

15. *hāk əl-xabža yžəyyəd fiha ɾaḅḅi* (1:15)

‘God will add to this bread.’

16. *əl-ḥwāyāž hādu, škūn qāʕd yfəššərlək fihəm?* (7:26)

‘All these things, who explains them to you?’

17. *(ə)tlāta baṭṭixāt li baṣṭəthəm bəntək, fihəm ramz* (2:10)
 ‘There is a hint in these three melons that your daughter has sent you.’
18. *əl-mélex šārlu ʕžəb hādi ḥāža əl-ʕbəd* (7:20)
 ‘The king was amazed by this man.’

Topic is referred to in the comment by a personal pronoun

19. *əl-ʕamlā mšūma ʕamāltha* (7:11)
 ‘What a mistake I made.’
20. *hādīk əl-maqṣūfāt šəbʕa šnīn, nhār ḥāḥāha tʕadda u lqā əṣ-ṣəltān* (7:3)
 ‘This seven-year-old rascal, one day her father was passing and the sultan met him.’
21. *əl-ḥṣəl hāda, tāklu wəlla yāklək?* (7:8)
 ‘This onion, you will eat it or it will eat you?’
22. *əl-məlḥ, yḥaṭṭu fī-ṣrīra u la fī-qritīs*
 ‘The salt, they put it in the pocket, and not in the box.’
23. *hād əl-xabža ʕamri ma rātha ʕīni* (1:21)
 ‘This bread, my eye has never seen one like this.’
24. *āna, yžīwni fī-n-nhār u fī-l-līl nəṣāwər mʕāk* (7:91)
 ‘They will come to me in the daytime and at night I will consult with you.’

3.4.2. Grammatical Features of T–C Structures

Topic–comment sentences significantly differ from S–P ones in terms of structure and function. To begin with, applying Ingham’s terminology once more, this type of sentence is binodal, i.e., it consists of two pieces of information. The topic constitutes a known piece of information, while in the comment, the speaker delivers a new one. Since the identity of the topic is known to the collocutor, or is easily retrievable from their memory, the topic

by default is definite. In the above examples, one can see numerous cases of definite topics preceded by proximal (16) and distal pronouns (15) or followed by a subordinate clause (17). As regards position in the sentence, the topic is always fronted, in contradistinction to the subject, which, as indicated above, can admit different positions. In addition, T–C languages are characterised by low occurrence of passive constructions. Li and Thompson (1976, 467) point out that some languages do not have any form of passivisation (Lahu, Lisu), while others—like Mandarin, for example—make very sporadic use of the passive voice in speech. In Jewish Gabes, as has been indicated in chapter 3, §2.2, CA passive verb stems are obsolete and rarely appear in spoken language. T–C languages are also characterised by a lack of so-called ‘dummy’ subject constructions, which are common in languages with S–P alignment, e.g., ‘it is raining’ in English. Jewish Gabes, like other Arabic dialects, does not have this kind of construction (Brustad 2000, 333). On the other hand, dummy subjects often occur in impersonal expressions replacing the passive, e.g., *nəqtəl* ‘he was killed’ > *yəqtlū* ‘they (dummy subject) killed him’. From a functional point of view, the topic sets a thematical domain in whose framework the main predication of the comment takes place. In purely T–C languages, there is no syntactic relation between the two nodes of information. This is not the case in Jewish Gabes, where, despite the lack of agreement between topic and comment predication, the topic is referred to in the comment either as a personal pronoun (19) or with a preposition (17). Nonetheless, Brustad (2000, 336) remarks that most of Li and Thompson’s study is based on Mandarin, which does

not utilise anaphoric reference. In Arabic, on the other hand, anaphora occupies a significant place in the syntax. Thus, the syntactic relation between topic and comment should not be regarded as an argument against Jewish Gables being a T–C language, as the absence of such a relation would violate basic rules of the language.

3.5. SVO Versus T–C

The question arises as to whether SVO and topic-prominent sentences are congruent and fulfil the same functions. Khan (1988), in his study of word order in CA, has argued that the discourse functions of the SV order converge with those of the T–C construction. Similarly, Brustad (2000, 336) argues that the SV order can be analysed as topic-prominent. Nonetheless, both the intonation of the sentence and the grammatical features indicate that T–C and SV are two distinct types of information packaging with different discourse functions.

To begin with, in terms of intonation groups, SV contains only one unit, while T–C has a clear prosodic pause separating the topic from the comment. Moreover, the syllable of the topic that contains the nuclear stress is lengthened, and a conspicuous rise in pitch occurs. This phenomenon is also attested in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe (Coghill 2018, 309); the prosodic similarities between the two dialects will be discussed further in §3.6. The binodal structure can be represented in the transcription in the following way:



(1) *l-ḥwāyāž hādu | škūn qāʿd*

DEF-things these who AUX

yfəššərlək fihəm?

interpret.PFX.3MS.to.you in.them

‘All these things, who explains them to you?’ (7:40)

In addition, the fact that the topic is almost never in agreement with the subject of the comment proffers another argument against the functional convergence of SVO and T–C. The syntactic independence of the topic furnishes the establishment of a wide, thematical framework, in which both SVO and VSO occur. In other words, within the span of a topic, various types of focus and contrast are conveyed by the SVO order. The following excerpt from text (7) demonstrates how the T–C structure sets the thematical domain of the dialogues:

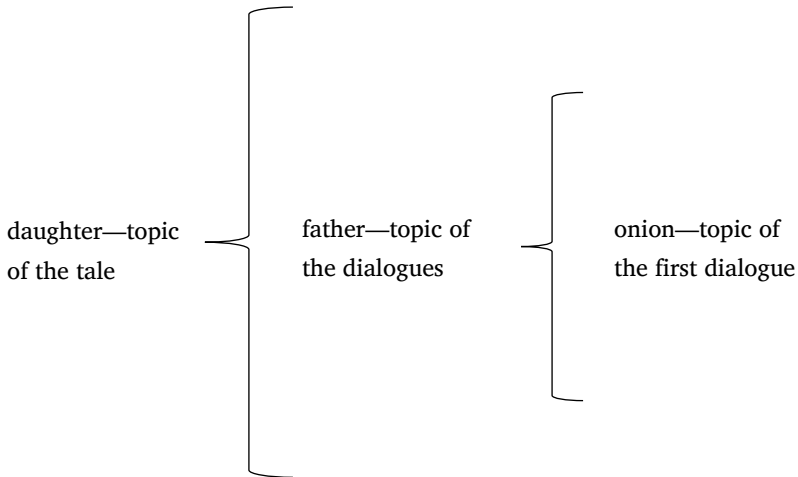
(2) *qālāt: tamma wāḥda bnīya yšəmmyūha maqšūfāt šəbʿa šnīn* (3) *hādik əl-maqšūfāt šəbʿa šnīn | nhār bāḥāha | tʿadda u lqā əš-šəltān* (4) *qāllu: šnūwa ḥālək wa šnūwa hāda* (5) *qāllu: naḥəmdu rəbḥi, la bāš ʿalīna* (6) *qāllu: nəḥəb nəšdək nəšda* (7) *aaa! əš-šəltān tʿadda lqā yəzraʿ fi-l-ḥəšəl* (8) *huwa qāllu: əl-ḥəšəl hāda | tāklu wəlla yāklək?* (9) *qāllu: əšmaʿ, tlāta ayyām fi-yəddək tʿzībli əl-xbār.*

(2) There was a girl, whom people used to call a ‘seven-year-old rascal’ (3) This seven-year-old rascal, one day her father was passing and the sultan met him (4) He asked him how are you and so on (5) He said: thank God everything is all right (6) He said to him: I would like to ask you a question (7) Oh! when the sultan was passing by, he found him planting onion (8) He asked him: this onion,

you will eat it or it will eat you? (9) He said: listen, you have three days to bring me the answer

Section (3) of the passage above has a unique T–C structure, containing three nodes of information, with two conspicuous pauses. This structure usually appears at the beginning of a story and introduces the listener to its thematic spectrum. The first topic, i.e., ‘the daughter’, is the dominant topic of the entire story, thus it is set at its very beginning. The second topic, ‘the father’, is the main character of the following series of dialogues with the sultan. Finally, the topic of the first dialogue is introduced, i.e., ‘the onion’. The distribution of topics in the first part of the story can be represented in the following way:

Figure 6: An example of a thematical span



The folktale contains a series of three lexical riddles revolving around three topics: onion, coffee kettle, and water well. Every riddle occurs in a separate dialogue between the sultan and the father and is introduced by the sultan. Subsequently, the same

topic continues in the solution of the riddle delivered by the daughter. The topic of every riddle is introduced by the T-C structure:

(2) *hūwa qāllu ʔl-bʕʕal hāda*

he tell.SFX.3MS.him DEF-onion this

tāklū wəlla yāklək?

eat.PFX.2MS.him or eat.PFX.3MS.you

‘This onion, you will eat it, or it will eat you?’ (7:8)

(3) *āma nḥabbək tqūlli šnūwa yqūlu*

but like.PFX.1SG.you say.PFX.2MS.me what tell.PFX.3MS

ʔš-ʔʕʕwa kif ḥaṭṭūha ʕal ʔl-nār šnūwa tqūl?

DEF-kettle when put.SFX.3PL.her on DEF-fire what say.PFX.3FS

‘But I want you to tell me now: what would it say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on the fire, what would you say?’ (7:16)

(4) *qāllu tuwwa nḥabbək tqūlli*

say.SFX.3MS.him now like.PFX.1SG.you say.PFX.2MS.me

ʔʕ-zrāra kif yṭallʕu ʕtall mən bīr

water.well when take.out.PFX.3PL bucket from well

šnūwa tqūl?

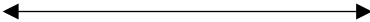

what say.PFX.3FS

‘He said: now I want you to tell me, a water well, when people take out a bucket from a well, what does it say?’ (7:21–22)

As stated above, once the main topics are introduced, foregrounding (VSO/VOS) and backgrounding (SVO) take place. The event-orientated and description-orientated types of narrative are exemplified in the above quoted excerpt. Thus, in section (3)

of the passage above, the VOS order—*tʕadda u lqā aš-šaḷṭān*—encodes an event, moving the plot forward. On the other hand, in section (7), which is an explanatory comment with the focus on the sultan, one can see SVO: *aš-šaḷṭān tʕadda lqā*.

Nevertheless, there are some rare instances of SVO with the subject functioning as the topic of the sentence. Their occurrence is limited to the presentational verses at the beginning of a tale, in a particular structure consisting of two sentences. Namely, the first sentence introduces the existence of a certain character, while the second one, which contains the topicalised SVO order, provides an additional focus and new information. Despite the clear intonational separation of the topic from the rest of the sentence, it does function as the subject. The following passage illustrates this strategy:

- (5) *wāḥad ṣaḷṭān wa ʕandu wəld*
 INDF sultan and at.him child

 existence
- l-wləd hāda kull mərṛa yāxəd mṛa*
 DEF-child this every time take.PFX.3MS woman

 focus

‘There is a sultan and he has a son (2) this son, each time he takes a woman (...)’ (6:1–2)

In sum, as the above analysis demonstrates, SVO and T–C should generally be regarded as two distinct types of sentence with different discourse functions. In support of this view, I have presented two arguments, related to the intonation and syntax of

these sentences. Whereas the topic is conspicuously separated from the comment by a pause, the SVO order constitutes one intonation group. This, in turn, is reflected by the syntactic independence of the topic, which, unlike in an SVO sentence, is not followed by the predicate. The only exception to this rule is SVO with topicalised subject occurring after an introductory statement of existence.

3.6. Points of Convergence and Divergence with NENA

A comparative look at information packaging in the North-East Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe and in Jewish Gabes can yield an interesting picture of the development of sentence structure and narrative strategies in modern Semitic.

Several points of convergence can be identified. To begin with, as observed by Coghill (2018, 309), an intonational phrase which includes only a topic has a rise in pitch at the end with simultaneous lengthening of the last syllable. In Jewish Gabes, it is the penultimate syllable that is lengthened, but, similarly to Telkepe, there is a noticeable rise in the pitch. In addition, both Jewish Gabes and Telkepe share the presence of indefinite topics. Usually, the topic is introduced by a presentational sentence stating the existence of an entity or is flagged by the indefinite-specific marker *wāḥad* (/xa-/ in Telkepe). In Jewish Gabes, there are also rare instances of a first-mentioned topic, which are not activated in any way:

- (6) ^{HE}zūg^{HE} yḥabbu baʿdhām yāsār ʕarršu
 couple like.PFX.3PL each.other a.lot get.married.SFX.3PL
 u ma ʔaʕṣūš mən āḍ-ḍār mən
 and NEG leave.SFX.3PL.NEG from DEF-house from
 əl-ʕarš ʕahrīn
 DEF-wedding two.months

‘A couple loved each other a lot, they got married and for two months since the wedding have not leave their home.’
 (5:1–2)

This is the opening sentence of the tale, yet the couple is not definite or introduced by an existential sentence. According to Gundel (1988, 215), indefinite topics are usually anchored in another, definite entity (Coghill 2018, 308). However, as example (6) demonstrates, the topic can appear for the first time as indefinite and unanchored.

Another point of convergence of Jewish Gabes with Telkepe is topicalisation of adverbs or adverbial clauses. In numerous Arabic dialects, it is a common tendency to topicalise temporal verbs, like *šār* ‘to become’ or *kān* ‘to be’, which do not bear any direct syntactic relationship with the main clause (Brustad 2000, 337). Jewish Gabes does not appear to utilise this strategy. However, there are numerous cases of topicalised adverbial clauses, which have the same intonational structure as the T–C sentences:

- (7) *līla fi-l-līl xūdi li ṣaḏiḏ ṣalīk*
 night in-DEF-night take.IMP.FS REL dear on.you
wa trūḥi l-bāḇāk
 and go.PFX.FS to-father.yours
 ‘Late in the night take whatever is valuable to you and go
 back to your father.’ (7:81)

- (8) *nhār al-mélex tṣadda māši ṣal*
 day DEF-king pass.SFX.3MS go.AP.MS on
al-bḥar yārqa
 DEF-sea find.PFX.3SM
 ‘One day the king was passing by, found (...)’ (7:65)

Coghill (2018, 310) reports the same tendency in Telkepe, where topicalised adverbs set the temporal frame of the event.

Despite certain similarities between the two languages, from a wider perspective, the development of word order in Arabic and NENA has followed different paths. Maghrebi Arabic has not been affected by neighbouring, non-Semitic languages to the same extent as NENA. The language contact-induced changes are particularly conspicuous in the region of Western Asia, where sentence typology of both NENA and, to a lesser extent, Arabic has undergone modifications under the influence of Turkic and Iranian languages. In the Jewish dialect of Sanandaj and other NENA dialects of northern Iraq and north-western Iran, the original Semitic VO order switched to OV due to contact with Turkic (Khan 2018, 21). Moreover, in those NENA dialects which adopted OV, syntactic elements expressing goals of verbs of movement are placed after the verb, whereas it is usually the case in OV languages that all the arguments precede the verb (Khan

2018, 23). This development was presumably induced by neighbouring Turkic and Iranian languages. Finally, all the languages in the region, including NENA and Arabic, have an obligatory, clause-final copula, which has diffused from Iranian (Khan 2018, 20).

The situation in North Africa differs considerably from that of Western Asia, mostly because of the relative linguistic uniformity of the region. The only language that has been in contact with Arabic long enough to induce some changes is Berber, where the basic word order is VSO. It has also been argued recently that some varieties of Berber are in the process of shifting to a topic-prominent system (El-Hankari 2015). As this chapter has indicated, however, both VSO and T–C constructions are equally basic in Arabic, hence no contact-induced change could occur with regard to word order.

7. SYNTAX OF PRONOUNS

1.0. Demonstrative Pronouns

1.1. Historical Background

Semitic languages utilise a diverse array of demonstrative pronouns, which can be broadly divided into two categories: near and far deixis. According to Hasselbach's (2007) historical reconstruction, the most common morpheme of the former is /d̥V/, which is widespread across almost all branches of Semitic, including Ethiopic, North-West Semitic, and varieties of Arabic.¹ This base has in some languages the variant /zV/, as for example /zə-/ in Geʿez, or /ze/ in Hebrew. Apart from the aforementioned basic morpheme, Semitic features a variety of additional demonstrative elements, which either function as near deictics independently, or are attached to other elements to form a cluster of morphemes. The list of demonstrative elements utilised in Semitic includes, among others: /hā/, /la/, /n/, /t/.² The extension

¹ The /d̥V/ base is not attested in East Semitic, which utilises the /an/ base for near deixis instead.

² The /t/ element being a demonstrative element has been a matter of dispute among scholars. It occurs in pronouns like Geʿez *zəntu* (MS), Hebrew *zōt* (FS), and Arabic *tilka* (FS). Although, according to Bath (1907, 31), the /t/ element represents a Proto-Semitic demonstrative and originally had three gender-sensitive variants—/tu/ (MS), /ti/ (FS), and /ta/ (neuter)—it is more plausible that, in the case of Geʿez, it derives from the independent pronoun *wəʔətu*, while in the rest of the languages where it occurs, it marks the feminine.

of the original /*dV*/ element by these other elements is exemplified by Hebrew *hallāze*, Arabic *ʔallāḏi*, Geʿez *zəntu* (Hasselbach 2007, 2). The plural base /*ʔVlIV*/, which also has a shorter version /*ʔVl*/, can be extended in the same way. One of the most commonly agglutinated morphemes is the /*n*/ element, which is present, among others, in Geʿez and Aramaic.

The distribution of the far deixis markers is much less diverse and can be broadly divided into three groups. The first utilises the /*k*/ element, which is attached to the near deixis marker. This strategy is applied, among others, by virtually all Arabic dialects and by Geʿez. On the other hand, languages like Hebrew and Phoenician do not have a separate morpheme for expressing remote deixis and employ anaphoric pronouns instead. Finally, a small number of languages use demonstrative elements that play a part in the formation of near deixis, like /*la*/ in the Tigre /*lohV*-/ base, for example (Hasselbach 2007, 7).

It can therefore be assumed that Proto-Semitic had two demonstrative bases, namely /*dV*/ for the singular, and /*ʔVl*/ for the plural. The optionality of the demonstrative elements other than /*dV*/, alongside the fact that they are usually attached to other elements, points to their later development. Similarly, the /*ʔVlIV*/ form of the plural seems to consist of the original /*ʔVl*/ base with an attached /*IV*/ element. The question remains as to what the relationship is between the singular and plural bases, and if their morphological heterogeneity reflects the original state of affairs. Hasselbach (2007, 1–27) has posed this question in her study on the demonstratives in Semitic. Judging from the

oldest textual attestations of demonstratives in Semitic, it is reasonable to assume that the Old Babylonian singular far deictic pronoun *ullûm* contains the Proto-Semitic element /ʔVl/ (Hasselbach 2007, 23). One can therefore not exclude the possibility that this element served to express far deixis at an early stage of Semitic.

1.2. Typological Perspective

Demonstratives, from a cross-linguistic perspective, exhibit an immense diversity and heterogeneity. A few in-depth studies of demonstratives in world's languages are available (Diessel 1999; Bhat 2007). The authors highlight that demonstratives fulfil crucial communicative functions and have multiple pragmatic usages. In addition, Brustad (2000, 113) points to the vital role they play in narratives, where they tend to occur abundantly, and especially in the management of discourse topics. Since my text corpus consists mostly of narratives, analysis thereof should yield a clear and reliable picture of deixis mechanisms in North African Arabic. This section will attempt to outline the main pragmatic functions of demonstratives from a typological perspective and provide solid theoretical underpinnings for further analysis of my data.

To begin with, languages utilise different categories in order to express deixis. The most common deictic criterion is a spatial distinction between near and remote. Bhat (2007, 177) demonstrates that the majority of the world's languages have two-fold spatial categories, although there are some languages in which distinction is based on three or more points. The spatial

reference point of the deixis also exhibits enormous diversity across languages. In most of them, the speaker is the centre of the deictic system; nonetheless, there are languages in which the location of the addressee is reflected by demonstratives as well. Apart from the location of the participants in the speech situation, some languages make deictic distinction between visible–invisible, above–below, inside–outside, etc. (Bhat 2007, 177).

Depending on their syntax, demonstratives can be divided into the following four categories: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and identificational (Dissel 1999, 4). While pronominal demonstratives function as independent pronouns substituting for a noun or a noun phrase, adnominal usage cooccurs with a noun. Adverbial demonstratives in Jewish Gabes do not exhibit any variation in terms of inflection or syntax, and will therefore not be covered in this chapter. Similarly, identificational demonstratives, which are applied in order to identify an entity appearing in a speech situation, are of no direct significance for the present analysis.

Apart from the above syntactic classification, demonstratives can also be divided according to their pragmatic functions. In scholarship on demonstratives, the most commonly applied division in this respect is that proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976, 57–76), according to which demonstratives can have either exophoric or endophoric use. The former type of demonstrative is sometimes described as ‘pointer’, namely, it directs the hearer’s attention to entities found in the interlocutors’ surroundings. As argued by Diessel (1999, 114), the exophoric use is apparently the basic and the unmarked one, and the other types

derive from it. All other three types are classified collectively under the term 'endophoric', since, in contradistinction to the exophoric use, they refer to the internal deixis of the discourse, and not to the entities from the external world. The first type, anaphoric, is utilised in order to track participants previously occurring in the discourse. Anaphoric demonstratives are obligatorily coreferential with the noun they accompany. They are crucial in the narrative, as they navigate the hearer through different layers of the discourse. Similarly, discourse deictic demonstratives, which constitute the second type of endophoric usage, fulfil a language-internal function (Diessel 1999, 101), namely, they refer to propositions expressed in the discourse by indicating a specific aspect of an utterance, like, for example, its truthfulness or falsehood. The last type of endophoric demonstrative is called 'recognitional' and is utilised adnominally to activate a specific item of knowledge shared by both participants in the speech situation. In other words, it introduces a piece of information that is discourse new and hearer old.

Another classification of pronouns, particularly useful in the study of discourse, is that of anaphoric and cataphoric. The former type refers to entities already mentioned in the discourse, while the latter points to elements which will occur later in the discourse.

It is important to point out that demonstratives across all the world's languages present the same tendency towards grammaticalisation. Diessel (2007, 112) argues that the endophoric use of demonstratives can in fact be considered grammaticalised,

since it has evolved from a purely deictic exophoric application towards a functional organisation of the discourse information.

1.3. Pragmatic Analysis of the Data

The data pertaining to demonstrative pronouns in Jewish Gabes have been organised according to the criterion of spatial deixis. This includes near deixis, remote deixis, and the unstressed demonstrative pronoun. The morphology of the demonstratives has been treated in detail in chapter 4, §6.7, so, in what follows, I will limit myself to a description of the main pragmatic functions of the demonstratives in Jewish Gabes and in two neighbouring dialects, Jewish Wad-Souf (Algeria) and Jewish Tripoli, in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the functionality of pronouns in the region.

1.3.1. Syntactic Distribution

Demonstrative pronouns are usually used adnominally; nonetheless, there are some cases of pronominal usage in the text corpus as well. It appears that demonstratives substituting for nominals are applied to a lesser extent in North Africa than in, for example, the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Christians of Urmi, where they occur in a variety of syntactic positions (Khan 2016, 238).

In various Arabic dialects, a demonstrative can either precede or follow the noun. Brustad (2000, 129) points out that, in Egyptian, demonstratives mandatorily follow the noun they modify, while in Moroccan, Syrian, and Kuwaiti, the post-nominal placement is obligatory only when the noun is in a genitive construction. Apart from these restrictions, the dialects demonstrate

a certain level of variation in terms of the placement of demonstratives, usually motivated by pragmatics. As my data indicates, demonstratives in Jewish Gabes are subject to strict grammatical rules. The proximal demonstrative obligatorily follows the noun, while the distal and the unstressed ones are placed before the noun. This diverges significantly from Moroccan Arabic, where Harrell (1962) does not mention a post-nominal demonstrative construction at all, while Brustad (2000, 129) mentions only a small number of examples occurring in her data. Brustad (2000, 130) proposed a pragmatic explanation of the post-nominal position of the pronoun, pointing out that the pre-nominal position is usually identificatory and deictic, while the post-nominal placement signals an adjectival function. Although my data contains several cases of identificatory pre-nominal demonstratives, there are numerous examples of non-identificatory occurrence as well. This is the case with distal demonstratives, which follow the first mention of a protagonist.

1.3.2. Proximal Demonstratives

Proximal demonstratives fulfil a variety of narrative functions. They modify an item which constitutes the subject of the ongoing discussion:

- (1) *u bərša nāš kān yaʕmlu l-ḥāža hādi?*
 and a.lot people be.SFX.3MS make.PFX.3PL DEF -thing this
 ‘And many people would do this thing?’

Pronominally, they designate a protagonist of the narrative:

- (2) *hāda dīma yži yšāwnu*
 this always come.PFX.3MS help.PFX.3MS.him
u ybišu aš-šalha
 and sell.PFX.3PL DEF-stock

‘This man always comes to help him sell the stock.’ (5:3)

Moreover, they fulfil an identificatory function by narrowing the reference:

- (3) *žāt bəntu hādi mšəmmya*
 come.SFX.3FS daughter.his this name.her
maqšūfāt šəbša šnīn
 rascal seven years

‘His daughter came, the one that is called a “seven-year-old rascal”.’ (7:12)

Similarly, as the following passage demonstrates, proximal demonstratives are utilised as a means of recognition:

- (4) *qāllu ya šaddi ^{HE}mélex^{HE} hādi bənti*
 say.SFX.3MS.him VOC master.my king this daughter.my
qāllu bəntek hādi nḥaḇḇ nāxədha
 say.SFX.3MS.him daughter.your this like.PFX.1SG take.PFX.1SG

‘He said: your majesty, it is my daughter; he told him: this daughter, I would like to marry her.’ (7:41–42)

In terms of the management of discourse topics, proximal demonstratives serve to retrieve an entity that recently appeared in the discourse, and therefore they function anaphorically:

- (5) *əl-ʿbəd hāda kān mḥayyər*
 DEF-man this be.SFX.3MS worried

‘This man was worried.’ (7:69)

Occasionally, proximal demonstratives can signal a pejorative connotation, expressing a personal disapproval of the speaker. The following passage is at the same time the only example of prenominal occurrence of a proximal demonstrative in my text corpus:

- (6) *qāllu hādi l-mṛa ənta tāxədha?*
 say.SFX.3MS.him this DEF-woman you take.PFX.2MS. her
hīya mahbūla qālət ʕaqla fi-ḥzarha
 she crazy say.SFX.3FS mind.her in-knees.her
 ‘Are you going to marry this woman? She is insane, she said
 that her mind is on her knees.’ (7:48)

Finally, near deixis is used by speakers to flag an item as particularly prominent in a certain part of the discourse. The water well appearing in the following example is the scene of a significant portion of the story, and is therefore followed by *hāda*:

- (7) *tamma bīr ḡārəq yāsər wa l-bīr*
 there.is well deep a.lot and DEF -well
hāda li yədxal fī ymūt
 this REL enter.PFX.3MS in.it die.PFX.3MS
 ‘There was a very deep well and whoever goes in that well
 dies, does not go out.’ (2:57)

1.3.3. Distal Demonstratives

One of the most important functions of far deixis is marking the crucial figures in the discourse. Usually, this technique occurs at the beginning of the story and involves the first mention of the protagonist flagged by the indefinite-specific article *wāḥəd*, which is subsequently repeated with the accompanying distal

demonstrative. In this context, the indefinite-specific has a cataphoric reference:

- (8) *tamma wāḥda bnayya yšammyūha maqṣūfāt šabša*
 there.is INDF girl call.PFX.3PL.her rascal seven
šnīn hādīk əl-maqṣūfāt šabša šnīn nhār
 years that DEF-rascal seven years day
ḃāḃāha tšadda u lqā əṣ-ṣəlṭān
 father.her pass.SFX.3MS and find.SFX.3MS.him DEF-sultan
 ‘There was a girl, whom people used to call a “seven-year-old rascal”, this seven-year-old rascal, one day her father was passing and the sultan met him.’ (7:2–3)

- (9) *kān ya ma kān ʕala wāḥad*
 be.SFX.3MS or NEG be.SFX.3MS on INDF
ṣəlṭān hādāk ṣ-ṣəlṭān qāʕad yxamməm kifāš
 sultan that DEF-sultan AUX think.PFX.3MS how
yaʕməl bāš yāra wlād l-blād
 make.PFX.3MS SUB see.PFX.3MS people DEF-city
 ‘Once upon a time there was a Sultan, that Sultan was thinking what to do in order to see the people of the city.’
 (Jewish Tripoli)

The far deixis forms are also utilised in order to indicate temporal distance, as demonstrated by example (10). In the first passage, *hadāk* marks temporal precedence of the first action, i.e., the man riding the donkey, followed by the more recent action of rubbing an onion:

- (10) *ət-tīla fīha nqāb wa hādāk ʕaryān*

DEF-fabric in.her holes and that naked

u lābəš wa hādi xdāt rāš

and dressed and this take.SFX.3FS head

əl-ḥṣəl u ḥakkətlo ʕal žbīnu

DEF-onion and rub.SFX.3FS on forehead.his

‘In a fabric there were holes, so he was both naked and dressed, and she took an onion and rubbed it on his forehead.’ (7:36–37)

In addition, far deixis can express a spatial distance, as in example (11):

- (11) *qāl əntūm mahbūlīn ʕaqla*

say.SFX.3MS you.PL crazy mind.her

fī-ḥzarha hādīk txallaš fī-ṣaʕrha

in-knees.her that finish.PFX.3FS in-hair.her

u ṣaʕrha wāṣəl ḥatta rəžlīn

and hair.her arrive.AP.MS until legs

kān tqūmi txabbər ərʕu l-ḡādi

be.SFX.3MS get.up.PFX.3FS inform.PFX.3FS return.IMP.2PL to-there

‘He told them: you are insane, her mind was on her knees because she was finishing [combing] her hair and her hair reaches her legs, when she stands up, she will let you know, go back there!’ (7:49)

In certain contexts, a remote demonstrative can denote an unspecified entity, which did not occur previously in the discourse. When this is the case, the most accurate translation in English would include the indefinite article ‘a’:

- (12) *humma žābu zġār wa*
 they bring.SFX.3PL children and
ʔtāw l-hādāk l-ʔaššāš
 give.SFX.3PL to-that DEF-guard
 ‘They would give birth to children and give them to a guard.’ (2:52)

Anaphorically, far deixis is utilised to express a referent that has been mentioned previously in the discourse, but the speaker assumes that it is hardly retrievable from the memory of the listener:

- (13) *ʔrṛa mən kull rqa hādik*
 see.SFX.3MS from all find.SFX.3MS that
əl-mərt wāḥda li ʔanda ɖarḃa
 DEF-woman INDF REL at.her blast
 ‘He had a look and found among all of them the woman who has a scar on her back.’ (2:47)

- (14) *u l-mṛa u l-rāžəl li sāknīn fī-hādik*
 and DEF-woman and DEF-man REL live.AP in-that
əl-ḥūš daxxlu u ʔamlūlu kaḃūdu
 DEF-house enter.SFX.3PL.him and make.SFX.3PL.him respect
 ‘And the woman and man who lived in that house took him inside, and showed him respect.’ (Jewish Tripoli)³

Moreover, in terms of managing discourse topics, distal demonstratives occur in a construction that marks the first mention of a

³ This fragment has been excerpted from the following folktale: <https://www.lashon.org/1/node/523>, accessed 5 March 2024.

secondary story figure. It comprises the unstressed distal demonstrative *hāk* (see §1.3.4) and the distal demonstrative pronoun:

(15) *ṣarṛəšt mʕa hāk əṛ-rāžəl hādāk əṛ-rāžəl*

marry.SFX.3FS with that DEF-man that DEF-man

yaxdəm ʕaləyəm yžīb u yəšri

work.PFX.3MS on.them bring.PFX.3MS and buy.PFX.3MS

‘She got married to that man, that man would work for them, bring food, buy things.’ (Jewish Wad-Souf)

1.3.4. Unstressed Distal Demonstratives

1. *hāk əl-qadd l-ṣažiz, əbtāt* (1:6)
‘What a precious figure! She was late [going back inside].’
2. *ʕātlu, xūd hād əl-xabža u kūlha, rfaṣha ʕažbathu hāk əl-xabža* (1:16)
‘She gave to him saying: take this bread and eat it. He took it and found a favour in the bread.’
3. *fraḥ əṣ-ṣəltān, ža l-hāk əl-wəld, ʕtālo flūš, lwiz* (2:53)
‘The sultan was happy, he came to this man, gave him money, coins.’
4. *žūž axwāt, wāḥəd zāwāli wa wāḥəd məštaḡni, hāk əl-zāwāli kull nhār xmiš, yəmši l-xu yaṣṭi flūš* (3:1–2)
‘Two brothers, one poor and the other one rich. That poor one goes every Thursday to his brother, so he gives him money.’
5. *az hiya žābət hāk əl-məžān l-oṃha* (3:49)
‘So she brought that scale to the mother.’

In addition to proximal and distal demonstratives, Jewish Gabes utilises also an ungendered, unstressed demonstrative article. Unlike the unstressed demonstrative article /had-/ in Moroccan Arabic, which, as argued by Harrell (1962, 147), does not distinguish between near and far deixis, *hāk* in Jewish Gabes is related

to remote deixis and, in some cases, substitutes for the full distal demonstrative.

As shown by the above examples, the functional interchangeability of the two types of demonstratives is significant. To begin with, the use of *hāk* in example (4) suggests that it can replace *hādāk* in the construction that introduces a protagonist. Moreover, as demonstrated by example (3), it functions anaphorically to mark an entity that has already been introduced in the discourse, but is not immediately retrievable from the memory of the listener. Similarly, in examples (1), (2), and (5), *hāk* denotes objects remote from both the speaker and the listener. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that *hāk* is not an independent article, like /ha-/ or /had-/ in other dialects, but rather a truncated version of *hādāk*.

1.4. Demonstratives in North African Arabic:

A Comparative Perspective

As has already been mentioned, Moroccan Arabic utilises some demonstrative strategies that do not occur in Jewish Gabes. This discrepancy potentially suggests that the western varieties of North African Arabic diverge from their eastern counterparts in terms of expressions of deixis. In the present section, I will investigate the distribution of demonstratives in selected dialects of the region.

A preliminary examination of the data from Jewish Tunis already reveals some differences. Although the forms of near and far deixis converge in both dialects, Jewish Tunis utilises a shortened form of the proximal demonstrative, which Cohen (1975,

224) calls the ‘construct state form’. In contradistinction to the full form, which as a rule follows the noun, its short counterpart precedes the noun. Its presence is also attested in Moroccan Arabic, as well as in Syrian and Kuwaiti varieties (Brustad 2000, 115). However, it appears that this form is not utilised in Jewish Gabes. Although *hād* occurs in passage (1:16), I argue that this is *hādi* with elided final vowel, rather than a separate form. The elision of vowels in word-final position, conditioned by the following word starting with a vowel, is a common phenomenon in Jewish Gabes. In addition, Jewish Tunis applies the form *āl* in order to express far deixis, which parallels the Syrian and Kuwaiti unstressed demonstrative article /ha/ (Cohen 1975, 225). This form has not been attested in Jewish Gabes either.

The Bedouin dialect of Douz presents some similarities to Jewish Gabes, namely, it has a set of two full far and near demonstratives and an ungendered *hāk*, but it utilises also the so-called ‘double’ demonstrative construction, attested, among others, in Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 83; Brustad 2000, 131). This construction combines the /ha-/ demonstrative article preceding the noun, and the full near demonstrative in the postnominal position. Similarly to the previous two demonstratives, it has not been attested in Jewish Gabes.

Certain dialects, like Jewish Algiers and some Moroccan varieties, apply, in addition to the basic set of full demonstratives, a shortened form of the remote demonstrative *dāk*. Cohen (1912, 346) merely points out that, in Jewish Algiers, *dāk* is a shorter variant of *hādāk*, without giving any description of its syntactic behaviour. On the other hand, Brustad (2000, 126)

notes that, in the region of Fes, *dāk*, which can modify both singular and plural nouns of both genders, functions in a similar manner to the proximal anaphoric *hād*. In the region of Tangiers, this demonstrative has the form *dīk* and, like *dāk*, is anaphoric and ungendered (Brustad 2000, 127).

8. CONCLUSION

This study was concerned with systematic description of the grammar of Jewish Gabes and, by providing comparative data, it attempted to situate it within the dialectological landscape of North African Arabic. It has striven to address several challenges that modern Maghrebi dialectology faces. As was pointed out in the introduction, this field suffers from a lack of a diachronic approach to syntax, particularly from a comparative perspective. The linguistic analysis presented in this volume has hopefully, on the one hand, contributed to a better understanding of Jewish North African dialects, and on the other, cast more light on the differences between Jewish and Muslim dialects. It has been established that Jewish Gabes belongs to the first-layer (pre-Hilāli) dialects of Maghrebi Arabic, which, with the exception of several cities like Mahdia and Tunis, are no longer spoken in Tunisia. The linguistic features of this variety, due to its ancient character, point to a number of substrate and language contact scenarios.

In Part I, on phonology, I demonstrated that the interdental consonants have merged with their plosive counterparts. As is the case with other sedentary dialects, /q/ is generally preserved, although /g/ is found in certain lexemes and there exist minimal pairs proving its phonemic status. When it comes to the distribution of /h/, I have demonstrated that, in contradistinction to Jewish Tunis, this sound has in Jewish Gabes rather stable and audible realisation, except in word-final position. I paid special attention to the development of sibilants in North Africa and argued

that plain /s/ and /z/ are not phonemic in Jewish Gabes, although, as demonstrated, the range of emphaticity of /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ is fairly wide. The following part of the chapter dealt with emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes. The preliminary results of this analysis prove, firstly, that the pharyngealised character of /q/ is weak, and secondly, that the emphatic consonants in the dialect in question have different degrees of spreadability. In terms of the vowel inventory, I have demonstrated that Jewish Gabes has three long phonemic vowels: /ī/, /ā/, and /ū/, and three short phonemic vowels: /a/, /ə/, and /o/, although the phonemic status of /o/ is uncertain, as only one minimal pair has been found where the opposition between short /o/ and /a/ differentiates the meaning. I have pointed out a few possible qualities of /ə/, depending on the consonantal environment. My findings prove that, although the vowel inventory of Jewish Gabes is similar to that of Jewish Tunis, the distribution of /o/ in the former is much more limited. On the other hand, short /a/ does seem to be phonemic in Jewish Gabes, in contrast to Jewish Djerba, where only /ə/ is phonemic. Finally, I have demonstrated that David Cohen's (1975, 64) claim about the tendency towards the preservation of diphthongs among Jewish dialects of Tunisian Arabic is not valid for southern Tunisian dialects, where they tend to be contracted.

Part II, on morphology, has demonstrated that the dialect of Gabes differs in some aspects from one of its typologically closest neighbours, namely the Jewish dialect of Tunis. This is the case, for example, with the gender distinction in 2FS forms of both the suffix and prefix conjugations, which does not exist in

Jewish Tunis. Jewish Gabes, similarly to Jewish Djerba, has preserved this distinction. I have paid special attention to the diachronic evolution of the verbal system, which demonstrates a significant departure from the CA stem system. Moreover, as has been argued, Jewish Gabes has developed an alternative way of expressing the passive, by means of a bipartite construction involving an active verb together with a personal object pronoun. I have explained this development by means of analogy. Chapter 4, on nominal morphology, was primarily focused on thorough presentation of the data. Where possible, I have made remarks on semantic differences between selected nouns in Jewish Gabes and in Jewish Tunis. As has been demonstrated, there exist salient lexical differences between Jewish Gabes and the dialects spoken in the North of Tunisia.

Part III was devoted to the investigation of syntax. It included discussion of a number of syntactic phenomena, which were analysed from cross-linguistic and Semitic perspectives. In the section on definiteness, I pointed to salient differences in the way Moroccan Arabic and Jewish Gabes encode definiteness. Subsequently, I presented a classification of genitive exponents, followed by a description of nominal concord. As I have shown, Jewish Gabes, similarly to other Jewish dialects of the region, demonstrates strict syntactic agreement between constituents of the sentence. This phenomenon, which constitutes another isogloss shared by several Jewish dialects of the region, could potentially be explained by language contact with Israeli Hebrew. Nevertheless, in-depth diachronic research into the development of agreement is needed in order to ascertain whether deflected

agreement has ever been generalised in Judaeo-Arabic. In contradistinction to this, the second-wave dialects (and some first-wave dialects like Muslim Tunis), have deflected agreement when the subject is of low individuation. In my study of subordination, I have considered three types of subordinate clauses: relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and complements. I have argued that relative clauses in Jewish Gabes are of an external, post-nominal type and can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. As in many other modern Arabic dialects, the syntactic behaviour of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes is to a large extent dependent on the definiteness of the head noun. It has been demonstrated that definite nouns attract the relative pronoun and bring about resumption in the relative clause. On the other hand, when the relativised item is indefinite, relativisation tends to be realised by means of coordination or *asyndetically*. The study of adverbial clauses provided a thorough presentation and taxonomy of data. The data analysis involved six semantic groups of adverbial clauses in Jewish Gabes. Special attention was paid to temporal clauses. The analysis of the third type of subordination, i.e., complementation, was primarily concerned with syntactic phenomena caused by the semantics of the matrix predicate. I argued that the meaning of the main predicate conditions, to a large extent, the syntagm of the complement. In addition, a semantic taxonomy of complement-taking predicates was presented. Each class of complements was classified according to tense predetermination. I have argued that Jewish Gabes makes a clear distinction between deontic and epistemic modality. Moreover, I have

shown different ways of expressing obligation in the dialect, involving the particles *lāžəm*, *məłžūm ʕal*, and *yəłžəm* + personal pronoun. §2.0, on expressions of tense and aspect, has demonstrated that the p-stem and s-stem are primarily aspectual, and the temporal dimension is expressed by other constituents of the sentence. I have shown that the active participle in the Jewish dialects encodes the present progressive, while in their Muslim counterparts it functions as a perfect. It has been tentatively suggested that this divergence could point to a North-West Semitic substrate in the Jewish varieties. In the section on word order, I demonstrated that the SVO order differs from T–C, and that these should generally be regarded as two distinct types of sentence with different discourse functions. I have presented two arguments in support of this view, related to the intonation and syntax of these sentences. Finally, in chapter 7, I made a distinction between proximal, distal, and unstressed distal pronouns, simultaneously analysing their discourse functions.

To sum up, as the present volume has demonstrated, Jewish Gabes belongs typologically to the group of first-layer, sedentary dialects, which constitute a minority in the North African dialectal landscape. This is mostly due to an influx of rural and Bedouin populations to Maghrebi cities, which has brought about a merger of the first- and second-layer dialects, resulting in turn in the redefinition of the traditional isoglosses. Part of this volume was devoted to investigation of confessional differences as reflected in the Jewish and Muslim varieties of Arabic. One of the promising pathways of future research would be to extend this

line of investigation to other communities, in order to better understand the nature and the development of Judaeo-Arabic. As I have demonstrated, not only do Jewish dialects differ from their Muslim counterparts on the lexical level, but there exist certain salient grammatical divergences as well. Research combining linguistic inquiry with social history could therefore yield some intriguing results.

APPENDIX
A CORPUS OF SELECTED NARRATIVES
QUOTED IN THE VOLUME

1.0. The Tale of the Beggar and the Loaf of Bread

Speaker: Tzivvia Tobi, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, December 2016

(1) mūši qāllu: āna fqərtu qūm aḡnī, āna qtəltu qūm aḡyī (2) wāḥəd mša yəṭləb ya krīm tāf alḷa (3) wšəl l-əḍ-dār, ḍrəb əb-bāb, yəṭləb ya krīm tāf alḷa (4) ṭalṣat əl-xādma, kān təšbaḥ fi (5) fəmm tāqaṣ wa əl-ṣīn ḥarṛāqa (6) hāk əl-qadḍ l-ṣaḏiḏ, əbtāt (7) nādātha ləllātha (8) qāltəha: ya xliqa ka-yəkšəbha ḥadd (9) u qāllək ḏa yəṭləb (10) ṭalṣat tšūf fi (11) qālətlu: ədxəl! (12) qāltəha: əsmfi, xūdi ṣaḏīn, aṣḏnī, u ṭəyyəbi xabḏa u fi-qalb ṣabbyiḥa b-əlwiḏ mən-dāxəl (13) aṣṭyi əl-xabḏa yəštaḡna biha wa waqt ywəlli ^{HE}ṣašīr^{HE}, nāxdu (14) ṭalṣat əl-xabḏa wa ṣṭātālhu (15) qātlu: əštənnə šwiya, hāk əl-xabḏa yḏəyyəd fiha ṣəḇḇi (16) ṣṭātlu, xūd hād əl-xabḏa u kūlha (17) rṣāḥa ṣaḏbathu hāk əl-xabḏa (18) ṭlaṣ, lqa ḥānūt aḥda (19) qāl: āna ^{HE}ṣanī^{HE} u əl-xəbḏa ḥabb nākəlha, aṣṭini ṣfayyəs xabḏa, wa aṣṭini ḥḏina šmiṣa, u qritiṣ wqiḍ bāš nəṣṣalḥa (20) xḏāha, ṣṭā ṣfəyyəs xabḏa oxra (21) rəwwaḥ biha lə-ḍ-dār, qāl əl-mərtu: hād əl-xabḏa ṣamri ma ṣātha ṣini əl-kbār (22) ḥaṭṭi šəkkina u nqaṣṣūha (23) hūwa qaṣṣ, ṭalṣu hāk əl-ḥəḏin əl-lwiḏ əl-kəll (24) qāṣ l-aḥḏin əmbārəq fi-ṣaḏəb ṣəḇḇi (25) mən ḡadwa wəllālha, qāləha: ya krīm tāf alḷa (26) qāṣ tšūfi škūn ḏa?

(1) Moses said to him: I have made him poor, try to make him rich; I have killed him, try to revive him. (2) A man went to beg for money (3) He arrived at a house, knocked on the door and begged. (4) A handmaid went out and kept looking at him. (5) Her mouth was wide open while she was gazing on him (6) What a precious figure! She was late [going back inside] (7) Her mistress called her (8) She said to her: oh, such a figure as no one has ever seen! (9) And he said to you that he came to beg (10) She came out to see him (11) She said to him: come in! (12) She (the mistress) said to her: listen, take dough, knead it and bake bread, filling it inside with coins (13) Give him this bread so that he becomes rich from it and when he is already rich, we will marry him [to you] (14) The bread came out and she gave it to him (15) She said to him: wait a little bit, God will add to this bread (16) She gave to him saying: take this bread and eat it (17) He took it and he liked the bread (18) He went out and found a shop nearby (19) He said: I am poor and I would like to eat the bread, so give me half of it and give me a (poor, miserable)¹ candle and a box of matches so I can light it (20) He took it and gave him half of another bread (21) He (the owner of the shop) came back home with the bread and said to his wife: this bread, my eye has never seen this grandness (22) Bring a knife and we will cut it! (23) He cut it and all the (poor, miserable) coins came out (24) he (the poor, the miserable) was gazing on this miracle of God (25) the next day he (the beggar) came back to her saying: may God have mercy! (26) Can you see who is coming?!

¹ The word *hažin/hžina* is introduced in folktales to notify the listener that something bad is going to happen to the main character.

(27) qālətlu: hāk əl-xabža li ʔiṯṯhālək ša ʔməlt biha? (28) ya ləlla, nḥabb nākəlhə yāsər ʔliya u kbīra ʔaliya (29) xdīt ʔfayyəš ḥžina šmiša u qriṯiṣ wqiḍ bāš nəṯfašša biha (30) qāltəlhə: aʔmlilu ḥžina oxra (31) qāmət ʔamlətlu wāḥda oxra, xir mən-əl-lūwla (32) qālətlu aqbəl ma ʔṯātālu: ʔəḍḍ bālək ʔliha, ʔəḍḍ bālək tbiḥḥə (33) qālha: mliḥ, u mša l-ḍāru (34) fi-tniya dxəl əl^{HE}ḥanūt^{HE}, wa ʔāwəḍ li ʔməl mḥārah (35) ža f-əš-šbəḥ ya krīm tāʔ alḷa (36) šbik ržəʔt? (37) ya ləlla, kənət hāk əl-xabža kbīra ʔliya, ʔiṯṯha əl^{HE}ḥanūt^{HE} u xdīt ʔfayyəš xabža, u šmiša u qriṯiṣ wqiḍ (38) ʔamlilu ḥžina oxra u dəxəllilu kəmsa lwīž fi-l-ʔžin (39) ʔəḍḍ bālək taʔṯiḥə l-ḥānūt, kūlhə ənti (40) qālha: mliḥ (41) hūwa hbaṯ mən əd-drūž, l-aḥžin, ʔtər, ṯəḥ u māt (42) ṯalʔat ktība fi-l-ḥiṯ: āna qṯəltu qūm aḥyi, āna fḳərtu, qūm aḡni.

(27) The bread that I gave to you, what have you done with it?
(28) O my lady, I wanted to eat it but it was too much for me and it was too big (29) I took half of the bread, (the poor, the miserable) candle, and a small box of matches in order to light it (30) She said to her: make him another bread (literally: make him another misery) (31) She got up to make another, better than the first one (32) She said to him before giving it to him: be careful with it, make sure not to sell it (33) He said to her: fine, and went home (34) On his way he walked in the shop and repeated the same as he did yesterday (35) In the morning he came back to beg (36) What is the matter with you? Why did you come back? (37) O my lady, the bread was too big for me, I gave it to the shop and took half of the bread, a candle, and a small box of matches (38) Make another bread and put a handful of coins inside the dough (39) Make sure not to give it to the shop, eat it by yourself (40) He said to her: fine (41) When he was going down on the stairs, poor man, he stumbled, fell down and died (42) An inscription appeared on the wall saying: I have made him poor, try to make him rich; I have killed him, try to revive him.

2.0. The Sultan and Three Daughters

Speaker: Haya Mazouz, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2019

(1) əş-şəltān, ʕandu tlāt bnāt (2) l-kbīra ʕaʕrha bda aḃyaḃ, u t-tānya bāhya u t-tālta zḡira (3) əz-zḡira kānət fāyqa (4) mšāt l-əş-şūq, f-əş-şūq srāt tlāta bəttīxa (5) hīya mšāt žābət tlāta bəttīxa (6) wāḥda ṭayba, ḥamra, wāḥda xaḃra u wāḥda bāhya (7) wa ḃaʕtəthəm l-əş-şəltān, lə-ḃāḃāha (8) əl-ḃāḃa ṭəllaf tlāta battīxa, mabšūt, bəntu baʕtətlo² battīxa (9) qaşşəm, əl-lūla ḥamra, u t-tānya ṭayba u t-tālta xaḃra, nəyya (10) (əž)ža l-wužir qāllu: əşmaʕ, (ə)tlāta battīxāt li bʕaʕtəthəm bəntək, fihəm ramz (11) qāllu: l-ḥamra, bəntək l-kbīra kaḃrat, l-oxra f-ət-tniya wa ət-tālta zḡira (12) əl-ḃāḃa tḡaşşas, ʕa ʕməl? (13) l-kbīra xdāha řāzəl, xda wəld wžir, wa ət-tānya xdāha řāzəl (14) wa hadik əz-zḡira, qāl, ya kəlba bənt kəlba, qāllhəm: šūfu wāḥəd l-əktər agžān, l-əktər məxnān, l-əktər zāwāli, xūdūla (15) təmma wāḥəd, yəqʕad taḥt ʕəzra tāʕ blāḥ, yḥall fəmmu wa yštənnə ḥatt əl-blāḥ yṭīḥlu fi-fəmmu (16) f-əl-lāxər hūwa yəqʕad əkāk, žāw l-wəžra qāllu: təmma wāḥəd li hūwa ma ṭharrekš, hūwa yštənnə ḥatt yṭīḥlu mākla fi-fəmmu (17) qāllu: hādāk žibu yāxəd əl-bənt (18) žābūla, qərqrū, qāllu: xūdha (19) qāllu: ya šəddi şəltān, āna ma ʕandəş šnūwa nəkəl, wa ənti taʕṭini bəntək? šnūwa naʕməl bīha? fi-şnu nwəkkəlha?

² Occasionally, the preposition *lu* ‘to him’ interchanges with *lo*, presumably due to the parallel form in Modern Hebrew.

(1) The sultan had three daughters (2) The eldest one started having grey hair, the second one was fine and the third one was still small (3) The young one was smart (4) She went to the souk and bought there three melons (5) She went there and brought three melons (6) One ripe, red, one green, and one fine (7) And she sent them to the sultan, her father (8) The father took out the three melons, happy that his daughter had sent him melons (9) He cut them, the first one was red, the second one was ripe and the third one was still green, unripe (10) The minister came and said to him: listen, there is a hint in these three melons that your daughter has sent you (11) He said to him: the red one – your eldest daughter got old, the other one is on her way (to get old) and the third one is still small (12) The father got angry, what did he do? (13) He married the eldest to a man, the son of the minister, he married also the second one (14) And that small one, he said, the daughter of a bitch, he said to them: look for the one that is the laziest, the dirtiest and the poorest and marry her to him (15) There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm, he would open his mouth and he would wait until the date fell into it (16) Finally, when he was sitting like this, the ministers came and said to him (the sultan): there is a man who does not move, he waits for the food to fall down into his mouth (17) He said to him: bring that man to marry the daughter (18) They brought him to her, they said to him: marry (her) (19) He said to him: O your majesty, I have nothing to eat and you will give me your daughter? What will I do with her? How will I feed her?

(20) qāllu: āna ma naʕrəfš šəyy, aʕməlli mʕiya wa xūd əl-bənt, ma nəbbəš nšūf xliqatkəm (21) ommha ʕtātham flūš, ʕtātham əlbāš u mšāw (22) baʕd nhār žāw taht əl-naxla, wa əl-bənt ʕamlət ^{HE}suka^{HE} (23) mšāt l-naxla tāʕ ʕman, qaššət l-ʕrūf, nəʕrəthum u təḍrəblu fi-rəžlih mən lūta hatt əʕ-ʕāzəl bda yətharrək wa dəmmu bda yəʕri fi ^{HE}gūfu^{HE}, yūqəʕ ʕal rəžlih u bda yəmši (24) əl-ḍəʕ qəymu (25) hiya qaʕdət u taʕddāt ^{HE}šayara^{HE}, qāmət žāt l-əl-kbīr tāhham, qātlo: aʕməlli mʕiya, ʕāzli ma ʕandūš xadma, xūdhu maʕkəm, yəxdəm wa yʕāwnək (26) ža li wāqəʕ ʕaləyhəm, qālla: žibi (27) ža, qāлло: tgədd tʕašš fi-l-līl? (28) qāllu: ngədd, li təbb naʕməllək (29) mšāw mšāw mšāw fə-t-tniya ʕaʕsu (30) u qaʕdu u yāklū u yəʕbu u hbəʕ ʕaləyhəm əl-līl (31) wa qāllu: ənti tʕašš ʕal aḥšānāt (32) waqt hūwa ka-yʕašš fi-nəʕš əl-līl, žāt wāhda mʕa, žāt u ləwwəhat hāža, hūwa yəbb yaʕrəf šnūwa ləwwəhat (33) hūwa žra wa xda ʕša u ḍəbha fi-ḍharha u haʕbatlo (34) šəbbāha šbāh rqaʕ wəld məyyət, wəld əš-šəltān (35) l-š-šəltān ʕandu šəbʕa nša (36) kull mʕa li tūləd, tlāt arbʕa ayyām u yāxdu l-wəld yləwwu (37) ma yaʕruʕ škūn yāxdu yəqtlu (38) wāhda tžib u šətta ma yžibuš (39) wāhda fihəm tanğa

(20) He said to him: I do not care, do me a favour and take her, I do not want to see either of you (literally: I do not want to see your figure) (21) Her mother gave them money, gave them clothes and they left (22) One day later they came under a palm tree and the girl constructed a tent (23) She went to the pomegranate tree, cut some branches, bound them and started hitting his feet from beneath until the man started moving and the blood started running in his body, he stood up on his feet and started walking (24) The flogging woke him (25) While she was sitting, a caravan was passing by, she stood up and went to talk to the person in charge (literally: to the one who is standing upon them), she said to him: do me a favour, my husband does not have a job, take him with you, he will work and will help you (26) The person in charge came and said to her: bring him! (27) He came and said to him: will you guard the cattle in the night? (28) He said to him: I will guard, I will do whatever you want (29) They walked, walked, walked and on the way they became thirsty (30) They sat down, ate, drank and the night fell upon them (31) And they said to him: will you guard the horses? (32) While he was guarding at midnight, a woman came, she came and threw something, he wanted to know what she had thrown (33) He ran and took a stick and hit her on the back but she escaped from him (34) Early in the morning they found a dead child, the child of a sultan (35) The sultan has seven women (36) Every woman who gives birth, after three or four days someone would take the child and throw it away (37) They did not know who took it to kill it (38) One gives birth and six others do not (39) One of them was jealous

(40) ža l-š-šəltān, qāllu: ya šəddi šəltān, āna fi-l-lil nfašš u žāt xyāl, xbaṭ ḥaža u mšāt (41) kif xbaṭ āna zrīt wṛā u dṛəbta (42) aš-šəltān bda yxəmməm (43) qāllu: taṣrəf šnu taṣməl? xūd šəbfa nša ntāšk, āna dṛəbtha fi-d-ḏhar ntāhḥa (44) šūf škun ṡandu dṛabb fi-ḏharha (45) škūn yži yāxdu u yləwwḥu? (46) qāllu: ṡandək ḥaqq ya wəldi (47) əṛṛa mən kull ṛqa hādīk əl-mərt wāḥda li ṡanda ḏarba (48) qālla: ya bənt aḥrām, qaššūla ṛāša! (49) šnūwa ^{HE}mitbarer^{HE}? (50) hiya ma tžibš zḡār, l-oxrīn yžibu, az hiya kānət tanḡa (51) humma yūldu wa hiya təqtlu (52) humma žābu zḡār, wa ṡṡāw l-hādāk l-ṡššāš (53) fraḥ əš-šəltān, ža l-hāk əl-wəld, ṡṡālo flūš, lwiž (54) qātlo: ənti mənnaṡtni! (55) əl-mṛa ḥablət, tžib wəld, ma təmmāš škūn yaqtlu (56) humma mšāw yāsər, ət-tnitya ṡwīla u ufāləm əl-ma (57) ša ṡamlu? təmma bīr ḡārəq yāsər wa l-bīr hāda li yədxal fī ymūt, ma yəṡlaṡš (58) ža wāḥad mənhum qāllu: ṡabb tədxəl ənti? (59) qāllu: bāhi, nədxəl (60) bṡaṡu bāš ymūt (61) ya yžib ya ma yžibš (62) xdāw ṛəbtū fi-l-ḥbəl ḡliḏ u daxxlū, hbaṭ lūṡa (63) žāw əž-žnūn qāllu: šnūwa ṡabb hūni? ṡalāš tqallaqna? (64) qāllu: ṡandna ḡləmm, ma ṡandnāš ma

(40) He went to the sultan and said to him: your majesty, at night when I was guarding the livestock, a figure came, it threw something and left (41) When she threw it, I ran behind her and hit her (42) The sultan started thinking (43) He said to him: do you know what you should do? Take your seven women, I have hit the back of a woman (44) Look which of them has the mark of a hit on her back (45) Who was coming to take the child and throw it away? (46) He said to him: you are right, my boy (47) He had a look and found among all of them the woman who has a mark on her back (48) He said to her: O accursed woman! Cut off her head! (49) What happened? (50) She did not give birth, and the others did so she was jealous (51) They would give birth and she would kill (52) They would give birth children and give it to her to look after (53) The sultan was happy, he came to this man, gave him money, coins (54) He said to him: you saved me! (55) The woman was pregnant, gave birth to a son, there is no one to kill him (56) They walked a lot, the way was long, and they ran out of water (57) What did they do? There was a very deep well and whoever goes in dies, does not go out (58) One of them came and asked him: would you like to go in? (59) He said to him: fine, I will go (60) They sent him to death (literally: they sent him so he dies) (61) Either he brings (the water) or he does not (62) They took him and tied him up with a thick rope and put him in the well, he descended (63) The ghosts came and said to him: what do you want here? Why are you disturbing us? (64) He said to him: we have cattle, but we do not have water

(65) qāllu: tuwwa naqtlūk, ma naqtlūkš kān tżibna agžān mən Baǧdād, ža hādāk əžžīn wa mər̥tu ʕaməltlu ^{HE}beayot^{HE} ma kənəts bāhia mər̥tu (66) tǧaššaš ʕaləya, dər̥ba dər̥ba rəddha aḥsān (67) qālla: ma twəlli aḥsān, twəlli žīn, kān yži hādāk əl-agžān mən Baǧdād (68) qāllu: kān tżibli agžān mən Baǧdād naʕtik əl-ma, naʕtik li tḥabb ənti wa mər̥ti təržʕa əžžīna (69) qāllu: āna agžān mən Baǧdād! (70) qāllu: ənti?! (71) qāllu: əy (72) qāllu: kifāš žit? (73) qāllu: žib əl-fərša! (74) hūwa ḥaṭṭ yəddu ʕal əl-fərša wa hiya wəllāt žīn (75) qāllu: ʕandək ḥaqq (76) ʕtālo dhəbb wa ma (77) tlaʕ fišʕa, əl^{HE}šayara^{HE} farḥu wa ʕtāw l-ma l-ǧləmm ntāḥəm u rəwwḥu l-əḍ-ḍār (78) žāt əl-mər̥tu qālətlə: aššnūwa ʕməlt ǧādi, šnūwa qbəlt (79) hūwa ʕtāla dhəbb qālla: ʕamli li tḥabbi (80) qālətlə: žibtli dənnya kulla! (81) hiya žābət xaddāma qwiyy (82) qāltəlləm: tuwwa bniyuli qšaṛ qbal ḍār bābāy, xīr mən tāʕu, u nḥabba šahrīn takməl (83) fišʕa bnāw srāw mūbīlya (84) waqt kull əl-bāba lāhi bi-l-xadma ntāʕu (85) u nhār wāḥəd žāt əš-šəmš, hūwa qʕad fi-l-balkōn u šāf əq-qšaṛ (86) qāl: əšškūn kəlb bna ḍār qbəl u xīr mən ḍāri? (87) ža wżīr qāllu: ya šəddi šəltān, bəntek əz-zǧīra bnāt əq-qšaṛ, li ləwwaḥt mʕa hāda l-agžān

(65) He said to him: We will kill you now, but we will not kill you if you bring us the idle man from Baghdad, a ghost came and his wife was causing him problems, his wife was not good (66) He got angry with her, he hit her, hit her and turned her into a horse (67) He said to her: you will not be a horse and you will turn back into a ghost if the idle man from Baghdad comes here (68) He said to him: if you bring here the idle man from Baghdad, I will give water, I will give you whatever you want and my wife will turn back into a ghost (69) He said to him: I am the idle man from Baghdad! (70) He said to him: you?! (71) He said to him: yes! (72) He said to him: how did you walk? (73) He said to him: bring the mare (74) He put his hand on the mare and she turned into a ghost (75) He said to him: you are right (76) He gave him water and gold (77) He came out quickly, the members of the caravan were happy and gave the cattle water and set off home (78) His wife came and said to him: what did you do down there? What did you receive? (79) He gave her the gold and said to her: do whatever you want (80) She said to him: you have brought me an entire world! (81) She brought strong workers (82) She said to them: now build me a castle in front of my father's house, even better than his, and I want it to be finished within two weeks (83) They built it quickly and bought furniture (84) All this time the father was busy at his work (85) And one day the sun rose, he sat down on the balcony and saw the castle (86) He said: who is this bastard who has built the castle in front of me and even better than mine? (87) A minister came and said to him: your majesty, it is your youngest daughter who has built this castle, the one that you had expelled with the idle man from Baghdad

(88) nādāham, žāt əl-bəntu ža ər-ṛāzəl, qāllu: ya šəddi šəlṭān, āna
 ma žəlt ma ʔarrəštš mʔāha li ma ʔtītikš l-māhar, tuwwa naʔṭik əl-
 māhar wa tuwwa naʔməl əl-ʔarš (89) ʔamlu ʔarš kbīr u žābu
 zḡāru wa qaʔdu fi-qṣar

(88) The father summoned them, the daughter came together with the man, he said to him: I have not married her because I did not give you the mahr, now I will give you the mahr and now we will hold the wedding (89) They held a big wedding and had children and stayed in the castle.

3.0. Two Brothers

Speaker: Haya Mazouz, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2019

(1) žūž axwāt, wāḥad zāwālī u wāḥad məštaḡni (2) hāk əl-zāwālī
 kull nhār xmiš yəmši l-xu yaftī flūš (3) l-məštaḡni ma fandūš
 wlād u l-zāwālī fandū yāsər zḡār (4) l-zāwālī ma fandūš mākla
 yaftī l-zḡāru (5) ma fandūš xadma, ma fandūš ma yākəl (6)
 yəmši l-xu, xu məštaḡni, fandū yāsər flūš, ma fandūš zḡār (7)
 yaftī nqūl ^{HE}méa šékel^{HE} yaḡməl šəbbāt ntāfu (8) baʿd yāmāt l-
 xu l-məštaḡni mša l-blād, šfār (9) u ža l-mərṭu u qālla: xūya kif
 yži aḡtī flūš bāš yaḡməl šəbbāt (10) qātlū: mliḥ (11) hūwa ža,
 qālla: aḡtīni flūš lə-šəbbāt (12) marṛa lūla ʿtāthu, marṛa tānya
 ʿtāthu, marṛa telta qātlū: yalla, əmši l-ṛabḡi yətləb yaḡtik, āna
 mūš ṛabḡi tāfk (13) aḡšəm u mša l-dāru yəbki, qām yəmši, yəmši
 l-ṛabḡi (14) bda yəmši yəmši yəmši (15) šəyyəb dāru u mša (16)
 wṣəl əl-bḡar (17) qāllu əl-bḡar: wən māši ənti? (18) qāllu: āna
 māši l-ṛabḡi yaḡtīni bāš nwəkkəl zḡāri (19) qāllu: yaḡyšək, kif ənti
 māši l-ṛabḡi, aṭlbu ʿalāš āna ma fandīš ḡūt fi-l-bḡar (20) qāllu:
 bāhi u mša (21) qābəl šəzṛa kbīra tāf blāḡ (22) qḡad taḡta (23)
 žāt əl-nəxla qātlū: wən māši? (24) qālla: māši l-ṛabḡi nəṭlbu
 yaḡtīni bāš nwəkkəl wlādi, ma fandīš nwəkkəlḡəm qāfḡin
 məžžʿānīn u mərṭ xūya ḡašmətni

(1) (There were) two brothers, one poor and the other one rich
(2) That poor one goes every Thursday to his brother so he gives him money (3) The rich one does not have children and the poor one has a lot of them (4) The poor one does not have food to feed his children (5) He does not have a job, he does not have anything to eat (6) He goes to his brother, he is rich but he does not have children (7) He gives him, let's say, one hundred shekel so he can have shabbat (8) After some days the rich brother went to another city, he travelled (9) And he came to his wife (before he left) and said to her: if my brother comes, give him money so he can have shabbat (10) She said to him: fine (11) He came and said to her: give me money for shabbat (12) The first time she gave him, the second time she gave him, the third time she said to him: go to God and ask him to give you (money), I am not your God (13) He got embarrassed and came back home crying, then he got up and went, he went to God (14) He set off and walked and walked (15) He left his house and walked away (16) He arrived at the sea (17) The sea said to him: where are you going? (18) He said to him: I am going to God so he gives me something and I feed my children (19) He said to him: please, once you go to God, ask him why I do not have fish in the sea (20) He said to him: fine, and left (21) He encountered a big fruit tree (22) He sat down beneath (23) A palm came and asked him: where are you going? (24) He said to her: I am going to God to ask him to give me (money) so I can feed my children, I have nothing to feed them, they are hungry (literally: they are sitting hungry) and my brother's wife embarrassed me

(25) qatlu: fayšək, kif ənti māši l-ṛaḇḇi, qūllu ʕalāš āna ma ʕandīš blāḥ (26) qālla: bāhi u mša (27) žālu ṛāzəl ʔwīl, məžyān (28) qāllu: wən māši ənti? (29) qāllu: māši l-ṛaḇḇi (30) ʕalāš? (31) qāllu: ma ʕandīš flūš, ma ʕandīš xadma u ma ʕandīš bāš nʕīš (32) qāllu: baṛṛa əmši, ərʒaʕ ʕal ətnītək (33) qāllu: ʕalāš? (34) qāllu: nšīt nqūllək (35) šnūwa, qāllu? (36) qāllu: əl-nəxla qāl ʕalāš ma ʔəllaʕš gəlla (37) qāllu: baṛṛa əmši aḥfər taḥta u tərqa bərma mʕabbya bi-lwīž, baṛṛa əmši l-ḍāṛək (38) hūwa mša wa ḥfər ḥfər ḥfər, u rqa bərma kbīra mʕabbya bi-lwīž, xdāha wa mša l-ḍāṛu (39) mša mən tāli əl-bḥar (40) wšəl əl-ḍār, farḥu bī zḡāru, məṛtu l-kull (41) wən mšīt, wən hrabt, qāʕd yəbkīw (42) qāl: mšīt l-ṛaḇḇi nžībəlkəm bāš tāklu (43) hūwa žāb lwīž wa dhəbb wa yḥabbu yūžnḥu (44) mšāw lə ^{HE}gisā^{HE} yžibu məžān (45) mšāt əl-bənt, qātla: əl-bāḇa yḥabb, aʕṭīni l-məžān tāʕkəm (46) qātla: šnūwa žāblkəm ḇāḇākəm (47) qatla: ma naʕrafš šnūwa žāb bənnā āma ḥabb yūžən, hīya zḡira, ma təfhəməš (48) ʕṭātha əl-məžān u ḥaṭṭət ʕšəl (49) ^{HE}az^{HE} hīya žābət hāk əl-məžān l-omha (50) u qaʕdu yūžnu šnūwa wa kəddāš žāb (51) wəžnu wa tṛəḍḍu əl-məžān (52) əl-məžān kif yži, žāt tšūf əl-^{HE}gisā^{HE}, tərqa ^{HE}yahalom^{HE} ləʕqat fi-l-hāk əl-ʕšəl (53) žāt l-ṛāzəlha qātlo: xūk, mnīn žāb əl ^{HE}yahalomīm^{HE}, əl-flūš?

(25) She said to him: please, once you go to God, ask him why I do not have fruits (26) He said to her: fine, and left (27) A tall and handsome man came to him (28) He said to him: where are you going? (29) He said to him: I am going to God (30) Why? (31) He said to him: I do not have money, I do not have work, I do not have anything for a living (32) He said to him: go back on your way (33) He said to him: why? (34) He said to him: I forgot to ask you (35) What? he said (36) He said: why does the palm not have fruits? (37) He said to him: off you go, dig beneath it and you will find a coffer full of coins, then go home (38) He went and dug and dug and dug and found a huge coffer full of coins, he took it and went home (39) He went behind the sea (40) He arrived at home, his wife and children and everyone rejoiced (41) Where have you gone, where have you disappeared, they were weeping (42) He said: I went to God to bring you (food) so you can eat (43) He has brought coins and gold and they wanted to weigh it (44) They went to the sister-in-law to bring a scale (45) The daughter went and said: the father wants (a scale), give me your scale (46) She said to her: what did you father bring you? (47) She said to her: I do not know what he brought but he wants to weigh it; she is small, she does not understand (48) She gave her the scale and put some honey (49) So she brought the scale to the mother (50) So they started weighing what and how much he had brought (51) They weighed and returned the scale (52) When the scale was back (literally: when the scale came), the sister-in-law went to have a look and she found a diamond stuck on that honey (53) She went to her husband and said to him: where did your brother get diamonds, money?

(54) qālla: xalli, xalli, yfišu zġāru šnūwa tħabbihəm (55) qātlu: la! tuwwa nəmši l-ḏāru u nšūf šnūwa fandu (56) mšāt l-fandum wa rqāt şafbu ḏārhum, labšu bāhi wa klāw bṛima (57) qāllu: mnīn ža hāda? (58) qāllu: mərtək qātli barra əmši l-ṛabbi, mšit l-ṛabbi, ṛabbi fṭāni (59) qāllu: ^{HE}labriut šelxa^{HE} wa mšāw l-ḏārhem (60) žāt l-mərt əṛ-ṛāžəl qātlo: barra əmši l-ṛabbi žib hāda (61) barra əmši əl-xūk wa žib bənnā (62) hūwa yxāf mənha, ža əl-xu qāllu: hažžni wən mšit ənti (63) əl-xu nyāl mšāw əl-bḥar (64) ža əl-bḥar qāllu: šbik ma qətləš fālāš ma təṭlaflīš əl-ḥūt? (65) qāllu: əblaṯ wāḥəd wa ywəllələk əl-ḥūt (66) əl-bḥar blaṯ l-xu (67) qāl əl-mərt xu: fāl xāṭrək hūwa mša, əl-bḥar bəlṯu (68) qaṯdət təbki.

(54) He said to her: leave him in peace, his children will live on it, what do you want from them? (55) She said to him: no! Now we will go to his house and we will see what he has (56) She went there and found out they had fixed the house, they are wearing fine clothes and ate their fill (57) He said to him: where has all this come from? (58) He said to him: your wife told me to go to God, so I went to God and God gave me (59) He said to him: to your health, and they went back home (60) The wife came to the man and said to him: go to God and bring this! (61) Go to your brother and bring us (the same as him) (62) He was afraid of her, he went to his brother and said to him: take me to the place where you have been to (63) The brother was naïve, so they went to the sea (64) He went to the sea and the sea asked him: why didn't you tell me why I do not have fish? (65) He said: swallow a man and you will birth fish (66) The sea swallowed his brother (67) He said to his sister-in-law: because of you he has gone, the sea swallowed him (68) And she wept.

4.0. Beauty of the Moon

Speaker: Haya Mazouz, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2019

(1) tamma šəltān wāhəd (2) aš-šəltān hāda fandu bənt fziža fali
yāsər (3) mərtu mātət, xda mra oxra (4) əl-bənt tətlaḥ barra u
šəmš təzraq (5) mərt būha nəğrat mənna (6) žāt l-šanfa, qatlo:
aḥməlli mžiya, xūd əl-bənt u əmši qtəlha (7) əl-šanfa xdāha l-
gāba āma kādu bāš yəqtəlha, qfad mfaḥa wa xəllha, raqdat (8)
raqdat, xəllha u mša (9) mša l-ḍ-ḍār, qālətlu: winhi? (10) qālla:
qtəltə u ləwwaḥta (11) qātlū: ma tqūlš l-bābāha (12) əl-bāba
šəltān ža: win bənti? (13) qatlu: ma naḥrafš, ṭalṣat ma žātš (14)
fməl būliṣiya, fbād fərksu fi-l-blād əl-kulla, ma rqaḥaš, əl-bənt
rāḥət (15) hiya məškina fāqət, ka-trūḥ fi-l-gāba (16) bdāt təmši
təmši təmši, rqaṭ ḍār, əl-bāb ^{HE}agol^{HE} zḡir, lāžma ttabbaš bāš
tədxəl (17) dəxlət (18) rqaṭ mra fāmya (19) u tərḥa fi-l-qamḥ
(20) hiya daxlət bi-škət, bi-škət bi-škət (21) rqaṭ bīt, əl-bīt fiha
tbən (22) qafḍət tərtāḥ (23) baḥd mərtāḥa hiya žfāna, faṭṣāna,
ṭəlṣat bi-škət (24) ṭəlṣat, dəxlət l-məṭbāx (25) dəxlət, tərqa
šūbīrya kbīra (26) fiha šəbaḥ laḥmāt, šəbaḥ kaftāt wa kəškṣu (27)
xdāt žnayyab u klātu (28) žāw mən xadma əl-wlād, dəxlu u rqaḥ
šūbīrya (29) l-omḥ ḡaltat əl-yūm, ma tšūfəš (30) fāmlət bərq
šətta

(1) There was a sultan (2) This sultan had a daughter who was very dear to him (3) His wife had died and he married another woman (4) The daughter would go out and the sun would shine (5) The step-mother was jealous about her (6) She went to the servant and said to her: do me a favour, take the girl, go and kill her (7) The servant took her to the forest but it was too painful to kill her (literally: it hurt him to kill her), he sat down with her and left her, she fell asleep (8) As she fell asleep, he left her and went away (9) He went back home and she asked him: where is she? (10) He answered: I killed her and threw away (the corpse) (11) She said to him: do not say anything to her father (12) The father sultan came: where is my daughter? (13) She said to him: I do not know, she left and has not come back (14) They called the police, people were looking for her all over the entire city but did not find her, the daughter is gone (15) The poor girl woke up and started walking in the forest (16) She started walking, she walked, and walked, and found a cottage with small and round door, she had to lean down to enter (17) She went in (18) She found a blind woman (19) She was grinding wheat (20) She went in silently (21) She found a room and in the room, there was a straw (22) She sat down to have some rest (23) Afterwards she was hungry and thirsty, she went out silently (24) She went out and went to the kitchen (25) She entered and found a big bowl (26) In the bowl there were seven pieces of meat, seven meatballs and cuscus (27) She took one portion and ate it (28) Boys came back from work, entered and found the bowl (29) The mother made a mistake today, she did not see (30) She made only six (portions)

(31) qəšmu mʕa baʕdhəm, klāw u šətku (32) mən ǧadwa rǧāw^{HE}ota^{HE} ḥkāya, kif kif (33) mən baʕd ǧadwa kif kif (34) qālla: əmma šbik, ʕalāš taʕmli bərq šətta mūs šəbʕa? wāḥda nāqša (35) qātlu: wliḍāti, āna kān naʕmalkəm kif kif, kif dīma (36) fahmu təmma wāḥəd hūni (37) qāllu: škūn li qāʕəd mʕabbi? kān wəld ywəlli xūna u kān bənt twəlli axtna wa kān ʕayša twəlli mʕāna (38) hiya təʕʕat, əḍ-ḍār kulla wəllāt ɖuww (39) qālūla: žin əl-kulla wa ənti mətxabbya? ənti mən əl-yūm twəlli əxtna (40) farḥu biha farḥa kbīra (41) u bdāt tnəḍḍəf əḍ-ḍār, tnaḥḥi l-ʕankbūt u tṭayyəb mʕa ḥmāta wa kull bṛīma (42) əḍ-ḍār kulla tabrəq, wa hiya kulla tabrəq, wa yḥabbūha yāsər, wa əl-ḥāma tṭabbha yāsər, wa hiya ʕāyša fi-l-xīr (43) tʕaddu yāmāt, əl-wəld lə-kbīr^{HE}hexlīt^{HE} yʕarrəš ʕaləya (44) ʕamlu ʕarš (45) baʕd yāmāt, hiya žābət wəld (46) yḥalləwha yāsər (47) ža xarrāž, əl-ḥāma qāltla: barri barri əmši šwiya, əṣṛilik ḥwāyəž (48) ḥənnə, xṛəž, qərfa, šwāk, u qammūn, u bxūr (49) hiya žābətlu ǧarbān, ʕabbəthu bi-l-qamḥ (50) hūwa xda əl-qamḥ wa hiya xdāt ḥwāyəž ntāḥa u dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍār (51) dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍār, taʕməl l-ḥənnə, taʕžən fiha, u əl-bxūr tbaxxar (52) wa hūwa mša mən zəṇqa l-zəṇqa (53) wšəl l-əḍ-ḍār mərt būha (54) hūwa qālla: āna xarrāž, təʕʕat mərt būha

(31) They divided the food between them, ate and did not say anything (32) The next day the same story (33) Also in two days the same (34) He said to her: mother, what is the matter with you? Why are you cooking only six portions and not seven? One is missing (35) She said to him: O my children, I have been cooking for you exactly the same portions, as always (36) They realised that someone was there (37) They said: who is the person who is hiding? If it is a boy, he will be our brother, if it is a girl, she will be our sister, and if it is an animal, it will stay with us (38) She went out and the entire house turned into light (39) They said to her: all this beauty and you are hiding? from now on you will be our sister (40) They rejoiced over her (41) She started cleaning the house, removing spiders, cooking with the mother and everything was fine (42) The entire house was full of shine, she by herself was shining and they loved her a lot and the mother loved her a lot and she was living happily (43) After some days the eldest son decided to marry her (44) A few days later they held the wedding (45) After some time she gave birth to a boy (46) They were spoiling her a lot (47) A merchant came and the mother said to her: go for a bit and buy something for yourself (48) Henna, corals, spices, tooth medicine, cinnamon, and hair conditioner (49) She brought him (in return) a strainer and filled it with wheat (50) He took the wheat, she took her things and went home (51) She entered the house, she made henna, she greased it, and she put the incense on the charcoal (52) And the merchant went from alley to alley (53) He arrived at her step-mother's house (54) He said to her: I am a merchant, and she went out of her home

(55) hīya xdāt ḥwāyēž li ḥabbət (56) u žābətlo kəmša qšūr ṛmān
 (57) qālla: ma žibtīli? žībha wəlla žībət žin əl-gumra! (58) qātlu:
 qūl šna qəlt maṛṛa tānya (59) qālla: žin əl-gumra! (60) qātlu: žin
 əl-gumra fāyša? (61) qālla: fāyša, u farsət u fanda wlād, u fāyša
 fi-xyār əl-xīr (62) qātlu: kifāš?! həžžni! (63) dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍār, žābət
 fəllāya u qumbra (64) qərṣathəm fi ^{HE}nyar^{HE} u ʔalfat mʔam u mšāt
 l-əḍ-ḍār žin əl-gumra (65) qātla: žin əl-gumra? (66) tbawšu, u
 farḥu u yədwīw, farḥat mərṭ būha li žāt (67) qātla: šna³ xdīt mən
 əl-xarrāž? (68) qātla: xdīt ḥənna l-šaʔri (69) qatla: əži, naʔməl
 šaʔrək, naʔməl bxūr (70) ʔallʔat əl-fəllāya wa l-fəllāya fiha šəmm,
 ḥaṭṭətəlha fi-šaʔrha wa hīya mātət, āma hīya ma mātətš (71) xdīt
 əl-wəld, ləbšətlo əl-qumbra wa ^{HE}gam^{HE} hūwa məyyət (72) nādāta
 xmāta: žin əl-gumra, žin əl-gumra, ma wāžbətš, la əl-wəld yəbki,
 la l-mṛa tətəlləm (73) ma fəfətš škūn ža fanda (74) nādāt,
 nādāt, mšāt l-fanda, rqātha məyyta (75) qafḍət təbki (76) ḥatt
 žāw l-wlād mən xadma fi-fašīya (77) qālət: šnūwa nqūlkəm,
 gumra mātət, šmaʔt tədwi wāḥda u baʔd dənya šəktət wa rqītha
 məyyta (78) rqāwha mləwwḥa wa bdāw yəbkiw (79) mūš lāžəm
 nəḍfnūha

³ This is a truncated version of *šnūwa*.

(55) She took the things that she liked (56) She brought him a handful of pomegranate peels (57) He said to her: what did you bring me? It does not compare to what *žin algumra* brought me! (58) She said to him: say again what you just said (59) He said to her: *žin algumra*! (60) She said to him: *žin algumra* is alive? (61) He said to her: she is alive and she got married and she has children and she lives the happiest life (62) She said to him: how come?! (63) She went home and took a comb and a small shirt (64) She wrapped them in paper and went to the house of *žin algumra* (65) She said to her: *žin algumra*? (66) They kissed, rejoiced and chatted, the stepmother was happy that she came (67) She asked her: what did you take from the merchant? (68) She answered: I have taken henna for my hair (69) She said to her: bring it, we will take care of your hair and we will light the incense (70) She took out the comb and the comb had poison on it, she put it on her hair and she died, but she did not die in fact (71) She took the child and put the shirt on him and he died as well (72) The mother would call her, she called her: *žin algumra*, *žin algumra*, but she did not answer, nor did the child cry, nor did the woman talk (73) She did not understand who had come to her (74) She called her and called her, she went to her and found her dead (75) She sat down and wept (76) Until her sons came back from work in the evening (77) What can I say, *žin algumra* is dead, I heard a woman talking and then everything became silent and I found her dead (78) They found her laid on the floor and started crying (79) We cannot bury her

(80) ʕandəm žməll, ɾəbʔūha bi-l-šəndūq, hīya u wəldha, ɬaʔtūha ʕal žməll u qāllu: ašmaʕ, ma tūqaf kān yqūlūlək əžžah žālək (81) mša əž-žməl u ɾa təmma wāhəd, ʕandu šəbʕa nša (82) qʕad mʕam u yədwi mʕam (83) ʔaʕʕatlo kəlma əžžah žālək (84) əž-žməl brəqq u qʕad (85) əɾ-ɾāzəl ʔlaʕ u rqa žməl ʕalī šəndūq kbīr (86) škūn bʕaʔ žməl bi-l-šəndūq? (87) xda əš-šəndūq, ɬallu, u dəxxəlu fi-l-bīt (88) yəqʕad mʕāha, yəbki, yəbki, yəbki (89) šəkkər əl-bīt bi-l-məftāh u ʔlaʕ (90) əl-nāš qāllu: šnu ʕandu fi-l-bīt, bda yəbki, ʔlaʕ ʕaynīn dəmʕīn ɬamrīn (91) hūwa mša əl-xadma wa humma qālu: lāžəm nšūfu šnūwa ʕandu fi-l-bīt (92) ɬallu əl-bīt ʕandum məftāh u rqa əš-šəndūq (93) ɬallu əš-šəndūq u šāfu əl-mɾa, ^{HE}būba^{HE} u dənya kull twəlli ɬuww (94) kifāš ma yəbkiš hāda, humma qaʕdu u yəbkiw (95) wāhda qālət: nəhabb mākla mən yəddəyha (96) oxra məššət fi-šaʕra u žāt yədda fi-fəllāya, ɬaʔtət yəddha fi-fəllāya u hīya fāqət (97) qātla: mən aɬyāni ɾādət fīa əɾ-rūh (98) əl-mɾa ʕarfət šnūwa ʕamlət (99) žāt əl-wəld, nəhḥātlo qumbra (100) əl-wəld bda yəbki (101) žābūla mākla tākəl (102) qāllu: əšmʕu tuwwa, hūwa, kānət mīta hūwa bāš ymūt ʕaləya, kān yži yərqa ʕāyša, mšāt ʕaləyha (103) daxxəlūha fə-š-šəndūq fišʕa (104) u ɬaʔtūha ʕal žməll (105) ʕamlu hāk, xdāwha, ɾəbʔūha fi-l-žməl, ɾəbʔūha bi-l-ɬbəl u ɬaʔtūha fi-l-qāʕda (106) əl-wəld fi-yəddha

(80) They had a camel, they put her in a box, her and her child, they put them on the camel and said to him: listen, you will not stop until someone tells you 'raise your tail' (81) The camel walked and saw a man who had seven women (82) He sat down and chatted with them (83) Someone said by accident 'raise your tail' (84) The camel kneeled and sat down (85) The man came out and found the camel with a big box on it (86) Who has sent a camel with a box? (87) He took the box, opened it and found inside the girl (88) He sat down with her and wept (89) He locked the room and left (90) The women said: what does he have in the house? He had been crying, then left with red eyes full of tears (91) He left to work and they said: we must see what he keeps in his room (92) As they had the key, they opened the room and found the box (93) They opened the box and found the woman, a doll, filling the entire world with her light (94) How would he not cry? They sat down and wept (95) One of them said: I would like to eat from her hands (96) The other one petted her hair and her hand got to the comb, she put her hand on the comb and the woman woke up (97) She said: the one who animates me brought me back my spirit (98) The woman already knew what had been done (99) She went to the child and took off the shirt (100) The child started crying (101) They brought her food (102) They said: listen now, he, when she was dead, was ready to die for her, so now if he comes back and finds her alive, she will be in real trouble (103) They put her back in the box at once (104) And they put her on the camel (105) This is what they did, they took her, they bound her to the camel, they bound her by a rope and they put her seated (106) The child in her hands

(107) u ɾəbʔu əʃ-ʃəndūq u qāllu l-ʒ-ʒməl: barra, həʒʒha l-ɖāra
 (108) əl-ʒməl mša (109) ʃaʃiya, humma, əl-wlād ka-yāklu wa šāfu
 əʒ-ʒməl ʒa (110) rɖāw hiya qāfda wa əl-wəld fi-yədda (111)
 farɖu farɖa kbira (112) dəxlu lə-ɖ-ɖār, qālūla: aḥkina šnūwa ʒāha
 u šnūwa ʃamlət fiha məɾt būya (113) hiya bdāt tfiq šwiya f-əɖ-
 ɖār, bəddlət ḥwayʒātha u ʃawwbat rūḥa u mšāt l-əʃfišāri, sɾit
 šəmm, xdit u mšāt l-məɾt būha (114) aaa ʒin əl-gumra, bāšu
 taʃnəqu (115) ma təʔlaʃiʃ mən hūni kan ma ʔaʔɾi (116) hiya mšāt
 ʔəyyəb wa ʃamlət kəʃkʃu u ḥaʔtəʔla šəmm fi-l-ʒnəbb ntāf bənt
 (117) əl-bənt qāləʔla: ma ʒəbtīš l-ma? (118) waqt l-oṃma kənət
 fi-l-kūʒina əl-bənt ḥaʔtəʔla šəmm wa l-oṃma ma ʃarfəʔš (119)
 qāləʔla: kūl ənti lūla, ənti ɖʃāfa (120) əl-məɾt qāləʔla: la,la, ənti
 kbira (121) l-əkʔira taʃrəf li ma ʃandhaš šəmm wa əz-ʒgira taʃrəf
 li ḥaʔtəʔla (122) l-əkʔira xdāt əmḡārfa lūla, fišʃa mātət (123)
 wəʒra əl-kull ʒāw (124) aš təmma, aš təmma, məɾt bāḥa mātət
 (125) nādāw əʃ-ʃəʔtān mən maḥkma, hūwa ʒa (126) qālla šnu
 təmmāš? kifāš? (127) qātlo: bāḥa taʃrəf šnu ʃamlətli? (128)
 ḥkātlo əl-kull (129) qālla: tuwwa təštāhəl (130) ʃanəqa u bāša,
 fraḥ bāya (131) hiya ʒābət ɾāzəlha u xwātu u oṃmu u šəknu ʃand
 əʃ-ʃəʔtān u ʃayʃu ʃāyša bāhya.

(107) They bound the box and said to the camel: off you go, take her home (108) The camel left (109) In the evening, they, the boys, were eating and saw the camel coming (110) They found her seated with the child in her hands (111) They rejoiced (112) They went home and said to her: tell us what happened to you and what the step-mother did to you (113) She started recovering at home, she changed her clothes, got ready, left and went to the pharmacy, she bought a poisonous substance and went to the step-mother's house (114) O *žīn alǧumra*, they kissed and hugged (115) You will not leave this place until you eat (116) She went to cook, prepared couscous and put poison on the daughter's side (117) The daughter said to her: will you not bring water? (118) While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter put poison [in the mother's food], but the mother did not know that (119) She said to her: you eat first, you are so skinny (120) The daughter answered: no, no, you are older (121) The old one knew she did not have any poison and the young one knew she did give her poison (122) The old one took one spoon and died at once (123) All the neighbours came (124) What is the matter? What is the matter? The stepmother has died (125) They called the sultan from the court, he came (126) He said to her: what is the matter? How? (127) She said to him: father do you know what she did to me? (128) She told him everything (129) He said to her: now you deserve (compensation) (130) He hugged her and kissed her, he rejoiced with her (131) She brought her husband and his brothers, and the mother and they lived all together with sultan happily ever after.

5.0. The Tale of the Old Woman

Speaker: Haya Mazouz, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2019

(1) ^{HE}zūg^{HE} yḥabbu baʿdhəm yāsər, ʿarršu, u ma ʿaʿlūš mən əd-
dār, mən əl-ʿarš šahrīn (2) u bāḇa ʿandu šəlha (3) hāda dīma yzi
yʿāwnu u ybīʿu əš-šəlha (4) u bāḇa yəbʿaʿlō žwābāt: ya wəldi əzi
ʿāwni, taʿddāw šahrīn, taʿddāw tlāta, u ma žitš tʿāwni (5) šahrīn
ma žāš, ma ywāzbūš (6) hiya qāmət ənnhār tənəddəf əd-dār (7)
mərtu ḥallət zaḥbiya u tərqa taḥta žwābāt u qraḥam (8) qātlu:
šbīk bāḇāk yəbʿaʿlək kull mərṛa žwāb, ma tṛəddluš, ma twāzbūš
(9) ʿandu šəlha, šəlha wāqfa, bərṛa əmši ʿāwnu! (10) ʿandək əl-
ḥaqq li šahrīn ma mšitš, nəmšilo (11) lbəš bāhi, u ʿtātlu mākla u
tlaʿ (12) waqfət fi-l-balkūn, fi-š-šəbbīk (13) tʿadda wəld šəltān
(14) hūwa rāha wa tāḥ ʿal ^{HE}moxo^{HE} (15) mša l-əd-dār mṛīd (16)
mša l-wāḥda ʿažūža u qālla: aʿmlili mžiya, əmši u əxtbiha (17)
qātlu: ya wəldi, hiya mʿarrša b-ṛāzəlha, kifāš nəmši naxtəbha
(18) bərṛa əmši, āna naʿtik flūš li tḥabbi (19) l-ʿažūža ma
ʿandhaš flūš, hiya mšāt (20) hiya mšāt, ɸarḇət ʿal bāb qātla: žit
naxtəbək (21) qāltla: ma taḥšmīš? āna mʿarrša b-ṛāzli! (22)
tayyḥatha mən drūž (23) qātla: hiya mʿarrša, ʿanda rāzəlha,
šnūwa naʿməllək (24) qālla: bərṛa rṭāḥi wa nšūfu šnūwa naʿmlu

(1) A couple loved each other a lot, they got married and for two months since the wedding have not left their home (2) And the father has stock [to sell] (3) This man always goes to help him sell the stock (4) And the father sends him letters: my son, come and help me, two, three months have passed and you did not come to help me (5) Two months he did not come, did not answer (6) One day she decided (literally: she stood up) to clean the house (7) The wife lifted the carpet and found beneath the letters and read them (8) She said to him: what is the matter with you? Your father sends every day a letter and you do not get back to him, do not answer (9) He has got stock, the stock is stopped, off you go and help him (10) You are right that I have not gone to him for two months, I will go to him now (11) He dressed up properly, she gave him food and he left (12) She was standing on the balcony in the window (13) The son of the sultan was passing by (14) He saw her and lost his mind (15) He came back home sick (16) He went to an old woman and said to her: please do me a favour, go and ask her for her hand (17) She said to him: my child, she is married to her husband, how will I go to ask her hand for you? (18) Please go, I will give you money, whatever you want (19) As the old woman did not have money, she went (20) She went, knocked on the door and said to her: I came to ask for your hand (21) She said to her: are you not ashamed?! I am married to my husband (22) She pushed her from the stairs (23) She said to him: she is married, she has a man, how can I help? (24) He said to her: take a rest and we will see what we will do

(25) baʃd yāmāt hūwa ʒa wa qālla: baṛra əmši ma taʃməllək ʔatta
 šəyy wa aṭəlbī mənna (26) mšāt, qālla: maṛra oxra ʒīti, šnu tḥabbi
 ʃandi? (27) qātla: šəmfi, əṭləbi ḥwāyʒ ʃʃāb, yšəyyəbni u yšəyybək
 (28) qātla: šnūwa nqūllu? (29) qātla: qūlilu yaʃməlli dāmūš,
 nəṭṭʃa mən dāri bāš ma yšūfni ḥadd u nʒi l-ʃandu (30) u yaʃməlli
 qṣarṛ: ʃaʒnāthu ḥənnə u ḥzārthu dhəbb, u ʒābya bi-l-ḥūt u waṛḍ
 u moḃilya bāya, zṛābi (31) wəʃlət, qātlu: šnūwa nqūllək, ʃandi
 bšāra bāhya: tḥəbb qṣar u ʃaʒna ḥənnə, nwār u waṛḍ u ʒābya bi-
 l-ḥūt (32) qālla: bṛīma, bāhi (33) l-ʃaʒūʒa hablət, ḥāʒa ʃāyba wa
 hūwa qāl bāhi? hiya ʃtaʃʒbət, ma amnəts (34) mšāt l-mṛa qātla:
 hūwa ṛḍa (35) qātla: ṛḍa? ṛḍa (36) tʃadda waqt wa hūwa ʒa l-
 ʃaʒūʒa qālla: qūllila kull šəyy ḥāḍar (37) hiya ʃtaʃʒbət, ḥabbət
 tšūf kifāš ʃamlūha (38) dəxlət l-dāmūš wa hūwa mṛiḍ (39) qālla:
 əzri, əzri, dawwīni, bnītlək əqqṣar bla mənha, ḥzārthu dhəbb wa
 ʃaʒnāthu ḥənnə (40) hiya habtət dərʒa tālya u qālətlo: yəšhdu
 ʃaliya ənʒūm u šma li āna ʒītək, kən štənnītni tqīqa wa āna
 dawwītək (41) hiya wəʃlət wa hūwa mīt (42) ḥaṭtətlo bi-l-ʃəndūq
 u ʃabbāthu bi-l-məllḥ u kull yūm tḥall əṣ-ʃəndūq wa təkki (43) u
 tətṭʃa əl-fūq, l-ḥməta u tqūlla: šbīk dʃāfīti, šbīk mūš ka-tākli,
 aššbīk təkkiy

(25) After some days he came again and said to her: please go and ask for her hand, she will not do anything to you (26) She went and the woman said to her: you came again? What do you want from me? (27) She said to her: listen, ask impossible things, he will leave you and me in peace (28) She said to her: what am I supposed to tell him? (29) Tell him: tell him to make a channel, I will leave my home (through the channel) so no one can see me and I will go to him (30) And he will build me a castle, its mortar of henna and its bricks of gold, and a pool with fish and roses and nice furniture, carpets (31) She came back and said to him: what can I say, I have good news: she wants a castle with mortar of henna, flowers and roses and a pool of fish (32) He said to her: excellent (33) The old woman lost her mind, such a difficult thing and he said yes? She was shocked, and did not believe it (34) She went to the woman and said to her: he agreed (35) She said to her: agreed? Agreed (36) After some time he went to the old woman and said to her: tell her that everything is ready (37) She was surprised, and went down to see how he did that (38) She entered the channel and found him ill (39) He said to her: come and cure me, I have built you a castle without regrets, its bricks of gold and its mortar henna (40) She went down long stairs and said to him: my witnesses the moon, the stars and the sky that I have come, if you had waited for me one minute more, I would have cured you (41) She arrived and he died (42) She put him in a coffin and filled it with salt and she would open the coffin every day and cry (43) And she would go upstairs and her step-mother would say: how come you have become so slim, you are not eating, why are you crying?

(44) əl-ḥāma qālətla: wīn mšiti, wīn mšiti, ʕalāš ʕinik ḥamrīn?
 (45) ma twāžbāš (46) kull yūm ḥiya tǧīb, təbki, u tzi ʕīna nəfxīn
 (47) əṛ-ṛāzəl ža, hūwa bāš šəlha u ʕāwən ɸu (48) ^{HE}od^{HE} shār,
^{HE}od^{HE} šahrīn kif kif, ḥiya təmši, təbki u tətlaʕ (49) žāt omḡu u
 qātlu: šūf, āna ma naʕrafš šnūwa ʕandha, tǧīb šāʕa šāʕtīn u tzi
 (50) əṛ-ṛāzəl tǧaššas u qāl: yalla, həžžu ʕaləya mən hunni! (51)
 ḥiya mšāt l-ǧādi, ʕandha l-mākla, ʕanda kull šəyy, qaʕdət (52)
 dəxlət l-hāk əd-ḏār qaʕdət təbki ʕal əṛ-ṛāzəl (53) fi-l-lāxər ḥiya
 qālət: xālaš! (54) ləbšət ḥwāyž taʕ ṛāzəl, u taʕrəf ṛāzəlha qāʕəd
 fi-l-qahwa (55) ʕaməlt rūḥa ṛāzəl, tšəṛəb qāḥwa, tšəṛəb te (56) u
 tšəḥbat mʕā (57) nhār wāḥəd qātlu: əži l-ḏāri (58) ža mʕāha (59)
 əhbəl ʕal əd-ḏār (60) byūt, dhəbb, mobīlya mūš kif tāʕ kull, zṛābi
 (61) wa hūwa ɸa žābya mʕa ḥūtāt (62) qālla: aʕtīni žūž ḥūtāt (63)
 qālətlu: šūf, naʕtīk žūž ḥūtāt, naʕtīk arbaʕ, əš-šāṛt tziḇli omḡək
 təṛqəd mʕāya (64) qālla: ḥāḏar (65) hūwa tlaḇ žūž ḥūtāt wa ḥiya
 ʕtātlu arbaʕ (66) žābətlo ştal, ḥatṭətlu arbaʕ, ḥatṭətlo l-ma (67)
 u ža l-omḡu wa qālla: bəṛṛa əmši mʕāya l-šāḥbi (68) omḡu žāt
 mʕāu u šāfət əd-ḏār ḇrīma, mūš kif tāʕ l-ʕbād (69) qaʕdət l-omḡ,
 şarbu qahwa (70) əbn ʕməl laʕba u hrab (71) qātla: wīnhu wəldi?
 (72) kifāš mša u xallāni? xallāni mʕa ṛāzəl? (73) l-omḡ tǧaššat u
 tnəfrž

(44) Her stepmother said to her: where did you go? Where did you go? Why are your eyes red? (45) She would not respond (46) Every day she would disappear, cry and come back with swollen eyes (47) The husband came back, he sold the stock and helped his father (48) Another month, another two months, the same, she would go, cry and leave (49) His mother came and said: look, I do not know what is wrong with her, she disappears for one hour or two and comes back (50) The man got angry and said to her: take her from here! (51) She goes there, she has there food, she has there everything, she sits down (52) She goes into that house, sits down and cries over the man (53) Finally she said: enough! (54) She got dressed as a man and noticed that her husband is sitting in the café (55) She dressed up as a man, having coffee, having tea (56) And she made friends with him (57) One day she said to him: come to my home (58) He went with her (59) He lost his mind with the house (60) Rooms, gold, furniture, carpets (61) And he saw a pool with fish (62) He said to her: give me two fish (63) She said to him: look, I will give you two fish, I will give you even four, on condition that you bring your mother so I can sleep with her (64) He said to her: settled (65) He asked her for two fish and she gave him four (66) She brought him a bucket and put some water [in it] (67) And he went to his mother and said to her: come with me to my friend (68) His mother came with him and saw a marvellous house, not like one of ordinary people (69) The mother sat down, they had some coffee (70) The son played a trick and escaped (71) She said: where is my son? (72) How come he left leaving me with a man? (73) The mother got upset and nervous

(74) qāləṭla: ma txāfiṣ, āna mūš řāzəl, āna mřa (75) kifāš?! (76) qātla: šṭənni šwiya u tšūfi (77) hiya dəxlət l-ḏ-ḏāř wa ləbšət ḥwāyəž ntāḥḥa (78) qatla: šnūwa ənti ^{HE}kəllā^{HE} ntřāy? (79) qātla: ēy (80) qatla: šūfi, wəldək bāř oṃṃu řal žūž ḥūtāt (81) əl-bənt ḥkātla əl-aḥkāya ntāḥḥa řal řažūža li žātha, šnūwa li řřāla (82) qāləṭla ḥwāyəž řřāb wa hūwa řaməlhəm, kifāš ma nəmši nšūf (83) āna ma wšəlt hūwa māt (84) xdit fi-qalbi, řaxxafni, qřadt nəbki (85) qāləṭla: wəldək řal žūž ḥūtāt xalla oṃṃu (86) mən řadwa əř-řāzəl ža bāš yāxəd oṃṃu (87) hiya qātlo: xallitni mřa řāzəl?! ma taḥšəməš?! (88) āma řandək məžžāl, hiya məřtək, hūwa fraḥ wa řayšu fi-l-xīr.

(74) She said to her: fear not, I am not a man, I am a woman (75) How come?! (76) She said to her: wait a minute and you will see (77) She went to her room and put on her regular clothes (78) She said to her: how come? Are you my daughter-in-law? (79) She said to her: yes (80) She said to her: look, your son sold his mother for two fish (81) The daughter told her the story about the old woman who came to her and what happened to her (82) She said to her: (I had asked) hard things and he did them, how I would not go and see them? (83) I barely arrived and he died (84) I took it to my heart, I felt pity, I would sit and cry (85) She said to her: your son for two fish left his mother (86) The next day the man came to pick up his mother (87) She said to him: did you leave me with a man?! Are you not ashamed?! (88) But you are lucky, she is your wife, he rejoiced and they lived happily.

6.0. Zafṣrāna

Speaker: Haya Mazouz, age: 76

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2019

(1) təmma wāḥəd ʃəltān wa ʃandu wəld (2) l-wəld hāda, kull mərṛa yāxəd əmṛa, bənt, žəmaʃ yəqʃad mʃā u yšəyyəbha (3) kənət wāḥda mṛa, kənət ʃandha bənt wa əl-bənt ʃažīža ʃaliya yāsər, šəmmātha zafṣrāna (4) oṃṃha thəžža l-škūla u tžibha mən škūla (5) zafṣrāna ya bənti, tnādha (6) wəld əʃ-ʃəltān hūwa šmaʃ zafṣrāna (7) mša tlabha mən oṃṃa wa ʃarrəš mʃā (8) qʃad mʃā žəmaʃ u šəyyəbha l-oṃṃha, yaḷla (9) u kull mərṛa yāxəd bənt u yləwwḥa (10) zafṣrāna, waqt hūwa xdāha, ʃtāla bəžawonk (11) ʃtāla wa qālla: kən tžibi bənt, ḥaṭṭiha fi-drāʃ, u kən tžibi wəld, ḥaṭṭilo fi-fxādu (12) hiya žābət wəld, ḥaṭṭətlo bəžawonk ʃal fxəddu (13) əl-wəld kbar wa yəmši l-škūla (14) təmma wāḥəd, yḥabb yəmši l-ḥažž wa ʃandu bənt (15) hūwa mša l-məḍḍəḇ wa ʃtāw ʃəndūq mʃa l-ḥwāyž ntāʃu (16) mša l-ʃandu, qāllu: āna māši l-ḥažž, naʃtik bənti ʃəḍḍ bālək ʃaləya, u naʃtik əʃ-ʃəndūq (17) kif nži nqūllək (18) qāllu: bāhi (19) hādāk mša l-ḥažž u l-āxər xda əl-bənt (20) qālla: ʃarrši mʃāya! (21) ma ḥabbətš wa hūwa ʃakkərha fi-l-ḥiṭ (22) əṛ-ṛāzəl rzaʃ wa qāllu: aʃṭini bənti wa aʃṭini əʃ-ʃəndūq (23) qāllu: la naʃrfək, u la žitni, u la šəftək (24) hūwa bda yəbki, aʃṭini bərq əl-bənt, qāllu: ma ʃandiš (25) wa hāk əl-bənt yaʃtīla xabž u žitūn u yəxalliya fi-l-ḥiṭ (26) u yqūlla: ʃarrši mʃāya, wa tqūllu: ma, wa hūwa yqaʃʃadha (27) kull yūm kif kif

(1) There is a sultan and he has a son (2) This son, each time he takes a woman, girl, he spends with her one week and leaves her (3) There was a woman and she had a daughter who was very dear to her, her name was Ẓafrāna (4) The mother would walk her to school and back (5) Ẓafrāna, my daughter, she would call her (6) The son of the sultan heard Ẓafrāna (7) He went to the mother to ask for her hand and he married her (8) He spent one week with her and left her with the mother (9) And each time he would take a girl and leave her (10) When he got engaged to Ẓafrāna, he gave her a bracelet (11) He gave it to her and said to her: if you give birth to a girl, put this bracelet on her arm, and if you give birth to a son, put it on his shin (12) So she gave birth to a son and put the bracelet on his shin (13) The son grew up and went to school (14) There was a man, he wanted to go to Mecca and he had a daughter (15) He went to a trustee and gave him a box with his belongings (16) He went to him and said to him: I am going to Mecca, please pay attention to my daughter and I am giving you the box (17) When I get back I will tell you (18) He said to him: fine (19) He went to Mecca and the other took the girl (20) He said to her: marry me! (21) She did not want to and he locked her in a wall (22) He came back and said to him: give me my daughter and the box back (23) He answered: I do not know you, you have never come to me and I have never seen you! (24) He started crying, give me just my daughter, and he replied: I do not have her (25) And he would give to the daughter bread and olives and leave her in the wall (26) And he would tell her: marry me, and when she replied: no, he would make her stay (in the wall) (27) Every day the same

(28) əl-bāḅa mša l-ḥākəm (29) qāllu: ʔandək šhūd? (30) qāllu: la
 (31) qāllu: kifāš taʔti əṣ-ṣəndūq u bəntək bla šhūd? (32) qāllu:
 ma ʔraftṣ (33) ma nnəžmu naʔmlu šəy, ma ʔanduš šhūd (34) əṣ-
 šībāni, kādu yāsər ʔal bəntu, yāxəd ʔbar, məllāha bi-l-ma, ḥaṭṭu
 ʔala kətfu wa yaʔti l-zgār fi-škūla yəṣṣəbu l-ma (35) u qāllhəm:
 ʔal ktāfha ʔawīša bnīti, bəntu šma ʔawīša (36) ža əl-wəld
 zaʔfrāna (37) hādāk əl-wəld fāyq, ʔandu ʔqəl bāhi (38) əl-mīstru
 ma žāš (39) qāllu: āna šəltān, nəmši wa nṭallaʔ hāk əṣ-ṣəzəl (40)
 bāḅa əl-wəld, əṣ-ṣəltān mša wžīru yaʔmlu dūra fi-l-blād wa šāfu
 wəld zgār wa qālləm: āna naḥkəm! (41) əl-mīstru ža wa qāllum:
 yaḷla, ədxlu l-bīt (42) əṣ-ṣəltān qāl l-wəld: əži l-hūni (43) qāllu:
 šnūwa ṭabb ʔandi? (44) qāllu: qūlli kifāš taḥqəm bāš ṭṭəllṣa
 haqq ntaʔ ṣəzəl (45) qāllu: ma nqūllək kən ma taʔtini ət-tāž (46)
 wəld zgār yaḥkəm ʔalīna f-ət-tāž (47) qālla: bāhi (48) xūdu,
 dəxxəlu l-ḥammām, ʔawwmu, bədllūlu wa ḥaṭṭu ət-tažž (49) fi-l-
 ḥammām rqaḅ fi-fxəddu əl-bəžawonk (50) qallūlo: ya šəddi
 šəltān, hāda wəldu (51) ḥaṭṭlu tažž u qāllu: qūlli šnūwa əl-əḥkūm
 ntāʔk, šnūwa naʔmlu tuwwa? (52) qāllu: šūf, nəḥabb miya ʔaškri,
 nəbʔaṭəm u yfərkšu əḍ-dār kulla rəkna rəkna (53) baʔtu əl-ʔāškər,
 dəxlu wa fərkšu rəkna rəkna (54) wa yəšməʔu bənt: aa... aa...

(28) The father went to the judge (29) He said to him: do you have witnesses? (30) He replied: no (31) He said: how did you give your daughter and the box without witnesses? (32) He said: I do not know (33) We cannot do anything, he does not have witnesses (34) The old man felt pity for her, he took a jug, filled it with water, put it on his shoulders and shared out the water for children in the school (35) And he would say: on the shoulders of my daughter řawīřa, his daughter's name is řawīřa (36) The son of řřafrāna came (37) That boy was smart, he had a great mind (38) The teacher did not come (39) He said: I am the sultan and I will restore justice for this man (40) The father of the boy, the sultan, was going around the city with his ministers and they saw a little boy saying: I will rule! (41) The teacher came and said to them: go into the classroom (42) The sultan said to the boy: come here! (43) He asked: what do you want? (44) He said: tell me how you will rule in order to restore justice for this man (45) He replied: I will not tell you unless you give me the crown (46) A little boy with the crown will rule over us? (47) He said: fine (48) They took him, put him in the hammam, washed him, changed his clothes and put on his head the crown (49) In the hammam they found on his shin the bracelet (50) They said to him: your majesty, this is your son (51) They put the crown on his head and said to him: come and say what is your ruling, what are we going to do now? (52) He said: look, I need a hundred soldiers, we will send them and they will search the house corner by corner (53) They sent the soldiers, the soldiers entered and searched corner by corner (54) And they heard a girl: aa... aa...

(55) l-ḥāl ntāḥḥa šāyəb yāsər (56) qāllu: aḥṭini nḥall əl-bāb (57) ḥallu əl-bāb wa rḡāw bənt, ḥiya ḍṣīfa, bəš-šif tətkəlləm (58) xdāwha fišša l-šḃīṭāl, ʿawwmūha, nəḍḍfūha, ʿtāwūla tākəl (59) wa šəddu əṛ-rāzəl, qāllu: kəddāb, xḍīt əl-bənt xabbitha hūni (60) ḥaṭṭūhu fi-l-ḥabš, qāllu: žīb əš-šəndūq ntāʿu (61) fišša ʿtālo əš-šəndūq (62) wa farḥu bi-l-bənt (63) əl-bənt kabrat, ʿarrəš ʿaləya əl-wəld šəṭṭān (64) līlətha li ʿarrəš, yaḥləm wāḥad dəṛbu kəff (65) hūwa qām f-əš-šbāḥ, qāl: nāxəd kəff fi-l-blād ntāʿy? (66) ḥrab mən-əl-blād u šfār l-blād oxra (67) l-mṛa qāmət, wīn əl-ʿrīš, wīnhu? (68) ma təmmāuš, ma naʿrəfš wīn mša (69) hūwa mša, hbaṭ fi-blād, la ʿandu ḍār, la ʿandu flūš, la ʿandu ḥaṭṭa šəy (70) u ža ʿaməl gīṭūn u qṣad fiḥu u yəxdəm mīstru wa yʿalləm zḡār (71) yākəl wa yʿiš f-āk əl-gīṭūn (72) təmma ḡādi šəṭṭān, bəntu bāš tʿarrəš (73) ʿarḍu əl-mīstru, qāllu: əži əl-ʿarš ntāʿna, bənti bāš tʿarrəš (74) hūwa lābəš ḥwāyəž dəṛblīn (75) kullhəm qāʿdīn fi-l-əbdu wa hūwa qāʿəd fi-l-lāxər (76) ʿamlu l-ʿarəš mākla u šṛāb u kull (77) fi-l-lāxər ža rāzəl bəntu, nšību, mən wāḥad l-wāḥad yqūllu: šnūwa ḥabb taḥṭi rīḡālu? (78) wa hūwa yqayyəd fi-žmām (79) wāḥəd yqūl mīya, wāḥad yqūl mīytīn, wāḥad yqūl tlāta, arbaʿ

(55) Her situation was severe (56) They said to him: let me open the door (57) They opened the door and saw a girl, she was skinny and barely spoke (58) They took her immediately to the hospital, they took care of her, washed her (59) And they caught the man, they said to him: liar! You took the girl and hid her in here (60) They took him to the prison and said to him: bring his box (61) He gave him the box at once (62) And they rejoiced over the girl (63) The girl grew up and the sultan's son married her (64) On the night of the wedding he had a dream that someone hit him with the palm of a hand (65) He woke up in the morning and said: how will someone hit me with a palm in my own city? (66) He fled from the town and travelled to another city (67) The woman woke up, where is the groom? Where is he? (68) He is not here, I do not know where he has gone (69) He went away, he escaped the city, he does not have accommodation, he does not have money (70) He made a tent and lived inside and he was working as a teacher and he was teaching children (71) He would eat and live in this tent (72) There was there a sultan and his daughter was about to get married (73) They invited the teacher, they said to him: come to our wedding, my daughter is getting married (74) He wears shabby clothes (75) Everyone was sitting together and he sat at the end (of the table) (76) They have set out the wedding-feast, food, beverages, everything (77) At the end the sultan's son-in-law was going from one person to another asking: what would you like to give as a gift? (78) And he would register in his notebook (79) Someone said one hundred (cattle), someone else two hundred, three, four

(80) ḥatta wəʃlu l-hāda l-zāwāli (81) šnūwa taʃti ənti? (82) naʃti miyat nāga, hūwa ršəm, miyat ʃlāləš, hūwa ršəm, ʃašra aḥšanāt (83) ʃalāš mūš tqayyəd, tqayyəd! (84) yqayyəd, fi-l-lāxər hādāk ər-rāzəl tgaššəʃ ʃtāw wāḥəd kəff (85) qāllu: əršəm əl-yədd li ʃtāti (ə)l-kəff ʃatqašš (86) lāžəm tqayyədha u qayyədha (87) ufa əl-ʃarš u mša l-blādu (88) əl-bāḇa fraḥ li əl-wəld ža, qāllu: nḥabb miya ḥāža u miya hāda u miya hāda wa əl-bāḇa ʃtālo (89) hūwa rkab ʃal aḥšan kbīr (90) hūwa wšəl l-ḥlāša u krā (91) u ža l-š-šəltān qāllu: āna wəld šəltān šmaʃt li yaʃməl ʃarš tāʃ bəntək u ma ʃraḏtš ʃaləya, āna nḥabb tuwwa (92) ʃaməl əl-ʃarš mən ždīd (93) hūwa akbar mənhu (94) qāllu: bāhi (95) qāllu: aʃraḏ ʃal əl-ʃbād l-kull li kānu (96) qāllu: bāhi (97) ʃamlu əl-ʃarš ntāʃu kif kif (98) əl-ʃərš əntāʃu fārəg (99) qāllu: škūn hūni qāʃəd? (100) qāllu: wāḥəd zāwāli, šəṛmaṭ (101) qāllu: āna nəqʃad fi (102) qāllu: la, mūš mən qadrək (103) qāllu: la, āna nəqʃad fi (104) ʃamlu ʃarš mən ždīd kif maṛra lūla (105) wəʃlu l-il-rīgālu (106) bdāw yqayydu ḥatta wəʃlu əl-hūwa (107) qāllu: šnūwa taʃti ənti? (108) qāllu: miyāt nāga (109) dxəllu miya (110) miyāt ʃayza, dxəllu miya (111) kāməl ^{HE}rešima^{HE} šnūwa məktūb lūta hādi? (112) məktūb: li ʃta kəff tətqəšš yəddu (113) qāllu: āna li kən hūni, tuwwa qəššu yəddu.

(80) Finally they came to that poor man (81) What will you give? (82) I will give one hundred female camels, he logged, one hundred lambs, he logged, and ten horses (83) Why are you not registering? Register! (84) He registered and at the end, the man got nervous and hit him with a palm (85) Write: the hand that hit me will be cut (86) We have to log it and they logged it (87) The wedding was over and he went back to his city (88) The father was glad that the son came back, he said to him: I want one hundred of this and one hundred of that and the father gave him (89) He rode on a big horse (90) He arrived at a place and rented it (for the animals that he brought) (91) And he went to the sultan and said to him: I am a son of the sultan and I have heard that you held a wedding for your daughter and you did not invite me, I would like now (to attend) (92) They held the wedding again (93) He is more powerful than him (94) He said: fine (95) He said to him: invite all the people that attended the last wedding (96) He said: fine (97) They organised the chairs in exactly the same way (98) His chair was empty (99) They said: who was sitting here? (100) They answered: a poor, shabby man (101) He said to them: I will sit there (102) They said: no, it is beneath your honour (103) He answered: no, I will sit down here (104) They made the wedding like the first time (105) They came to the gifts (106) They started registering until they came to that man (107) They asked: what will you give? (108) He said to him: a hundred female camels (109) They brought them (110) A hundred goats, they brought them (111) He finished the list, what is written beneath? (112) It says: the person who hit with a palm will have his hand cut (113) He said to him: I am the one who was sitting here, now cut his hand.

7.0. The Sultan and the Daughter of a Peasant

Speaker: Lea Maymon, age 81

Place and time of recording: Israel, March 2022

(1) hādi əl-xarrāfa tāf nānti ummi žəyma (2) qālət: təmma wāhda
 bnīya yšəmmyūha maqšūfāt šəbʿat šnīn (3) hādīk əl-maqšūfāt
 šəbʿat šnīn, nhār bābāha tʿadda u lqā əš-šəltān (4) qāllu: šnūwa
 hālək wa šnūwa hāda (5) qāllu: naḥəmdu rəbbi, la bāš ʿalīna (6)
 qāllu: nəḥəb nəšdək nəšda (7) aaa! əš-šəltān tʿadda, lqā yəzraʿ
 fi-l-bəšəl (8) hūwa qāllu: əl-bəšəl hāda, tāklu wəlla yāklək? (9)
 qāllu: əšmaʿ, tlāta ayyām fi-yəddək tʿībli əl-xbār (10) kən la bʿaḍ
 yəqtlu (11) ḥžīn mša l-əḍ-ḍār, yəndəb ʿal rāšu, əl-ʿamla mšūma
 li ʿaməltha u yəbki (12) žāt bəntu hādi mšəmmya maqšūfāt šəbʿa
 šnīn (13) ḥkāha bābāha, qātlu: bāba ma txāfš, nhār tālət əl-yūm
 āna nqūllək šnūwa twāžbu l-əš-šəltān (14) nhār tālət əl-yūm,
 qālətlə: barra qūllu l-š-šəltān: kən ʿašt, nāklu u kən mīt klāni (15)
 mša l-əš-šəltān, qāllu: aka aka, wuka wuka (16) āma nəḥəbək
 tqūlli: šnūwa yqūl, əš-šəžwa, kif ḥatṭūha ʿal əl-nār, šnūwa yqūl,
 kif yṭəyyəbu əl-qahwa b-əšəžwa, šnūwa yqūl? (17) uuu, qālla, əl-
 ʿamla mšūma ʿaməltha tuwwa (18) qātlu: bāba ma txāfš (19)
 nhār tālət əl-yūm, qātlu barra qūllu: āna qahwa wa li yəšrəbni
 šāhwa wa li yəʿfalləm biya təmknu daʿwa (20) əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE} šārlu
 ʿažəb hādi ḥāža əl-ʿbəd (21) qāllu: tuwwa nəḥəbək tqūlli əz-
 zraʿa (22) kif yṭallīfu şṭall mən bīr, šnūwa tqūl? (23) qāl: kifāš
 naʿməl tuwwa, mša l-bəntu yəbki (24) qatlu: bāba ma txāfš

(1) This story is from my grandmother, *ummi žayma* (2) There was a girl, whom people used to call a 'seven-year-old rascal' (3) This seven-year-old rascal, one day her father was passing and the sultan met him (4) He asked him how are you and so on (5) He said: thank God everything is all right (6) He said to him: I would like to ask you a question (7) Oh! when the sultan was passing by, he found him planting onion (8) He asked him: this onion, you will eat it or it will eat you? (9) He said: listen, you have three days to bring me the answer (10) If not, they would kill him (11) The poor man went home weeping over his head: what a mistake I made (by planting the onion) (12) His daughter came, the one that is called a 'seven-year-old rascal' (13) The father told her (what happened), she said: do not be afraid, father, in three days I will tell you what to answer to the sultan (14) On the third day she said to him: go and tell him 'if I am alive, I will eat it, and if I am dead, it means it ate me' (15) He went to the sultan, he told him this and that (16) But I want you to tell me now: what they would say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on the fire, what does it say? When people prepare coffee in a kettle, what does it say? (17) Oh! he said, what a mistake I made now! (18) She (the daughter) said: father, do not be afraid (19) Three days later, she said to him: go and tell him 'I am coffee, and those who drink me enjoy, and those who get used to me, I become their curse' (20) The king was amazed by this man (21) He said: now I want you to tell me, a water well (22) When people take out a bucket from a well, what does it say? (23) He said: what will I do now? He went to his daughter (24) She said: father, do not be afraid

(25) nhār tālēt əl-yūm, qālētlo: qūl l-š-šulṭān: āna lūh u rīḥti tfūh
u laḥmi mazrūh (26) qāllu: əḥwāyēž hādu, škūn qāfəd yfaššərlək
fihəm? (27) qāllu: nəbbək tuwwa taʿməlli həkka (28) ʿryān u
lābəš, yəbki u yəḏḥak, u rākəb u yəmši ʿal rəžli (29) aḥžin xāf
(30) mša l-bəntu qatlu: bāba ma txāfš (31) nhār tālēt əl-yūm,
qātlu: žibli bhīm (32) bhīm zgīrūn qālētlo, qšir (33) ḥaṭṭəthu ʿal
əl-bhīm (34) rākəb ʿal əl-bhīm u rəžli fi-lūṭa (35) u naḥḥātlu
ḥwāyēž u ləbšətlu tila (36) ət-tila fiha nqāb, wa hādāk ʿryān u
lābəš (37) u yəbki wa hādi xdāt rāš əl-bšəl u ḥakkətlo ʿal žbinu
(38) ʿadmu habṭin ʿalī, ḥāltu ḥlila u rūḥu ṭalʿat (39) u yəḏḥak
məyyət mən əḏ-ḏḥak (40) mša l-^{HE}mélex^{HE}, l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} qāllu:
tuwwa nəbbək tqūlli škūn hādi li qāf tfaššərlək fi-l-ḥwāyēž hādu
l-kulla (41) qāllu: ya šəddi ^{HE}mélex^{HE}, hādi bənti (42) qāllu:
bəntek hādi āna nəbb nāxədha (43) ža l-^{HE}mélex^{HE}, xda tlāta
šənnaf ntāfu (44) qāl: əmlāw qoffa bi-l-ḥwāyēž bāhīn l-kull, u
ffāḥ u šabūn u həžžu l-ʿārūša (45) wəšlu l-ḏār tāf ər-rāzəl, ḏarbu
ʿal əl-bāb (46) wa hiya qālēt: ʿaqli fi-ḥazri, ma nnžəmš nqūm
tuwwa (47) rūḥu l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} (48) qāllu: hādi l-mra ənta tāxəd?
hiya mahbūla, qālēt ʿaqla fi-ḥzarha (49) qāl: əntūm mahbūlīn,
ʿaqla fi-ḥzarha hādīk txallāš fi-šarha u šarha wāšəl ḥatta rəžlīn,
kān tqūm txabbər, aržfu l-gādi (50) ražfu, ṭəblu ʿal əl-bāb

(25) Three days later, she said: you will tell him 'I am wood, my smell is pleasant and my body hurts' (26) He said to him: who explains all these things to you? (27) He said: now I want you to do for me this (28) Naked and dressed, cries and laughs, rides and walks on feet (29) The poor man got scared (30) He went to his daughter and she said to him: father, do not be afraid (31) Three days later she said to him: bring me a donkey (32) A small one, she said, a short one (33) She put him on the donkey (34) He rides the donkey with his legs on the floor (35) And she undressed him and put on him a piece of fabric (36) In the fabric there were holes, so he was both dressed and naked (37) And she took an onion and rubbed it on his forehead (38) Tears started dripping from his eyes, his situation was awful and he almost died (39) And he was crying, almost dying of laughter (40) He went to the king, the king said to him: now I want you to tell me who this person is, who explains all those things to you (41) He said: your majesty, it is my daughter (42) He said to him: this daughter, I would like to marry her (43) The king came and took his three servants (44) He said to them: fill up a basket with the best clothes, perfumes and soap and go to the bride (45) They arrived at the man's house and knocked at the door (46) And she said: my mind is on my knees, I cannot stand up now (47) Go to the king (48) They said to him: are you going to marry this woman? She is insane, she said that her mind is on her knees (49) He said to them: you are insane, her mind was on her knees because she was finishing [combing] her hair and her hair reaches her legs, when she stands up she will let you know, go back there! (50) They came back and knocked on the door

(51) qāltəlhəm: ھاڨتۇ ržəlkəm ƿal əl-bənnāy u yədd ƿal nəzzār u yədd ƿal əl-ḥaddād (52) mšāw l-^{HE}mélex^H, qāllu: šnūwa əl-ḥwāyəž hādu? (53) xaltətna moxxna l-mṛa hādi (54) qālləm: ھاڨتۇ ržəlkəm ƿal ƿaṭṭa u yədd ƿal əl-bāb u yədd bi-l-ḥalka u təḍərbu bi-l-ḥdīd (55) daxlu, farḥat bihəm u šāfət əl-qoffa (56) qāltəlhəm: šəlmə l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} bərša bərša bərša (57) āma qūlūlu, nāqšīn fi-š-šma tlāta kwākəb u fi-l-bḥar tlāta mrākəb (58) rəwwḥu u qālu: ya ƿrūša, ya ƿažīža, u qāblətna u farḥat bīna (59) eee, qāl, ya šəddi ^{HE}mélex^{HE}! qāltənnā nāqšīn fi-š-šma tlāta kwākəb u fi-l-bḥar tlāta mrākəb (60) wa qāləlhəm l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} hakka: šnūwa xnəbtu mən l-qoffa? (61) ^{HE}bemét^{HE} xənbu tlāta mən kull ḥāža (62) hūwa yḥabb yƿarrəš ƿaləya u bdāw əl-ƿarš (63) qālla: əšmfi, ƿandi mƿāk šəṛṭ wāḥad (64) ən-nhār li nāxdək ma tədwīyəš mƿa əl-nāš (65) ƿarršu, nhār əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE} tƿadda, māši ƿal əl-bḥar, yərqa, kifāš? (66) ža wāḥəd əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE} yəškīlu (67) qāllu šnūwa, qāllu: ya šəddi ^{HE}mélex^{HE}, āna ƿandi farša u bəyyətha fi-l-fəndūq u wəldət bƿīr, təmma farša tžīb aḥmīr? (68) qāllu: xallīli nətfakkər (69) əl-ƿbəd hāda kān mḥayyər (70) hūwa ka-yəmši fə-šəṭṭ əl-bḥar mḥayrān, wa hīya qafḍət fi-l-balkūn šāfəthu yəmši (71) qatlu: šbīk? (72) qālla: b-ṛāšək ya mṛa, xallīni (73) qaltlu: lāžəm taḥkīli

(51) She said to them: put your legs on the bricklayer, one hand on the carpenter and the other hand on the blacksmith (52) They went to the king and said to him: what are those things? (53) This woman has messed with our heads! (54) He said to them: [it means] put your legs on the doorstep, one hand on the door and the other on the lock and knock (55) They went in, she received them with happiness and saw the basket (56) She said to them: give my best regards to the king (57) But tell him: there are three stars missing in the sky and three ships in the sea (58) They went back and said to him: what a dear bride and how she received us! (59) Oh! your majesty, but she said that there are three stars missing in the sky and three ships missing in the sea (60) And the king said to them: what had you stolen from the basket? (61) Indeed, they had stolen three items from each kind (62) He wanted to get married to her so they started the wedding (63) He said to her: listen, I have one condition with you (64) From the day we get married you will not talk to people (65) They got married and one day the king was passing by, walking on the beach and found what? (66) A man came to the king to complain to him (67) He said to him: what happened? He said to him: your majesty, I have a thoroughbred mare and I spent a night with her in an inn and she gave birth to an interbred foal, how come a thoroughbred mare delivers a donkey?! (68) He said to him: let me think about it (69) The man was worried (70) While he was walking worried on the beach, she sat down on the balcony and saw him walking (71) She said to him: what is wrong with you? (72) He said to her: let it go, O woman, leave me in peace (73) She said to him: you have to tell me

(74) qāllu: ʕandi fərša u žābət bʕīr u l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} qāl twaḥmət ʕal bʕīr u hādāk hūwa li žāb (75) qālətlu: ġadwa əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE} fi-šəttə tāʕ šbāḥ lāžəm yətməšša ʕal šətt əl-bḥar (76) ənta ġadwa fi-šbāḥ xūd šʕīr u əbda aġəršu fi-ġəzza tāʕ əl-bḥar (77) tʕadda, l-^{HE}mélex^{HE} qāllu: ya mahbūl, təzraʕ l-šʕīr fi-šətt əl-bḥar? (78) qāllu: mana təmma fərša tziḇ l-bʕīr (79) ʕraf əl-^{HE}mélex^{HE}, qāl: hāda ^{HE}rak^{HE} mərṭi, ma təmmāš ḥāža oxra (80) ža l-ḍār qālla: əšmʕi, tuwwa āna ^{HE}mélex^{HE} u ma nḥabbūš fdḥāya (81) lila fi-llil xūdi li ʕažiž ʕalik wa trūḥi l-bāḇāk (82) āna ḥkəmt ʕalik u ənti ma wqəftiṣ fi-kəlmək (83) qālətlu: əlli taḥkəm yšīr (84) fi-llil ḥaṭṭətlu ḥəns, raqdatu rāqda ḥrīma, xdāt əl-frāš ntāʕu, žābət əl-xaddāma ntāḥa u ḥawwlatu l-ḥūš ḇāḇāha (85) qām f-əš-šbāḥ u lqa l-qaṭṭūša tmaʕwi u l-ġāḡa tgərgər u hāda qāllu: šnūwa hāda? wən šbaḥt? šnūwa naʕməl hūni? (86) qāltlu: mūš ənti š-šərt ʕaliya? (87) qālla: šərt ʕalik? šnūwa? (88) qālətlu: ḥāža ʕažiža ʕaliya (89) l-ḥāža əlli ʕažiža ʕalik xūdiha u əmši (90) qātlu: ənti ʕažiž ʕaliya u xditək (91) qālla: āna, yžiwni fi-nhār u fi-lil nəṭšāwər mʕāk u l-maḥkma tšār bərk mən ġadwa, baʕd ma nəṭšāwar mʕāk.

(74) He said to her: I have a mare and she gave birth to a donkey and the king told me that she craved a crossbred horse and this is what happened (75) She said to him: tomorrow at seven in the morning the king is supposed to take a stroll on the beach (76) You tomorrow morning take barley and start sowing it in the sand (77) The king was passing by and said to him: are you insane? How come are you sowing barely in the sand? (78) He said to him: and how come the mare delivers a donkey? (79) The king understood and said: only my wife [could have staged that], there is nobody else (80) He went home and said to her: I am a king now and I do not want gaffs (81) Late in the night, take whatever is valuable to you and go back to your father (82) I gave a condition and you did not keep your promise (83) Whatever you decide, will happen (84) At night she gave him sleeping drugs, she put him to sleep, took his bed, brought his servants and moved him to her father's premises (85) He woke up in the morning and found a cat meowing and a hen crowing and he said: what is that? Where did I wake up? What am I doing here? (86) She said to him: aren't you my condition? (87) He said to her: your condition? How? (88) She said to him: a thing that is valuable for me (89) The thing that is valuable for you, take it and leave (90) You are valuable for me so I took you (91) He said to her: they will come to me in the daytime and at night I will consult with you and the court will only happen the day after, after I consult with you.

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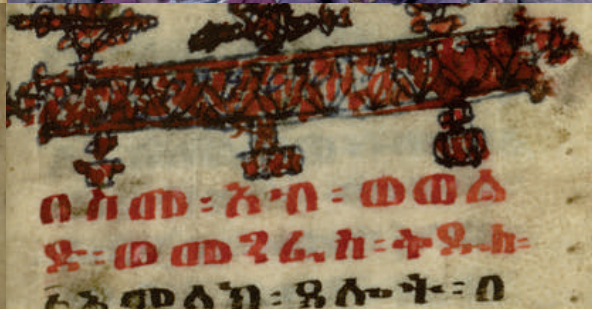
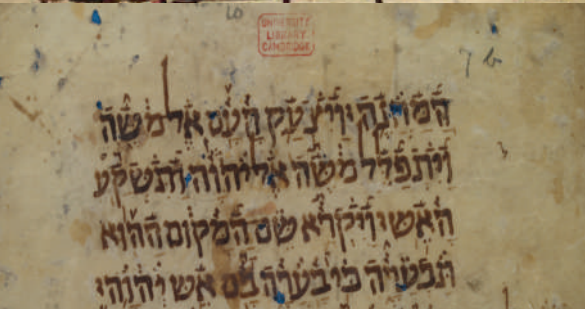
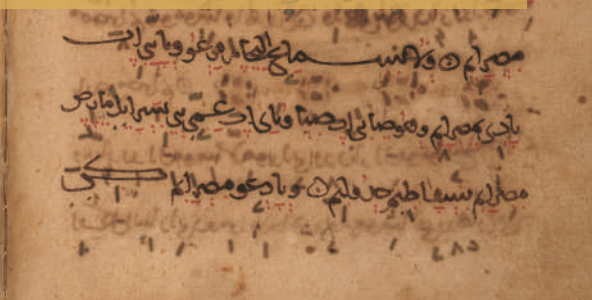
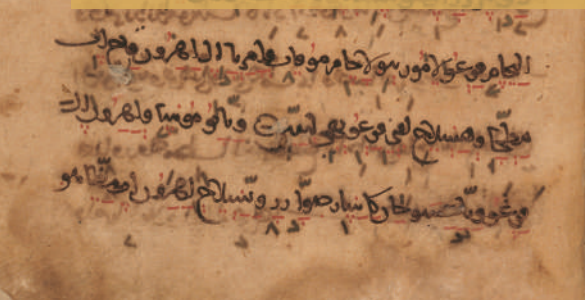
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Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures

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A Grammar of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes

Wiktor Gębski

This volume undertakes a linguistic exploration of the endangered Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Gabes, a coastal city situated in Southern Tunisia. Belonging to the category of sedentary North African dialects, this variety is now spoken by a dwindling number of native speakers, primarily in Israel and France.

Given the imminent extinction faced by many modern varieties of Judaeo-Arabic, including Jewish Gabes, the study's primary goal is to document and describe its linguistic nuances while reliable speakers are still accessible. Data for this comprehensive study were collected during fieldwork in Israel and France between December 2018 and March 2022.

The volume's primary objective is a meticulous comparative analysis of Jewish Gabes, with a special emphasis on syntax, aiming to discern unique linguistic features through comparison with other North African dialects. The results of the study suggest that the Jewish dialect of Gabes emerged in the first wave of the Arab conquest of the Maghreb, thus exhibiting features that set it apart from its Muslim counterpart. This old variety therefore has the potential to provide invaluable information on the formation of Maghrebi Arabic and the mechanisms of language contact in the pre-Islamic Maghreb.

The volume is organised in three main sections: phonology, morphology, and syntax, with the syntax section adopting historical and typological perspectives to shed light on this linguistic terra incognita.

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