The Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes (Southern Tunisia): Phonology, Morphology, Syntax

Wiktor Gębski

HOMERTON

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. The dissertation does not exceed the word limit of 80,000 as set by the Degree Committee for the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The thesis presents a linguistic study of the Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Gabes (Southern Tunisia). This variety 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 Judeo-Arabic, and indeed many other Jewish languages, Jewish Gabes faces imminent extinction. This thesis, therefore, aims at the documentation and the description of its major features while there are still good speakers alive.

The data for this study have been 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, as well as a corpus of transcribed tales and memoires.

The thesis attempts 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 of 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 the thesis is thus a detailed comparative analysis of Jewish Gabes with particular focus on syntax.

The thesis comprises three main sections: phonology, morphology, and syntax. The first two sections follow a traditional grammatical model. Syntax has been

approached from the historical and typological point of view. In order to ascertain if certain linguistic features are unique to Jewish Gabes, a comparison with other North-African dialects has been applied throughout the thesis.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

SG	singular
PL	plural
F	feminine
M	masculine
PL	plural
NA	not attested
P-stem	prefix stem
S-stem	suffix stem
C	consonant
V	vowel
S, V, O	subject, verb, object
Classical Arabic	CA
Old Arabic	OA

Symbols

<	derives from
>	results in
*	ungrammatical or unattested form
[]	non-phonemic sounds, IPA transcription
//	phonemic sounds
HE HE	Hebrew

1 Introduction

1.1. Historical background of the Jewish community of Gabes

Gabes, alongside Tunis and Djerba, was one of the centres of Jewish life in Tunisia. It is hard to establish when exactly the Jews first came to Gabes, since sources about the beginning of the Jewish settlement in this city are rather obscure. As pointed out by scholars, the Jewish community in Gabes started to prosper after the Muslim conquest in 670 (Saadoun 2006:11) and increased the number of its members after 1492 when many Jews were forced to leave Spain. 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 members 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 the 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).

1.2. Linguistic features of Jewish Gabes

The Jewish dialect of Gabes can be categorised as a sedentary Maghrebi Arabic dialect and as many other Jewish dialects, it differs in certain ways from Muslim dialects. The linguistic features of this dialect have their origin in the first wave of the Arab settlement in this region (7th – 10th century), which subsequently was followed by an extensive invasion of the tribes of Banū Sulaym and Banū Hilāl. The later event brought about a shift from the sedentary rural dialects to dialects of the Bedouin type (Palva 2011).

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 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 languages of their parents and grandparents and hence nowadays the only native speakers of Jewish Arabic dialects are people born in the 1930s and 1950s, i.e., those who grew up in an Arabic-speaking environment and whose first language is Arabic. It is estimated therefore that all Jewish Arabic vernacular will disappear within a generation.

From the typological point of view, the dialect of Gabes shares many features with dialects of Libya, Algeria, and naturally other Tunisian dialects. In this thesis, therefore, the Jewish Gabes dialect will be compared with Muslim and Jewish dialects of Tunis, the Bedouin dialect of the region of Douz, the Muslim dialect of Sūsa, the Jewish dialects of Tripoli and Algiers, as well as other dialects of the region of the central Maghreb, which have received linguistic description. The data for the Jewish dialect of Wadi Souf (El-Oued) in Eastern Algeria have been collected by the author and are also analysed in the dissertation. Occasionally, some references are made to Moroccan Arabic, which, however, due to its distinct character, is beyond the comparative scope of this study. Finally, Classical Arabic serves as comparative material while discussing the historical development of selected forms in Jewish Gabes.

1.3. 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 characterized by a relative lack of linguistic studies. Due to the vast distances and geographic isolation of many communities, previous research has been mainly focused on large coastal cities, e.g., Algiers (Cohen 1912), Djidjelli (Marçais (1959), Tunis (Muslim Tunis: Singer 1984, Jewish Tunis: Cohen 1975), Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005), Benghazi (Benkato 2014), Oran (Guerrero 2015). In recent years there have also been some detailed studies of the Bedouin varieties, mostly of Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011, 2014). It is worth noting, however, that the aforementioned works deal primarily with phonology and morphology.

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 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, as well as 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 spoken in the Maghreb has been almost completely neglected in scholarship. Additionally, due to the age of speakers, the modern varieties of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic face imminent extinction. Admirable efforts to

document and preserve those dialects, and indeed many other Jewish languages, were 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 has to distinguish therefore which forms and structures constitute the original layer of the language, and which have emerged under the influence of Israeli Hebrew.

1.4. Aims of the study

The present thesis aims at addressing some of the challenges outlined in the section above. Firstly, one of its major aims is a comprehensive linguistic study of Jewish Gabes in 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 verbal syntax. Of a special interest have been notions of language contact and substrate. Finally, a significant part of the thesis is devoted to the study of syntax in a typological, as well as a Semitic perspective.

Nevertheless, some of the initial goals of this research could not be achieved due to the COVID pandemic. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain data from Muslim Gabes, which, had I been able to, would no doubt have shed new light on Jewish Gabes and help me understand the links that exist between the language and the

society. Hopefully in the future I will have an occasion to study closer the communal differences between the Jewish and the Muslim dialects of Gabes.

1.5. Methodology and transcription

The data utilized in this thesis were obtained during several stints of fieldwork undertaken in Israel and in France between December 2018 and March 2022. The total number of native speakers of Jewish Gabes participating 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.

Gender	Age	Location
F	83	Ramle, Israel
F	76	Rehovot, Israel
F	80	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, attached to this thesis, represents the traditional oral culture of the informants, primarily folktales. For practical reasons, some texts 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 thesis comes from the corpus, its location is indicated by two numbers: the first marks the number of the text, while 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 corpus, entail personal memoirs, dialogues, and narratives about day-to-day life in Gabes. The division for 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 in their Arabic. Those speakers were not included in the study due to the high level of contamination of Arabic. 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 dissertation draws from several methods present in works on North-African Arabic. I have decided to transcribe the data in the simplest way possible in order to make the study more accessible. Nevertheless, all crucial linguistic features are represented. Thus, in contradistinction to the minimalist approach applied by Yoda in the study of Jewish Tripoli (2005), I mark the long vowels by macron. The final vowels are presumed to be long by default and therefore they are not marked. Preverbal particles, the definite article, and prepositions *lǝ-* 'to' and *fi-* 'in' are followed by a hyphen. The prepositions which in Classical Arabic are not attached to the noun are written separately.

The table below demonstrates the transcription of CA sounds used in the dissertation:

Classical Arabic	Transcription
أ	ʾ
ب	b
ج	j

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

Due to the word-limit the examples quoted in the thesis could not be glossed.

1.6. Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of three main sections: phonology, morphology, and syntax. The first two sections follow a traditional grammatical model. Syntax has been approached from the historical and typological point of view. Phonology is broadly divided in two subsections: analysis of the sounds inventory, and phonotaxis, which includes description of the syllable structure and the epenthesis patterns. The chapter on morphology consists of verbal, nominal, and pronominal morphology. Finally, the

chapter on syntax includes a number of subsections devoted to various syntactic phenomena: definiteness, genitive constructions, nominal concord, subordination, expressions of tense and aspect, the syntax and pronouns, and sentence typology.

In order to ascertain if certain linguistic features are unique to Jewish Gabes, a comparison with other North-African dialects has been applied throughout the thesis. The analytical part is followed by an appendix containing a corpus of the texts quoted in the thesis.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a phonological analysis of the Arabic dialect of the Jews of Gabes, combining a comparative examination of various phonological phenomena in selected Arabic and Berber dialects of the region. The primary aim of the study is to establish the features distinguishing Jewish Gabes from other Jewish North-African dialects, and, since no south-Tunisian Jewish dialect has been studied to date,[1] to produce a thorough analysis of the sound system of this variety. Special attention is paid to the interchanges between sibilants in the region, which were tentatively explained by language contact with Berber. Moreover, this survey constitutes the first attempt at acoustic analysis of the emphatics and vowels in North-African Arabic. Based on the data obtained by means of the software Praat, it has been shown that the emphatic consonants in Jewish Gabes have different levels of spreadability.

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 not surprising therefore 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, Al-Tairi 2017 for Egyptian, Palestinian, Saudi, and Yemeni), in North Africa still remains *terra incognita*. 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

---

[1] Some remarks on the phonology and morphology of the Jewish dialect of Djerba have been mentioned in Behnstedt 1998.

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.

2.2. Overview of the constants

As Table 1 below shows, the consonantal system of Jewish Gabes is considerably different from that of 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 is observed in many Maghrebi dialects (Cohen 1912:19). In addition, similarly to other Jewish dialects of the North African group, the interdentals and the emphatic interdentals are completely non-existent in Jewish Gabes. On the other hand, a series of new emphatic consonants have emerged: [ṃ], [ṇ], [ḷ][2], /ḅ/ 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 Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:75) and Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:35) has almost completely disappeared. Contrary to this, in Gabes both of these sounds are stable, although, as will be argued, the realization of /q/ is not uniform. In the following section I describe selected consonants, which are characteristic of Jewish Gabes, or whose realization differs from CA and the neighbouring dialects.

Table 1: Consonant inventory

---

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

	Labials	Dental / Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stops							
Unvoiced	[p]	t		k	q		
Voiced	b	d		g			
Emphatic	ḅ	ḍ ṭ					
Affricates							
Unvoiced							
Voiced							
Fricatives							
Unvoiced	f	s	š	x		ḥ	h
Voiced		z	ž	ġ		ʿ	
Emphatic		ṣ [ẓ]					
Nasal							
Plain	m	n					
Emphatic	[ṃ]	[ṅ]					
Lateral							
Plain		l					
Emphatic		[ḷ]					
Rhotic							
Trill			r				
Emphatic			ṛ				
Approximant	w	y					

2.3. Remarks on realization of consonants

2.3.1. Bilabials

/b/ - /ḅ/

CA ب is preserved as a plosive bilabial voiced consonant. Its realization can change depending on the position in a word. When /b/ is the beginning of a word and is followed by an unvoiced consonant, it turns into a devoiced allophone [p], e.g., *pḥaṛ* [bħəṛ] 'sea'. When, however, the same sequence is preceded by a vowel, /b/ has its

regular plosive realization, *yəbkə́yu* 'they were crying'. On the other hand, in word-final position, especially in monosyllabic words containing a short vowel, /b/ tends to be lengthened by prolonged mouth closure, e.g., *ḥabb* 'he wanted'. In these cases, the air stream pressing on the mouth very often gives an impression that /b/ is emphatic, since emphasis consists of pharyngealization and labialization.[3]

/b/ tends to occur in words of foreign origin and corresponds to /p/ and /v/, e.g., *brī́ma* 'well' (ital. prima), *babū́r* 'boat' (ital. *vapore*).[4]

/b/ has an emphatic counterpart /ḅ/ which occurs either as an independent phoneme, or as a result of emphasis spread in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant. The following minimal pairs prove the phonemic character of /ḅ/: *bā́ba* 'her door' - *ḅā́ḅa* 'father', *ṛə́bbi* 'rabbi' - *ṛə́ḅḅi* 'God'. However, in words like *yə́ṭlaḅ* 'he asks', /ḅ/ results from rightward extension of the emphasis rooted in originally emphatic /ṭ/. In most cases /ḅ/ 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., *ḍṛə́ḅ*ʰ*ha* 'he hit her'. A similar phenomenon is attested in Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912:57).[5] One of the possible explanations of this 'semi-vocalic complement', as Cohen refers to it, is related to the realization 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 lips. Therefore, when /ḅ/ is followed by a vowel, a short /u/

---

[3] Gemination of a consonant in the end of a word is also attested in Jewish Algiers, cf. Cohen (1912:66).

[4] In Jewish Tripoli Italian /v/ and /p/ shifted into /ḅ/, i.e., *ḅaḅuṛ* (Yoda 2005:318), while in Jewish Algiers into /p/, i.e., *papōr* (Cohen 1912:58).

[5] 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 spirantization.

sound is produced before the speech organs change their position in order to form a vowel, since rounding is required for the realization of an emphatic consonant.

Similarly to /b/, /ḅ/ undergoes the same process of devoicing when followed by a voiceless plosive or fricative and shifts to emphatic /ṗ/, e.g. *ṗṭən* [ḅṭəǹ] 'belly'. From the etymological point of view, the /ḅ/ phoneme occurs in many loans from other languages and essentially corresponds to two consonants /p/ and /b/, e.g., *ḅlā́ṣa* 'place, building' (ital. palazzo), *ḅiḅā́ṣ* 'Christian priest' (gr. *papás* > turk. *papaz*).

/m/ - [ṃ]

/m/ occurs in two realizations, i.e., a plain one, nasal bilabial, and an emphatic one, which is not a phoneme. The emphasization of /m/ is similar to that of /b/. Similarly to Jewish Tripoli, [ṃ] becomes labialised when followed by /əy/ or /i/, e.g., *ə́ṃṃʷi* 'my mother' (Yoda 2005:27). In addition, in some words the initial /m/, which should normally be followed by /w/, shifts to geminated [ṃ], whereby /w/ is fully assimilated. This phenomenon, fully attested in Jewish Tunis, in Gabes is partially operational and therefore one can find forms with /w/ retained alongside those with geminated [ṃ], e.g., *mwā́kəl - ṃṃā́kəl* 'food' (Cohen 1975:18).

2.3.2. Labiodentals

/f/

ف in Jewish Gabes is realized as a labiodental voiceless fricative /f/. It has its emphatic counterpart *f̣,* which occurs at the beginning of a word, e.g., *f̣f̣əm* 'mouth'. As in the case of geminated [ṃ], it is a result of the shift from /fw/. Interestingly, this shift is also attested in the Bedouin dialect of the region of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:51).

2.3.3. Dentals

/t/

The /t/ sound in Jewish Gabes represents two CA consonants, namely, ت and ث. The postdental realization of the latter CA interdental fricative ث can be found in words like: *tlā́ta* 'three', *təlž* 'snow', or *tūm* 'garlic'. Contrary to this, Muslim dialects do distinguish between them; both Muslim Tunis (Cohen 1975:19) and Muslim Algiers (Cohen 1912:21) have preserved the interdental /t̠/. In addition, in Jewish Gabes /t/ is also the result of the devoicing of /d/, e.g., *tqī́qa* 'minute' (< *daqīqa*)[6]. Similarly, /t/ reflects in some cases a historical CA /d̠/, that has undergone devoicing, e.g., *d̠akar > tkər* 'maculine'.

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. In the Jewish dialects, being mostly of the urban, pre-Hilālī type, one observes a strong tendency towards the plosive realization of /t̠/ and /d̠/. To the best of my knowledge, among the Jewish varieties of the central Maghreb, only speakers from El-Oued (Al-Wadi) preserve the interdentals.[7]

/ṭ/

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 plead guilty', *šəṭṭ* 'coast'-

---

[6] In the present chapter the ' < ' sign represents correspondence to an item in CA and does not bear meaning of direct descendance of the dialectal forms from CA.

[7] Observation based on the recordings of some native speakers from the community of El-Oued (Al-Wadi) available on the website of the Mother Tongue Project, link to the website: https://www.lashon.org/1/taxonomy/term/269.

šədd 'he seized', *ṭār* 'he flew' - *ḍār* 'house'. The origin of this consonant in Jewish Gabes is more complex. It reflects CA ط e.g., *ḥaṭṭ* (< CA *ḥaṭṭa*) 'he put', as well as ظ in words like *ṭfəṛ* (< CA *ḍufur*) 'nail'. In addition, in some numerals, due to emphasis spread, /t/ shifts to /ṭ/, e.g., *ṭləṭṭáš* (< CA *ṯalāṯat ʿášar*) 'thirteen'.

/d/

In Jewish Gabes both CA dental د and interdental ذ have the reflex of the same consonant /d/, e.g., *rədd* (< CA *radda*) 'he replied', *dhəbb* (< CA *ḏahab*) 'gold'. It tends to be geminated at the end of the word by strong pressure of the tongue on the front teeth, i.e., *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., **tžī > džī* 'you come'.

/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* 'became narrow 3MS' - *dāq* 'he tasted'. In word initial position, it tends to be slightly aspirated, particularly when followed by a vowel or by /h/, i.e., *ḍʰəṛṛ* 'back'. 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 in *ḍṛəb* 'he hit' (< CA *ḍaraba*), interdental emphatic ظ in *ṅḍəf* 'he cleaned' (< CA *naðˤafa*), plosive /d/ in: *ẓḍəm* 'he attacked' (< CA *ṣadama*), as well as emphatic /ṭ/ in *ẓḍaḍ* 'he hunted' (< CA *ʾiṣṭāda*). In addition, emphatic /d/ represents some foreign elements, e.g., *ṣəḍḍuṛ* 'prayer book' from Hebrew סידור.

/n/ - [ṅ]

The Classical ن is represented by a nasal consonant, which in the vicinity of the emphatics becomes emphaticized, e.g., *ṅaẓḍəm* 'we attack'. In Jewish Gabes, similarly to Jewish Tunis, emphatic [ṅ] is very frequent (Cohen 1975:20). Remarkably, while the prefix of the first person is almost regularly emphaticized, it is almost never emphaticized in the suffix of the first person of plural, i.e., *ṅə́ṭləḅ* 'I/we ask', but *ṭlə́ḅna* 'we asked'. In turn, when /n/ is followed by a velar consonant, its pronunciation shifts to velar nasal, i.e., *zəŋka* 'blind alley'.

2.3.4. Alveolars and postalveolars

/s/ - /ṣ/ - /š/

The CA س is reflected by an alveolar, dental fricative /s/. Due to the processes of emphasis spread and palatalization, the occurrence of this consonant in Jewish Gabes is considerably limited. Apart from items containing CA س, in some words, the Jewish Gabes /s/ is the reflex of the Classical /š/, e.g., *sra* 'he bought' (< CA *ištarā*). Its emphatic counterpart /ṣ/ originates in CA ص as in *qəṣṣ* 'he cut' (<CA *qaṣṣa*), but in some words the original Classical consonant is /s/, e.g., *ṣəlṭā́n* 'sultan' (< CA *sulṭān*), *ṛāṣ* 'head' (<CA *raʾs*).

The realization of postalveolar /š/ in Jewish Gabes depends on the age of a speaker. Speakers of the older generations tend to pronounce this consonant as a palatal, while younger speakers as a postalveolar. Marcel Cohen in his study of Jewish Algiers also points out that a great number of speakers of that dialect tend to realize /š/ in the frontal part of the palate, creating an impression of an affricated articulation (Cohen 1912:24), i.e., [ɕ] in IPA. He calls this realization 'lisping' (fr. zézaiement)

and notes that it is one of the distinctive features of Maghrebi Jewish dialects in general.

Moreover, /š/ in Jewish Gabes is not only the reflex of CA ش but in many cases it also appears in place of CA /s/, e.g., *šīd* 'master' (< CA *sayyid*), *xmīš* 'fifth' (<CA *xāmis*). In Jewish Tripoli, by contrast, an original /š/ has shifted in some words to /s/, such as in *səms* 'sun' (< CA *šams*), *sfənz* 'doughnut' (< CA *ʾisfunj*). In the same words, Jewish Gabes has /š/, i.e., *šəmš, šfənž*. The same tendency can be observed in Jewish Djerba, where in the Hebrew component one can find *šədduṛ* 'prayer book' instead of *sədduṛ*, which occurs in the rest of the Tunisian communities (Henshke 2007:28). In the table below one can find minimal pairs involving alveolar and palato-alveolar sibilants 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 plain realization to the palatalized and emphaticised ones.

Table 2: Minimal pairs involving sibilants in selected dialects of North Africa

Dialect	Minimal pair s/š	Minimal pair ṣ/š	Minimal pair s/ṣ
Jewish Gabes	-	*ṣīf* 'summer' - *šīf* 'sword'	-
Muslim Tunis[8]	*sœb* 'he insulted' – *šœb* 'alum'	-	*sboʿ* 'week' - *ṣboʿ* 'finger'
Jewish Tripoli	*nsa* 'women' – *nša* 'starch'	*ṣuṛ* 'wall' – *šuṛ* 'months'	*sif* 'sword' - *ṣif* 'summer'
Jewish Tunis	-	*ṣif* 'summer' - *šif* 'sword'	-
Jewish Algiers	*nsa* 'he forgot' – *nša* 'starch'	-	*sif* 'sword' - *ṣif* 'summer'

/z/ - /ẓ/ - /ž/

---

[8] The items are quoted according to their original transcription in the grammar book, where they were borrowed from.

The alveolar fricative /z/ in Jewish Gabes is not a frequent consonant and often it does not represent CA ز. In words where it appears, it usually reflects CA /j/, e.g., rā́zəl 'man' (< CA rajul), zā́ri 'running' (< CA jārī).

Emphatic [ẓ] in Jewish Gabes does not have any direct ancestor in CA and reflects either original /z/ which was emphaticized in the vicinity of emphatics: ẓlaq 'he slipped' (< CA zaliqa), ə́ẓraq 'blue' (< CA ʾázraq), or original /j/, which had shifted to /z/ and was subsequently emphaticized due to proximity to emphatics, i.e., jār > zāṛ > ẓāṛ 'neighbour'. In addition, it reflects CA /ṣ/, as in zġīr 'small' (< CA ṣaġīr).

/ž/ in Jewish Gabes is a retroflex fricative sibilant and, similarly to /š/, is palatalized amongst older speakers, i.e. [ʑ]. Essentially, it reflects two CA consonants: /j/, i.e., ʿažū́ža 'elderly woman' (< CA ʿajū́za), žbəl 'mountain' (< CA jabal), or /z/: žūž 'pair' (< CA zawj), žitū́n 'olives' (< CA zaytūn).

2.3.5. Emergence of sibilant harmony in North-African Arabic

2.3.5.1. Adjacent sibilants in Maghrebi Arabic as opposed to Mashreqi Arabic – an overview

The phenomenon of alternations between alveolar and palato-alveolar sibilants, which in French literature are referred to as *sifflantes* and *chuintantes*[9] respectively, is widely attested in both sedentary and rural dialects of the Maghreb. The instability of sibilants in North African Arabic is not a matter of contemporary linguistic development, but rather a historically conditioned process, which has been mentioned

---

[9] *Sifflantes* and *chuintantes* in French indicate respectively: /s/, /ṣ/, /ẓ/ and /ž/, /š/ i.e., the second group has higher degree of palatalization. In this section alveolar – sifflant (hissing), and alveopalatal – chuintant (hushing) will be used interchangeably.

by numerous medieval scholars, e.g., Ibn Hazm and Firuzabadi (Cohen 1975:25). Two main tendencies can be distinguished regarding the occurrence of those consonants, i.e., in some dialects alveolar sibilants seem to predominate, while in others an extensive palatalization takes place. Moreover, within a single dialect, some social groups tend to prefer prepalatal or alveolar realization. The confusion of Old Arabic (henceforth: OA) alveolar and alveopalatal sibilants is observed both in items where there is only one sibilant, as well as in words where two heterogenic sibilants co-occur. Below can be found a table demonstrating the inventory of sibilants in MA:

Table 3: Inventory of sibilants in MA

Alveolar (sifflant)	Emphatic alveolar	Alveopalatal (chuintant)
/s/	/ṣ/	/š/
/z/	/ẓ/	/ž/, /j/(locally)

Taine-Cheikh in her study of co-occurrence of sibilants and palatalized sibilants in various dialects of Arabic points out that within Maghrebi Arabic, Moroccan dialects exhibit a tendency towards palatalized variants of sibilants when a sibilant is followed in the same word by a palatalized sibilant, while in Tunisian there is a preference towards unpalatalized sibilants in the same combination (1986:422). Nevertheless, there are numerous Jewish dialects, which call this statement into question. An example can be given in the Jewish dialect of Fez (Morocco), where the alveopalatal sibilants have completely disappeared (Brunot and Malka 1940). In contradistinction to this tendency, in Jewish Tunis and Jewish Gabes, one observes an extensive replacement of alveolar sibilants by their alveopalatal counterparts, resulting in the loss of their phonemic status (Cohen 1975:20). This suggests that the

distribution of sibilants in North Africa is conditioned not only geographically, but also communally. Indeed, Marcel Cohen points out that 'lisping' (fr. zézaiement) is one of the characteristic features of Jewish dialects in North Africa (Cohen 1912:24). Although this view can point to a general tendency, Jewish Tripoli or Jewish El-Oued (Algeria) contradict this hypothesis, demonstrating strong preference towards alveolar sibilants (Gebski 2022). The table below exemplifies the distinct distribution of sibilants among several dialects of the region based on a selection of cognates containing a pair of sibilants. The dialects have been listed according to the east-west orientation, i.e., Libya – Tunisia – Algeria – Morocco, and are preceded by a row outlining OA roots.

Table 4: Distribution of sibilants across North-African dialects[10]

	'elderly woman'	'butcher'	'species'	'pair'	'sun'	'tree'
	ž – z	ž - s	z - ž	š – s	š - ž
Old Arabic	ʿ.j.z.	j.z.r.	ž.n.s.	z.w.j.	š.m.s.	š.j.r.
Jewish Tripoli[11]	ʿazūza	ṣəẓẓār	zəns	zūz	səms	
Muslim Tripoli	ʿazūza	zuzzār	zəns	zūz	šəms	šəžra
Jewish Yefren	ʿazūza	zəzzār/šəzzār		zawwez	samsu	šəžra
Jewish Tunis	ʿažúža	ẓəẓẓār	žənš	žawž	šəmš	ṣəẓṛa
Muslim Tunis	ʿazūza	zəzzār	zens	zūz	samš	ṣužṛa

also: zəbš 'plaster' (< OA ž.b.s.), anẓaṣ (< OA n.j.s.) 'pears', zliz (< z.l.j.) 'tile'

| Muslim Kairouan | | | | zūz | šams | |

---

[10] Both in table (4), and in table (5) there are some cognates that I have not managed to obtain, either because they do not appear in the source, or because a specific item is not used in this region, e.g., in many Eastern dialects the word for 'butcher' is qaṣṣab rather than z.j.r.

[11] The examples have been extracted from the following sources: Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005), Muslim Tripoli (Pereira 2010), Yefren (courtesy of Luca D'Anna), Jewish Tunis (David Cohen 1975), Muslim Tunis (elicited by an informant), Muslim Kairouan (courtesy of Alessia D'Accardio), Jewish Gabes (elicited by an informant), Bedouin Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014), Muslim Sousa (Talmoudi 1980), Jewish Algiers (Marcel Cohen 1912), Jewish Wad-Souf (elicited by an informant), Muslim Ouled Djellal (courtesy of Seid Smatti), Muslim Mzab (Grand'Henry), Bedouin Ouled-Brahim (William Marçais 1908), Muslim Djidjelli (Philippe Marçais 1956), Moroccan (Heath 2002).

Jewish Gabes	ʿažúža	ṣəẓẓār	žənš	žūž	šəmš	ṣəẓṛa
Bedouin Douz	ʿazúz	ẓəẓẓār	zins	zūz	samʔs	sužᵘra / šužᵘra
Muslim Sousa	ʿazúze	zəẓẓār		zūz	šəms	
Jewish Algiers	ʿažúza			zūž	šəmš	səžra
Jewish Wad-Souf	ʿazúza	zazzār	zənš	zūz	saməš	sažra
Muslim Ouled Djellal	ʿaizúž (PL)	zazzār		zawž	samš	
Muslim Mzab		zəžžār	zənš		səmš	sežra

also: *zəbš* 'plaster' (< OA ž.b.s.), *zeiš* 'armed group' (< OA j.y.š.)

Bedouin Ouled-Brahim	ʿozúž	zəžžār		zūž	samš	sažra

also: *zəbš* 'plaster' (< OA ž.b.s.), *sərž* 'saddle' (< OA s.r.j.)

Muslim Djidjelli	ʿažiuza	žezzaṛ	žəns	zūž	səmš	sažra

also: *sfənž* 'doughnut' (< OA s.f.n.j.), *šeṭrenj* 'chessboard' (< OA š.ṭ.r.n.j.), *žəbs* 'plaster' (< OA ž.b.s.), *žəḥš* 'mule calf' (< OA ž.ḥ.š.), *žaž* 'chickens' (< OA d.j.j.)

Muslim and Jewish Moroccan[12]	ʿagúza	gzar		žūž	šəmš	šəžra (majority), šməs (Tefilat)

Also in Mahdia (Tunisia): *šəmš* (Baccouche 1969:132), Khoms (Libya): *ṣəẓṛa / šəžṛa, sems,* Jewish Benghazi: *ʿazúza*

Overall, we can distinguish two major groups of lexical items containing sibilants:

1) Items with two heterogenous chuintants, e.g., *š.j.r.* 'tree'

2) Items with one sifflant and one chuintant or reversed, e.g., *š.m.s.* 'sun'

The table includes only a limited number of dialects and therefore no unequivocal conclusions can be drawn. However, the cognates point to a number of cross-dialectal tendencies. Firstly, Libyan Arabic exhibits a strong preference for the alveolar realization of sibilants, both when sifflants and chuintants co-occur, and when there is a single sibilant in a lexeme. This is additionally confirmed by Benkato, who reports for the Muslim dialect of Benghazi a rule, according to which alveopalatal sibilants cannot co-occur with heterogenous or alveolar sibilant in the same words,

---

[12] For the sibilant harmony in Moroccan see: (Heath 2002:133).

e.g., *zəzzār* < *žəzzār* 'butcher', *səms* < *šəms* 'sun' (Benkato 2014:69). This rule appears to be valid also in the Bedouin dialect of Douz. On the other hand, in Tunisian Arabic, the situation is more complex. The rule in question is not fully operational in Muslim Tunis, as exemplified by *samš* 'sun', and *ṣužṛa* 'tree'. In this dialect, we therefore observe a dissimilation of /š/ > /s/ at the onset of an item. On the other hand, in the Jewish varieties of Tunisian Arabic most of the alveolar sibilants have been replaced by their palatal counterparts, e.g., Jewish Gabes *ʿažū́ža* (< OA ʿ.j.z.) 'old woman'. Nevertheless, both Libyan and the majority of Tunisian varieties demonstrate a tendency towards alveolar harmonization of sibilants. Moving westwards one observes that all listed varieties of Algerian Arabic allow co-occurrence of heterogenous sibilants in the same word, although in Ouled-Brahim and partially in Djidjelli a metathesis takes place, as a result of which the OA chuintants are retained but only when they are placed after sifflants. Similarly, in the Saharan region of Mzab, the OA realization of sibilants is maintained when in an isolated position, but a metathesis takes place when an alveo-palatal sibilant is followed by an alveolar one, e.g.: *səmš* 'sun', *zžər* 'he slaughtered (< OA j.z.r.), *zənš* 'kind' (< OA j.n.s.). As a result of this process, in items with a pair /ž/ - /s/, a voiced chuintant shifts to voiced sifflant, while an unvoiced sifflant shifts to unvoiced chuintant (Grand'Henry 1976:13). This suggests that the tongue tip retraction necessary for the realisation of /š/ and /ž/ at the onset of the word, followed by a tongue tip fronting required for /s/ or /z/ is not acceptable in those dialects. Nevertheless, against the rule prevailing in the region, the situation in Jewish Algiers seems to partially reflect the OA order, e.g., *ʿažū́za* 'old woman'. This probably is best explained by a levelling influence of standard Arabic. Finally, the homogeneity of Moroccan dialects is reflected in their ununiform

distribution of sibilants. Heath points out that the dominant tendency of the harmonization is towards palatalised sibilants, but occasionally the alveolar harmony occurs in Saharan-type and Bedouin Arabic (Heath 2002:133). Taine-Cheikh proposes to divide the Moroccan varieties into two groups in terms of their treatment of sequences of two sibilants: (1) sedentary dialects (i.e., most Jewish dialects) tend to alternate /ž/ to /d/ or /g/, while (2) dialects of Zaer, Sous, and Tanger alternate sequences sifflant– chuintant and chuintant – sifflant to chuintant – chuintant (Taine-Cheikh 1998:428).

Overall, as can be seen, the rules of assimilation and dissimilation leading to the harmonization of sibilants apply both to words with OA order hushing – hissing, like *š.m.s.*, and hissing – hushing, e.g., *z.w.j.* This indicates that in Libyan, Tunisian, and Moroccan Arabic there are no opaque elements blocking the harmony.[13] The situation in Algerian Arabic is different since disharmony is permitted. Nevertheless, the OA order of hushing – hissing sibilant is reversed in order the prevent the retraction of the tip of the tongue at the onset of the lexical item.

In contradistinction to this, one observes relative stability of the OA pairs of sibilants in the Eastern dialects, where no harmonization takes place:

Table 5: Distribution of sibilants across Eastern dialects of Arabic

	'elderly woman'	'butcher'	'kind'	'pair'	'sun'	'tree'
	ž – z	ž - s	z - ž	š – s	š - ž
Old Arabic	ʿ.j.z.	j.z.r	j.n.s.	z.w.j.	š.m.s.	š.j.r
Cairene[14]	ʿajūz, ʿagūz	geẓẓar	gins	guz	šams	šagara

---

[13] For the opaque elements blocking the harmonization of sibilants in Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language spoken in Rwanda see (Mpiranya and Walker 2005).

[14] Source of the examples: Cairene (elicited by informant), Syrian (Liddicoat 1998), Lebanese (elicited by informant), Palestinian (elicited by informant), Iraqi (Woodhead 1969), Saudi (elicited by informant), Gulf (Holes 1984), Emirati (Leung 2021), Yemenite (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010).

Syrian	ʿažūz				šams, sams	šjara
Lebanese (Metn)	ʿažūza		jens	zawž/žawz	šams	šajra
Palestinian (Gaza)	ʿajūz	jazzar		zawᵘž	šams	šajara
Iraqi	ʿajūz, ʿažūz		jinis	zooj 'husband'	šamis	šigara
Saudi (Mecca)	ʿajūza	jazzar		zowj	šams	šajara[15]
Gulf	ʿajūz		jins	zōj 'husband'	šams	šyara[16]
Emirati	ʿayūz			zooj 'husband'	šams	šjara
Yemenite	ʿajūz, ʿažūz				šams, sams	šajra, šužra

A comparative look at the table (4) and (5) reveals a striking discrepancy in terms of harmonising of sibilants. We observe that in distinction to various sound shifts in the Maghreb, the Mashreq preserves the OA sequences of sibilants. An exemption to this rule is certain dialects in the East of Yemen, sporadically in Syria, and the Nile delta in Egypt. Nevertheless, the latter do not dissimilate ž/g to /z/ in *jazzar* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010:77), or *ʿažūza* (31). In addition, as argued by Behnstedt and Woidich, Egypt constitutes a transitional area between the western and the eastern dialectal groups, and the sedentary dialects of Egypt, to which belong also varieties spoken in the central Nile Delta, display numerous Maghrebi features (Behnstedt and Woidich 2018:64). Alternatively, the fact that one finds dissimilation of /š/ to /s/ in *šams* both in northern Yemeni dialects and in the sedentary dialects of the Nile Delta could be explained by the historical account of the Yemeni settlements in Egypt. Indeed, Yemeni presence in Egypt is relatively well documented, and scholars point

---

[15] Examples included in this column clearly indicate that the claim expressed by Brockelmann that the dissimilation of /š/ before /j/ in modern dialects of Arabic is consistent is erroneous and based on erratic presumption (Brocklemann 1908:235). Cf. also (Woidich and Behnstedt 2010:448).

[16] The shift /j/ > /y/ in the Gulf Arabic occurs also in words with only one sibilant and is not related to the sibilant harmony.

out several phonological features shared by those two dialectal groups (Magidow 2013:212). It is possible, therefore, that this partial sibilant harmony has been imported to Egypt from Yemen, where it emerged. As for the extensive and well-attested sibilant harmony in the area west of Egypt, this article aims at explaining it by a different socio-linguistic account, which will be presented in the following section of the article.

This brief survey aimed to demonstrate the extent of sibilant fluctuations across North Africa, which is particularly conspicuous when a lexeme contains a pair of alveolar and alveopalatal sibilants. In this case, the dialects in question choose between three strategies, i.e., assimilation in palatalization, elimination of the palatal consonant, and retention of both realizations with simultaneous metathesis. Remarkably, none of the analysed North-African dialects preserves the OA realization in all the items (partially Kairouan and Jewish Algiers). In similar fashion sibilants found in items containing a single sibilant tend to be emphasized or palatalised in certain dialects, especially in Jewish varieties of Tunisian Arabic. Although this observation is by no means innovative and many scholars have discussed the peculiarities of sibilants in MA, unknown to me are any attempts to explain the reasons for this state of affairs, namely what socio-linguistic factors triggered the harmonization of the OA system of sibilants. Since East of Libya the aforementioned sound shifts appear to be much limited, it is reasonable to seek answers in the diachronic development of MA, and especially in its genesis. This naturally leads us to languages spoken in the Maghreb prior to the arrival of Arabs and their role in the formation of MA. The following section will attempt to briefly outline the linguistic landscape in North Africa in the 7th century C.E.

2.3.5.2. Languages spoken in North Africa prior to the arrival of Arabs – historical background

Synchronically, the linguistic landscape of North Africa is relatively homogenous compared to other parts of the Arab world, where Arabic dialects coexist with distinct language families. For example, in Northern Iraq apart from Arabic are spoken numerous varieties of Kurdish (Indo-Iranian), 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 7th century was much more diverse. Apart from different varieties Berber, African Latin and Neo-Punic are believed to be used to some extent in the region of present Libya and Tunisia in the eve of the advent of Islam (Adams 2007:521, Whittaker 2009:194, Kossmann 2009:194). The sources about the active usage of those languages are naturally very scarce and therefore establishing in a precise manner when they ceased to be used is rather cumbersome. Nevertheless, one should assume that lack of textual sources after a certain point in time does not necessarily imply a complete extinction of a language. It is very well 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 adaption 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 be therefore not omitted in the reconstruction of the processes, which led to the formation of the present-day Maghrebi dialectal group.

Berber

Berber is the only family of languages, which 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 2020). As one can expect, the influence of Arabic on Berber is by far 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 have furnished also linguistic developments in Arabic. Those two factors should not be omitted in studies on both MA and Berber, as they could potentially cast light on some of the phenomena distinguishing North-African Arabic from its eastern-branch counterparts.

Due to cultural and political reasons, Berber was in a weaker position in a 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 a 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 a position of the recipient, rather than the donor of linguistic borrowing. Nevertheless, there are local fluctuations in Arabic, which can be attributed to the 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 took place 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 very often is uncertain. Another factor weakening any diachronic argumentation is that since both MA 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, presenting often contradictory opinions.

There are several studies on linguistic borrowings from Berber mainly to Moroccan Arabic available (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 MA involving the Berber influence are often faced with 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., originally masculine *lḥam* 'meat' or *ṣū́f* 'wool' become feminine, since they are feminine in Berber. Certain varieties of MA grammaticalize the noun *ṛāṣ* 'head' instead of *nəfs* 'soul' as a reflexive marker. In addition, Aguadé argues that comparative sentences with ʿ*al* instead of *mən* are a calque from Berber. Other morphosyntactic developments are more controversial. El Aissati demonstrates instances of verb serialization 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 Berber influence and rather points to an internal innovation of spoken Arabic.

As has been previously mentioned, the influence of Berber on the phonology of MA is less evident and many cases of language change in MA fall within the 'grey zone', i.e., their occurrence cannot be unequivocally accounted for by internal or external factors. This is the case, for instance, with the loss of the glottal stop in MA. Chtatou has argued that the disappearance of [ʔ] in Moroccan Arabic has been furnished by the lack of a corresponding sound in Berber (Chtatou 1997:107). This view was criticised by Aguadé, who demonstrates numerous dialects, where [ʔ] is retained, and argues that it is rather a matter of internal innovation (Aguadé 2018:35). Similar controversies causes the development of the MA 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 a Berber influence, Kossmann expresses a more moderate view. He argues that the present vowel inventory in both MA and Berber is 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 (Kossmann 2013:173).

The examples of language change described above cannot be unequivocally explained neither by contact with Berber nor by internal innovation of MA. Nevertheless, the presence of similar or parallel developments in Berber, considered together with the lack of those phenomena in the eastern branches of Arabic, allows us to tentatively presuppose that Berber could be their motivation, or at least not to exclude its role. Another example of a 'grey zone' is the development of sibilants in MA, which will be discussed in greater detail in section (4).

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, Phoenicians by the 9th century B.C.E. had established a number of colonies with prominent urban centres across North Africa, e.g., Carthage in present-day Tunisia. Phoenicians had developed parallelly 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 the 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 the shift, which took place approximately in the 1st century C.E. and by which 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 Punic presence in the Maghreb is well documented up until the 4th century C.E., however, similarly to African Latin it is unknown when exactly it ceased to be actively used as vernacular. The main source of our knowledge of Late Punic are inscriptions, whose lack does not imply the extinction of a spoken language. The population using Punic was not limited only to cities. Numerous words in Punic are of Libyco-Berber provenance and attest to a 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, the last

attestations of vernacular Punic come from St. Augustine, who himself knew to some extent this language (Jongeling 2005:4). We can infer from his works that Punic was still very much alive in his times, i.e., in late 4th and early 5th century C.E. Interestingly, in one of his letters, he makes mention of rural parishes, where Punic was the dominant language (Ep. 66.2). The following passage additionally confirms this assumption: *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* (Epist. 209.3, CSEL 57, 348: quod ut fieret, aptum loco illi congruumque requirebam, qui et Punica lingua esset instructus, et habebam, de quo cogitabam, paratum presbyterum) (Adams 2003:238). This, and other passages from Augustine seem to indicate that although Latin enjoyed the status of prestigious 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 that in rural areas some portions of population shifted from Punic to Arabic.[17]

African Latin

We can assume with a great degree of certainty that upon the arrival of the first Arab colonizers 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 deriving from it (Kossmann 2009:195). Adams presents a number of arguments suggesting that

---

[17] 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 North Africa was but minimal and indigenous culture seems to have continued to flourish under Roman suzerainty.*

'African Latin' was a vernacular, possessing phonological and syntactic features setting 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 was perceivable for the speakers in Italy (Adams 2008:192). A hint of how this variety of Latin could have sounded like is provided by a passage from Jerome, who tells a story of a student, who imitated the manner of speaking of his African teacher: *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* (Adams 2007:269). This fragment seems to suggest that the peculiarity of African Latin pronunciation involved to some extent 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 after the Arab invasion of the Maghreb, this variety was in use. Was it replaced rapidly by Arabic, or rather the adaption of Arabic was a gradual process, during which Latin kept being spoken in provincial and rural areas? Unfortunately, there are no attestations of African Latin actively used in the 6th and the 7th century CE. This, however, does not implicate that in that period it was already extinct. Heath 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 (Heath 2002:3). Indeed, a relatively slow process of conversion from Christianity to Islam of the Romanized communities in the Maghreb, probably paralleled that of the communal shift from African Latin to Arabic (Bulliet 1979). Rushworth even suggests that African Latin, termed by al-Idrisi in the 12th

century CE as *al-lisan al-latini al-Afariq* was spoken up until the 14th century CE (Rushworth 2004:94). Another indirect piece of evidence for the prolonged use of African Latin is provided by numerous linguistic traces, which 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 for Moroccan by presenting compelling historical argumentation (Heath 2002:2). In the realm of morphology, the Latin influence on Arabic is particularly conspicuous in some northern dialects of Morocco, which adapted the plural morpheme *-əš / oš* (Colin 1926:65). As observed by Aguadé, this morpheme can be agglutinated both to Latin loanwords, and to originally Arabic items alike (Aguadé 2018:34). Another morphological feature that by some scholars is pointed out as a possible Latin influence is a merger of gender marking. As argued by Corriente, in Andalusi Arabic, as well in some Maghrebi dialects and in Maltese has disappeared the distinction between 2FS and 2MS, both in personal pronouns and in verbs. This isogloss, according to Corriente, must have emerged due to the Romance substrate (Corriente 2012:142). Finally, there is a significant number of lexical items which have been borrowed from Latin to Maghrebi Arabic. Most of the loanwords are related to fauna, flora, and agriculture. There exist numerous studies on this topic and therefore it is superfluous to deal with it here in detail.[18]

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

---

[18] For the Romance verbs adapted in the Arabic spoken in Susa, Sfax, and Tunis see (Talmoudi 1986).

phonology, on the other hand, is much more obscure and little is known to what extent 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 amounts of the population using Latin, we cannot exclude the possibility that the receding Latin would have left some sort of traces in the newly adapted Arabic also in the realm of phonology.

2.3.5.3. Sibilants in pre-Islamic North Africa and the formation of the Arabic sibilant harmony

After outlining a socio-linguistic panorama of North Africa in the 7th century C.E., let us now turn to the question of the emergence of sibilant harmony in the Arabic spoken in the region. My reconstruction is based primarily on Berber and Late Punic, as reflected in inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania. African Romance, due to the lack of textual sources, will not be dealt with here. In the following section, I will attempt to account for the emergence of sibilant harmony in MA through the lens of Berber and Punic substrates.

Sibilants inventory and sibilant harmony in Berber

Establishing the consonant inventory of Berber spoken in the 7th century CE in the Northern part of Africa requires a phonological reconstruction, which naturally is burdened with a high degree of uncertainty. Nevertheless, some ground-breaking comparative works in the last decades (Prasse 1972-1974, Kossmann 1999, 2021) shed light on the diachronic development of Berber, including sibilants. Thus,

although pre-palatal [ʃ] and [ʒ] are attested in modern Berber, it is highly doubtful if they were found in Proto-Berber, a language that according to Kossmann does not predates 500 BCE (Kossmann 2009:194). In his *Essay sur la phonologie du proto-berbère* from 1999 Kossman demonstrates that [ʃ] is found mostly in expressive context and signals, that even if it goes back to Proto-Berber, it was of low frequency (Kossmann 1999:225). He is even more uncertain about the existence of [ʒ] in Proto-Berber, as synchronically it occurs almost solely in roots where it is followed by /g/ or /ɣ/, and thus it is probably an effect of dissimilation of two velar or uvular consonants (Kossmann 1999:235). However, in his article from 2021, entitled *Proto-Berber Phonological Reconstruction: An update,* Kossmann explicitly calls into question the existence of pre-palatal sibilants in Proto-Berber (Kossmann 2020b:20). Thus, the only reconstructable set of sibilants in Proto-Berber includes: /s/, /z/, and /ẓ/. Their exact articulation is uncertain, since, in Awjila, Zenaga, and Tetserret (i.e. dialects serving often as a reference point in historical phonology of Berber) one finds different reflexes of those phonemes.[19]

It seems more plausible that the emergence of [ʃ] and [ʒ] in Berber is a matter of sound shifts, which potentially could have been stimulated by lexical borrowing from Arabic. Lexical borrowings are usually divided into two major categories, i.e., lexemes which replace concepts already existing in a recipient language, and lexemes

---

[19] Some of the oldest textual attestations of a language spoken in the pre-Islamic period in the region corresponding to today's Tunisia are the 2nd century BCE inscriptions in Libyco-Berber from Dougga, which have as much as seven different graphemes for sibilants. Scholars analysing the Libyco-Berber inscriptions do not agree as to which qualities those signs represent. Kossmann suggests that it could be argued that this seven-way system in fact represents three basic qualities possessing long or geminated counterparts, with one additional quality (Kossmann 2020a). Similarly, Pichler (2007) and Kerr (2010) do not include [ʃ] and [ʒ] in their interpretation of the inscriptions.

which represent genuinely new notions. Haspelmath calls them respectively 'core' and 'cultural' borrowings (2009:48), while Kossmann proposes a distinction between 'additive' and 'substitive' borrowings (2013:89). Berber has borrowed extensively from Arabic in both those categories. The following table demonstrates selected borrowings containing palatalised sibilants:

Table 6: Arabic loanwords in Berber[20]

Cognate	MA loanword	Adopted Berber form
'to pray'	*ṣalla*	*ẓẓall*
'to fast'	*ṣām*	*uẓum*
'mosque'	*masžid*	*taməzgida*
'who'	*škūn*	Ghomara *škun*, Senhadja *əškun*, Kabyle *ašu*
'skin'	*žəld*	Ghomara *žžəld*, Senhadja *əžžəld*
'hair'	*šɛaṛ*	Ghomara *ššɛaṛ*, Senhadja *əššaɛr*, Siwa *ššɛar*
'new'	*ždīd*	Tashelhiyt *lždid*, Ghomara *ždiḏ*, Senhadja *əǧǧiḏ*, Tarifiyt *žžḏiḏ*, Beni Iznasen *ǧdiḏ*
'star'	*nžəm*	Ghomara *nnžəm*, Awdjila *nǧum*

As can be seen, Berber has adopted both concepts related to Islam (first three loanwords), as well as basic terms for body parts and functional words. It is plausible, therefore, that the presence of alveo-palatal sibilants in those words in Arabic opened a pathway to a gradual increase of those sounds in Berber in general.

Let us now discuss in greater detail the sound shifts, which, either triggered by Arabic or motivated by internal dynamics of Berber phonology, led to the emergence of pre-palatal sibilants in Berber.

---

[20] The table has been based on Kossmann 2013.

One of the most widely spread sound shifts across the varieties of Berber is spirantization. This process, involving a change from bilabial, alveolar and velar stops to fricatives, leads locally to a further advancement of articulation. As a result, /ṯ/ is debuccalized to /h/, while the fricative /ḵ/ shifts to /š/, and /ḡ/ to /y/ and locally to /ž/ (Kossmann 2013:179). This shift applies also to Arabic loans, e.g., the Arabic *mkān* 'place' in the dialect of Greater Kabylia (north-eastern Algeria) is rendered as *amšan*. The shift g > ž, and k > š is one of the characteristic features of the Zenati group, represented in Tunisia by varieties spoken in Djerba and Matmata (Kossmann 1999:137).[21] Laoust in his comparative study reports the existence of /š/ in the dialect of Chenoua (Western Algeria), which corresponds to /k/ in the neighbouring dialect of Beni Salah (1912:27). The same correspondence is observed between the dialects of Mzab and Ourgala (preference towards /š/), and those of Zouaoua and Bougie (preference towards /k/) (Basset 1893:2).

Another shift leading to the emergence of palatalized sibilants is attested in the dialect of Zenaga (Mauretania) and Ghat (Algeria, Libya), where /s/ has shifted to /š/ (Basset 1894:27). Similarly, in Mali Touareg, /zz/ has shifted to /š/ (Heath 2004:27). As reported by van Putten, in the dialect of Awjila the Proto-Berber dental sibilants /s/ and /z/ have shifted respectively to /š/ and /ž/ (van Putten 2014:14). Moreover, in Zenaga /z/ shifts to /ž/ or to /š/, while in the dialect of Arzew /ž/ often is the reflex of the original /z/ (Basset 1894:34,36).

---

[21] Kossmann explains the locally found shift of /g/ to /ž/ as part of this spirantization process through an intermediate /ḡ/ (2013:179). I suggest, instead, that in such cases /g/ was palatalized to /j/, followed by further fronting to /ž/.

The palatalization of /γ/, which locally and irregularly shifts to /ẓ/ and /š/ is a process attested across various dialects of Berber (Vycichl 1990). Kossmann gives the following examples: the word 'scorpion' in the dialect of Ghadames is *tašarḍămt*, while its cognate in the sedentary Touareg dialect of Ghat in Libya is *taẓurḍemt* and in Matmata is *tiγerḍemt* (Kossmann 1999:217).

Apart from the aforementioned sound changes /k/ > /š/, /z/ > /ž/, /γ/ > /š/, and /s/ > /š/, the distribution of /š/ in Berber is conditioned by several other factors. As pointed out by Kossmann, in the Moroccan dialect of Figuig /š/ is a derivative morpheme marking approximation, e.g., *amellal* 'white' > *šamlal* 'whitish' (Kossmann 1999:219). In addition, in almost all Berber dialects /š/ occurs in what Kossmann classifies as expressive contexts. He gives a list of words containing /š/ which have an emotional value, e.g., *ažižiw ~ ašišiw* 'chick' in the dialect od Augila in western Libya. The phoneme in question may also emerge as a result of the assimilation /yt/ > /št/ (Boogert 1997:317). As has been demonstrated by Nico van den Boogert, it took place in the dialects of Middle Atlas and Kabyle but based on some Moroccan Berber manuscripts its origins can be dated to the Middle Ages (Kossmann 1999:220).

In sum, we should conclude that the basic consonant inventory of Berber did not include [ʃ] and [ʒ], and the emergence of those consonants is a matter of historical development. It is plausible that it was furnished by both the external factor (i.e., lexical borrowing from Arabic), as well as internal sound changes. In light of the lack of historical evidence, I assume that in the 7th century CE Berber did not have sounds corresponding to ش and ج. For the Berber population adapting Arabic, this naturally

must have constituted an articulatory difficulty, which was resolved with strategies involving consonants available within Berber.

So far, we have dealt with the question of the existence/non-existence of pre-palatal sibilants in Berber in the 7th century CE. Let us now turn to a phenomenon in Berber morpho-phonology, which, along with the above argumentation, might cast new light on the emergence of sibilant harmony in MA. Namely, in virtually all varieties of Berber, there exist a causative prefix /s-/, which gets assimilated to the phonetic environment of the verb. The productivity of this prefix is confirmed statistically. Cadi argues that in Rifian (northern Morocco) it amounts to approximately 50% of all the possible types of derivation (Cadi 1987:42). No doubt we deal here with an extremely widespread feature, and therefore we should presuppose its archaic origin. [22] Moreover, due to its prevalence, the morpho-phonological behaviour of this prefix should be considered in a language contact situation. Harmonization of sibilants in the context of causativity is found *inter alia* in the following varieties:

- **Amazigh (Tashlhiyt)** (Lahrouchi 2018:47)

In this variety, the causative prefix undergoes assimilation in terms of voicing and anteriority with the sibilant found within the verb stem:

Basic stem	Causative	Meaning
(1) Neutral stem environment:		
mun	smun	'pick up'
gudi	sgudi	'put in a pile'
(2) /z/ in stem: s > z		
nz	zznz	'sell'

---

[22] As confirmed by Prasse (1972:56). A view expressed also by Maarteen Kossmann in a private communication with the author.

(3) /š/ in stem: s > š, /ž/ in stem: / s > ž

kušm	škušm	'paralyse'
nžm	žžnžm	'save'

The only instance when the assimilation is blocked when a voiceless sibilant occurs between the prefix and the voiced sibilants, e.g. *ħužžu > šħužžu* 'visit Mecca', instead of *žħužžu*. Lahrouchi explicitly points out that the palatal harmony in Moroccan was triggered by the aforementioned phenomenon in Amazigh (Lahrouchi 2018:48).

- **Awjila (van Putten 2014:76)**

In this variety spoken in Libya, the causative prefix /š-/ is the most common variant of derivation. The table below demonstrates the conditioned sound shifts:

Basic stem	Causative	Meaning
(1) Neutral stem environemnt:		
udə́n	*š-ùdən*	'to dress someone
agə́l	*š-ə̀gəl*	'to show'
(2) /z/ in stem: /š/ > s		
zìk	*s-əzìk*	'to heal someone'
zə̀wwər	*s-ə̀zwər*	'to swell'
(3) /ž/ in stem: /š/ > /ž/		
iž	*ž-iž*	'to sell'

As can be seen, similarly to Amazigh, also in Awjila the causative prefix is in harmony with the sibilant found in the stem. Nevertheless, in contradistinction to Moroccan, this tendency has not led to the emergence of palatal harmony in Libyan Arabic. As will be demonstrated in the following part, there must have been additional, socio-historical factors, which triggered a preference toward an alveolar harmonization in Libya.

- **Zenaga** (Taine-Cheikh 2008)

Taine-Cheikh in her detailed and comprehensive study of the distribution of the causative in Zenaga outlines several rules governing the variation of the /š-/ prefix. In contradistinction to other varieties of Berber, the situation in Zenaga is more

complex, and this prefix is conditioned by additional parameters like emphatization, gemination, and voicing. Despite a relatively high level of irregularity, some general tendencies can be distinguished:

Basic stem	Causative	Meaning
(1) Neutral stem environment:		
	yässəgrāh	'to refuse to give'
	yässīyä	'to make someone cry'
(2) Emphatic in stem: /š/ > /ṣ/		
	yaṣṣuṭṣa	'to make someone laugh'
	yässuḍmāh	'to make someone believe'
(3) /z/ in stem: /š/ > /z/		
	yäzəzzäy	'to make someone play'
	yäzəzgär	'to make someone leave'
(4) /ẓ/ in stem: /š/ > /ẓ/	*yaẓẓuẓan*	'to heat on fire'
	yaẓẓuẓag	'to make deaf'
(5) If there is a chuintant in the stem, the prefix is always chuintant too		
	yäžəšnär	'to guide'
	yäššištäd	'to make thin'

It should be noted that the occurrence of the pre-palatal prefix in Zenaga is not conditioned by simple assimilation to the same consonant in the root. For instance, one observes high co-occurrence of /š/ with /k/, or /f/, or of /ž/ with /g/ (Taine-Cheikh 2008:14-16). Nevertheless, the /s/ and /ṣ/ never appear when there is a pre-palatal alveolar in the stem, while /ṣ/ never appears when there is no emphatic consonant in the stem. Similarly, /z/ and /ẓ/ never co-occur with a chuintant in the stem. In addition, when there is a pre-palatal sibilant in the stem, the prefix will be a pre-palatal sibilant too (Taine-Cheikh 2008:18). This clearly suggests, that although in a modified and more complex form, there is a correlation between the behaviour of the causative prefix in Zenaga and the phonetic environment of the stem.

- **Mzab Zenatia (Basset 1893:15)**

Basset's work is primarily a dictionary and only a grammatical sketch of a limited length is available. Nevertheless, the scholar observes, that the causative prefix /s-/ is assimilated to the sibilant occurring in the stem, e.g.:

Basic stem	Causative	Meaning
(1) Neutral stem environemnt:		
erouel	*serouel*	'to make someone escape'
(2) /z/ in stem: /s/ > /z/		
enz	*zenz*	'to sell'
(3) /š/ in stem: /s/ > /š/		
eš	*šeš*	'to feed'

- **Tuareg (Prasse 1972:56)**

In this variety spoken in the south of Algeria, the causative prefix undergoes a number of sound shifts depending on the quality of stem consonants:

Basic stem	Causative	Meaning
(1) Neutral stem environment:		
akabur	*səkkəbər*	'to trot'
(2) /z/, /š/, /h/ in stem: /s/ > /z/		
əzzy	*zuzy*	'to get to know'
(3) /ẓ/ or /h/ + /ḍ/ in stem: /s/ > /ẓ/		
əġbəẓ	*ẓəġbəẓ*	'to press with hands'
əhəḍ	*ẓəhəḍ*	'to judge'
(4) /š/ in stem, /s/ > /š/		
/ž/ in stem, /s/ > /ž/		
əššəf	*šušəf*	'to abort'
ažəd	*žižəd*	'to be ready'

In Tuareg there is also a number of additional sound shifts, like for instance /sġ/, /ẓġ/ > /žž/, /zk/, /ẓk/ > /sk/, etc. All those conditioned changes attest to a highly

productive rule of assimilation of the prefix to the quality of the sibilant found within the verb stem.

Also in other dialects of Berber, which will not be dealt with here in detail, we find the assimilation of this prefix, e.g., in Ghamades *ekker > sekker* 'to make someone get up' (neutral stem environment), but *ezzel > zizzel* 'to make someone run' (Motylinski 1904:33).

The above discussion renders two primary conclusions: (1) both /š/ and /ž/ are phonemes not found in the original consonant inventory of Berber but have emerged at a later stage, presumably under the pressure of Arabic, (2) the causative prefix /s-/, which is one of the most common ways of derivation across all varieties of Berber, undergoes harmonization with sibilant found in the stem. It is reasonable to assume that the sibilant harmony in Berber started from the assimilation of the causative prefix to stem in terms of voicing and emphatization. Subsequently, once the pre-palatal sibilants emerged, they brought about assimilation in palatalization, in analogy to the primary assimilation in voicing and emphasis. Those two constatations appear to be crucial in the investigation of a Berber substrate in the North-Arabic system of sibilants. The widespread and archaic character of the phonetic harmonization of the prefix in question suggests that it accounts for a majority of pairs of sibilants found in Berber. One should expect therefore that the vast portions of the Berber population converting to Islam and adopting Arabic in their day-to-day life after the invasion of Arabs in the 7th century CE, initially had a problem with the articulation of ش and ج, characterised by a retraction of the tongue tip. In Arabic words containing two heterogenous sibilants, initially, Berber speakers presumably articulated only alveolar variants, in analogy to the rule governing the

majority of occurrences of two adjacent sibilants in their mother tongue. Thus, the original sibilant harmony in pre-Hilali MA was presumably that of: /s/ - /s/ < /š/ - /s/, and /z/ - /z/ < /ž/ - /z/. In the following section, I will discuss a further argument supporting this statement.

<div align="center">

Merger of /s/ and /š/ in Punic

</div>

Since Punic is an extinct language, our tools for the reconstruction of its development are significantly limited. Nevertheless, although sources about the phonology of Late Punic are very scant, there exist both direct and indirect attestations of the sibilant inventory in this language. Based on the inscriptions from Late Antiquity, it is possible to establish that graphemes marking /s/ and /š/ are used interchangeably, and very often /s/ replaces the original /š/, i.e., סבעם < שבעם 'seventy'. Occasionally, /s/ replaces also the etymological /ṣ/, e.g. מלס< מלצ 'interpret' (Segert 1976:65). In addition, /ž/ is a sound not found in Punic.

Further confirmation comes from discovered in the Libyan hinterland Roman Tripolitania inscriptions, which are written in Latin characters (Della Vida 1927, Szyncer 1963). As pointed out by Jongeling, despite the shift in the script from Punic to Latin characters, the Latino-Punic inscriptions reflect the contemporary colloquial pronunciation of North Africa (Jongeling 2005:2). The Latin alphabet did not have a grapheme representing the /š/ sound, but in a number of inscriptions the Greek letter Σ is consistently applied in order to render the Punic /š/ sign (Jongeling 2005:9). This, for instance, is exemplified by Bir Shmech LP1, line 3: ΣYMARNAR SABARE Σ 'who [made it] was Sabbarus' (Jongeling 2005:63). The representation of the Punic /š/ by the Greek *sigma* seems to be simply a scribal convention since in the inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania this technique is not applied and /š/ is rendered by the Latin S

sign. Considering an indirect attestation presented in the following part, it is reasonable to assume that Late Punic did not possess a sound parallel to the Arabic ش. Here are some examples, where /s/ is applied instead of the expected *sigma* (based on Jongeling and Kerr 2005):

- Inscription IRT 886b, lines 7/8: MASADYTH < apparently from the Punic word MAŠT 'merit'.

  In the same inscription, line 10, we find: MSATYRTH < MŠATRT 'administration'

- Inscription IRT 892, line 3: MOS < MŠ 'stele'

Although one might argue that this is a simple confusion and the /š/ sound in Late Punic freely co-existed with /s/, a counterargument comes from St. Augustine. In one of his letters, he makes use of a word-play between Punic שלׁש 'three', and the Latin word *salus* 'salvation' (Krahmalkov 2000:25). This example clearly indicates that in the Punic of the Augustinian period, the /ʃ/ either did not exist or was perceived as articulatorily difficult, hence pronunciation *salus* instead of the expected *šaluš*. If we accept an assumption that Punic was still spoken in rural areas of the Maghreb at the time of the first wave of Arabization, similarly to Berber speakers, also their Punic-speaking neighbours could not properly articulate pre-palatal sibilants. The major obstacle was presumably lying in producing a strident with simultaneous retraction of the tongue tip.

The reconstruction presented in the following section attempts to account for the sibilant harmony in MA through the lens of the language contact of Berber and Punic with newly imported Arabic.

2.3.5.4. Proposed reconstruction

It appears that neither in Berber – the most widely used language in the pre-Islamic Maghreb, nor Punic and Late Latin, had in their consonant inventory in the 7th century CE the post-alveolar fricative sibilants [ʃ] and [ʒ], which require a retraction of the tongue tip. We should thus assume that it was an areal feature in pre-Islamic North Africa. The major obstacle for speakers of Berber, Punic, and Latin was a [RTT+][23] feature, which characterises pre-palatal sibilants. In words with two adjacent heterogenous sibilants, they applied [RTT-] for both of them, since a sibilant with [RTT+] was not found in their inventory. Thus, the harmonization of two heterogenous sibilants in Arabic words started apparently with a shift from /š/ to /s/ and /ž/ to /z/, and resulted initially in harmony /s/ - /s/ and /z/ - /z/, which nowadays prevails in Libya and Tunisia (Pereira 2010:57). Presumably, initially also in words with a single sibilant the realization of OA /š/ and /j/ was different and imperfect. That could explain the shift of /j/ to /ž/ in North Africa, which stems from the articulatory difficulty in pronouncing even further retracted /j/. Once this rule of harmonization was established and [ʃ] and [ʒ] were fully adapted (firstly in words with a single sibilant), analogically speakers started replacing the original [RTT-] - [RTT-] harmony with [RTT+] - [RTT+], which is found in many Jewish dialects of Tunisia and Morocco. In Algeria, disharmony is tolerated in a reversed order - in this way, the [RTT+] is avoided at the onset of the item. This strategy presumably reflects a transitionary stage, when the palatalised sibilants were being gradually adapted,

---

[23] RTT stands for retracted tongue tip.

but their [RTT+] at the onset of the word was still perceived as an articulatory obstacle. The following graph summarizes the proposed reconstruction:

Sibilants in pre-Islamic Africa:

[RTT-] a dominant feature, [RTT+] not attested in the region

Post-first-wave development:

Stage 1: OA sibilant orders [RTT+] – [RTT-], [RTT-] – [RTT+], and [RTT+] – [RTT+] adapted as:

[RTT-] – [RTT-]

/s/ or /z/ - /s/ or /z/

e.g.: *zəns, səms, zuz*

This primary stage is attested in all the varieties of Libya and both Muslim sedentary and Bedouin varieties in Tunisia.

Stage 2: gradual emergence of the North-African articulation of ش and ج, initially within a single word

Stage 3: (attested mainly in Algeria): a sibilant with a [RTT+] feature tolerated only when it is not at the onset of the word, thus:

[RTT+] – [RTT-], [RTT+] – [RTT+] > [RTT-] – [RTT+]

zənš, səmš, zuž

Stage 4: Further articulatory adaptation of [RTT+] sibilants leading to the analogical extension (Jewish dialects of Tunisia and most of the varieties of Morocco):

OA [RTT+] – [RTT-] > [RTT+] – [RTT+]

žənš, šəmš, žuž

This section aimed to elucidate the origin of the sibilant harmony in MA. As has been demonstrated, this phenomenon is mainly a feature of the North African branch, since

the vast majority of dialects east of Egypt preserve the original sequences of sibilants, regardless of the placement of pre-palatal sibilants. On the other hand, in MA there exist a clear tendency to avoid a sequence of two heterogenous sibilants, which is resolved through harmonization towards alveolar (Libya and Tunisia) or pre-palatal variant (Jewish varieties of Tunisian and Arabic and majority of Moroccan). The only exception to this rule is Algerian Arabic, which does permit a disharmony of sibilants, provided that pre-palatal sibilant is not found at the onset of the word.

This state of affairs was accounted for by a Berber and Punic substrate scenario. As has been demonstrated, in none of the languages spoken in North Africa in the 7th century CE existed a set of pre-palatal sibilants. It has been argued that their emergence in Berber is a matter of later development, presumably triggered by lexical borrowing from Arabic. In Punic, on the other hand, /š/ had existed but at a later stage, it merged with /s/, while /ž/ has never been a part of its sound system. Finally, there is no indication that pre-palatal sibilants ever existed in Late Latin. Thus, the absence of those sounds in the pre-Islamic Maghreb is an areal feature.

The main objective of this section was that the mismatch between the sound systems of the local languages and the newly imported Arabic led to an imperfect adaptation of the Arabic sibilants. Pre-palatal sibilants, due to their [RTT+] feature, unknown in North Africa at that time, were adapted initially as /s/ and /z/. In light of data from Algeria, it has been assumed that the major obstacle for speakers of Berber and Punic switching to Arabic was a sequence of two sibilants with different [RTT] features. This articulatory impediment was presumably resolved through harmonization towards the alveolar realisation. The pre-palatal harmony found in some dialects of Tunisia and across Morocco constitutes an analogical development,

which took place after the pre-palatal sibilants were fully adapted by the Maghrebi population. An additional, equally important factor, which stimulated the emergence of sibilant harmony is an assimilation of the causative prefix /s-/ in Berber. Namely, depending on the quality of sibilants found in the verb stem, the prefix undergoes a sound shift to form harmony. It has been argued that initially, this phenomenon involved assimilation in voicing and emphasis, while at a later stage also included palatalization. Considering linguistic findings both from Berber and Punic, a reconstruction of the emergence of sibilant harmony in MA has been proposed. It has been assumed that the sequence [RTT-] – [RTT-] reflects the primary stage of the adaption of Arabic by Berber, Punic, and Latin speakers, which did not have an [RTT+] in their consonant inventory. At a later stage, sequences of [RTT-] – [RTT+] started being permitted, to avoid retraction of the tongue tip at the onset of the word. Finally, sequences of [RTT+] - [RTT+], found in Jewish Tunisian and Moroccan, represent a later development, which took place in analogy to [RTT-] – [RTT-].

2.3.6. Laterals

/l/ - [ḷ]

It is a lateral liquid, which undergoes emphasization in a vicinity of an emphatic consonant, i.e., *ṣḷa* 'synagogue'. It occurs also in some words of foreign origin, e.g., *ḅḷaṣa* 'place (it. palazzo), *ḷaḅəṣ* 'pencil' (it. lapis). As far as I have observed, [ḷ] in Jewish Gabes is not an independent phoneme.[24]

---

[24] It seems that /ḷ/ in Jewish Tripoli is an independent phoneme given the following minimal pair: *wə́lla* 'or' – *wə́ḷḷa* 'by God' (Yoda 2005:20).

2.3.7. Trills

/r/ - /ṛ/

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, occurred in Jewish Tunis due to the influence of French and is audible mostly among younger speakers (1975:26). In Jewish Gabes the fricative realization seems to be conditioned by the phonetic environment, i.e., when an emphatic /ṛ/ is preceded by a vowel, it tends to shift to fricative uvular. It is worth noting, however, that this is not a fixed rule and, in certain cases, even when preceded by a vowel, /ṛ/ is realized as trill. In Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Benghazi, on the other hand, /r/ is a back continuant regardless of the phonetic environment, e.g., ʿarū́sa [ʕɑʁṍsa] 'fiancé', rāḥ [ʁāh], 'he went', kbī́ra [kbī́ʁa] 'big (sf)'. The same realization is found in words of Hebrew origin, e.g., parašá [paʁaʃá] 'weekly Torah portion'.[25]

As has already been mentioned, /r/ has its emphatic counterpart, which in Jewish Gabes, similarly to neighbouring dialects, has phonemic status, i.e., kra 'he rented' – kṛa 'he hated', rəbbi 'rabbi' – ṛabbi 'God', ẓra 'he ran' - ẓṛa 'it happened'.[26] Although in many cases it has developed through emphasis spread from a nearby

---

[25] This has been established based on recordings of the native speakers of Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Benghazi uploaded on the website of the Mother Tongue project, link to the website: https://www.lashon.org/1/taxonomy/term/132.

[26] The phonemic status of /ṛ/ 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).

emphatic consonant, e.g., *ṃṛəḍ* 'sick' (< CA *marīḍ*), in numerous words /ṛ/ is the only emphatic, e.g., *ṛāṣ* 'head', *məṛṛa* 'time'. At times, the /i/ vowel has prevented the emphaticization of /r/ to /ṛ/, i.e., *fāṛ* 'mouse' – *firā́n* 'mice', *ẓāṛ* 'neighbour' – *žirā́n* 'neighbours'.[27] The same phenomenon is attested in the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:15) In addition, one can observe that /ṛ/ does not occur in certain consonantal environments, namely, when it occurs after or before the following consonants:

- velar plosive /k/ and /g/, i.e., *drək* 'he was in a hurry', *rkəb* 'he rode', *škər* 'he got drunk'

- uvular fricative /x/ and /ġ/, i.e., *xrəž* 'he went out', *wáxxər* 'he was late', *rġab* 'he begged', *ġarbā́n* 'strainer'

- pharyngeal /ḥ/, i.e., *rḥátu* 'she grinded him', *rtāḥ* 'he rested', *xrəb* 'he ruined'

- palato-alveolar sibilants /ž/ and /š/: *kərši* 'chair', *frəš* 'bed', *ržaʕ* 'he returned'

Nonetheless, the phonemic status of /ṛ/ is confirmed by several minimal pairs, as is also attested in many neighbouring dialects. It is worth noting, however, that in many words where the occurrence of /ṛ/ is conditioned by emphasis spread, its emphatic character is not stable and, in some cases, /r/ is audible instead of the expected /ṛ/. This phenomenon has already been identified in Jewish Tunis, where the distribution of /ṛ/ is very often related to a social group or neighbourhood. Cohen remarks that in the Hāṛa of Tunis most of the speakers tend to pronounce /r/ as emphatic, where elsewhere it is pronounced plain (Cohen 1975:29).

---

[27] A more comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon can be found in the section 'Emphasis and Emphaticization'.

2.3.8. Uvulars

/q/

Even though /q/ has been classified here as a uvular consonant, its realization 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 realized as /ʾ/ (Cohen 1912:43).[28] Fronting of /q/ to /k/ is one of the characteristic traits of sedentary Jewish dialects in North Africa (Aguadé 2018:45).[29]

/ġ/

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

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

---

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

[29] It is worth noting that in some Arabic dialects of the eastern branch a further fronting takes place, which also involves palatalization, i.e., /k/ > /č/, e.g., *samak* > *samač* in Muslim Baghdadi. On the other hand, in certain dialects this shift has phonetical limitations, namely in the Arabic spoken in the south coast of Iran, the affrication of the fronted /k/ takes place only in the environment of front vowels (Leitner 2021:230).

2.3.9. Velar plosives

/k/

CA ك is realized 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 realization, e.g., *kān* 'he was', while the latter occurs due to the de-pharyngealization of /q/, e.g., *ka-yə́mši* 'he is/was going'.

/g/

The voiced velar plosive /g/ is not an independent phoneme retained from Old Arabic, but rather originates in sound shifts that have affected other phonemes. For example, when the voiceless velar /k/ is followed by a voiced consonant, it shifts to /g/, i.e., *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., *bágra* 'cow', *gúmra* 'moon', *nā́ga* 'female camel'. The geographically closest Bedouin dialect to Jewish Gabes is the dialect of El-Ḥāmma, in which the shift from /q/ to /g/ is almost a rule (Cantineau 1960:208).[30] 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/.[31] In addition, it is worth noting that the shift from the CA /q/ to /g/ is also present in some rural dialects of Algeria, as well as in Jewish Algiers. Marcel Cohen claims that plosive post palatal realization of /q/,

---

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

[31] In Jewish Algiers, the realization of /q/ as /g/ is characteristic of rural communities, while pharyngeal /q/ prevails in cities (Cohen 1912:29).

similarly to Jewish Gabes, is audible in *objets venus de la campagne ou qu'on ne connaît qu'à la campagne* (1921:46). Interestingly, a close examination of some contemporary recordings of native speakers of Jewish Algerian Arabic from the El-Oued (Eastern Algeria) reveals that /g/ is found not only in words related to the agriculture such as *gə́maḥ* 'wheat', but also in high-occurence verbs of everyday use: *ḥaṭṭ yə́rgud* 'until he fell asleep', *gūm*! 'wake up!', *gə́ltlu* 'I told him'.

2.3.10.   Velar fricative

/x/

The Classical consonant خ is represented by a velar fricative /x/. Its original realization involves the raising of the back part of the tongue towards the furthest part of the soft palate. As a result, very often a uvular sound can 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 the uvula does not take part in the articulation. On the other hand, younger speakers, who grew up in Hebrew-speaking environment, articulate /x/ pressing the root of the tongue towards the soft palate. This realization is therefore probably conditioned by the influence of Hebrew. A parallel discrepancy has been observed by Marcel Cohen 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 (1912:30).[32] The velar realization of /x/ is not attested in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:32).

---

[32] Cohen transcribes the former as /ẖ/ and the latter as /x/.

2.3.11.   Pharyngeals

/ḥ/

CA ح is represented by a pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/. The realization of this consonant involves pulling the root of the tongue toward the back wall of the upper pharynx (Ladefoged 1982:171, Watson 2002:18).

/ʿ/

The pharyngeal fricative /ʿ/ reflects the Classical *ʿayn*. This consonant is well preserved, and its realization is stable both among male and female speakers.[33]

2.3.12.   Laryngeal

/h/

The fricative voiced laryngeal /h/ corresponds to CA ه, in which language it had a phonemic status. In Jewish Gabes, as far as I can establish, /h/ retains its phonemic status, e.g., *šhər* 'month' vs. *škər* 'he got drunk'.

The weakening of /h/ is a phenomenon widely attested in several Jewish Maghrebi dialects. According to Yoda, despite the fact that many speakers of Jewish Tripoli are aware of the etymological existence of /h/, it is essentially absent in this dialect (Yoda 2005:75). Marcel Cohen points out that even though CA ه is generally well preserved in modern Arabic dialects, among the Jews of Algiers its realization 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 (Cohen 1975:34). The elimination of /h/ has two possible outcomes,

---

[33] As pointed out by Cohen, /ʿ/ in the Jewish Algiers is articulated stronger by men than by women, who tend to weaken its realization (Cohen 1912:31).

namely, either the gemination of an adjacent consonant, or 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 realization of /h/, as can be found both in Muslim Tunis (Singer 1984:60), Muslim Algiers (Cohen 1912:32), and in the Bedouin dialect of Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:14). Surprisingly, in this feature Jewish Gabes aligns with the Muslim dialects.

The following section presents the cases in which /h/ is retained; words in round brackets represent Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:36):

- initial: *hábəl* 'mad' (cf. *abä́l*), *habū́ṭ* 'unit of measure' (cf. *abū́ṭ*), *haḍáṛ* 'he talked' (cf. *aḍaṛ[ṛ]*), *haṛáḅ* 'he fled' (cf. *aṛaḅ[ḅ]*), *harə́dd* 'he has been destroyed' (cf. *arə́d[d]*), *hažž* 'he raised' (cf. *ažž*), *hamə́ll* 'he got lost' (cf. *amə́l[l]*)

- medial:

a) hV: *šū́ha* 'scandale' (cf. *šū́wa*), *žī́ha* 'side' (cf. *žī́ya*), *yəhū́di* 'Jew' (cf. *yū́di*), *mə́nhum* 'from them', *dhə́ḅḅ* 'gold'

b) hC: *mahbū́l* 'crazy' (cf. *mabū́l*), *mahrū́d* 'rotten' (cf. *marū́d*), *qáhwa* 'coffee' (cf. *qä́wa*), *šáhwa* 'desire' (cf. *šä́wa*)

- final: *nadä́tha* 'she called her', *dárha* 'her back', *mʿaha* 'with her', *úmha* 'her mother', *razə́lha* 'her husband', *yəḥabbū́ha* 'they love her'

As can be inferred from the above examples, in Jewish Gabes /h/ is retained in initial, medial, as well as final position. However, its realization is weakened in monosyllabic word, in which /h/ is in initial position, i.e. *(h)āk* 'that'.

2.3.13.   Treatment of *hamza*

The CA *hamza* has disappeared from both Muslim and Jewish dialects of Tunisia.[34]
Also in Jewish Gabes the glottal stop is completely absent and depending on the
position of *hamza* in the word, some compensatory processes can be observed.

The elimination of *hamza* in word-initial position usually gives rise to a short
vowel with a quality depending on the following consonant, i.e., CA *ʾuktub > ə́ktəb*
'write!', CA *ʾummi > úṃṃi* 'my mother', CA *ʾarḍ > aṛḍ* 'earth', CA *ʾaḥmar > áḥmaṛ*
'red'. As can be seen, a bilabial consonant conditions the occurrence of a rounded /u/
vowel, while a pharyngeal fricative and emphatic /ṛ/ is preceded by a low vowel /a/.
In addition, verbs with first radical *hamza* have developed a sort of semi-vowel which
substitute for the elided glottal stop, i.e., *wáxxər* 'he was late', *wákkəl* 'he fed'.
However, in a limited number of words *hamza* disappears along with the following
vowel, i.e., in nouns of a frequent use e.g., CA *ʾabū > bū* 'father', CA *ʾaxū > xū*
'brother', and in verbs of the 10th stem, e.g., CA *ʾistaḥaqq > stḥaqq* 'he was in need
of'.[35]

The disappearance of *hamza* inside a word brought about a wide range of
processes. To begin with, in some words it is simply eliminated, and no compensation
occurs, i.e., CA *marʾah > ṃra* 'woman', CA *raʾs > ṛāṣ* 'head'. On the other hand,
sometimes the drop of *hamza* results in the lengthening of the adjacent vowel, i.e., CA

---

[34] As pointed out by Y. Henshke, the realization of /ʾ/ in the reading tradition of Hebrew among the
Jews of Tunisia is essentially limited to two words, namely *nəboʾa* 'prophecy' and *šənʾa* 'hatred'
(2007:18).

[35] This phenomenon is widely attested in Jewish Tripoli. According to Yoda the drop of the initial
syllable was brought about by the stress shift from paroxytone to oxytone due to a frequent use of the
construct state with pronominal suffixes, e.g., CA *ʾabū́na* 'our father', CA *ʾabū́ka* 'your father' etc. (Yoda
2005:84).

diʾb > *dīb* 'jackal', CA *yaʾxuḏ* > *yắxəd* 'he takes', or in emergence of /w/ and /i/, e.g., CA *muʾaxxar* > *ṃwáxxəṛ* 'late', CA *miʾah* > *mī́ya* 'hundred'.

In word-final position *hamza* is usually elided without leaving any trace, i.e., CA *samāʾ* > *šma* 'heaven', CA *badaʾ* > *bda* 'he began'. In a few cases it brings about the gemination of the preceding consonant, i.e., CA *ḏawʾ* > *ḍuww* 'light'.

2.4. Emphasis and emphaticization: a cross-dialectal perspective

The emphatic consonants have two places of articulation, namely, the primary coronal obstruction and secondary tongue root retraction towards the back wall of the pharynx (Ladefoged 1982:171, Davis 1995:465). As pointed out by Cohen, the emphasis in many cases does not have any particular significance from the phonological point of view and is optional but has an emotional and expressive function and therefore often occurs in words designating members of the family, taboo, or in words of a foreign origin (1975:14). 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 notes that when Muslim residents of Tunis would try to imitate the Arabic of their Jewish neighbours, they would use exaggerated emphasis (1975:14).

One of the properties of this group of consonants is that they can affect their phonetic environment through spread of the pharyngealization 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 *hitpaʿel* stem an emphatic first root radical turns the plain /t/ of the stem's prefix into emphatic /ṭ/, 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 1985:217-219). 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 in Jewish Tunis, where the assimilatory influence of the emphasis spreads in both directions, but a leftward spread is much more frequent than rightward spread. Arabic dialects also tend to differ in terms of the opaque elements blocking emphasis spread; for example, Heath reports that in one of the dialects of Moroccan Arabic high non-back phonemes block rightward spread, i.e., /y/, /š/ and /ž/ (1987), whereas in a Libyan dialect discussed by Ghazali, only the front vowels /i/ and /e/ are opaque to rightward emphasis spread (1977). Some elements can also block leftward emphasis spread. For instance, in a Palestinian dialect studied by Hoberman, the same type of phonemes, namely, /i/, /y/, and /š/ are opaque to both leftward and rightward spread (1989:73-97). On the other hand, Ghazali has found some southern Tunisian dialects to 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 not supported by quantitative data. Therefore, the acoustic analysis of

emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes, which is presented in following section, is of importance both for elucidating the phonology of this language and its typological status, as well as for understanding emphasis spread in Maghrebi Arabic more generally.

2.4.1. Acoustic data

The following study has been conducted by means of the software Praat. The criterion taken into consideration in establishing if a certain sound is produced with a retracted tongue root, abbreviated as [RTR],[36] is the second formant F2, which decreases in the case of pharyngealized consonants. The data presented in Table 7 below includes 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 7 is divided into two categories, according to the direction of the spread of pharyngealization. There is one emphatic consonant in each of the words, which is either historically emphatic, as in *ḍrɔ́ḅa* 'he hit her', or its emphatic feature is a result of a secondary process, e.g., *ḥraḅ* > CA *haraba* 'he fled'. Thus, in the first column are presented lexical items possessing a pharyngealized 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

---

[36] Within the framework of the theory of grounded phonology proposed by Archangeli and Pulleybank (1994).

or whether, some pharyngeal consonants bring about a spread of emphasis beyond an

adjacent sound.

Table 7: Directionality of emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes

1. Leftward spread

	[RTR+]	[RTR-]
		/q̣/
1.	(1) *tə́rqa* 1250.66026 Hz	*kā̄n* 1800.81868 Hz
	(2) *tə́ṛqa* 1342.43292 Hz	*tə́šbaḥ* 2225.83514 Hz
	(3) *ẓə́nqa* 1165.66389 Hz	*razə́lha* 1787.56570 Hz
		/ḍ/
2.	(1) *ắḅyaḍ* 1089.41890 Hz	*žā̄b* 1570.77986 Hz
	(2) *ləḅaḅáha* 1140.60608 Hz	
		/ṛ/
3.	*kắḅrat* 1089.28449 Hz	*nḥắbba* 1607.00414 Hz
		/ṭ/
4.	*əṣṣəḷtắn* 1488.24324 Hz	*sə́zra* 2043.50565 Hz
5.	(1) *yəxáyyəṭ* 1598.02826 Hz	*tə́šbaḥ* 2225.83514 Hz
	(2) *yəxáyyəṭ* 2244.11668 Hz	*xarraž* 1537.04294 Hz
	(3) *yəxáyyəṭ* 2284.04582 Hz	
		/ṣ/
6.	*wúṣlu* 820.50536	*wulə́d* 1288.32720 Hz

2. Rightward spread

	[RTR+]	[RTR-]
		/ṭ/
7.	(1) *ṭə́yyəbi* 1378.20092 Hz	*bī* 2186.87534 Hz
	(2) *yə́ṭlab* 1089.42714 Hz	*nḥắbba* 1607.00414 Hz
		/ṛ/
8.	*ḥṛaḅ* - 978.36830 Hz	*žā̄b* – 1570.77986 Hz
		/ṣ/
9.	*ṣbáḥa* 1270.75092 Hz	*bā̄š* 2652.70550 Hz
		/ḍ/

10. *ḏráḅa* 1281.23549 Hz   *nḥábba* 1607.00414 Hz

/q̣/

11. (1) *qaltə́lha* 1553.06365 Hz   *kan* 1800.81868 Hz
    (2) *qaltə́lha* 1839.09118 Hz   *bálək* 1967.83617 Hz
    (3) *qaltə́lha* 1929.96698 Hz   *tə́šbaḥ* 2225.83514 Hz

2.4.2. Data analysis

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study presented in Table 7, discussed by section number:

2.4.2.1. Leftward spread

1.1. /q/ involves a certain level of lowering of the pitch, namely 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 the example 1 *tə́rqa* 'you/she find(s)' is not necessarily the result of emphasis spread, but can be due to the consonant /r/; additionally, it is rather difficult to determine the status of /r/ in this word, as its low pitch can equally be anchored in the adjacent /q/, or caused by the general tendency of /r/ in Jewish Gabes to become pharyngealized; similarly, the low frequency F2 of /zə/ in *ẓə́nqa* in 1.3 is either owing to the shift of plain /z/ to /ẓ/ or /ž/, or can be due to the following /n/ which involves the lowering of the tongue root.

1.2. An interesting phenomenon can be observed with the word *áḅyaḍ* 'white', where the emphasis originally anchored in /ḍ/ spreads over a high /y/ sound and affects the first syllable /áḅ/. In this word in other dialects, such as Abha Saudi Arabic, emphasis spread stops after the final /a/ and leaves the first syllable unaffected (Watson

64

1999:293). For the sake of comparison, the marked syllable in 2.2. has a similar frequency to that of *áḅyaḍ* 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 /ṛ/ in *káḅrat* brings about a lowering of the pitch of the first syllable and therefore /r/ should be recognized as the source of the emphasis spread.

1.4. As the examples show, the leftward spread of /ṭ/ is rather unbounded; in example *əṣṣəḷṭä́n* it affects the entire segment located to its left; contrary to this, example (5.1-3) demonstrates that final /ṭ/ 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 /ṭ/. Interestingly, the same word *yəxáyyəṭ* 'he saws' in both northern and southern Palestinian Arabic demonstrates lack of opacity (Davis 1995:473).

1.5. /ṣ/ causes a clear downswing in F2 of the preceding segment /wu/, as demonstrated in the example (6) *wúṣlu* 'they arrived'; indeed, one can expect low pitch when the approximant /w/ is followed by the back vowel /u/ but compared to a word which does not contain any emphatic consonant, like for example *wulə́d* 'child', F2 is much higher by more than 400 Hz.

2.4.2.2. Rightward spread

2.1. The emphasis anchored in /ṭ/ in the example 7.1. *ṭə́yyəbi* '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-pharyngealized word, i.e., the difference between /bi/ in *ṭə́yyəbi* '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 /ṭ/. Similarly, in 7.2. /ab/ is strongly affected by the emphatic character of /ṭ/. However, the measurement of the F2 of the syllable /yə/ preceding the emphatic /ṭ/ in *yə́ṭlab* '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 confirms these findings and suggests that this discrepancy is related to some sociolinguistic factors that need to be further examined (1995:474). The examples that I examined in the present study indicate that in Jewish Gabes inflectional prefixes remain unaffected by emphasis spread.

2.2. The consonants /ṣ/, /ḍ/ and /ṛ/ all display a clear tendency to lower the F2 of the preceding segments. It seems, however, that /ṣ/ causes much deeper downswing, as demonstrated by the difference between pharyngealized and the plain /ba/ being more than 1200 Hz (in the case of /ṛ/ the difference is approximately 600 Hz).

2.3. The F2 of the first syllable in *qaltə́lha* 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 of the F2 of the two following syllables.

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 pharyngealization are unbounded. However, example 5.1. proves that for /ṭ/, the element /y/ is opaque, blocking leftward spread, though simultaneously, the same element /y/ does not block the spread of emphasis from /ḍ/. This phenomenon by which different emphatic consonants are unequal in their potentials 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, emphasis spreads from /ṛ/ onto adjacent coronal consonants in most cases, e.g., *ḍṛəṣ* 'study', but there are several examples in which /ṛ/ does not bring about the emphaticization of an adjacent coronal, e.g., *ṭṛab* 'dirt' (Heath 1987:309). It should be stressed that /t/ remains unchanged in this example even though it occurs directly to the left of /ṛ/ where one would expect unblocked emphasis spread.

Therefore, in light of what has been previously said, an alternative classification should be offered. Following Napiorkowska (2015:70), who applied Ladefoged's approach (1971) 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 the spreading into an adjacent consonant, while (0) the weakest one:

Table 8: Emphasis spread scale

3	2	1	0
/ḍ/	/ṣ/, /ṛ/	/ṭ/	/q/

2.5. Assimilation

In this section I will discuss two types of assimilation, namely partial and total.

2.5.1. Partial assimilation

The notion of partial assimilation comprises in fact several other phonological phenomena such as voicing, devoicing and nasalization, due to which a sound change occurs. As pointed out by Cohen, 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., *iẓḍaḍ* 'he hunts' (>CA *iṣṭāḍ*), *gdəb* '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 velarized allophone, e.g., *zəŋqa* 'blind alley' (> *zənqa*), *ŋkə́tbu* 'we write' (> *nkətbu*), *yəŋqaṣṣ* 'it is cut off' (> *yənqaṣṣ*)

d) labialization: can take place when /m/, /ṃ/ or /ḅ/ precedes /ey/ or /i/, e.g., *əṃṃʷi* 'my mother', *ṃʷəyya* 'water', *tə́šṛḅʷi* 'you (sf) will drink'

2.5.2. Total assimilation

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

a) fw-, fm- > ff; when /f/ is followed by a labial, e.g.: CA *fuʾād* > * *fwād* > Jewish Gabes *ffad* 'intenstines'. After the loss of a glottal stop in CA, a semi vowel /w/ emerged, which subsequently was assimilated to the preceding /f/. As a result, /f/ is pronounced as geminated. Another attested example is CA *ʾafmām* > Jewish Gabes *ffuṃ* 'mouth', where after the drop of the initial glottal stop, a form *fmām* emerged. This lately shifted to *ffuṃ* due to the assimilation of /m/. The /u/ vowel is apparently a result of the reciprocal assimilation of /ə/ to the labio-dental /f/. The aforementioned process is attested also in other dialects, like for example Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:66). However, in Jewish Gabes some speakers tend to geminate not the first consonant, but the last one, i.e., *fuṃṃ*. This conforms to a general rule in Jewish Gabes of gemination of the last consonant in monosyllabic words.

b) ln > nn, there are numerous cases of the assimilation of /l/ to /n/, e.g., *mā ʿamə́nna šə́y* 'we did not do anything' (< *ʿamə́lna*), *ʿaṭawə́nna* 'they gave her to us' (< *ʿaṭawə́lna*).

c) nl > ll, contrary to the previous case, when /n/ if followed by /l/, it gives rise to the doubled ll, e.g., *willʿábu*? 'where did they play?' (< *win lʿabu*)

d) nr > rr, *mərrā́zəl* 'from man' (< *mən rā́zəl*).

e) nm > mm, *kā́mma* 'if not' (< *kān mā*); elision of /n/ and subsequent
gemination of the following /m/ is particularly common on the border
between two phonological segments.

f) qk > qq, *fúqqəm* 'above you (pl.)' (> *fúqkəm*)

2.6. Vowels

2.6.1. General characteristics

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the phonology of North African Arabic
dialects is the relatively poor inventory of vowel phonemes.[37] This has already been
mentioned by Cohen 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 (1975:46). The study presented in the
current section 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 significant reduction of the short vowels inventory, resulting in the
existence of a single phonemic short vowel /ə/. Yoda notes that this development has
so far been attested in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:32), Jewish Algiers (Cohen
1912:175), Djidjelli (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 32) and Jewish Constantine (Yoda
2005:31). Moroccan Arabic presents a rather similar system of long vowels to the

---

[37] In this respect Maghrebi Arabic demonstrates similarity to Berber (Kossmann 2013:174).

above mentioned dialects, which Heath terms 'full', but only two phonemic short vowels, namely /ə/ and /u/ (Heath 1987:23). From the perspective of language contact, the same reduction of vowel inventory is also found outside of Arabic, within 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/. Its phonemic inventory is therefore more diverse than that of Jewish Tripoli and resembles 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 observes that, in terms of its quality, the flexibility of /ə/ is among the parallels between Maghrebi Arabic and northern Berber (Kossmann 2013:174).

Establishing those qualities of /ə/ accurately is rather challenging for several reasons. First of all, the quality of /ə/ depends not only 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, who establishes 10 allophones (Yoda 2005:32). As the classification of those allophones is rather abstract and tentative, in 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.

2.6.2. Long vowels

From the cross-dialectal perspective, the North African dialects can be divided into two groups with respect to the long vowels inventory, i.e., 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/, whereas 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, while the Bedouin ones to the group with the five. One should expect therefore, that the long vowel inventory of Jewish Gabes, as a dialect of the sedentary type, will consist of three vowels. The table below demonstrates the aforementioned development of the diphthongs of CA in Jewish Gabes as compared to the Bedouin dialect of Maṛāzīg from Southern Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:23):

Table 9: Diphthongs in CA, Maṛāzīg and Jewish Gabes

CA	Maṛāzīg	Jewish Gabes
layla 'night'	*lēla*	*līla*
zawž 'two'	*zōz*	*žūž*

Hence, Jewish Gabes indeed has three long phonemic vowels, as can be established by the following minimal pairs:

/ə/ : /ā/

ʿ*ə́mna* 'we swam' : ʿ*ā́mna* 'our year'

72

/ə/ : /ū/

zə́ṛna 'we visited' : *zū́ṛna* 'visit (MS) us!'

/ə/ : /ī/

ktə́ba 'he wrote it (FS)' : *ktī́ba* 'writing'

     Apart from the aforementioned set of three long vowels and one short vowel occurring in words of Arabic origin, there are also numerous allophonic realizations of /e/ reflecting the Hebrew vocalization signs *ṣere* and *segol* in lexical items of Hebrew origin. *Ṣere,* as pointed out by Henshke, 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 *yosēp̄*) 'Joseph'. In the vicinity of emphatic consonants, however, *ṣere* is realized in the northern communities as /e/, e.g., *zaqen* (< זָקֵן *zaqēn*) 'old' (Henshke 2007:53). The realization of *segol* is not fixed either, but rather demonstrates various tendencies. In the segolate nouns the first *segol* is usually pronounced as /i/ or /e/, while the second *segol* is by principle reduced to /ə/, e.g., *kibəš* (< כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś*) 'lamb'. The realization of *hateph-segol* is not regular either and it can be represented by both /e/ or /i/, e.g., *emona* (<אֱמוּנָה *ĕmūna*) 'faith', *imit* (< אֱמֶת *ĕmēt*) '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 *ḥolem*. It is realized at times as /u/, but in the vicinity of emphatics and pharyngeals /o/ is preferred, e.g., *xəššof* (> כישוף *kiššūp̄*) 'magic' (Henshke 2009:55).

2.6.3. Short vowels

As has been already mentioned, the examination of the exact quality of short vowels in the Maghrebi dialects is somewhat problematic and determining the quality of each

allophone is not only difficult from the methodological point of view, but also does not establish phonological distinctions. Based on the interview with an informant it has been established that there are three phonemic short vowels in Jewish Gabes: /a/, /o/ and /ə/. Below one can find minimal pairs proving the phonemic status of all three short vowels:

/a/ : /o/

ḥobb 'love' : *ḥabb* 'he loved'

ḥokka 'box' : *ḥakka* 'scratching'

ṣroq 'he shone' : *ṣraq* 'he stole'

/ə/ : /a/

məktū́b 'written' : *maktū́b* 'wallet, destiny'

/ə/ : /ā/

žməl 'camel' : *žmāl* 'camels'

/ə/ : /ū/

šxūn 'hot' : *šxən* 'he warmed himself up'

/o/ : /ā/

ṣórba 'sip' : *ṣārba* 'drunk (SF)'

/o/ : /ə/

konna 'daughter-in-law' : *kənna* 'we were'

/ū/ : /ə/

šxūn 'hot' : *šxən* 'he warmed himself up'

As the above examples demonstrate, the occurrence of /o/ is limited to the vicinity of /q/, /k/, /r/, /ḥ/, and /ġ/.

It has been previously mentioned that /ə/ can admit of different qualities depending on its consonantal environment. In what follows, I will briefly present the allophones of /ə/ as compared to the five basic qualities: [a], [e], [u], [o] and [i]. I will generally outline the consonantal environment that each of the allophones prefers.

/ə/ with the quality of [a]

Occurs usually when preceded or followed by a pharyngeal or uvular consonant, e.g., *yəḥə́ṭṭ* [yəḥaṭṭ] 'he puts', *bˤəd* '[bˤad] 'after', *dǽxlət* [dáxlət] 'she entered', *qə́ṣṣəm* [qáṣṣəm] 'he cut them', *tġə́ṣṣəṣ* [tġáṣṣəṣ] 'he got angry', *yəxə́yyəṭ* [yəxáyyəṭ] 'he sews', *tű́qəf* [tű́qaf] 'you stop', *bˤə́tət* [bˤatət] 'she sent ', *xə́bža* [xábža] 'bread', *yəḥə́bb* [yəḥább] 'he likes', *yəqə́yyəd* [yəqáyyəd] 'he registers'

/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 and, e.g., *ṭə́lˤat* [ṭélˤat] 'she went out', *ḍṛə́btu* [ḍṛébtu] 'she hit him', *ṣə́ḷḷi* [ṣéḷḷi] 'pray!', *kə́bṛu* [kébṛu] 'they grew up'

/ə/ with the quality of [u]

This realization usually occurs when /ə/ is followed or preceded by a labial consonant, /r/ - /ṛ/,[38] or /w/ e.g., *wəld* [wúld] 'child', *fəṃṃ* [fuṃṃ] 'mounth', *rəbtű́ha* [rubtű́ha] 'they tied her', *mə́ṛtu* [múṛtu] 'his wife'. In this, Jewish Gabes contrasts both with

---

[38] In Jewish Tripoli, the occurrence of /r/ or /ṛ/ brings about a quality of [e], cf. Yoda 2005:36.

Berber (Kossmann 2013:172) and with Tlemcen Arabic (Marçais 1902), in which /u/ prefers the environment of velar and uvular consonants.[39]

/ə/ with the quality of [i]

When /ə/ is followed by /y/, e.g., *bə́yyət* [bíyyət] 'he spent a night', *mžə́yya* [mžíyya] 'favour', *tədwə́yya* [tədwíyya] 'she will talk about it', *mə́yyət* [míyyət] 'dead', go', *šə̀yyə́ba* [šəyyíba] 'he left her'

As the above classification shows, /ə/ in Jewish Gabes can be realized as four basic vocalic qualities. In addition, in some words an [o] quality can be heard, as for instance in *ə́xra* [óxra] 'other (f)', for which, however, it is difficult to determine any regularity, and the number of these cases is rather limited compared, for example, to Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:51). A comparative study of Jewish Tunis and Jewish Gabes proves that in most cases where Jewish Tunis has a short [o], the dialect under investigation has either [u], or [a]. This proves the weakness of /o/ in Jewish Gabes.[40] One category illustrating this difference is verbs of the first pattern with /w/ or /y/ as the second radical. In Jewish Tunis numerous verbs of this group have long ā vowel in the 3MS form in the suffix conjugation, which shifts to short [o] when the 2MS suffix is added, i.e., *ṭā̌ṛ - ṭoṛṭ*[41] 'it (bird) flew away', *tāq – toqt* 'he supported', *ḍā̌ʿ - ḍoʿt*

---

[39] Kossmann points out that short /ŭ/ is one of the elements that distinguishes Maghrebi Arabic from Berber, as the former has it, and the latter does not. Unfortunately, he does not specify which Maghrebi dialects he is referring to, as the phonemic status of /ŭ/ is not confirmed in all of them. Jewish dialects are believed to belong to the so called pre-Hilālī, or first-stratum dialects, which do possess two short vowels /ə/ and /u/. Nonetheless, some modern Jewish dialects, including Gabes and Algiers, similarly to Berber, do not possess phonemic /u/, cf. Cohen 1912:116.

[40] The marginal and unproductive role of /o/ is confirmed by its replacement by /u/ in word loans containing originally /o/, e.g., *brū́du* 'broth' > it. *brodo*.

[41] Cohen 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.

'he got lost', *fāq – foqt* 'he woke up' (1975:103). The [o] quality occurs usually in the environment of the emphatics and labials. In all these examples Jewish Gabes has short [ə] in the suffixed form, i.e., *fāq – fəqt*. A possible explanation for the aforementioned interchanges of vowels in Jewish Tunis can be language contact with Muslim Tunis, which also tends to have an [o] or [u] timbre in 2MS suffix conjugation (Singer 1984:359).

2.6.4. Acoustic analysis of vowels

The following chart presents the mean plot, representing the mean of all the individual tokens of the four main vowels in Jewish Gabes. 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 of the *x* axis is, the more frontal is the vowel, and the higher the value on the *y* axis, the lower is the vowel. The numerical values which follow the chart are the averages calculated for each of the vowels based on fifteen allophone tokens taken from recordings the speakers participating in the study. In the following section one can find the acoustic variation of each of the vowel phonemes along with the examples. As noted in the introduction of this section, /o/ has not been included in the analysis of acoustic scatter of vowels due to its limited occurrence.

Figure 1: The mean qualities of the main phonemic vowels of Jewish Gabes
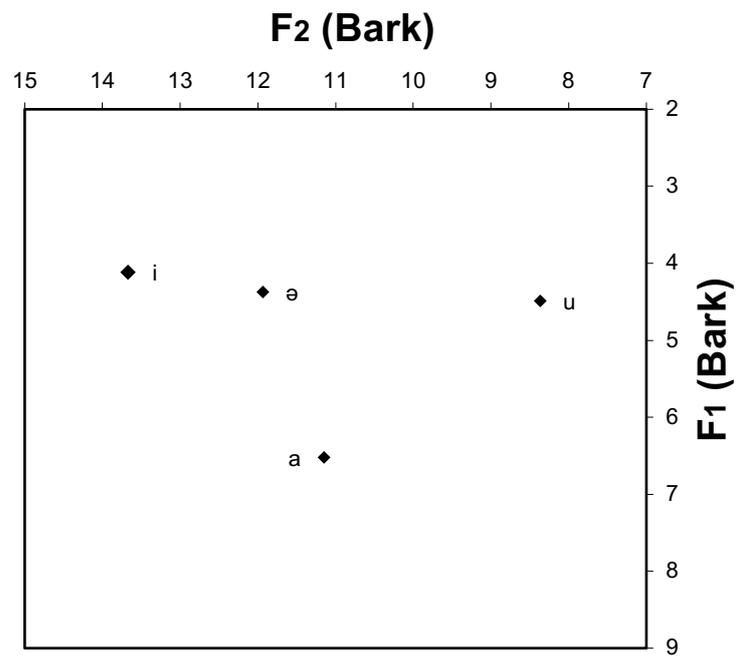
/a/ 718 : 1489 Hz

/i/ 430 : 2184 Hz

/u/ 472 : 977 Hz

/ə/ 459 : 1674 Hz

Figure 2: qualities of /a/
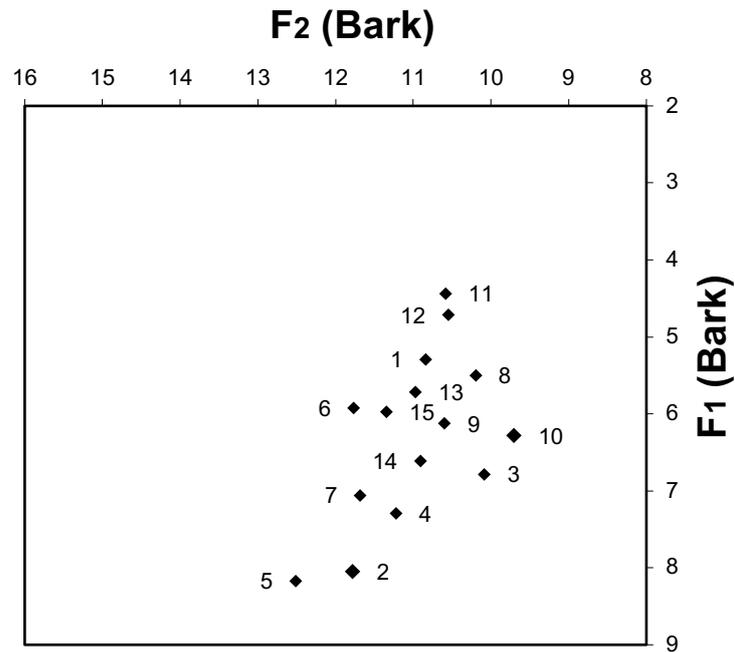
1. *ána* 'I'

2. *áǧnī* 'make him rich!'

3. *yə́ṭlaḅ* 'he asks'

4. *ḍā̠r* 'house'

5. *xá̠dma* 'work'

6. *ṣəḷṭá̠n* 'sultan'

7. *ʿažī́ža* 'dear (SF)'

8. *mṛa* 'woman'

9. *ṣána ʿ* 'maidservant'

10. *qátla* 'she said to her'

11. *rá̠qdət* 'she fell asleep'

12. *ttá̠ḅḅaṣ* 'you (MS)/ she bend'

13. *ḅá̠ba* 'father'

14. *ṭā̠r* 'it (bird) flew away'

15. *qṣaṛ* 'castle'

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

Figure 3: qualities of /i/
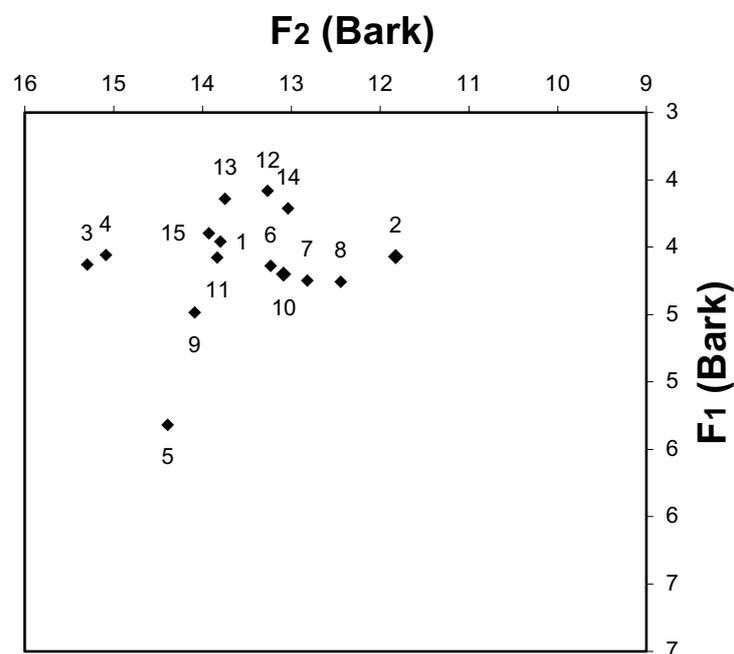
1. *bīt* 'room'

2. *kbíṛa* 'big (FS)'

3. *aḥyī́* 'make alive!'

4. *ʿažī́ž* 'dear'

5. *xlī́ka* 'figure'

6. *xīṛ* 'better'

7. *ḅrī́ma* 'fine'

8. *xdīt* 'I took'

9. *žīb* 'bring! (MS)'

10. *kifā́š* 'how'

11. *dā́rị̄* 'my house'

12. *rázlị̄* 'my man'

13. *šị̄́d* 'lord'

14. *ṛábḅị̄* 'God'

15. *hā́dị̄* 'this (FS)'

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 /ṛ/, i.e., (2) and (8), possessing a back quality due to the retraction of the tongue root required for the realization of those consonants.

Figure 4: qualities of /u/
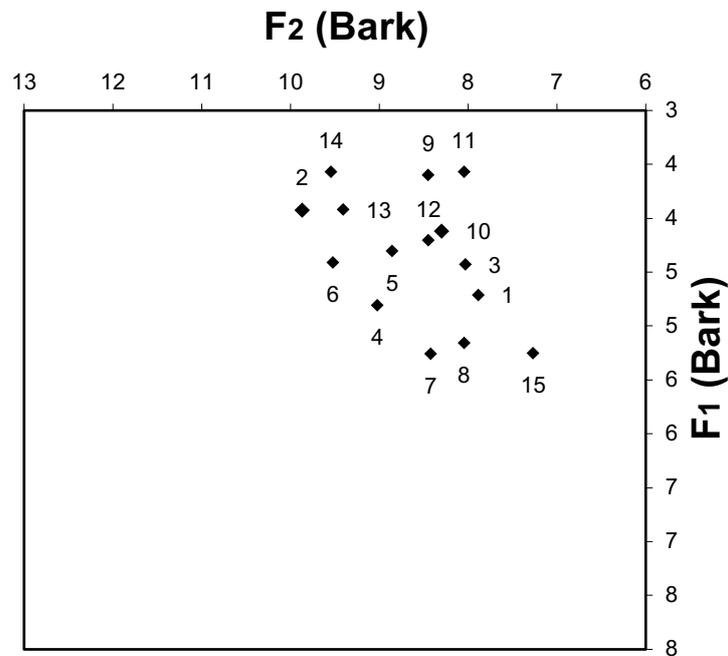
1. *fárḥụ̄* 'they rejoiced'

2. *yʿamlū̌* 'they make it'

3. *škūn* 'who'

4. *qállu̱* 'he told him'

5. *tū̌qaf* 'you (MS) stop'

6. *yəšū̌fu̱* 'they will look'

7. *nə́qrau̱* 'we read'

8. *fūq* 'above'

9. *mā tū̱liš* 'you (MS) will not be'

10. *mā rqáu̱s* 'they did not find'

11. *ʿándu̱* 'he has'

12. *kū̱l* 'eat!'

13. *flū̱š* 'money'

14. *lū̌la* 'first'

15. *yəqú̱llu* 'he tells him'

The realizations of /u/ have 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 realizations 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 realization is found mostly in long vowels in a non-emphatic environment (2), (14), (6).

F₂ (Bark)
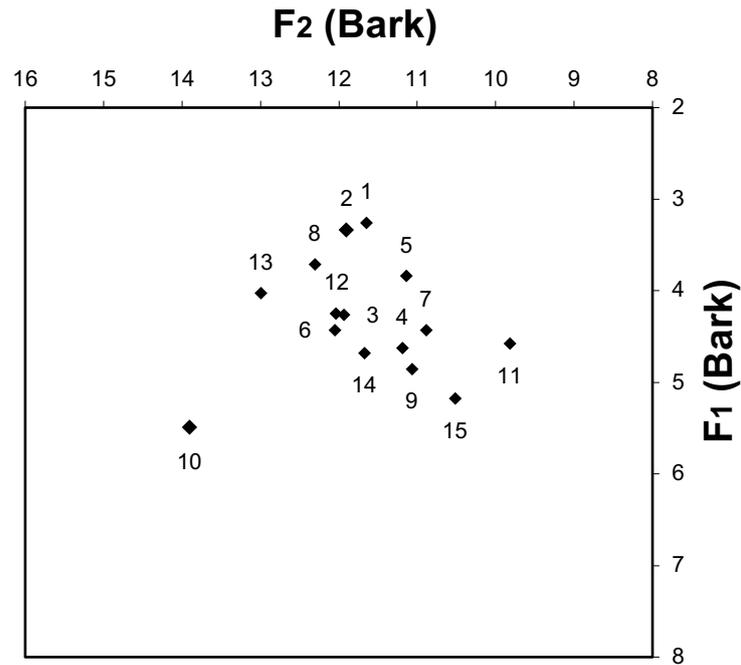
Figure 5: qualities of /ə/

1. ṣạlṭä́n 'sultan'

2. bạnt 'daughter'

3. ṃạ́rtu 'his wife'

4. tạ́tlaʕ 'you (MS)/she will go out'

5. šạmš 'sun'

6. qtạ́lha 'he killed her'

7. ráqḍạt 'she fell asleep'

8. kạ́lbək 'your dog'

9. qạ́lbək 'your heart'

10. lạ́qmi 'date wine'

11. kábṛət 'she grew up'

12. bʕatạ́təm 'she sent them'

13. aʕmə́lli 'make for me'

14. tä́xəd 'you (MS)/she will take'

15. *tֺֺֺ֡drֺֺəbu* 'you (MS)/she will hit him'

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

2.6.5. Diphthongs

As has been mentioned in the section on long vowels, 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. Cohen notes that the preservation of the diphthongs is one of the characteristic traits of the Jewish Tunisian dialects, and he adduces numerous examples of lexemes containing diphthongs in Jewish Tunis which seemingly confirm this claim (1975:65). Nonetheless, the data from Jewish Gabes and Jewish Djerba indicates that in contrast to Jewish Tunis, in these Jewish dialects from Southern Tunisia the diphthongs are contracted:

Table 10: Distribution of diphthongs in Jewish Tunis and Jewish Gabes

Jewish Tunis	Jewish Gabes	
xawx	*xōx*	peaches (collective noun)
mawt	*mūt*	death

ṣawṭ	*ṣōṭ*	voice
dayn	*dīn*	debt
xayṭ	*xīṭ*	rope
kayf	*kīf*	enjoyment

Examples from Jewish Djerba include the following items: *žūž* (Jewish Tunis: *žawž*) 'pair', *žīt* (Jewish Tunis: *žayt*) 'oil', *žitū́n* (Jewish Tunis: *žaytū́n*) 'olive'.[42] It can be established, therefore, that the contraction of diphthongs is one of the hallmarks of the southern Jewish dialects, in contrast to Jewish Tunis.

2.7. Phonotactics

2.7.1. Syllabic patterns

The following syllabic patterns are attested in Jewish Gabes:

    a) Open syllables:

CV̄ : **žā.bū** 'they brought'

CCV̄: **mšī́.**na 'we went'

    b) Closed syllables

əC : **ə́š.**mˤa! 'listen!'

CəC: **tə́b.**ki 'you (ms) / she will cry'

CCəCC: **ktəbt** 'she wrote'

CəCC: **kənt** 'she was'

CCCəCC: **stḥəmm** 'he warmed up'

CV̄C: **qāl** 'he said'

CCV̄C: **tžī́b**.lo 'you (ms) / she will bring him'

2.7.2. 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 in his work on Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912:141), and subsequently repeated by David Cohen in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:72).

Table 11: Syllable structure development in CA and Jewish Gabes

No	Rule	CA		Jewish Gabes
1.	No short vowel is permitted in an open syllable.[43]	*jăbắl^un* 'mountain'	⟶	*žbəl*
2.	Short vowels in closed syllables of CA are represented by a reduced vowel or zero vowel	*qắlăt* 'she said'	⟶	*qắlət*
3.	When a word contains two short vowels in open syllables, the second one is elided in order to form one closed syllable	*răqădăt* 'she fell asleep'	⟶	*ráqḍət*

---

[43] As pointed out by Yoda (Yoda 2005:103), there are some words in Jewish Tripoli in which this rule in not operative, especially in cases involving historical /h/. The weakening of this consonant, which in Jewish Tripoli is a widely spread phenomenon, brought about the opening of a preceding syllable, e.g., yə́.dəš < yə́d.həš. Despite the fact that /h/ in Jewish Gabes is rather stable, in a fast speech it is often inaudible and particularly in words with pronoun suffixes it gives an impression of /ə/ in an open syllable, e.g., *bə́ntha ~ bə́nta* 'her daughter'.

2.7.3. Epenthetic vowel

As has been previously mentioned, the modern Arabic dialects, and particularly the Maghrebi varieties, have undergone a considerable reduction of vowel inventory compared to CA. This resulted in an emergence of new types of syllables and various consonant clusters which violate fixed prosodic structures attested in CA. Therefore, in order to prevent the occurrence of some sequences of consonants, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. As has been noticed by Yoda, this vowel has no phonological or morphological value and does not attract the stress (Yoda 2005:95). Modern Arabic dialects deal in different ways with the insertion of an auxiliary vowel, a comparative cross-dialectal study will follow the present section. Below I will analyse the strategies by means of which consonant clusters are broken in Jewish Gabes.

1) **Word initial**

   a) CCV-

A cluster of two consonants at the beginning of a word is generally permitted in Jewish Gabes, i.e., *tžīb* 'you (ms) / she will bring', *ḍṛəb* 'he hit', *ẓḍəm* 'he attacked', *tbə́ddəl* 'he changed', *ẓġār* 'children', *nxāf* 'we will be scared'. However, a cluster of three initial consonants is broken by an auxiliary vowel inserted on the left of the cluster. This is particularly conspicuous in the prefix conjugation when no long vowel occurs in the stem or no vowel follows the first radical, i.e., **tktəb > tə́ktəb* 'you (ms) / she will write', but: *nšədd* 'he held', not **nə́šədd*, *tkū́n* 'you (ms) / she will be', not **tə́kūn*.

   b) CCCV

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

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, i.e., *ḥšəmt* 'she put to shame' + /-ni/ 'me' = *ḥšə́mtni* 'she put me to shame'. The cluster is resolved in two ways, 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., *ḥašmə́tni* 'she put me to shame'. However, the consonant cluster occurring in the prefix forms of 3PL, i.e., *yə́ktbu* 'they will write', which usually is tolerable in Jewish Gabes, in Jewish Djerba is resolved by the insertion of auxiliary vowel after the first radical, i.e., *yəkə́tbu* [yəkítbu] 'they will write'. The timbre of this vowels 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., *ykə́tbu* (Yoda 2005:159).

b) CC

The same reciprocal movement is observable when a vocalic suffix is added to a verbal form terminating with a consonant, i.e., *ḍṛəb* 'he hit' to /-u/ 'him'. The expected form is **drə́bu*, however, in this case the syllabic division would be *drə.bu*, with short vowel in an open syllable. As a general rule, short vowel cannot exist in an open syllable and therefore the actual form is *ḍə́ṛ.bu*. Another way of preventing the emergence of an open syllable containing short vowel is the gemination of the consonant of the

inflectional suffix, i.e., *ḍárbətəm '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 of 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, i.e., qṭəlt + /-kəm/ = qṭəltkəm 'she 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, i.e., yə́rbtu + /lu/ > yərbtū́lu 'they will sew him', there is, however, a shift of the stress onto the suffix vowel of the verb.

c) Word final

A cluster of three consonants in the word final position usually occurs when a verbal form contains both /-t/ suffix and negation particle /-š/. In these cases, an auxiliary vowel is not mandatory, but sometimes it is inserted, e.g., mā xā́fš ~ mā xā́fəš 'he did not fear'.

However, clusters of three consonants in monosyllabic words are resolved by default. The strategy differs in nouns 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'.

2.7.4. 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 posits 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 a decreasing order. Usually, the hierarchy of the consonants is as follows: vowels, liquids, fricatives, 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., William Marçais and Marcel Cohen. Nonetheless, the term used in French is *pouvoir ouvrant* and therefore their main focus is not on the level of sonority of the consonants, but rather on the principles governing their placement in the word. David Cohen has developed a provisional 'sonority' hierarchy for Jewish Tunis, considering the impact it has on the syllable structure (1975:79). Additionally, he points out that, compared to Muslim Tunis, the dialect of Jews is much more tolerable towards consonant clusters. Below I will present few examples from Jewish Gabes, utilising Cohen's findings.

In Jewish Tunis liquids, pharyngeal and labials have a strong tendency to be placed at the end of the word. Cohen 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 consonant followed by more sonorous one in the coda of a word. Jewish Gabes utilises the same strategy, disjoining clusters from CA, e.g.: CA *baḥr > bḥaṛ* 'sea', CA *ḥabl > ḥbəl* 'rope', CA *laḥm > lḥam* 'meat'. Also, in words which in CA have two short vowels, due to the process of reduction, the short vowel is inserted 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, i.e., CA

dabuʿ > *ḍbaʿ* 'hyena'. Also /b/ in some cases brings about the insertion of the vowel, e.g., *žanb* > *žnəb* Contrary to this, /ḥ/ can be easily found in sequence CVCC as the third radical, e.g., *qəmḥ* 'wheat'.

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

Another example of preventing a consonants cluster in word-initial is inserting of the prosthetic, ultra-short vowel, which principally takes place when the first consonant is a liquid, e.g., *ʾṛḍa* 'he agreed', *ʾrqắu* 'they found', *ʾntắy* 'mine', *ʾmġárfa* 'spoon'.

However, as has been noticed by Cohen, 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, i.e., *ṣə́rb* 'drinking' as opposed to *ṣrəb* 'he drunk' (Cohen 1975:82).

2.7.5. The syllabic typology of Jewish Gabes in a cross-dialectal perspective.

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

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

Table 12: Comparison of syllable structure in selected dialects of North-African Arabic

Dialect	Example	Classification
Jewish Gabes	qaláṭla 'she told her'	VC
	qáltlo 'she told him'	CC
	nədfnū́ha 'we bury her'	CC
Jewish Tunis[44]	nšə́dtni 'you asked me'	CC
	yárḥmu 'may he [God] have mercy upon him'	CC
	yə́xᵊržu 'they were going out' (> yə́xrež)	VC
	nə́fšna 'our soul'	CC
	aṣálkəm 'your origin'	VC
Jewish Algiers[45]	kə́lbna 'our dog'	CC
	mə́rṣtna 'our port'	CC
	mākəlti 'my food'	VC
	bġórti 'my cow'	VC
Jewish Tripoli	kčə́btləm 'you wrote them'	CC
	kčəbčə́ləm 'you wrote them'	CV
	qaltla 'she said'	CC
	yənqə́tlu 'they will be killed'	VC
Bedoui Douz[46]	šⁱbaḥᵊtni 'you saw me'	VC
	gⁱtalᵊtni 'you killed me'	VC
	xubᵊzti 'my bread'	VC
	mākilti 'my food'	VC
	nⁱḥāṛ iž-žⁱmōᶜa 'Friday'	CV

---

[44] The examples are borrowed from Cohen (1964).

[45] Cf. Cohen (1912:327).

[46] Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun (2014:76-79; 2011:282).

Muslim Tunis[47]	*qálbha* 'her heart'	CC
	žābə́lkum 'he brought you (pl)'	VC
	žā́bəthali 'she brought her to me'	VC

As can be seen, the dialects in question represent all three types of syllable structures. Watson elaborating on the theory of Kiparsky classifies Iraqi Arabic as VC dialect, giving the example of *gilitla* 'she told her', while Moroccan Arabic is categorized as CC dialect based on the example of *qiltlu* 'I told him' (Watson 2003:340). 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 extrasyllabic element, albeit possessing a moraic status. This analysis draws from Kiparsky's theory, according to which consonants can form semisyllables (2003). Similarly, in the first and the second items from Jewish Gabes listed in the table above, i.e., *qalə́tla* 'she told her', and *qáltlo* 'she told him', /t/ should be analysed as semisyllable: (qal).(t).(la). The epenthetic vowel is omitted in the analysis, as it occurrence is optional.

Based on the examples provided above, it should be assumed 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.

2.8. Stress

---

[47] Cf. Singer 1984:253.

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, there is a conspicuous discrepancy between Jewish and Muslim dialects of Tunis, where Muslim speakers pronounce a much stronger stress than Jewish speakers, the latter being hardly audible (Cohen 1975:84). It is worth noting that the stress in Jewish Gabes 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., *mātət* 'she died' > *mā matə́tš* 'she did not die'.

The rules established by Cohen regarding the stress in an isolated word in Jewish Tunis are also relevant to Jewish Gabes (Tunis 1975:85). 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', *mā ʿarafə́tš* 'she did not understand', *wuṣə́lt* 'you (ms)/she arrived'. In turn, the penultimate occurs in all other cases, namely both when the ultimate syllable is open, e.g., *kə́lba* 'bitch', and when it is closed, e.g., *tə́kmə̄l* 'she will finished'. However, in fast speech these rules sometimes are violated, especially in words starting with semi-consonants /w/ and /y/. In this case, their realization is often vocalic and therefore the accent is placed on the ultimate, e.g., *wū́žən > užə́n* 'he weighted'.

The placement of stress can have a twofold effect. As has been observed by Cohen it has an impact on both the vowels and the consonants (1975:88). It is well known that stress prolongs the vowel length, as it is 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 a word-final position, by giving them an additional reinforcement and in case of labial consonants a gemination can be observed, e.g., *wəld > ulə́dd* 'child', *habáṭ > habáṭṭ* 'he went down'.

2.9. Conclusions

This chapter has described the phonology of Jewish Gabes and its place within the Tunisian, especially Jewish, varieties of Arabic. As I have demonstrated, there are significant differences between Jewish Tunis and Jewish Gabes in terms of realization of certain consonants, as well as the distribution of diphthongs. I have paid special attention to the development of sibilants in the region, proposing that the interchanges between alveolar and palato-alveolar sibilants could stem from language contact with Berber, as they might be related to sound changes in Berber, which have led to the emergence of /ž/ and /š/. A comparison between the data from Jewish Tripoli, favouring the alveolar realization of the sibilants, and strongly palatalized Jewish Tunis, suggests that Jewish Gabes should be defined as a mixed-type dialect, as it contains multiple examples of both alveolar, and palato-alveolar sibilants. Another point of divergence between Jewish Gabes and Jewish Tunis was the distribution of /h/, which has stable and audible realization. In the second part of the chapter, I studied emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes. The preliminary results of this analysis, firstly, prove that the pharyngealized 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 four 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 on /o/ in the former is much more limited. Finally, I have shown that David Cohen's argument about the tendency toward preservation of diphthongs among Jewish dialects of Tunisian Arabic is not valid for southern Tunisian dialects, which reflect a strong contractive tendency.

3 Morphology

3.1. Verb morphology

3.1.1. General characteristics of the verbal system of Jewish Gabes

The verb morphology of Jewish Gabes shares many features with other sedentary Maghrebi dialects. Like most of the modern Arabic dialects, the Jewish Gabes dialect 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 of p-stem are completely absent. However, contrary to the Jewish and Muslim dialects of Tunis, it does preserve the gender distinction in 2SG s-stem.[48] While the 1st person singular of the p-stem conjugation is expressed by the *n-* prefix, the plural either has the same form, or a *-u* suffix is attached to the plural form. Finally, the distinction between active and passive participles of the derived forms known from CA has completely disappeared. The distribution and the functionality of the I stem active participle not only in Jewish Gabes, but in Jewish North African Arabic dialects in general, constitutes one of the major factors setting them apart from their Muslim counterparts.[49]

3.1.2. Stem patterns of the verbal system

When it comes to the distribution of the verbal forms, IV and IX forms are absent.[50] As a result, some of the verbs originally occurring in those forms in CA have been transferred to other stems, for instance, verbs with passive meaning in the seventh form having active counterparts in the first, have been transferred to the fourth form

---

[48] The Jewish dialect of Tripoli has preserved this distinction in imperfect conjugation as well, cf. Yoda (2005:140).

[49] I will discuss this topic in greater detail in the chapter on syntax (expressions of tense and aspect).

[50] The disappearance of the from IV was presumably caused by phonological factors, namely the initial long /ā/ was elided as it stood in an open syllable.

(according to the scheme presented below), or form the passive in a descriptive way.[51]

In addition, a purely dialectal stem has emerged with a prefixed /t-/ by a morphological and functional merger of CA stems V, VI, and VII. 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, this stem has in fact substituted the ninth form of CA (Yoda 2005:143). Consequently, ten verbal forms have been attested in Jewish Gabes, each of the forms possessing a regular form ($C^1C^2C^3$) (C standing for consonant), a second radical geminated form ($C^1C^2C^2$), and forms with a first radical semi-vowel (w/y C^2C^3), second radical semi-vowel (C^1 w/y C^3) and third radical semi-vowel (C^1C^2 w/y). Thus, the system of the verbal forms of the Jewish Gabes dialect can be represented as follows:[52]

Table 13: Verb stems attested in Jewish Gabes

<div align="center">

Triliteral verbs

</div>

Form I	$C^1C^2 \partial C^3$
Form II	$C^1 \partial C^2 C^2 \partial C^3$
Form III	$C^1 \acute{a} C^2 \partial C^3$
[Form IV	$t \partial C^1 C^2 \partial C^3$]
Form V	$T C^1 \partial C^2 C^2 \partial C^3$
[Form VI	$T C^1 \bar{a} C^2 \partial C^3$][53]
[Form VII	$n \partial C^1 C^2 \partial C^3$]
[Form VIII	$C^1 T \partial C^2 C^3$]

---

[51] For the development of the IV stem in Moroccan Arabic see: Aguadé (2012).

[52] The list includes perfect forms of the strong verb solely.

[53] The square brackets denote forms which are vestigial or restricted locally. Their distribution is discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Form X $\quad$ štaC^{1}C^{2}əC^3

[Form XI $\quad$ C^{1}C^{2}āC^3]

3.1.3. Basic form

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

Table 14: Vocalic variants of the I stem in CA

S-stem	P-stem	Meaning
CaCaCa	yaCCa/i/uCu	Transitive and intransitive action, *qatala – yaqtulu* 'to kill'
CaCiCa	yaCCaCu	Non action verbs and attributes, *baliha – yablahu*, 'to be simple-minded'
CaCuCa	yaCCuCu	Qualities and attributes, *ʿamuqa – yaʿmuqu*, '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 the 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 a shift from /ə/ to /a/, i.e., *dbaḥ* 'he slaughtered', *lʿab* '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 for example Tunis and Tripoli. In the dialect of Tripoli, the reduction was even more radical since the short epenthetic vowel /ə/ remained stable in the proximity of the gutturals (Yoda

2004:142). In the Jewish Tunis dialect, as pointed out by Cohen, the distribution of /ə/ and /a/ is determined by the neighbouring consonants (Cohen 1975:96). Contrary to this, the Muslim dialect of Tunis preserved all the 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 of 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, namely, *fᵊal* and *ᵊfᵊil*, while in prefix stem one can find as much as five forms, i.e., *yafᵊal*, *yifᵊil*, *yufᵊil*, *yufᵊul* and *yafᵊal*.[54] Moreover, the 3FS has two variants of suffix stem for four out of five prefix stem forms, namely, *fiᵃlat* and *fuᵃlat*. The two aforementioned dialects, therefore, are much more conservative in the preservation of the stem vowels present in CA then the Jewish dialects, which present a strong tendency to 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 to express such a differentiation. In the Jewish Gabes dialect, therefore, the aforementioned forms are the same, i.e., *ṣə́ṛṛəf* 'he cashed' and 'cash!'. In Jewish Tripoli Arabic this problem of ambiguity has been resolved by differentiation of the stress position, i.e., in suffix forms the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while

---

[54] Transcription according to the source.

in imperfect ones on the penultimate, *ʿallám* 'he taugh', but *ʿállam* 'teach!' (Yoda 2005:142). The dialect of Marāzīg, on the other hand, seems to preserve the original /i/ vowel of the imperative, i.e., *baṭṭal* 'he stopped', but *baṭṭil* 'stop!' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:333). Other dialects, like for example 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 it does possess a set of three short vowels (Singer 1984:368, Talmoudi 1980:99).

3.1.4. Derived forms

In comparison to CA, the system of derived forms in Jewish Gabes is much more limited. As can be inferred from the table presented above, the dialect of Gabes lacks CA forms IV and IX. Moreover, some forms like for example VII and VIII are only vestigial. Consequently, numerous roots which occur in those stems have been transferred to more stable patterns.

3.1.5. Encoding of the passive

Indeed, some verb stems occurring in CA are only scarcely attested in the Maghrebi dialects, while others have uneven geographical distribution. This is particularly the case with stems expressing passivity and reflexivity, which, depending on the region, have developed either in the direction of the /n-/ stem, i.e., *naC^{1}C^{2}aC^3*, or the /t-/ stem, i.e., *tC^{1}aC^{2}C^{2}aC^3*. Moreover, as will be shown in the following paragraphs, in Jewish Gabes a secondary process takes place, attesting to an analogical change.

Firstly, let us consider the distribution of the /n-/ and the /t-/ stems in selected dialects of Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. Benkato claims that the /n-/ stem is a trait of

the Sulaymi Bedouin dialects, while the /t/ system prevails in both sedentary and Hilālī varieties (2014:79). Although as will be shown this claim is not entirely accurate, the analogical levelling leading to the elimination of the /t-/ type passive could potentially indicate a language contact with the Sulaym tribes.

The passive stem with an /n-/ prefix is well attested in Jewish Tripoli. Nonetheless, the /t-/ stem seems to be commonly employed also to express passivity (Yoda 2005:177). In the Muslim dialect of Benghazi, the /n-/ stem is dominant, but a limited number of verbs form passive voice with an infixed /t-/ (Benkato 2014:79).

Within the Bedouin varieties of Tunisian Arabic, the central and northern dialects employ the /t-/ type passive, while the southern ones demonstrate strong preference of the /n-/ type (Marçais 1950:215). The /n-/ stem is attested among others in the Bedouin dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:361).[55] In terms of sedentary dialects, according to D. Cohen, some vestiges of this conjugation can be found also in Jewish dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975:125). Nevertheless, this prefix seems to be perceived as unusual and artificial, since its speakers tend to use a hybrid prefix /tən-/ consisting of the 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 *tə́nḍrab* 'he was hit' (Cohen 1980:124). 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 *tifᶜal* (Talmoudi 1980:103), and the Muslim dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975:125). In these dialects the function of the

---

[55] Bin Murad reports that the formerly Bedouin population inhabiting the region of Nifzawa (southern Tunisia) used forms VII and VIII interchangeably in order to encode the passive voice of the stem I, while in the rural community dwelling in the north of the same region form V prevails (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:360).

CA form VII was inherited by the conjugation with the prefix /t-/.[56] Marcel Cohen marks that this type of prefix in the passive conjugation precedes historically the infixation present in the form VIII and is typical to Tunisian dialects (Cohen 1912:227). 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 (Marçais 1908:99), as well as in the sedentary dialects of Tlemcen (Marçais 1908:99) and Oran (Guerrero 2015:226), where the /n-/ stem has replaced the /t-/ form as the main tool of expressing passivity. However, Marçais points out that in some dialects spoken east of Oran (Mazouna, Mostaganem) it is the /t-/ stem that has prevailed (1908:99). Similarly, the /n-/ stem serves as a principal tool of encoding the passive in Jewish Algiers, where the /t-/ stem has mostly intensive meaning (Cohen 1912:218).

Based on this brief comparison, it can be tentatively established that the /n-/ stem is conditioned both geographically and communally. Its use is generally more frequent in Algeria and in Libya. In Tunisia, its distribution is generally very limited in the sedentary dialects, where the /t-/ stem prevails. In the Jewish dialect of Tunis, it is rather vestigial and archaic since a new type of prefix has been produced. Nonetheless, it does occur in the southern Bedouin varieties. As demonstrated, Benkato's claim that in the sedentary dialects the /t-/ stem prevails is inaccurate, since there are numerous examples of sedentary dialects (Jewish Algiers, Jewish

---

[56] As has been observed by D. Cohen, the usage of 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-/, i.e., *ttaꜥmal* – 'to be done' (Cohen 1912:228, Cohen 1975:124).

Tripoli, Tlemcen, Benghazi) which encode the passive by the /n-/ stem. Language contact with the Sulaym varieties of Bedouin Arabic could be a possible explanation of the scattered and *prima facie* irregular distribution of the /n-/ stem.

The dichotomic strategy of encoding the passive voice in North-African Arabic represents two strains of analogical levelling. It is plausible to assume that at an earlier stage both stems existed in proportions similar to those attested in CA, nonetheless at a certain point they followed two distinct paths of development, i.e., one leading to the emergence of the /n-/ system, and the other to the emergence of the /t-/ system. The retention of both of these systems in North-African Arabic attests to distinct socio-linguistic factors of the analogical change. While the levelling of the passive stems towards the /n-/ pattern has presumably been triggered by the influx of the Bedouin population or language contact with the Bedouin varieties, the prevalence of the /t-/ stem, which is attested mostly in the pre-Hilālī dialects, was presumably conditioned by the analogy to other verb stems involving the /t-/ morpheme.

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, the dominant strategy of expressing the passive is different from the binary system described above.[57] Besides the monopartite /n-/ stem, which is attested only scarcely, often the speakers choose an active verb with an impersonal subject, followed by a direct object, e.g., *qətlū́* 'they killed him', instead of the anticipated *nə́qtəl*. This development, involving a bipartite construction, i.e., a verb and a personal pronoun, conforms to Kuryłowicz's 1st law of analogy, stating that bipartite (complex) markers tend to replace monopartite (simple) ones (1947). This

---

[57] In order to ascertain similar tendency in other dialects a thorough investigation should be conducted, which, however, due to the limitation of the present article and insufficient data, was not feasible.

is exemplified among others by the periphrastic future in spoken French (*je vais a 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, the analogical change from single to double marking is motivated by disambiguation (1994:77). This explains why in Jewish Gabes the 3MS form of the VII stem *nə́qtəl,* which can be interpreted as 1SG form of the prefix stem, is replaced by more overtly marked form *qətlū́.*

3.1.6. 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 the dialect of Sūsa (Talmoudi 1980:100). According to Talmoudi, this stem has disappeared from all North African dialects. Indeed, most of the dialects found other ways to express causativity, however, the vestiges of form IV can be identified in verbal systems of some of them. As pointed out by M. Cohen 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 2nd and 3rd radical semi-vowel /u/, in which the imperative is always vocalized with /i/ (Cohen 1912:211). In addition, some traces of form IV can be found in the dialect of Tripoli, namely, the active participle of the form *ʾaslam – məsləm,* and the imperfect form of the verb *ṯfa,* which instead of *yə́ṯfa* is *yə́ṯfi* (Yoda 2005:143).

3.1.7. Vestiges of from VIII

Compared to other dialects, form VIII is attested only obsoletely in Jewish Gabes dialect. In fact, there is no strong root attested in this stem, just as in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:126). However, according to Cohen, the first /ḍ/ of the form ṣḍāḍ represents the infixed /-t-/ which had been assimilated to the next consonant. A root with the 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, most of the roots from the CA form VIII have transferred to other stems (Singer 1984:365). In the dialect of Sūsa, on the contrary, form VIII is stable and well attested (Talmoudi 1980:106), as well as in the dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:370).

3.1.8. Reflex of form IX

As has been already mentioned, in all Maghrebi dialects form IX was replaced with a form with a long /a/ vowel after the second radical, which resembles the CA pattern $\text{ʾi}C^1C^2\bar{a}C^3C^3$. Due to a historical development, the initial *aleph* 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 of the cases, roots occurring in this form derive from adjectives and convey the meaning of becoming and acquiring a certain property, i.e., *šā́yəb* 'old', *šyāb* 'to become old', *bnīn* 'tasty', *bnān* 'to become tasty'.

3.1.9. Inflection

3.1.9.1. S-stem and p-stem

Below one can find inflection paradigms of regular verbs. A verb in the suffix conjugation consists of a verb stem and a conjugational suffix.

	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.

	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

3.1.9.2. Inflectional groups

As has been already pointed out, each verbal form includes roots which can be divided into subgroups according to the consonants of the stem and the morphological fluctuations they cause.

Group 1 – regular verbs

ktəb – yə́kteb – 'to write'

Group 2 – geminate verbs (C^2 is doubled)

šədd – yəšə́dd – 'to seize'

Group 3 – first radical semi-vowel /w/ or /y/

wuṣə́l – yū́ṣəl – 'to arrive'

Group 4 – second radical semi-vowel /w/ or /y/

qām – yəqū́m – 'to wake up'

Group 5 – third radical semi-vowel /w/ or /y/

rma – yə́rmi – 'to throw'

Group 6 – doubly weak verbs with the first and the third radical semi-vowel /w/ or /y/

wfa – yū́fa – 'to be used up'

Group 7 – quadrilateral roots

3.1.10. Form I

3.1.10.1. Regular form

ḍṛəb 'to hit'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ḍṛəb	yə́ḍṛab	
3FS	ḍə́ṛbət	tə́ḍṛab	
2MS	ḍṛəbt	tə́ḍṛab	áḍṛəb
2FS	ḍṛə́bti	tə́ḍṛbi	áḍṛbi
1SG	ḍṛəbt	nə́ḍṛab	
3PL	ḍə́ṛbu	yə́ḍṛbu	
2PL	ḍṛə́btu	tə́ḍṛbu	áḍṛbu
1PL	ḍṛə́bna	nə́ḍṛbu	

3.1.10.1.1. Suffix stem

The dialect of Gabes distinguishes morphologically between 2F and 2M. Compared to other dialects the gender differentiation in 2S is rare, since in many of them the short vowels in final position has been reduced and therefore the morphological distinction of gender has disappeared. The Muslim dialects of Sūsa (Talmoudi 1980:78) and the Jewish (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, the Muslim speakers of Algiers use both forms (Cohen 1912:182). Gender distinction exists also in the dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:295).

The original three short vowels of the 3MS present in the CA have been reduced to one ultra-short vowel in the dialect of Gabes. The basic morphological unit which occurs in most of the forms is *dṛəb*. Suffixes of 1 and 2 SG and PL are attached to this base. Only in the 3FS and 3PL the vowel is inserted between the first and the second radical. One of the possible explanations of this metathesis is to ensure that the short vowel remains in a closed syllable. Thus, it can be established that the syllable structure of the dialect of Gabes does not allow /ə/ to be placed in the coda of the syllable. This tendency seems to prevail in most of the dialects of the region, however, the Bedouin dialect of Magāzīg is different in this respect. The monosyllabic basis of the perfect CCvC is broken by a short epenthetic vowel /i/ inserted after the first radical, i.e., 3MS *kitab*. This vowel is fixed throughout all the conjugation (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:295). This phenomenon proves that the Marāzīg dialect does not tolerate consonantal clusters in the onset of the syllable.

The quality of the theme vowel in the Jewish Gabes dialect is in principle fixed and in most cases is /ə/. It is lowered, however, in the environment of guttural and emphatic consonants to /a/, i.e., *dbaḥ* - 'he slaughtered', *nqaṣ* - 'he missed'. The Jewish dialect of Tunis exhibits the same tendency, even though, as pointed out by Cohen, the two vowels have a wide range of timbres and in certain environments the vowel /o/ can occur (Cohen 1975:95). 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 (Singer 1984:323), where one can find as many as five vowel subgroups, namely:

a) theme vowel /a/ : *qtal – qatlit* – he/she killed

b) theme vowel /i/ : *ktib – kitbit* – he/she wrote

c) theme vowel /u/ : *mruḍ - murḍit* – he/she got sick

d) theme vowels /a/ and /i/ : *rbaḥ - ribḥit* – he/she gained

e) theme vowels /i/ and /u/ : *wṣil – wuṣlit* – he/she arrived

As can be observed, the link vowel of the 3FS is always /i/. The interchanges of vowels in the last group can be probably explained as an influence of the labial semi-vowel /w/ which conditioned the emergence of a back rounded /u/. In the d) group /a/ was most likely replaced by /i/ due to regressive assimilation to the link vowel of the same quality. The same phenomenon of interchanges of vowels in the 3FS and MS can be observed in the dialect of Marāzīg, in which, however, the emergence of /u/ vowel in the 3FS seems to be caused by the proximity of emphatic consonants (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:294). Dialect of Sūsa presents similar tendency and therefore stems

containing emphatic or uvular consonants admit of vowel /u/ or /a/ (Talmoudi 1980:78).

3.1.10.1.2. 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, i.e., *yáġməž* 'he will hint'. Similarly, when the last consonant is emphatic or guttural, the theme vowel is /a/, i.e., *yə́ṣṛaq* 'he will steal'. However, it is worth noting that the first phenomenon is rather a tendency than a fixed rule, since there are numerous cases where *ə* occurs in a place where one would expect /a/, i.e., *yə́xnəb* 'he will steal', *yə́xdəm* 'he will work'. Unlike the dialect of Sūsa, the prefix vowel does not undergo any modification due to harmonization with the theme vowel (Talmoudi 1980:79). An agreement between the prefix and the stem vowel occurs also in the dialect of Marāzīg, where apart from one group *yugtil,* it seems to be a general rule (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:296).

In the forms with an attached suffix a vowel is reduced and consequently a cluster of three consonants arises. In some verbs, however, a short epenthetic vowel is inserted either after the first radical, or after the second one. Consonantal clusters in plural forms are not acceptable in most of the neighbouring dialects which tend to insert an epenthetic vowel after the first radical, i.e., *yəkə́tbu* in Jewish Djerba.[58] As already observed Stumme there are four types of plural forms of imperfect present in Tunisian Arabic: jʹCCCu, jʹCCvCu, jʹCvCCu, jʹCvCvCu (Stumme 1896:12). The first

---

[58] Observation made on the basis of the recordings from Jewish Djerba uploaded on the website of the project *Mother Tongue,* https://www.lashon.org/en/node/1765.

type is particularly frequent in the Jewish dialect of Gabes and the Jewish dialect of Tunis, while other dialects follow the second pattern.

3.1.10.1.3.   Imperative

The imperfect base without a prefix serves in CA as an imperative form of the masculine singular in all verbal forms, i.e., *tafákkar* 'think!' (Fischer 2002:120). However, when a stem starts with a consonantal cluster, an epenthetic vowel is inserted, as in *úktub* 'write!'. A similar situation can be observed in regular forms of the first stem of the dialect of Gabes, even though it tolerates clusters of two consonants at the beginning of a word. The quality of the auxiliary vowels alternates between /a/ in the forms starting with guttural or emphatic consonants, e.g., *áḍrəb* 'hit!', and /ə/ in other forms, *ə́ktəb* 'write!'. While both dialects of Tunis follow this pattern (Singer 1984:336, Cohen 1975:94), the dialect of Algiers is different in this respect and no epenthetic vowel is inserted (Cohen 1912:181). On the other hand, an epenthetic vowel in the dialect of Sūsa occurs in three variants and is always identical with the stem vowel, i.e., /i/ – *iqfil* – 'lock!', /u/ – *uqros* – 'pinch!' and /a/ – *aṭlaʿ* - 'get up!' (Talmoudi 1975:79).

Gender distinction in the singular, which is found in Gabes, is a rare phenomenon. Both dialects of Tunis have only one form, similarly the dialect of Algiers and the dialect of Sūsa. Interestingly, the dialect of Marāzīg has as much as four imperative forms with gender distinction being made in both singular and plural (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:296). The stem vowel in these forms remains unaltered and no agreement with an auxiliary vowel is required, i.e., *uṛgud* 'sleep!', but *uqtil* 'kill!'.

When an imperative form ends with a suffix, a stem vowel is elided and an epenthetic vowel is inserted instead, i.e., *uṛˀǧdin* – 'sleep! (FPL)'.

3.1.10.1.4.   Active and passive participles

Apart from the three basic verb forms, in Jewish Gabes exist also active and passive participles. As has been mentioned in the introduction, the distinction between them has been retained only in the I stem, while in the remainder of the stems we observe a merger of those forms. The occurrence of the *fāil* pattern in Jewish Gabes is highly irregular, limited only to several verbs. As will be argued in the chapter on syntax, presumably their common denominator is their day-to-day usage. Even less attested is the passive participle, which, similar to the passive verb stems, has been replaced by analytic constructions involving active verbs.

Active participle: qāˤəd, qāˤəda, qāˤədín

Passive participle: məktűb, məktűba, məktubín

3.1.10.2.   Geminated verb

šə́dd 'to seize'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	šədd	yəšə́dd	
3FS	šə́ddət	tšədd	
2MS	šəddít	tšədd	šədd
2FS	šəddíti	tšə́ddi	šə́ddi
1SG	šəddít	nšədd	

3PL	šə́ddu	yəšə́ddu	
2PL	šəddítu	tšə́ddu	šə́ddu
1PL	šəddína	nšə́ddu	

3.1.10.2.1. 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[59]. Instead, in forms with a consonantal ending a linking long vowel *ī* is inserted. As pointed out by Yoda, in many modern and medieval dialects a linking diphthong /-ay/ in those forms is attested, which supposedly gave rise to the aforementioned vowel (Yoda 2005:147). This phenomenon is present also in some forms in CA, i.e., *qaṣṣaytu* instead of the expected form *qaṣaṣtu* 'he spent' (Fisher 2002:127). It can be assumed, therefore, that it was adopted by analogy to verbs with III *y*, e.g., *mašaytu.*

3.1.10.2.2. Prefix stem and imperative

The prefix vowel in the imperfect forms in the Jewish dialect of Gabes has been completely elided. As a result, a cluster of two consonants emerges. It is worth noting that clusters consisting of a plosive alveolar and a postalveolar fricative, a new sound emerges, namely, palatal fricative. Thus, in case of prefix forms of the verb *šə́dd*

---

[59] This phenomenon is attested in all dialects of Arabic, with the only exception being the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula (Ferguson 1959, Ratcliffe 2011). Nonetheless, against this claim, the dialect of Mekka follows the same pattern, i.e., *ḥabbēt* 'I liked' (based on an interview with an informant).

starting with /t/, the initial consonant is palatalized and therefore the phonetic transcription of 2MS in the IPA alphabet would be: [çədd]. The disappearance of the prefix vowel is a general tendency in the dialects examined here. As pointed out by Cohen, however, in the dialect of Algiers, in the 3SG and PL the vowel of the prefix is preserved (Cohen 1912:185). In imperative forms no auxiliary vowel is added since the stem syllable has structure CvCC.

3.1.10.3. 1st radical weak verb

a) 1st radical semi-vowel *w* – *wúṣəl* 'to arrive'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	wuṣəl	yűṣəl	
3FS	wáṣlət	tűṣəl	
2MS	wuṣə́lt	tűṣəl	úṣəl
2FS	wuṣə́lti	tűṣli	úṣli
1SG	wuṣə́lt	nűṣəl	
3PL	wúṣlu	yűṣlu	
2PL	wuṣə́ltu	tűṣlu	úṣlu
1PL	wuṣə́lna	nűṣəl	

b) 1st radical semi-vowel /i/ – *yə́bəš* 'to dry'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	yəbə́š(š)	yə́bəš	
3FS	yə́bšət	tyə́bəš	
2MS	yəbə́št	tyə́bəš	yə́bəš

2FS	yəbə́šti	tyə́bši	yə́bši
1SG	yəbə́št	nyə́bəš	
3PL	yə́bšu	yə́bšu	
2PL	yəbə́štu	tyə́bšu	yə́bšu
1PL	yəbə́šna	nyə́bəš	

3.1.10.3.1. Suffix stem

The initial semi-vowel /w/ in the stem conjugation is stable, but its back-rounded character brings about an emergence of an additional /u/ vowel. In other dialects, as 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 realized as /w/ by older generations, whereas young speakers tend to pronounce it as /u/ (Talmoudi 1980:83). In the Jewish dialect of Tunis, on the other hand, the realization of the *w* is conditioned by a phonetic environment, namely, /w/ is pronounced as /w/ only when followed by a vowel, e.g., *wə́žnət* 'she weighted' but *užə́n* 'he weighted'. The dialect of Marāzīg preserves the initial /w/ but no additional vowel is inserted after, i.e., *wṣil* he arrived'. In forms of 3FS and 3FP and MP a theme vowel moves to the position between first and second radical, 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 3FS and 3FP the retracted vowel is /i/, e.g., *wsul,* but *wislit* (Talmoudi 1985:82).

The verb *yəbə́š* is the sole verb with the first radical /y/ that is attested in Jewish Gabes. Interestingly the stress in this form is placed on the last syllable, and

not on the first one as in the vast majority of the verbs. The form of 3MS is the only one throughout the conjugation with geminated last consonant, presumably due to the analogy with geminate verbs since the first /y/ is perceived as a prefix and not as a part of the root. Nonetheless, contrary to other dialects, /y/ in the dialect of Gabes is stable and does not interchange with /i/. In the Jewish dialect of Tunis /i/ appears in the same forms where /u/ in forms with the first radical /w/, i.e., when it is followed by a consonant (Cohen 1975:101).

3.1.10.3.2. Prefix stem

In the prefix stem forms of the verbs with first radical /w/ in CA, the initial semi-vowel disappears without leaving any trace, i.e., *yaṣilu* '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 initial /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 **yawṣil.* In the dialect of Marāzīg the assimilated /w/ gives rise to vowels of different quality, i.e., *wṣil – yūṣil* 'to arrive' *wild – yilid* 'to give birth', *wḥil – yōḥal* 'to be stuck'. In addition, as pointed out by Ritz-Benmimoun, in forms with imperfect theme vowel /o/, this vowel interchanges with /u/, i.e., *tūḥli – tōḥli* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:306).

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes the initial /y/ is stable and can be easily audible throughout the conjugation. In other dialects this consonant is either replaced by a short vowel /i/ or, like in dialect of Sūsa, it gives rise to a lengthened /i/ vowel, i.e., *tībis* 'she will dry' (Talmoudi 1980:83). 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 it 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.

3.1.10.4.   2nd radical weak verb

1) **CāC – yəCúC** – *qām* 'to wake up'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	qām	yəqū́m	
3FS	qā́mət	tqūm	
2MS	qəmt	tqūm	qūm
2FS	qə́mti	tqū́mi	qū́mi
1SG	qəmt	nqūm	
3PL	qā́mu	yəqū́mu	
2PL	qə́mtu	tqū́mu	qū́mu
1PL	qə́mna	nqū́mu	

2) **CāC – yəCíC** – *žāb* 'to bring'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	žāb	yəžī́b	
3FS	žā́bət	tžī́b	
2MS	žə́bt	tžī́b	žīb
2FS	žə́bti	tžībi (džíbi)	žī́bi
1SG	žə́bt	nžī́b	
3PL	žā́bu	yəžī́bu	

2PL	žə́btu	tžĩbu	žĩbu
1PL	žə́bna	nžĩbu	

3) CāC – yəCáC – *xāf* 'to be frightened'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	xāf	yəxā́f	
3FS	xā́fət	txāf	
2MS	xəft	txāf	xāf
2FS	xəfti	txā́fi	xā́fi
1SG	xəft	nxāf	
3PL	xā́fu	yəxā́fu	
2PL	xə́ftu	txā́fu	xā́fu
1PL	xə́fna	nxā́fu	

The suffix stem of the verbs with second radical liquid /y/ or /w/ in CA demonstrate interchanges between long and short vowels in their theme. Namely, the suffix stem base of these verbs exhibits alternation of long /ā/ and short /u/ or /i/, i.e., *qāmat – qumt* 'she stood up' – 'you (f) stood up', *ṣāra - ṣirtu* 'he became' - 'I became' (Fischer 2002:131). The rule governing this alternation is related to the first sound of the suffix, i.e., when an inflectional suffix starts with a vowel, a form admits of long /a/, but when it starts with consonant, a short vowel /i/ or /u/ occurs instead.

Nonetheless, as can be observed, this rule is no longer in full operation in the Jewish Gabes. In the forms with consonantal suffix, the quality of the first syllable vowel is not conditioned by the quality of the 1st and the 3rd radical and remains invariably /ə/. The Muslim varieties present a different tendency, exhibiting a much wider array of vowels in the forms with consonantal suffix.

In the Muslim dialect of Tunis one can find the following alternation: /ā/-/u/:

qām - qumt 'to stand up',[60] /ā/-/o/: *ḥāz - ḥozt* 'to gain', /ā/-/ə/: *žāb - žəbt* 'to bring',

/ā/-/e/: *gāb – gebt* 'to be absent' (Singer 1984:358-359). Even though this wide range

of vowel qualities differs from the vowel set found in CA, the rule described above is

fully operational, i.e., a consonantal suffix brings about a shift from long /ā/ to short

vowel with an unfixed quality. 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/ where the rule in question operates, i.e., *qāl - qolt* 'to say'.[61]

Similarly, in forms with 2nd 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). Analogously, in the Muslim dialect of Djidjelli one can observe

an emergence of a short stem vowel in suffix stem forms with a consonantal suffix,

whose quality depends on the following consonant, i.e., *dāb – dubt* 'to melt' (Marçais

1956:165). In this case the labial /b/ has brought about the vowel rounding to /u/.

The Bedouin dialects of the region align with the Muslim ones, and several

theme vowel qualities of the 2nd radical w/y suffix forms are attested. In the dialect

of Marāzīg (southern Tunisia), depending on the quality of the 3rd radical, the theme

vowel of the past form can be /i/ or /u/: *māt –- mitˀt* 'to die', *dām - dumt* 'to melt'

(Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:316). In another Bedouin dialect from southern Tunisia,

namely the dialect of El-Hamma, the following alternations have been attested: /ā/-

---

[60] All the following pairs designate respectively 3MS and 2FS.

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

/u/: *gām - gumt* 'to wake up', /ā/-/o/: *rāḥ - roḥt* 'to go', and /ā/-/i/: *žāb - žibt* 'to bring' (Cantineau 1960:220). Similar variety of vowels is found in the rural dialect of Ulad Brahim (Algeria), where one finds shift from /ā/-/e/: *lām - lemt* 'to blame', / ā / - /o/: *bāʕ - boʕt* 'to sell', /ā/-/u/: *gāl- gult* 'to say' (Marçais 1908:85). The examples above point to the tendency of the Bedouin dialects to assimilate the theme vowel of the past forms to the third racial.

As above table demonstrates, 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 quality of the 3rd radical is less operative. In forms with consonantal suffixes the long /ā/ vowel is reduced to /ə/ vowel regardless the quality of the 1st and the 3rd radical. This is also the case in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2014:160) and Jewish El-Oued (Gebski 2022). In similar fashion, in Jewish Algiers, as pointed out by M. Cohen, short vowels of the 1st and the 2nd persons of the suffix conjugation are regularly represented by /ə/ (Cohen 1912:190). The Jewish dialect of Tunis, in turn, exhibits two alternations, i.e., of /ā/ and /o/ - *xāf - xoft*, and of /ā/ and /ə/ - *žāb – žəbt* (Cohen 1975:102). The alternation of /ā/ and /o/ should be presumably treated as a trace of the original /u/ present in other dialects, which subsequently underwent a shift to /o/. A language contact with the Muslim dialect could be a possible explanation of this phenomenon.

The comparison presented above clearly indicates that the Muslim dialects are noticeably more conservative in terms of the preservation of the diversity of the stem vowels in forms with consonantal inflectional suffixes. Jewish dialects, on the other hand, tend to reduce short vowel in close stressed syllables to /ə/. This development has presumably taken place due to the vowel levelling by analogy to the predominant

/ə/ quality in 2nd radical weak verb, i.e., of the type *žāb - žəbt*. The Muslim dialects, on the other hand, exhibit a system similar to that of the Bedouin varieties. It is plausible therefore, that the genetic proximity of those two varieties has restrained the analogical levelling of the vowel system in the 2nd radical w/y verbs in the Muslim dialects.

3.1.10.5. 3rd radical weak verb

1) **CCa – yəCCi** – *ṛma* 'to throw'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ṛma	yə́ṛmi	
3FS	ṛmāt	tə́ṛmi	
2MS	ṛmīt	tə́ṛmi	áṛmi
2FS	ṛmī́ti	təṛmə́y	armī́
1SG	ṛmīt	nə́ṛmi	
3PL	ṛmā́w	yərmī́u	
2PL	ṛmī́tu	təṛmī́u	aṛmī́u
1PL	ṛmī́na	nə́ṛmi	

2) **CCa – yəCCa** - *ṛḍa* 'to agree'

	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
3MS	ṛḍa	yə́ṛḍa	
3FS	ṛḍāt	tə́ṛḍa	
2MS	ṛḍīt	tə́ṛḍa	áṛḍa
2FS	ṛḍī́ti	tə́ṛḍay	aṛḍā́y

1SG	r̠ḍīt	nə́r̠ḍa	
3PL	r̠ḍā́w	yər̠ḍā́w	
2PL	r̠ḍītu	tər̠ḍā́w	ar̠ḍā́w
1PL	r̠ḍī́na	nə́r̠ḍa	

3) 3ʳᵈ radical reduced *aleph* – *kla* 'to eat'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	kla	yā́kəl	
3FS	klāt	tā́kəl	
2MS	klīt	tā́kəl	kūl
2FS	klī́ti	tā́kli	kū́li
1SG	klīt	nā́kəl	
3PL	klāw	yā́klu	
2PL	kalī́tu	tā́klu	kū́lu
1PL	klī́na	nā́klu	

CA distinguishes between six groups of vowel combinations of the verbs with third radical /w/ and /y/, four of them being variations of stem with /y/, i.e.

1) III-*w* : *faʿala – yafʿulu,* e.g., *daʿā - yadʿū* 'to call', *faʿula – yafʿulu,* e.g., *saruwa – yasrū* 'to be noble'

2) III-*y*: *faʿala – yafʿilu,* e.g., *ramā - yarmī* 'to throw', *faʿala – yafʿalu,* e.g., *saʿā - yasʿā* 'to run', *faʿila – yafʿalu,* e.g., *laqiya – yalqā* 'to meet', *faʿila – yafʿilu,* e.g., *waliya – yali* 'to be near' (Fischer 2002:135).

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, as in the vast majority of neighbouring dialects, the group with III-w merged into the group with III-*y*. The vestiges of this group can be found only in some isolated verbs, i.e., the only verb preserving original /u/ in the p-

stem conjugation attested in the Jewish and the Muslim dialect of Tunis is *ḥba -* *yaḥbu* 'to crawl (baby)' (Cohen 1975:104, Singer 1984:360).[62] This group includes also verbs with third radical *aleph* and *hamza,* since in the Jewish dialect of Gabes both sounds have lost their original realization. Therefore, one can infer that a complex and diverse conjugation of the verbs with 3rd radical weak of CA underwent a process of simplification in modern spoken dialects and consequently roots of different origin merged into one pattern of conjugation.

Contrary to CA the vowel of the 3FS is long, cf. *ramat* vs. *rmāt.* In the suffix conjugation the CA 3MS ending /-iya/ is contracted to short /a/. When a stem is followed by a consonantal suffix, /ā/ turns into /ī/. This vowel is apparently an effect of contraction of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ present in CA*,* cf. *ramayta* 'you threw'*,* *daʿawna* 'you called'.[63] In the 3PL a diphthong /aw/ emerges after the vocalic /u/ suffix is added to the stem ending with /a/. As pointed out by Cohen, this is one of the distinctive features of the Jewish dialect of Tunis, since the Muslim dialect of Tunis, as well as other Maghrebi dialects have an /-áu/ ending instead. The p-stem conjugation has two types, i.e., *yəCCa* and *yəCCi.* Verbs with 3rd radical *hamza* in CA belong to the first type, i.e.*,* *bda - yə́bda* 'to commence'.

The prefix form of 2FS in the Jewish dialect of Gabes is slightly different from that found in neighbouring dialects. A cluster of two /y/, i.e., the pattern suffix and the stem ending was resolved in CA by suffix /-īna/, e.g., *tarmīna* 'you (F) will throw'.

---

[62] The dialect of Djidjelli, on the other hand, has preserved also other verbs with *w*, among others, *ʿfaa - yoʿfú* 'to forgive', *kbá - yəkbú* 'to drowse', *žǵá - yəžǵú* 'to wail', cf. Marçais (1956:171).

[63] It seems that the process of contraction of the diphthongs in verbs with consonantal suffixes has started already in CA, since in forms from the group *faʿila - yafʿalu* one can find *laqīta* 'you met' instead of expected **laqiyta,* cf. Fisher (2002:136).

Some modern dialects, like for example the Jewish dialect of Tripoli, make no morphological distinction of gender in verbs of pattern *CCā - yə́CCī* and thus one can find form like *tə́bni* for both 2FS and MS. However, verbs following pattern *CCā - yə́CCa* differentiate FS from MS by adding the suffix /y/ to the stem and consequently a diphthong /ay/ emerges, e.g., *təbdáy* 'you (F) will commence' (Yoda 2005:164). Similarly, in the dialect of Marāzīg the prefix stem forms of 2FS and m of the pattern *yəCCi* look alike, but those of the pattern *yəCCa* in 2FS have suffix /i/ instead of /a/, i.e., *tamli* 'you (F) will fill up' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:323). In the Jewish dialect of Gabes both variants have a clear distinction in gender. The final /y/ of the stem in the first pattern is replaced by /ə/, i.e., *tə̣rmə́y*, while the second pattern has an identical form to that of Tripoli dialect.

In the imperative a prosthetic vowel is inserted since the stem starts with a cluster of two consonants. In the dialect of Gabes a default quality of this vowel is /ə/, however, due to a proximity of the gutturals and emphatics it can be replaced by /a/.

To the category in question belong also verbs which in CA are classified as first radical *hamza*. There are only two roots attested: *kla* and *xda*. As noticed by Cohen, the conjugation of this subgroup consists in fact of three inflectional patterns, i.e., the p-stem follows the pattern of 3rd radical semi-vowel, the s-stem is inflected according to the pattern of the first radical /h/, whereas the imperative is formed according to the pattern of forms with a 2nd radical semi-vowel (Cohen 1975:109).

3.1.10.6.   Two weak radicals – Iw + IIIy – ufá 'to stop'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative

3MS	ufa	yúfa	
3FS	ufát	túfa	
2MS	ufít	túfa	úfa
2FS	ufíti	tufáy	úfay
1SG	ufít	núfa	
3PL	ufáw	yufáw	
2PL	ufítu	tufáw	ufáw
1PL	ufína	nufáw	

Verb *ufa* is the only root attested for this paradigm. It consists of the first radical /w/ and the second one /y/. Thus, its conjugation follows two patterns simultaneously. As can be observed, /w/ in this example does not have consonantal character and is realized as /u/, even though in regular I-w paradigm it is preserved as /w/. One of the possible explanations of this phenomenon is the regressive influence of /a/ which brought about an emergence of a vowel.

3.1.10.7. Irregular forms

1) *ža* 'to come'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ža	ižî	
3FS	žāt	tžī	
2MS	žīt	tžī	íža
2FS	žíti	tžíy	íži
1SG	žīt	tžī	

		S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3PL	žáw	ižíu		
2PL	žítu	tžíu	ížu	
1PL	žína	nžī		

2) *ṛa* 'to see'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ṛā	íṛa	
3FS	ṛāt	tṛa	
2MS	ṛīt	tṛa	NA
2FS	ŕīti	tṛáy	NA
1SG	ṛīt	nṛa	
3PL	ṛáw	iṛáw	
2PL	ŕītu	tṛáw	NA
1PL	ŕīna	nṛáw	

These two verbs have been categorized in a separate section since they cannot be assigned to any of the patterns discussed above. They correspond to the CA forms *ğaʾa* and *raʾa.* As has been already mentioned before, *hamza* has completely disappeared from the dialect of Gabes and consequently both verbs have only one strong radical. Despite this reduction, a stem vowel has remained the same as in CA. The verb *ṛa* is a special case since even though its prefix stem conjugation was included in the example, most of the speakers use forms of the verb *šāf.* As noted by D. Cohen, this dichotomy can be observed in other Maghrebi dialects as well (1975:106). The same scholar notes also that in the Jewish dialect of Tunis the s-stem conjugation of *ṛa* preserves the Classical diphthong */ay/,* i.e., *ṛayt* 'I saw'. In the

dialect of Gabes this diphthong underwent a process of contraction and thus form *r̄īt* emerged.

3.1.11.   Form II

a) strong verb - *ṣárrəf* 'to cash money'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ṣárrəf	yəṣárrəf	
3FS	ṣárrfət	tṣárrəf	
2MS	ṣárrəft	tṣárrəf	ṣárrəf
2FS	ṣarrə́fti	tṣár(r̩)fi	ṣár(r̩)fi
1SG	ṣárrəft	nṣárrəf	
3PL	ṣárrfu	yəṣár(r̩)fu	
2PL	ṣarráftu	tṣar(r̩)fu	ṣár(r̩)fu
1PL	ṣarráfna	nṣár(r̩)fu	

b) geminated verb - *xámmən* 'to think'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	xámmən	yəxámmən	
3FS	xamm(ə́m)ət	txámmən	
2MS	xammə́mt	txámmən	xámmən
2FS	xammə́mti	txamm(ə́m)i	xámm(əm)i
1SG	xammə́mt	nxámmən	
3PL	xámm(əm)u	yəxámm(əm)u	
2PL	xammə́mtu	txámm(əm)u	xámm(əm)u
1PL	xammə́mna	nxámm(əm)u	

c) 3rd radical semivowel - *wə́ṛṛa* 'to show'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	wə́ṛṛa	yəwúṛṛi	
3FS	wəṛṛā́t	twúṛṛi	
2MS	wəṛṛī́t	twúṛṛi	wúṛṛi
2FS	wəṛṛī́ti	twuṛṛíy	wuṛṛī́y
1SG	wəṛṛī́t	nwúṛṛi	
3PL	wṛṛā́w	yəwuṛṛī́yu	
2PL	wəṛṛī́tu	tuṛṛíyu / tuṛṛī́na	wuṛṛī́u
1PL	wəṛṛī́na	nwuṛṛī́yu	

The most characteristic feature of the 2nd form is the geminated middle consonant of the root. In regular roots both vowels in perfect 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 *yḥəḍḍəṛ one finds yḥáḍḍəṛ 'he will prepare'. In the 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 first radical semi-vowel 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 second radical semi-vowel adjust their first vowel 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., *yḍúwwaq* 'he will taste', *tbíyyət* 'she will pass a night'.

3.1.12.   Form III

a) strong verb - *ʿā́wən* 'to help'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ʿā́wən	yaʿā́wən	
3FS	ʿā́wnət	taʿā́wən	
2MS	ʿawə́nt	taʿā́wən	ʿā́wən
2FS	ʿawə́nti	taʿā́wni	ʿā́wni
1SG	ʿawə́nt	naʿā́wən	
3PL	ʿā́wnu	yaʿā́wnu	
2PL	ʿawə́ntu	taʿā́wnu	ʿā́wnu
1PL	ʿawə́nna	naʿā́wnu	

b) 3ʳᵈ radical semi-vowel verb – *nā́da* 'to warn'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	nā́da	yənā́di	
3FS	nadā́t	tnā́di	
2MS	nadī́t	tnā́di	nā́di
2FS	nadī́ti	tnadī́y	nadī́y
1SG	nadī́t	nnā́di	
3PL	nadā́w	ynadī́u	

2PL	nadî́tu	tnadî́u / tnadî́na	nadî́u
1PL	nadî́na	nnadî́u	

The characteristic feature of the third form 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 vocalic ending, both in the p-stem and the s-stem. Similarly to the second form, verbs with a first radical semivowel do not cause any fluctuations. In addition, a semivowel in the position of second radical do 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 for example in the dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:347) or the dialect of Algiers (Cohen 1912:208) long /a/ is retained throughout the whole conjugation. The Jewish dialect of Tunis, similarly to the Jewish dialect Gabes exhibits tendency to shorten the vowel in the s-stem conjugation (Cohen 1975:119). On the other hand, the dialect of Tlemcen presents exactly the opposite tendency, i.e., retains long /ā/ in s-stem forms with a consonantal ending and an epenthetic vowel after the second radical, i.e., Jewish Gabes: *ʿā́wən - ʿáwənt* 'to help'*,* Tlemcen: *rakeb – rākəbt* 'to ride' (Marçais 1902:75).

3.1.13.   Form V

a) strong verb - *tkə́lləm* 'to talk'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	tkə́lləm	yətkə́lləm	
3FS	tkə́l(l)mət	tətkə́lləm	
2MS	tkə́lləmt	tətkə́lləm	ətkə́lləm

2FS	tkəlləmti	tətkə́l(l)mi	ətkə́l(l)mi
1SG	tkə́lləmt	ntkə́lləm	
3PL	tkə́l(l)mu	ytkə́l(l)mu	
2PL	tkəlləmtu	tətkə́llmu / tətkəllə́mna	ətkə́l(l)mu
1PL	tkəllə́mna	ntkə́lmu	

b) 3rd radical semi-vowel – *txábba* 'to hide onself'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	txábba	yətxábba	
3FS	txabbát	tətxábba	
2MS	txabbі́t	tətxábba	txábba
2FS	txabbі́ti	tətxabbáy	txabbáy
1SG	txabbі́t	nətxábba	
3PL	txabbáw	yətxabáw	
2PL	txabbі́tu	tətxabáw	txabbáw
1PL	txabbána	nətxabáw	

Form V is reflexive-passive in relation to form II, i.e., *kə́ṣṣar* 'he broke' – *tkə́ṣṣar* 'he has been broken'. In addition, this form includes some verbs inherited directly from CA which have active meaning, i.e., *tʿálləm* 'he learnt'. Compared to CA, the prefix in the Jewish dialect of Gabes, as in many other Maghrebi dialects, has lost its vowel (Grand'Henry 1972:60). The characteristic feature of form V is the /t-/ prefix and doubled second radical. The prefix in the dialect of Gabes is stable and does not undergo any assimilation. On the contrary, in the dialect of Djidjelli, as pointed out by Marçais, /t/ exhibits a tendency to be assimilated to the first radical, i.e., *tṣárrəf - ṣṣárrəf* 'to manage'. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the dialect of Marāzīg,

in which the prefix is assimilated to the first radical when it is an alveolar or postalveolar fricative, i.e., *ᵓzzayyan* 'he prepared' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:351). A form with a doubled first radical is preceded by an epenthetic vowel which prevents a consonantal cluster at the beginning of the word. It occurs also in the dialect of Sūsa, where a prosthetic vowel is added to a form with a radical dental stop, i.e., *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.

The doubled second radical in forms with a vocalic ending is hardly audible in both the s-stem and the p-stem conjugation of the regular verb. However, in forms of the second paradigm the middle radical is stable and explicitly audible. One of the possible explanations for this phenomenon is the phonetic character of the doubled consonant itself and its environment, i.e., both /l/ and /m/ are sonorants and thus they tend to be reduced much more often than bilabial plosives, like /b/.

3.1.14.   Form VI

tˁážəb 'to be surprised'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	tˁážəb	yətˁážəb	
3FS	tˁážbət	tətˁážəb	
2MS	tˁažə́bt	tətˁážəb	ətˁážəb
2FS	tˁažə́bti	tətˁážbi	ətˁážbi
1SG	tˁažə́bt	nətˁážəb	
3PL	tˁážbu	yətˁážbu	

2PL	tˤažə́btu	tətˤážbu	ətˤážbu
1PL	tˤažə́bna	nətˤážbu	

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 first and second radical semi-vowel do not exhibit any variations. The length of 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. On the other hand, the dialect of Cherchell presents the opposite tendency, i.e., long /a/ occurs in forms with consonantal suffix, e.g., *tsāmáḥti* – 'you (f) forgave', *tsamaḥ* - 'he forgave'. The same long vowel is retained throughout the whole p-stem and s-stem conjugations in the dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:357).

3.1.15.   Form VII

nə́dbaḥ 'to be slaughtered'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	nə́dbaḥ	NA	
3FS	ndə́baḥt	NA	
2MS	NA	NA	NA
2FS	NA	NA	NA
1SG	NA	NA	
3PL	ndə́bḥu	NA	
2PL	NA	NA	NA
1PL	NA	NA	

The /n-/ prefix form in Jewish Gabes is attested only in the 3S and 3PL. In the cross-dialectal perspective, stems expressing passivity and reflexivity, depending on the region, have developed either in the direction of the /n-/ stem, i.e., *nəC¹C²əC³*, or the /t-/ stem, i.e., *tC¹əC²C²əC³*. Moreover, as will be shown in the following paragraphs, in Jewish Gabes a secondary process takes place, attesting to an analogical change.

3.1.16.   Form VIII

xṭāṛ 'to choose'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	xṭāṛ	yə́xṭaṛ	
3FS	xáṭṛət	tə́xṭaṛ	
2MS	xṭart	tə́xṭaṛ	áxṭaṛ
2FS	xṭáṛti	təxṭáṛi	áxṭaṛi
1SG	xṭart	nə́xṭaṛ	
3PL	xáṭṛu	yəxṭáṛu	
2PL	xṭáṛtu	təxṭáṛu	áxṭṛu
1PL	xṭáṛna	nə́xṭṛu	

Form VIII has reflexive character, and its distinctive feature is the /-t-/ inserted after the first radical. In CA the form known from modern dialects was preceded by a prosthetic vowel, i.e., *ʾiftaʿala* (Fischer 202:100). The stem vowel /a/ in the presented paradigm is invariably short, while in the dialect of Algiers it is long throughout the whole conjugation (Cohen 1912:222).

The form in question is poorly attested both in the Jewish dialect of Gabes and in other Maghrebi dialects. In the Jewish and the Muslim dialect of Tunis there only

some vestiges of this pattern. As pointed out by Cohen, one of the most frequent verbs of this form in the Jewish dialect of Tunis is ṣḍāḍ 'he hunted' in which the first /ḍ/ represents the assimilated /t/. In addition, there is no strong root in VIII stem in this dialect (Cohen 1975:126). Also, in the Jewish dialect of Algiers most of the reflexive verbs having active counterparts in the first form belong rather to patterns with prefixes /-t/ and /-n/ (Cohen 1912:222). Nonetheless, it seems that in Muslim dialects this form is much more frequently attested than in Jewish ones. In the dialect of Marāzīg one finds a wide variety of regular and irregular verbs (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 368-374). Forms of the suffix conjugation are preceded by a short epenthetic vowel /ə/, which presumably resembles the CA prosthetic vowel, e.g., ᵓntaḥḥ 'he was removed'. In the dialect of Cherchell, as in other Algerian dialects (Djidjelli, Tlemcen), pattern VIII is no longer morphologically operative (Gran'Henry 1972:63). Despite this, several archaic forms have been preserved in these dialects, most of them having weak roots (Marçais 1956:196).

3.1.17.   Form X

a) strong verb - štáʿžəb - 'to be surprised'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	štáʿžəb	yəštáʿžəb	
3FS	štáʿžbət	təštáʿžəb	
2MS	štaʿžə́bt	təštáʿžəb	əštáʿžəb
2FS	štaʿžə́bti	təštáʿžbi	əštáʿžbi
1SG	štaʿžə́bt	nəštáʿžbu	
3PL	štáʿžbu	yəštáʿžbu	

2PL	štaʕažə́btu	təštáʕžbu	əštáʕžbu
1PL	štaʕžə́bna	nəštáʕžbu	

b) geminated verb - *stḥáqq* - 'to be in need of'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	stḥáqq	yəstḥáqəq	
3FS	stḥáq(q)ət	təstḥáqəq	
2MS	stḥaqə́qt	təstḥáqəq	əstḥáqəq
2FS	stḥaqə́qti	təstḥáqəqi	əstḥáqəqi
1SG	stḥaqə́qt	nəstḥáqəq	
3PL	stḥáqəqu	yəstḥáqəqu	
2PL	stḥaqáqtu	təstḥáqəqu	əstḥáqəqu
1PL	stḥaqáqna	nəstḥáqəqu	

c) 1st radical weak verb – *štā́həl* 'to deserve'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	štā́həl	yəštā́həl	
3FS	štā́hlət	təštā́həl	
2MS	štā́həlt	təštā́həl	NA
2FS	štāhə́lti	təštā́hli	NA
1SG	štā́həlt	nəštā́həl	
3PL	štā́hlu	yəštā́hlu	
2PL	štahə́ltu	təštā́hlu	NA
1PL	štahə́lna	nəštā́hlu	

d) 3rd radical weak verb - *štáġna* - 'to become rich'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	štáġna	yəštáġən	
3FS	štáġnət	təštáġən	
2MS	štaġnī́t	təštáġən	NA
2FS	štaġnī́ti	təštáġni	NA
1SG	štaġnī́t	nəštáġən	
3PL	štáġnu	yəštáġnu	
2PL	štaġnī́tu	təštáġnu	NA
1PL	štaġnī́na	nəštáġnu	

Form X corresponds to the CA pattern *ʾistafʿala* however, as in the case of form VIII, the initial vowel has been reduced and thus the verb stem in the dialect of Gabes begins with /št-/. The prefix has a few variations within the Maghrebi dialects. The Jewish dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005:181), Algiers (Cohen 1912:232), and the dialect of Cherchell (Grand'Henry 1972:65) tend to substitute /št-/ with /st-/, i.e., *stəxboṛ* 'he was informed'. On the other hand, in the dialect 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, i.e., *ssoxbaṛ* 'he asked for news'. Form X prefix in the dialect of Marāzīg is preceded by a short epenthetic vowel /ə/, i.e., *ʾstⁱwadd* 'to wish, to desire' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:377).

The vowel following the first radical is stable in the dialect of Gabes and does not undergo any reduction. In the paradigm of the geminated verb and third radical weak verb the first radical is guttural and thus the vowel is lowered to /a/. The vowel preceding the suffix in the perfect conjugation is retained throughout the whole conjugation, as opposed to the Jewish dialect of Tunis, where one finds from *ṣṭḥáqqīt*

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

Inflection of the verb *štā́həl* in the Jewish dialect of Gabes also exhibits some peculiarities comparing to other dialects. Its root is *ʾhl* and therefore due to the weakness of *hamza* and /h/ this verb is in fact doubly weak. The loss of *hamza* brought about an emergence of a long vowel /ā/ after the prefix.

3.1.18. Form XI

ḍʿāf - 'to lose weight'

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	ḍʿāf	yəḍʿáf	
3FS	ḍʿáfət	təḍʿáf	
2MS	ḍʿafī́t	təḍʿáf	NA
2FS	ḍʿafī́ti	təḍʿáfi	NA
1SG	ḍʿafī́t	nəḍʿáf	
3PL	ḍʿáfu	yəḍʿáfu	
2PL	ḍaʿfī́tu	təḍʿáfu	NA
1PL	ḍaʿfī́na	nəḍʿáf	

Form XI corresponds to the CA pattern *(ʾi)fᶜālla* and, as proposed by Yoda, it replaces form IX (Yoda 2005:143).[64] It retained a long /ā/ vowel after the second radical with simultaneous loss of gemination. The basic meaning of the XI form is the acquisition of a certain property, i.e., *ṭwāl* 'he became long', *žyān* 'he became beautiful' (Cohen 1975:122).

When it comes to the inflection of the XI pattern in the Jewish dialect of Gabes, it presents an unexpected development, namely, forms with a consonantal suffix have a linking vowel *ī*, which is characteristic for verbs with a third radical semi-vowel. The same tendency is attested in 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, one of the closest dialects to the Jewish dialect of Gabes, i.e., the Jewish dialect of Tunis, exhibits a regular tendency, e.g., *ḍᶜaft* 'you lost weight' (Cohen 1975:121).

An interesting development of pattern XI is attested in the dialect of Marāzīg, where long stem vowel /ā/ in forms with consonantal suffixes interchanges with short /i/, e.g., *ʾṭwāḷ* 'he became long', *ʾṭwilʾt* 'I became longer'. Moreover, this phenomenon occurs regardless of the phonetic environment and the /i/ inserted also after emphatic and guttural consonants, i.e., *ʾxḍāṛ* 'he became green' *ʾxḍirʾt* 'she became green' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:385).

---

[64] As observed by Singer, the occurrence of the XI from is a characteristic feature of Western dialects of Arabic, since in Eastern dialects form IX replaced XI, cf. Singer (1984:392).

3.1.19. Conclusions

The analysis presented above enables us to point to what extend the verbal system of the Jewish dialect of Gabes is similar to other Maghrebi dialects, on the one hand, and what are the points of disagreement, on the other. When it comes to the vowel distribution of verbal forms, it shares many features with neighbouring Jewish dialects, i.e., the basic theme vowel is /ə/ or /a/ in the proximity of gutturals. Muslim dialects, on the contrary, preserve vowels present in CA. Nonetheless, the dialect of Gabes differs in some points from its typologically closest dialect, namely the Jewish dialect of Tunis. This is the case for example with the suffix conjugation of the X form geminated, where in the dialect of Gabes in forms of consonantal suffix one finds /ə/ inserted between the two alike consonants. Moreover, as has been argued, Jewish Gabes has developed an alternative way of expressing the passive by bipartite construction involving an active verb with a personal object pronoun.

3.2. Noun morphology

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

3.2.1. The definition of noun and the classification of the nominal patterns

In the present study I will not apply the differentiation between nouns, adjectives and numerals, since Jewish Gabes, as many other modern Arabic dialects, does not have any morphological distinction between them and adjectives very often function as substantives. In this respect I will follow Yoda's method, rather than Cohen's who sets very clear distinction between parts of speech (Yoda 2005:197, Cohen 1975:140). The lexical items found in this chapter have been classified according to their morphological structure, and not their properties as parts of speech, hence alongside with substantives, adjectives, prepositions and numerals have been included. This approach is analogous to Wright's definition of the noun which includes: substantives, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, conjunctions and pronouns (1874:104).

It has been mentioned that various grammars differ in terms of the definition of the noun. Additional point of divergence is the way the nominal patterns are organised, mostly 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 a reader, as it is not clear whether semi-consonants like /و/, /ي/, or long /ā/ *alif* are considered as consonants and

therefore form the root, or rather should be perceived as a vocalic element of a pattern. For example, *bāb* 'door' can theoretically be classified both as Cv̄C and CvCC, if one considers *alif* as part of the root. The distinction between triliteral and biliteral nouns seems to be somehow inconsistent and vague as well. Yoda classifies *mṛa* 'woman' (< CA *marʾa*) as a bilateral noun, while *ġda* 'medicine' (< CA *ġadāʾ*) is classified as a triliteral noun with third radical y/h, placed in the pattern CvCC (Yoda 2005:215,218), even though both of them have two strong consonants and *hamza*.

On the other hand, the synchronic approach is prone to lack information on the historical development leading to the present situation. In the light of those observations, I decided to apply a blend of both approaches, namely focus on the synchronic classification of the patterns, but simultaneously give the corresponding CA forms.[65] It means, therefore, that words like *līl* 'night' and *bīr* 'well' are both classified under the same Cv̄C pattern, but have been broken down in two categories since /ī/ in the former is brought about by the contraction of the diphthong /ay/, while in the latter by the elimination of *hamza*. I hope this method will facilitate the navigation in the text, providing simultaneously some crucial historical data.

Finally, contrary to the method of Cohen, I decided not to break down the roots with semivowels into separate categories, where it does not bring about any morphological change, namely, the word *də́nya* 'world' with third radical /y/ does not differ morphologically from *ṣə́ẓṛa* 'tree', which has three regular consonants. I did, however, separate the roots with the second and the third radical alike in order to avoid any confusion with the patterns which possess geminated consonants. The stress

---

[65] A similar approach has been applied by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun in the description of the Bedouin dialect od Douz (2014).

is not treated as a differentiating factor and therefore words like *ḥamrá* 'red (f.)' are classified under the pattern CvCCv and not in a separate pattern CvCCv́.

3.2.2. Gender

Jewish Gabes possesses two genders, namely masculine and feminine, but only the feminine is morphologically marked by an /-a/ suffix, e.g., *mṛa* 'woman', *ḍə́ṛba* 'slap', *fə́ṛṣa* 'mare', *kbī́ra* 'big', *ždī́da* 'new', *hābla* 'pregnant'. This corresponds to several CA endings marking the feminine, i.e., /-t/, /-ah, /at/, /-ā/, /āʾ/ (Wright 1896:169). When the masculine form finishes with /-i/, the feminine one admits of the ending /-ya/, e.g., *túnši – tunšī́ya* 'Tunisian'. Nonetheless, there are exceptions to this rule and some feminine nouns are unmarked. This group includes some feminine words by default, e.g., *uṃṃ* 'mother', parts of body: *ʿīn* 'eye', *yədd* 'hand', *bṭən* 'belly', *udə́n* 'ear', cities: *tū́nəš* 'Tunis', and other like for example *áṛḍ* 'Earth, soil, land', *bīt* 'room', *dār* 'house, family', *šəmš* 'sun', *trīq* 'road'. Yoda classifies also *əxt* 'sister' and *bənt* 'daughter' as exception, however, taking into account the historical background of those forms, they should be rather considered as vestiges of the original feminine /t/ marker, rather than exceptions (Yoda 2005:201).

On the other hand, there are also nouns which might look like feminine because of their /-a/ suffix, but in fact are masculine, e.g., *dwā* 'medicine'.

It can be assumed, therefore, that in Jewish Gabes there are two principal endings acting as feminine marker. In Jewish Tripoli exists also another variation, namely /-á/, added to the feminine nouns of the classical pattern CaCCāʾ, e.g., *ḥəṃrá* 'red' and CəC₂C₂, e.g. *nəyyá* 'raw'. In Jewish Gabes this ending is attested only partially,

and its usage differs from one informant to another. Nonetheless, when applied, it appears mainly in adjectives designating colours.

In some dialects certain feminine nouns, which in Jewish Gabes possess the /-a/ marker, are listed as unmarked and presumably reflect an earlier development. Items like *ᶜᵃzūz* 'old woman' and *fṛaṣ* 'mare' in the Bedouin dialect of Douz correspond to Jewish Gabes *ᶜažū́ža* and *fə́ṛṣa* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:210). 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 15: Gender divergence in Jewish Gabes as compared to CA

Jewish Gabes - masculine	CA - feminine
draᶜ 'arm'	*ḏiarāᶜ*
ṣbaᶜ 'finger'	*ʾiṣbaᶜ*
fxaḍ 'shin'	*fahiḏ*
qdəm 'heel	*qadam*
ktəf 'shoulder'	*katif*
bīr 'well'	*biʾr*

In addition to the alternations of CA feminine – Jewish Gabes masculine, there are also reversed alternations, i.e., the words which were of masculine gender in CA are feminine in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *bīt* (f.) 'room' – CA *bayt* (m.), *kāš* (f.) 'cup '– CA *kaʾs* (m.).

There is a group of nouns that form feminine form from completely different root than the masculine one. Below one can find a list of the most commonly used pairs in Jewish Gabes:

Table 16: Irregular gender formation

ə́mṃ 'mother'	*ḅū* 'father'
ḥṣān 'horse'	*fə́rṣa* 'mare'
rā̃žəl 'man'	*ṃra* 'wife'
šəbbā̃ni 'old man'	*ʿažū̃ža* 'old woman, dowager'
šīd 'master'	*lə́lla* 'madame'
wəld 'boy'	*bənt* 'girl'
xū 'brother'	*uxt* 'sister'

3.2.3. 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 for example Jewish Tripoli, 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/ alongside with examples. The list does not include the emphatic variations of some non-phonemic consonants like for example /ḷ/, as the assimilation of -l article does not bring about any fluctuations in this respect and non-phonemic emphasis tends to be irregular and depend on the speaker.

l + d > dd *əd-dār* 'the house'

l + ḍ > ḍḍ *əḍ-ḍhəṛṛ* 'the back'

l +l > ll *əl-līl* 'the night'

l + n > nn *ən-nhār* 'day'

l + t > tt *ət-tā́nya* 'the second'

l + ṭ > ṭṭ *əṭ-ṭáyba* 'the cooked, ripe (f)'

l + r > rr *ər-rīḥa* 'the smell, scent'

l + ṛ > ṛṛ *əṛ-ṛmā́n* 'the pomegranate'

l + ṣ > ṣṣ *əṣ-ṣəḷṭā́n* 'the sultan'

l + š > šš *əš-šhūd* 'the witnesses'

l + ẓ > ẓẓ *əẓ-ẓġīr* 'the small one'

l + ž > žž *əž-žnūn* 'the ghosts'

3.2.4. Construct state

In Jewish Gabes the distribution of the construct state is rather vestigial, as this construction widely used in CA has been replaced in the majority of cases by the analytic *(n)tˤa* construction. Nonetheless, in some instances the analytic construction is impossible, and the construct state is used instead. Its specific distribution will be explained in the chapter on syntax, here I will limit myself only to the morphological aspects of this construction.

The construct state of masculine nouns does not bring about any morphological change, e.g., *ˤažə́b ṛə́ḅḅi* 'the miracle of God'. In turn, feminine nouns terminating with /-a/ admit of /-t/. The monosyllabic nouns like for example *ṣḷā* 'synagogue' or *šmā* 'sky' turn their final /-a/ into /-t/ without any change within the syllable structure, i.e., *ṣḷāt əlblā́d* 'the synagogue of the city'. The only exception to this rule is the word *ṃṛā* 'woman' which when in construct state becomes *ṃuṛt*, e.g., *ṃuṛt bū* 'father's wife, step-mother'. Other feminine nouns, i.e., those not belonging to the pattern CCv admit of the ending /-ət/, e.g., *máklət əž-žmə́l* 'the camel's food', *šxā́nət əṣ-ṣīf* 'the heat of the summer'.

It is worth mentioning that words related to the semantic field of family and affinity usually appear in construct state and not in the analytic construction. Therefore, most of the speakers will say: *bənt úxti* 'the daughter of my sister', rather than **bənt tˤa úxti*. Some of these expressions are fixed, like for example *muṛt búya* 'my step-mother', *rā́zəl bə́nti* 'my daughter's husband, son-in-law', [66] *wəld wə́ldi* 'grandson'.[67] In case of some words denoting family relations both construct state and a specific term are used interchangeably, e.g., *ṃəṛt wə́ldi – kə́nti* 'my daughter-in-law'.

3.2.5. 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, all the Maghrebi dialect either have already lost or are in a process of losing of dual (Cohen 1975:186). Jewish Gabes in this respect is an example of a gradual substitution of the CA ending /-ayn/ by the analytic construction with *žūž* 'two'. There are, however, numerous exemptions.

3.2.6. Dual

The dual in CA is one of three types of numbers and its distribution is widely attested. It can be formed from every noun in order to denote two individuals by adding the suffix /-āni/ to the root of the noun (Wright 1887:189). In case of feminine nouns ending in /-a/, the final ة changes into ت, just like in construct state. As has been

---

[66] Also the word *nšĩb* serves as the equivalent of son-in-law, but the expression *rā́zəl bənt* is much more popular. *nšĩb / nšĩba* designates all kinds of affinity acquired through marriage.

[67] Jewish Gabes does not have one specific word for 'grandson', unlike Jewish Tunis where *ḥfĩdi* 'my grandson' exists.

mentioned above, this is not a case in the North-African dialects. In the description of Jewish Algiers Marcel Cohen points out that in there are two types of number in this dialect, namely singular and plural, excluding simultaneously the dual due to a limited number of attested examples (Cohen 1912:289). The elimination of dual seems to exceed the boundaries of the sedentary dialects, as its limited distribution 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 dual is /-īn/. Below I present two semantic groups, where the dual occurs:

1) parts of body:

Singular	Dual	Meaning
ʿīn	ʿinī́n	eyes
yədd	yəddī́n	hands
ržəl	rəžlī́n	legs
udə́n	udnī́n	ears
drʿa	drʿī́n	arms

Not every double part of body can be formed in this way. Some nouns, which in other Semitic languages, for example in Hebrew, from double, like *xədd* 'cheek', form only internal plural, i.e., *xdūd*. Similarly, some nouns possessing double, have also parallel plural forms which can function as double, e.g., *ʿayū́n* 'eyes'.

2) time expressions

Singular	Dual	Meaning

ʿām	*ʿmī́n*	two years
līl	*liltī́n*	two nights
ṃárra	*ṃaṛtī́n*	twice
nhār	*nharī́n*	two days
šʿa	*šʿatī́n*	two hours
shaṛ	*sahrī́n*	two months
tqī́qa	*tqiqtī́n*	two minutes

In case of time expressions, the differentiation between dual and plural is very clear and marked morphologically, e.g., *shaṛṛ - shūr* 'month – months (pl.)'. Therefore, the dual and the plural forms cannot be used interchangeably, like in case of other nouns, e.g., *ʿinī́n - ʿayū́n* 'eyes'.

3.2.7. Plural

Two basic ways of formation of plural can be distinguished, the first one involves an addition of a suffix at the end of a noun, while the other can be defined as an 'internal plural' and it entails reformation of a word order. The dual, that has been described above, belongs to the former. Both substantives and adjectives form plural and very often, when combine, they follow different paths of formation *rəžlī́n ṭwāl* 'long legs', where the first one represents the external plural, while the other the internal. As has been pointed out by Cohen, the internal plural is much more productive than the external one and the majority of nouns indeed form plural in this way (Cohen 1975:188). On the other hand, the external plural is applied in words of a foreign origin, hence, as observed by Cohen, it has a property to expand.

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

a) /-īn/

This suffix corresponds to the CA termination -ū́na / -īna characterizing the so called *pluralis sanus* (Wright 1887:192). It can mark plural of both masculine and feminine nouns (Cohen 1975:189). When it comes to its distribution, below have been listed the major grammatical groups in which it appears:

- active and passive participles of the first stem: ʿā́iš - ʿaišī́n 'alive', dā́xəl – dəxlī́n 'those who are entring', mʿábi – mʿabiī́n 'full', məktū́b - məktubī́n 'written', máqli - maqliī́n 'fried', mā́ši - mašiī́n 'going (active particle PL)'.

It is worth noting that in case of the active participle, the original long /ā/ following the first consonant, i.e., mā́ši 'the one who is going', is significantly shortened when the plural marker added, mostly due to the replacement of the stress.

- nouns of the pattern with second radical geminated CvC²C²vC denoting names of professions and features, kəddáb – kəddabī́n 'liars', e.g., sərráq – sərraqī́n 'thieves', xabbáž – xabbažī́n 'bakers', xaddám – xaddamī́n 'slaves'

- adjectives terminating with /-ā́n/, e.g.: farḥā́n – farḥanī́n 'happy', ġədbā́n – ġəbdanī́n 'angry', məlyā́n – məlyanī́n 'full', xafyā́n – xafyanī́n 'barefoot'.

- adjectives terminating with -i[68]: axxrā́ni – axxranī́n 'last' final', fuqqā́ni – fuqqanī́n 'upper', luṭā́ni – luṭanī́n 'lower'.

---

[68] In Jewish Tunis this suffix shifts to /-ən/ when added to an adjective ending with /-i/, e.g., axxrā́ni – axxranī́yən '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 radical semi-vowel, e.g.: *də́yyəq – dəyyqī́n* 'narrow', *mə́yyət – məyytī́n* 'dead'.

- some adjectives of the pattern CCūC, e.g.: *ḥlū - ḥluwī́n* 'sweet', *šxū́n – šxunī́n* 'hot'.

- some adjectives with second and third radicals alike, e.g., *ḥəṛṛ - ḥəṛṛī́n* 'hot', *ḥayy - ḥayyī́n* 'alive', *məṛṛ - məṛṛī́n* 'bitter'.

    b) /-ā́t/

The /-at/ has /-wā́t/ and /-yā́t/ variants when the noun terminates accordingly with /-a/ and /-u/ (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 admitting of this ending are feminine. The following items form plural with /-ā́t/:

- nouns ending with -a, e.g., *ḥárka - ḥarkā́t* 'movements', *qā́bla – qablā́t* 'midwifes', *ṣəẓra - ṣəẓrā́t* 'trees'.

In this category are also included nouns of unity which usually terminate with /-a/ and are formed from collectives without the /-a/ ending. However, when the reference is being made to a real plural, which usually is preceded by a number, instead of collective, a plural form is used, e.g., *bəttī́x* 'watermelons (coll.)' – *bəttī́xa* 'a watermelon (unite)', *tlā́ta bəttixā́t* 'three watermelons', similarly: *nəmmā́la* 'an ant (unite)' – *nəmmalā́t* 'ants (PL)', *xṓxa* 'a peach (unite)'- *xoxā́t* 'peaches' (PL).

- some nouns of the pattern CCā, which in plural admit of the suffix /-wā́t/, e.g.: *blā - blawā́t* 'disasters', *ṣla - ṣlawā́t* 'synagogues', *šmā - šmawā́t* 'sky'.

- some nouns of the pattern CCā, which in plural admit of termination /-yā́t/, e.g.: *dwā - dwayā́t* 'medicaments', *ṛḍā - ṛḍayā́t* 'agreements'.

- some feminine nouns which do not have their typical feminine marker, e.g., *uṃṃ - uṃṃā́t* 'mothers'.

- some masculine nouns admit of -/ā́t/ ending: *ʿām - ʿammā́t* 'paternal uncle', *lbāš - lbašā́t* 'clothing', *xāl – xalā́t* 'maternal uncle', *žnāḫ - žnaḫā́t* 'wings', *žwāb – žwabā́t* 'letters'.

- numerous nouns of foreign origin form plural with /-ā́t/, e.g.: *ḅaḅū́r - ḅaḅurā́t* 'ships', *ḅalkū́n - ḅalkunā́t* 'balconies', *famī́lya – familiyā́t* 'families', *šbirī́tu – šbiritwā́t* 'high-percentage alcohols, poisons'.

3.2.8. Collective

Collective as a grammatical notion is on the border between singular and plural. It can be perceived as a separate category of plural denoting an unspecified group of objects, 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-žins* or *ism al-žamʿ*, indicating that this category covers nouns denoting different species (*žins*) and simultaneously refers to the notion of plurality (*žamʿ*) (Dayf 1990:57). Usually, the use of collective is determined by lack of a numerical specification preceding the noun, namely it never appears when the quantity is clearly specified. In this case plural is used instead. Nouns forming collective refer often to animals, plants, vegetables, and fruits:

Table 17: Formation of collective in Jewish Gabes

Singular	Collective	Plural	
bəttī́xa	*bəttī́x*	*bəttixā́t*	'watermelons'
xṓxa	*xōx*	*xoxā́t*	'peaches'

nəmmā́la	*nəmmā́l*	*nəmmalā́t*	'ants'

3.2.9. Nominal patterns

3.2.9.1. Patterns with one consonant and one long vowel Cv̄

This small group includes words which in CA contain *hamza*:

mā 'water' (corresponding to CA mā'), *bū* (corresponding to CA construct state of أب

i.e., *'abū*), *xū* (corresponding to CA construct state of أخ, i.e., *'axū*) (Yoda 2005:215).

3.2.9.2. Patterns with two consonants

3.2.9.2.1. Cv̄C

These forms correspond to the CA patterns Cv̄C, Ca'C, and CawC/CayC and include

roots with second radical '/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 consonant, namely /aw/ contracted either to /ō/ or to /ū/,

while /ay/ contracted to /ī/. This pattern contains, among others, nouns designating

collectives which correspond to the unite nouns of the pattern Cv̄Ca.

a) corresponding to CA CāC/Ca'C: *ʿām* 'year', *bāb* 'door', *ḍāṛ* 'house', *fāṛ* 'mouse', *ḥāl*

'situation, *kāš* 'cup', *nāṛ* 'fire', *nās* 'people', *ṛāṣ* 'head', *rāy* 'opinion',[69] *tāž* 'crown', *xāl*

'maternal uncle',[70] *ẓāṛ* 'neighbour'.

---

[69] Can be found in the expression: *kūḻ ḥaḍḍ ʿal rā́yu* 'everyone acts according to their opinion, judgement'.

[70] This word appears in a proverb related to the relationship between a daughter and her paternal and maternal uncles: *žīt l-ʿámmi ʿamā́ni, žīt l-xā́li xallā́ni* 'I came to my paternal uncle – he made me blind, I came to my maternal uncle – he secretly talked to me'. Usually, paternal uncle was perceived as a

b) corresponding to CA CīC/CiʔC: *ʕīd* 'festival', *bīr* 'well', *dīb* 'wolf', *dīl* 'tail', *dīn* 'religion', *fīl* 'elephant', *rīḥ* 'wind', *rīq* 'saliva', *xīr* 'better'.

c) corresponding to CA CayC: *ʕīn* 'eye', *bīt* 'room', *dīn* 'debt', *ġīr* 'without', *kīf* 'enjoyment, pleasure', *līl* 'night', *nīb* 'canine', *ṣīf* 'summer', *šīf* 'sword', *ṭīr* 'bird', *žīn* 'beauty', *žīt* 'oil', *xīr* 'better', *xīṭ* 'rope'.

d) corresponding to CA CūC: *būq* 'trompet', *fūl* 'beans',[71] *rūḥ* 'spirit', *ṣūq* 'market', *šūk* 'thorn (coll.)', *tūm* 'garlic (coll.)'.

e) corresponding to CA CawC: *dūd* 'worms (coll.)', *fūq* 'above', *ḥūṭ* 'fish' (coll.),[72] *lūn* 'colour', *mūt* 'death', *ṣōṭ* 'voice, sound', *tūt* 'berries' (coll.), *xōx* 'peaches' (coll.), *žūž* 'two'.

3.2.9.2.2.   CV̄Ca

This group includes principally feminine nouns of the roots with second radical ʔ/w/y. From the semantic point of view, some nouns of this group designate collectiveness.

a) corresponding to CA CāCah, CaʔCah:

ġā́ba 'forest', *ḥā́ra* 'Jewish quarter', *ḥā́ža* 'thing, something', *nā́ga* 'female camel', *šā́ʕa* 'hour' *ẓā́ra* 'neighbour (F)'.

b) corresponding to CA CayCah, CīCah:

---

serious and uncompromising figure, while the maternal one was associated with affection and understanding.

[71] There is an incredibly rich assortment of proverbs and riddles involving this word in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *ṛəḅḅi yaʕṭi əl-fūl li mā ʕandúš əz-zrū́s* 'God gives beans to one who does not have chewing teeth' (Tobi 2016:270).

[72] Due to the social taboo, it is prohibited to pronounce this word and instead the expression *fi-l-wəžž l-ʕadū* 'on the face of the enemy' is used.

bidá 'white (F)', *díma* 'always', *ǵíba* 'absence', *ḥíla* 'fraud', *míla* 'circumcision', *míya* 'hundred', *ríḥa* 'smell', *ríya* 'lung', *šíra* 'side'[73], *xíba* 'disappointment'.

c) corresponding to CA CawCa, CúCah:

dúda 'worm', *ḍúra* 'round trip', *ḥúṭa* 'a fish',[74] *lúḥa* 'board, wood', *šudá* 'black (F)', *šúka* 'a thorn', *túma* 'garlic clove'.

3.2.9.2.3. CCv̄

Words classified in this group derive from the CA roots with third radical *hamza*, i.e., CvCā', and words with third radical semivowel:

ʕṣā 'stick', *ʕšā* 'dinner',[75] *blā* 'problems, worries',[76] *dwā* 'medicine', *ḥlū* 'sweet', *ḥmā* 'mother-in-law',[77] *krā* 'rent', *ṃrā* 'woman', *r̩ḍā* 'God's will', *qwī* 'strong', *šmā* 'sky', *štā* 'winter', *ṣḷā* 'synagogue' (< CA *ṣalāh*), *ṣqā* 'fatigue'.

3.2.9.2.4. vCC (deriving from CA words with first radical *alif*):

ā́mš 'yesterday', *ar̩ḍ* 'soil, Earth', *ašm* 'name', *aṣḷ* 'origin', *um̩m* 'mother'.

---

[73] Occurs in the expression *mən šíra wáḥda… wa mən óxra…* 'on the one hand…on the other…'.

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

[75] It corresponds to the CA word *ʕašā'* which originally is masculine. Jewish Gabes has retained the masculine gender of this word and therefore the final /a/ after adding a personal pronoun is not turning into /t/, e.g., *ʕašána* 'our dinner'. Contrary to this, in Jewish Tripoli this word is feminine (Yoda 2005:218).

[76] The noun designating troubles and quarrels appears in the following proverb: *yə́ṭḷab l-blā, lqā l-blā qā́llu: ə́ža ʕándi* 'the person who is looking for troubles, found troubles and told them: come to me'. Meaning that problematic people attract problems by themselves.

[77] In Djerba the word for mother-in-law is *ʕažúža*, literally 'old woman'. The figure of mother-in-law occurs in a plethora of poems, songs and proverbs used in Jewish Gabes, e.g., *məktúb ʕála bāb əž-žə́nna / ḥattā ḥmā ma tḥabb əl-kə́nna* 'On the door of the Garden of Eden is written: none bride likes her mother-in-law' (cf. Tobi 2016:314).

3.2.9.2.5.　CāCi

From the diachronic perspective, items belonging to this group should be classified as triliteral of the pattern *fáʿil*, since many of them in CA have either *hamza,* or /y/ as 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 *fáʿil* should be classified as CāCi:

a) corresponding to CA third radical *hamza* :

dáfi 'mild, warm', *ḥáfi* 'barefoot',[78] *wáṭi* 'low, flat', *xáṭi* 'not belonging to anyone'.

b) corresponding to CA third radical /y/:

báhi 'good', *ġáli* 'expensive', *láhi* 'busy, occupied', *mádi* 'almost, approximately', *ṣáfi* 'clear, pure', *táli* 'last, previous', *táni* 'second'.

3.2.9.2.6.　CvCā

The word *ḷuṭá* 'ground, floor' is the only item attested in this pattern. It appears also in a shorter variant *uṭá.*[79]

3.2.9.3. Patterns with three consonants

The nominal forms with one short vowel before or after the second radical constitute the biggest group among all the patters in the Maghrebi dialects. It covers a wide array of nominal patterns known from CA, which due to various historical changes

---

[78] Apart from the basic meaning, this word denotes also lack of any additions, e.g., *ána ka-nákəl xabž xáfi* 'I am eating bread without anything', i.e., there is nothing on the top of the slice.

[79] The equivalent of this word in the northern communities, like Moknine and Tunis is *qáʿa.*

like reduction of the vowels system or disappearance of *hamza*, have lost their separateness. In addition, in Jewish Gabes, as in many other Maghrebi dialects, there is a general tendency to geminate the last consonant in the monosyllabic words, therefore, the words, which in CA had two consonants, like فم 'mouth' or يد 'hand', on the synchronic level are triliteral, i.e., *fuṃṃ, yədd*.

3.2.9.3.1.   Three consonants, short vowel inserted after the first consonant CvCC

a) three strong consonants $C^1vC^2C^3$:

ʿ*abd* 'man, slave', ʿ*arš* 'wedding', ʿ*aql* 'brain', *bəyy* 'ruler, bey', *baʿd* 'after, afterwards', *bənt* 'girl, daughter', *barḍ* 'cold', *ḍuww* 'light', *ġalt* 'errors (coll.) ḥabš* 'prison', *fərn* 'oven', *kəbš* 'lamb', *kəlb* 'dog'[80], *məlḥ* 'salt', *nəfš* 'spirit', *qəlb* 'heart, centre', *ṣaṛq* 'east', *šəlf* 'brother-in-law', *šəmš* 'sun', *šəyy* 'nothing', *taʿb* 'tiredness', *taḥt* 'under, beneath', *təlž* 'snow', *wəqt* 'time', *xabž* 'bread', *xamš* 'five', *žəld* 'leather', *žənš* 'kind'.

b)   second and third radical alike $C^1vC^2C^2$:

baṛṛ 'continent, a remote place', *dəmm* 'blood', *fuṃṃ* 'mouth', *ḥašš* 'voice', *ḥaqq* 'justice', *ḥažž* 'pilgrimage to Mecca', *maxx* 'brain', *mərr* 'bitter', *qadd* 'size', *ṣaṛṛ* 'secret, mystery', *šənn* 'tooth', *yədd* 'hand', *wəžž* 'face', *xədd* 'cheek', *žədd* 'grandfather, ancestor'.

---

[80] This word served also as a disdainful synonym of 'Jewish' among Muslim speakers of Gabes Arabic. Interestingly, Jews used to call Muslims in the same way, changing the initial /k/ into /x/, i.e., *xlāb* 'Muslims' (disdainful).

3.2.9.3.2. Three consonants, short vowel inserted after the second consonant
CCvC

ʿdəš 'lentils', ʿmər 'age', ʿqal 'intelligence', ʿraq 'sweat', ʿšəl 'honey', bdən 'body, corpse',[81] bḥaṛ 'sea', bġar 'donkey', blaḥ 'dates (coll.), bṛaq 'lightings (coll.)', bṣal 'onion (coll.)', bṭan 'stomach',[82] draʿ 'arm', ḥbəl 'rope', ḥnəš 'snake', ḥṭab 'fire logs (coll.)', kbur 'grave', mṭaṛ 'rain', nšər 'eagle', sʿar 'hair', ṣbaʿ 'finger', ṣbaḥ 'morning', ṣqaf 'roof', šdəṛ 'chest, breast', tlət 'a third', tmən 'eighth', wdən 'ear', xšəm 'nose', žbəl 'mountain', žməl 'camel', žnəb 'side', žnud 'forearm'.

3.2.9.3.3. Three consonants, short vowel after the first radical and /-a/ suffix
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 and feminine names of colours. In addition, unite forms of the collectives of the pattern CCvC have been included here:

a) three different consonants $C^1vC^2C^3$a:

---

[81] In Jewish Gabes more popular word for 'body' is Hebrew word gūf. In appears, however, in the expression ṣáḥat bdən 'good physical condition'.

[82] In Jewish Tunis this word has two variants, namely is 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'.

ʿáḍma 'egg',[83] *ʿáfya* 'fire', *ʿáqrəb* 'scorpion',[84] *báġra* 'cow', *bə́lḥa* 'a date', *báṣla* 'an onion',[85] *ḍárba* 'blow, bump', *də́nya* 'world', *də́xla* 'entry', *fárḥa* 'happiness', *fə́rṣa* 'mare', *ġádwa* 'tomorrow', *ḥamrá* 'red (F)',[86] *ḥálwa* 'candies (coll.)', *kə́lba* 'bitch', *kə́lma* 'word', *kə́lša* 'sock', *kə́mša* 'handful', *kə́šwa* 'costume, clothing', *láġwa* 'language', *láḥya* 'beard', *nə́dwa* 'dew', *nə́šda* 'question', nə́xla 'palm tree', qáffa 'basket', qáhwa 'coffee', sáʿra 'hair',[87] *ṣáḥba* 'friendship', *sáḥra* 'desert', *ṣárba* 'drinking', *ṣafrá* 'yellow (F)', *šə́mʿa* 'candle', *ṭáwla* 'table', *xábža* 'bread', *xádra* 'vegetables', *wə́rta* 'heritage', *wə́zġa* 'lizard', *xadrá* 'green (F)', *yə́bra* 'needle', *zə́nqa* 'blind alley', *ẓarqá* 'blue (F)', *ẓə́ṛwa* 'puppy'.

b) second and third radical alike: C¹vC²C²a:

bə́nna 'taste', *bárra* 'outside', *ḥákka* 'little box for tabaco', *ḥə́nna* 'henna', *márra* 'time', *šə́bba* 'reason', *šə́nna* 'custom, habit', *ṣáḥḥa* 'health', *ṣúwwa* 'desert', *túwwa* 'now'.

---

[83] In Jewish Tripoli *də́ḥya* is used instead (Yoda 2005: 321). Interestingly, in Jewish Gabes the word *ʿáḍma* has bad connotations linked to the evil eye, similarly to the number five. Euphemistically the speakers use *ʿin l-ʿadú* 'the eye of the enemy' as the equivalent of 'egg'.

[84] The figure of scorpion in folktales and proverbs is a symbol of danger, e.g.: *rə́bbi u l-ʿáqrəb dī bə́lək táqrəb* 'it is better to avoid rabbi and scorpion'.

[85] Onion, similarly to beans, appears in multiple folktales, proverbs and expressions, e.g. *báṣəltu tḥárqət*, literally: 'his onion got burned', expression used for a person who is in a hurry without any reason.

[86] All the names of colours have ultimate stress, unlike in Jewish Tunis, where they have penultimate stress. Jewish Gabes in terms of stress placement in adjectives 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).

[87] The figure of a hair appears in the blessing against the evil eye: *yənáḥḥi mə́nnək əl-ʿín kif ma yənahhə́yu sáʿra mən ʿažīn* 'may the evil eye leave you like a hair is taken out of the dough'. Interestingly, a similar association 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' (The Babylonian Talmud,chapterIII,page10,source:https://he.m.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%A2%D7%93_%D7%A7%D7%98%D7%9F_%D7%9B%D7%97_%D7%90)

3.2.9.3.4. Three consonants, long vowel inserted after the first radical and short vowel after the second one CV̄CvC

To this pattern belong principally active participles of the CA pattern *fáʿil* which 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 1874:130). In fact, as has been shown in the chapter on the verbal morphology, *fáʿil* bearing the meaning of an active participle survived in Jewish Gabes only in some isolated forms. Finally, the ordinary numbers have been assigned to this group:

a) pattern CV̄CvC

ʿā́ṣər 'tenth', *bā́rəd* 'cold', *ġā́maq* 'dark', *ḥā́dar* 'ready, prepared', *ḥā́dəq* 'stingy', *ḥā́dəš* 'eleventh', *ḥā́yəf* 'barefoot', *ḥā́žəb* 'eyebrow',[88] *kā́təb* 'scribe', *lū́wəl* 'first', *mā́laḥ* 'salty', *ṛā́bʿa* 'fourth', *rā́zəl* 'man', *ṣā́ḥəb* 'friend', *ṣā́rəq* 'thief', *ṣā́yəb* 'hard, difficult', *šā́bʿa* 'seventh', *šā́həd* 'witness', *šā́həl* 'easy', *šā́rəb* 'lip', *šā́tət* 'sixth', *tā́lət* 'third', *tā́mən* 'eighth', *tā́nəs* 'twelfth', *tā́šʿa* 'ninth', *wā́ḥəd* 'one, someone', *xā́dəm* 'slave',[89] *xā́məš* 'fifth', *žā́yəd* 'additional'.

---

[88] It appears in the expression: *ḥā́žb tʿa hlā́li* 'the moon eyebrow' describing a pretty woman.

[89] Even though morphologically this word should be perceived as male, it was used to indicate slaves of both genders and mostly female ones. It is accompanied by a female demonstrative pronoun, i.e., *ḥā́di əl-xā́dəm* 'this female slave' and when pronoun suffix added, it acquires the female marker, e.g., *xadə́mti* 'my female slave'.

3.2.9.3.5. Three consonants, long vowel inserted after the first radical and short vowel after the second one Cv̄CCa

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

a) three regular consonants $C^1\bar{v}C^2C^3a$:

ꜥálya 'tall', ꜥáṣra 'tenth (F)', búnya 'fist' (< It. pugno), fáyda 'benefit', ġálya 'expensive (F)', ḥádša 'eleventh (F)', qábla 'midwife', rábꜥa 'fourth (F)', sábꜥa 'seventh (F)', ṣáḥba 'female friend, friendship', šáyba 'old woman', tálta 'third', támna 'eighth (F)', tánya 'second (F), ṭánša 'twelfth (F)', xámša 'fifth (F)', žábya 'pool'.

b) second and third radical alike $C^1\bar{v}C^2C^2a$:

ḍárra 'second wife', šábba 'pretty, beautiful', šátta 'sixth (F)'.

3.2.9.3.6. Three consonants, long vowel inserted after the second radical CCv̄C

The historical development of the CA vowel system, which has led to the reduction of short vowels in an open syllable in the Maghrebi dialects, has significantly contributed to the productivity of this pattern. Namely, the classical patterns faꜥāl, fuꜥāl and fiꜥāl and their female counterparts with /-a/ suffix after losing the short vowel in the first syllable passed to the pattern CCv̄C (Cohen 1975:154).

a) three regular consonants $C^1C^2\bar{v}C^3$: blād 'city', ḍlām 'darkness', flān 'anonymous', ḥmār 'donkey', ḥsān 'horse', ḥžām 'belt, loins',[90] nzās 'pears (coll.)', ṛmād 'ashes',

---

[90] In Jewish Gabes this word serves both for 'belt' and 'loins'. It appears in the blessing: ṅṣálla žġárək mən ḥžárək 'may your offspring come out of your loins'.

ṣṛāb 'wine', *šlām* 'peace', *šmāḥ* 'pardon', *šṛāḥ* 'permission', *štār* 'curtain', *trāb* 'soil', *yṣār* 'left', *žmān* 'time',[91] *žnāḥ* 'wing', *žwāb* 'response, letter'.

b) Second and third consonant alike C¹C² v̄C²: *ṛṣāṣ* 'lead', *ṣqāq* 'exterior, street'.

3.2.9.3.7. Three consonants, long vowel inserted after the second radical and long /-a/ suffix CCv̄Ca

This group contains only physical and abstractive substantives:

dbā́ra 'advice', *ḥqā́ya* 'story', *mrā́ya* 'mirror',[92] *mšā́ḥa* 'towel', *nzā́sa* 'pear', *qrā́ya* 'lecture, reading', *qrū́ma* 'neck', *šnā́ša* 'custom', *šxā́na* 'heat', *ẓyā́ra* 'visit in a saint place'.

3.2.9.3.8. Three consonants, long /ī/ after the second one CCīC

The CCīC pattern corresponds to the CA faʿīl pattern and covers many adjectives, as well as some collectives:

a) three regular consonants C¹C²īC³:

bʿīḍ 'distant, remote', *dʿīf* 'skinny, slim', *mlīḥ* 'good', *mrīḍ* 'sick', *nšīb* 'a person close to the family', *qdīm* 'old', *qrīb* 'close', *qṣīr* 'short', *šʿīr* 'barley', *šmīn* 'fat', *ṭwīl* 'long', *xdīm* 'slave', *xrīf* 'autumn', *zġīr* 'small', *žbīb* 'raisins',[93] *žmīʿ* 'together', *žrīd* 'palms (coll.).

b) second and third consonant alike C¹C²īC²:

bnīn 'tasty', *ḥdīd* 'iron', *ḥrīr* 'silk', *ḥšīš* 'herb', *ṣḥīḥ* 'healthy', *xfīf* 'light', *ždīd* 'new'.

---

[91] This word denotes a higher register, while *wuqt* is used in an ordinary communicative situation.

[92] The plural form of this noun *mrāyā́t* means also 'glasses'.

[93] Occurs in a proverb related to the friendship: *mʿánda ḥbī́ba ḥátta žbī́ba* 'from a friend, even a raisin (lit.)', meaning that even a small gift from a friend brings a lot of joy.

3.2.9.3.9. Three consonants, long /ī/ after the second one and /-a/ suffix CCíCa

a) three regular consonants C¹C²īC³a:

dbī́ḥa 'slaughter', *ktī́ba* 'writing', *mžī́ya* 'favour', *nbī́la* 'kind of bracelet', *qtī́la* 'killing', *tnī́ya* 'route, way'.

b) second and third consonant alike C¹C²īC²a:

ḥdī́da 'bracelet', *tšī́ša* 'a bit' (mostly used in Djerba).

3.2.9.3.10. Three consonants, long /ū/ after the second one CCūC

a) three regular consonants C¹C²ūC³: *dxūl* 'entring',[94] *flūš* 'money', *sxūn* 'hot', *xrūž* 'leaving'.

b) second and third consonant alike C¹C²ūC²: *ḥmūm* 'soot, bad thing, misery'.

3.2.9.3.11. Three consonants, long /ū/ after the second one and /-a/ suffix CCūCa

a) three regular consonants C¹C²ūC³a:

ʿ*qū́ba* 'punishment', *flū́ka* 'ship, boat', ʿ*rū́sa* 'bride'.

b) second and third consonant alike C¹C²ūC²a:

ʿ*žū́ža* 'old woman', *ḍṛū́ṛa* 'harm'.

---

[94] *dxūl* designates the action of entering as opposed to *də́xla* which means a physical entry of a house. The night of the wedding, the Hebrew ליל החופה, is called in Jewish Gabes *lī́lət əd-dxū́l*, namely the night when the bride enters the house of the groom.

3.2.9.3.12. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long /ā/ vowel C¹vC²C²āC³:

The aforementioned process of 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 a second radical followed by a long vowel. Historically, the CvCCāC pattern concentrates principally nouns indicating professions, but the whole CvCCv̄C group includes also some intensive adjectives (Wright 1874:137). The patterns with second radical geminated are often called 'intensive', as they denote agents who repeatedly perform an action (Cohen 1975:162) :

a) with three regular consonants C¹vC²C²āC³:

bənnā́y 'builder', *bəyyā́ʕ* 'vendor', *dəbbā́ġ* 'tanner',[95] *dəbbā́ḥ* 'bucher', *dəbbā́n* 'flies (coll.)', *dəllā́ʕ* 'watermelon', *dəxxā́n* 'smoker', *fəllā́ḥ* 'farmer', *gəddā́b* 'liar', *ġannā́y* 'singer', *ḥammā́l* 'porter', *ḥaššā́d* 'jealous person'[96], *ḥawwā́t* 'fisherman', *səkrā́n* 'drunk', *ṣayyā́d* 'hunter', *šəbbā́t* 'Sabbath', *təffā́ḥ* 'apples (coll.)', *ṭabbā́x* 'cook', *xabbā́ž* 'baker', *xannā́b* 'thief', *xarrā́ž* 'outdoors merchant', *xawwā́n* 'swindler, fraud', *xayyā́ṭ* 'tailor'.

b) with second and third radicals alike C¹vC²C²āC²: *ʕaššā́š* 'guard, watchman', *ḥaddā́d* 'blacksmith', *ḥammā́m* 'bath', *ṣəḅḅā́t* 'shoe'.

---

[95] It appears in a proverb: *əbṭán ətžīb sabbā́ġ o dabbā́ġ* 'the same belly can birth either a tanner or a painter', meaning that the same mother can give birth to two very different children.

[96] The figure of a jealous person is strongly connected to the phenomenon of the evil eye, therefore the word *ḥáššād* appears in multiple proverbs and prayers against evil eye called *təlwída*, e.g., *ʕīn l-aḥšūd fíha ʕūd, məlḥ wəddād fi ʕīn əl-ḥaššād* 'sliver in the eye of jealousy, salt and repelling smoke in the eye of a jealous person' (Tobi 2016:286).

3.2.9.3.13. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long /ā/ vowel and /-a/ suffix C¹vC²C²āC³a:

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

dəbbā́na 'fly', *fəllā́ya* 'thin comb', *məllā́ḥa* 'salt cellar', *nəmmā́la* 'ants (coll.), *səkrā́na* 'drunk (F)', *xarrā́fa* 'story, anecdote', *ẓəffā́ra* 'whistle', *žəbbā́na* 'cementary', *žərrā́ya* 'mattress'.

3.2.9.3.14. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long ū vowel C¹vC²C²ūC³:

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

ʿ*allū́š* 'lamb', *bəqqū́š* 'mute', *fərrū́ž* 'cock', *faqqū́ṣ* 'cucumbers (coll.)', *kəmmū́n* 'cumin', *qaṭṭū́ṣ* 'cat', *šəllū́m* 'leader', *xarrū́b* 'carobs (coll.)'.

3.2.9.3.15. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long /ū/ vowel and -a suffix C¹vC²C²ūC³a:

ḅallū́ṭa 'earring', *dabbū́ža* 'bottle', *kəmmū́na* 'female proper name'.

3.2.9.3.16. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long /ī/ vowel C¹vC²C²īC³:

bəttī́x 'melons (coll.)', *šəbbī́k* 'window'.

3.2.9.3.17. Disyllabic triliteral items, second radical geminated followed by a long /ī/ vowel and /-a/ suffix C¹vC²C²īC³a:

rəttī́la 'spider' (possibly < It. rangatela 'spiderweb'), *šəkkī́na* 'knife'.[97]

3.2.9.4. Patterns with four consonants

It is rather difficult to ascribe one specific semantic value to this pattern. In some respects, it concentrates items of the meaning similar to the one of the C¹vC²C²v̄C³, namely nouns denoting instruments and professions. Additionally, the items of a foreign provenance have been included in this paradigm. It is worth noting that many of the items found here repeat in fact the first two consonants of the root in the second syllable of the word, i.e., C¹vC²C¹v̄C².

3.2.9.4.1. Quadriliteral pattern with a long /ā/ vowel after the third radical C¹vC²C³v̄C⁴

fənžā́n 'coffee cup', *məšmā́š* 'apricots (coll.)', *qəbqā́b* 'wooden shoe', *ṣəlṭā́n* 'sultan', *ṣəmṣā́r* 'mediator, go-between'.

3.2.9.4.2. Quadriliteral pattern with a long ā vowel after the third radical followed by /-a/ suffix C¹vC²C³v̄C⁴a

məšmā́ša 'apricote', *ṣaqṣā́qa* 'savings box, puppet making noise', *šaqlā́la* 'scandal'.

---

[97] This item in Jewish Tunis is masculine and has form *šəkkī́n* (Cohen 1975:185).

3.2.9.4.3. Quadriliteral pattern with a long /ū/ vowel after the third radical C¹vC²C³ūC⁴

bʿabū́ṣ 'female reproductive organ',[98] *barkū́n* 'balcony',[99] *darbū́ž* 'balustrade', *gənfū́d* 'hedgehog',[100] *karmū́s* 'figs (coll.)', *šəlšū́l* 'spinal column', *šərdū́k* 'cock', *ṣəndū́q* 'box, case', *ẓaṛbū́ʿ* 'rat'.

3.2.9.4.4. Quadriliteral pattern with a long /ū/ vowel after the third radical followed by -a suffix C¹vC²C³ūC⁴a

gəržū́ma 'throat',[101] *šakšū́ka* 'shakshouka', *xənfū́ša* 'beetle, cockroach'.

3.2.9.4.5. Quadriliteral pattern with a long /ī/ vowel after the third radical C¹vC²C³īC⁴

barmī́l 'barrel',[102] *yasmī́n* 'jasmines (coll.)'.

3.2.9.4.6. Quadriliteral pattern with two short vowels C¹vC²C³vC⁴

fə́lfəl 'pepper', *kə́rkəm* 'turmeric', *šáḥləb* 'sweet beverage made of sorghum', *zəʿtər* 'thyme'.

---

[98] Surprisingly, this rather low register and vulgar word in Jewish Tunis denotes a tail of an animal (Cohen 1975:170).

[99] This word comes from Italian and appears also as *balkū́n'* due to the interchanges of the liquids.

[100] The hedgehog is a symbol of something unimportant and insignificant, it appears in the proverb: *ʿíṭa u šhūd ʿala dbíḥat ganfūd* 'shouting and testimony because of the slaughter of a hedgehog (lit.)', meaning that there is a lot of fuss for no significant reason.

[101] On the metaphorical level, it serves also a synonym of beautiful voice, e.g., *ʿándu gəržū́ma* 'he has beautiful voice, he sings very well'.

[102] Metaphorically, it also designates an obese person.

3.2.9.4.7.   Quadriliteral pattern with one short vowel C¹Cv²C³C⁴

krəmb 'cabbage', *šfənž* 'doughnut'.

3.2.9.4.8.   Quadriliteral pattern with one short vowel and /-a/ suffix C¹vC²C³C⁴a

fə́dkla 'joke', *žə́lžla* 'earthquake'.

3.2.9.5. Items with five consonants

This small group contains mostly items of foreign origin:

sfáržəl 'quinces (coll.)', *qránfəl* 'carnation', *ẓmagárd* 'emerald'.

3.2.9.6. Patterns with prefixes

3.2.9.6.1.   Prefix /m-/

As has been noticed by Yoda, the patterns with prefix /-m/ represent a wide array of morphological functions including names of places, names of instruments, as well as verbal nouns of the 3ʳᵈ form and participles of derived forms and passive participle of the 1ˢᵗ form (2005:233). Many of the passive participles have acquired properties of noun and function in the dialect as items independent from the verbal form.

3.2.9.6.1.1.   Pattern with -m prefix and long /-ū/ vowel after the second radical məCCūC

mahbúl 'crazy, insane', *maḥlúl* 'open', *maktúb* 'written', *maqrúd* 'sweet pastry made of hony', *maẓrúḥ* 'hurt, wounded', *məlbúš* 'dressed'.

3.2.9.6.1.2. Pattern with /-m/ prefix and long /-ā/ vowel after the second radical məCCāC

məftā́ḥ 'key', *məṣmā́r* 'nail', *məžyā́n* 'scale'.

3.2.9.6.1.3. Pattern with /-m/ prefix and two short vowels mvCCvC

mə́nkəb 'elbow',[103] *mə́šləm* 'Muslim', *mа́xžən* 'storeroom, shed', *mə́žləš* 'council'.

3.2.9.6.1.4. Pattern with /-m/ prefix, two short vowels and /-a/ suffix mCvCCa

mġə́rfa 'spoon', *mṭə́rqa* 'hammer'.

3.2.9.6.2. Pattern with /ə-/ prefix əCCvC

Historically this pattern corresponds to the CA *ʾafʿal* and includes adjectives in comparative and superlative. Also names of colours and physical features are classified in this group.

3.2.9.6.2.1. Pattern with two consonants əCCv

Nouns classified in this pattern have in the third radical of their root /w/ or /y/:

áḥla 'sweeter' (< *ḥlūw*), *áġla* 'more expensive' (< *ġáli*).

3.2.9.6.2.2. Pattern with three consonants əCCvC

ə́bred 'colder', *áḅyəḍ* 'white', *ə́dyəq* 'narrower', *áḥdəq* 'stingier', *áḥmar* 'red', *ákbər* 'bigger', *ášwəd* 'blacker', *áṭṛaṣ* 'deaf', *áwšaʿ* 'wider', *áxfəf* 'easier', *áẓġər* 'smaller'.

---

[103] This item appears in the proverb: *mūt l-mṛā l-ṛā́zəl kif ḍə́ṛḅa fi-l-mə́nkəb tṹžaʿ wa fišʿa tə́mši* 'when one's wife dies it is like hitting an elbow – it hurts a lot, but it goes away quickly'.

3.2.9.7. Nouns with suffixes

3.2.9.7.1.   Pattern with /-ā́n/ suffix

In Jewish Gabes, as in other Maghrebi dialects, this scheme corresponds to the CA forms *faʕlā́n*, *fuʕlā́n* and *fiʕlā́n* (Wright 1887:111). As has been pointed out by Cohen, this suffix indicates a state, rather than a quality (Cohen 1912:281). From the morphological point of view, many of the items in this group are verbal nouns of the 1st stem.

  a) three regular consonants: *ʕaryā́n* 'naked', *ʕatšā́n* 'thirsty', *bənyā́n* 'action of constructing', *ġoẓlā́n* 'gazelles (coll.), *ḥafyā́n* 'barefoot', *ṣəkrā́n* 'drunk', *səryā́n* 'buying, action of purchase', *žiʕā́n* 'hungry'.[104]

3.2.9.7.2.   Suffix /-i/

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

3.2.9.7.3.   Pattern with two consonants and one long vowel CV̄Ci

tžī́ri 'Algerian'.

---

[104] The /i/ vowel in this form is rather unexpected, since in CA this word contains the /aw/ diphthong, i.e., *žawʕā́n*.   Therefore, taking into account a widespread phenomenon of the contraction of diphthongs, one would expect form *žuʕā́n*, like in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:177).

3.2.9.7.4.   Pattern with three consonants and one short vowel CvCCi

báḥri 'marine, western',[105] *gábši* 'from Gabes', *máṣri* 'Egyptian', *ṣáyfi* 'summery', *šə́twi* 'wintry', *trabə́ḷṣi* 'Tripolitan', *žə́rbi* 'from Djerba'.

3.2.9.7.5.   Pattern with three consonants and one long vowel C�V̄CCi / CCV̄Ci

flā́ni 'anonymous', *grī́gi* 'Greek', *šwā́ki* 'brown-red'.[106]

3.2.9.7.6.   Pattern with suffix /-əya/

gabšə́ya 'woman from Gabes',[107] *grigrə́ya* 'Greek (f.), *trabəlsə́ya* 'a woman from Tripoli', *tunšə́ya* 'a woman from Tunis', *tžirə́ya* 'a woman from Algeria, also female proper name', *žərbə́ya* 'a woman from Djerba'.

3.2.9.7.7.   Pattern with suffix /-ā́ni/

The morpheme /-ā́ni/ is characteristic for adjectives formed from the prepositions denoting location or time, hence Cohen calls them 'the adjectives of position' (Cohen 1975:180).

axrā́ni 'last, the one who is at the end', *baṛṛā́ni* 'external, foreigner, the one who is outside', *dəxlā́ni* 'interior, the one who is inside', *fuqā́ni* 'the one that is below,

---

[105] The basic meaning of this adjective is 'marine' as it derives from *bḥar* 'sea'. However, probably due to the association with the sunset, it designates also west. In Jewish Gabes this form replaced the original CA word for 'western', i.e., *ġárbi*.

[106] This word designates also peels of unripe nut which were used by women to dye their lips. Chewing the peel was giving to the lips a brown-red tinge, hence the name of the colour. In addition, nut peels were used to dye clothes. The colour of the clothes dyed in this way is called *ḥrām šwā́ki*.

[107] Appears in the proverb: *ya wā́xəd gabšə́ya, ṭə́mṛa ʿala mšə́ya* 'when a man gets married with a woman from Gabes, she is like a precious date'.

beneath', *luṭä́ni* 'lower, the one that is on the ground', *wuṣṭä́ni* 'middle, the one that is between'.

3.2.9.7.8.   Pattern with suffix /-ži/

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

ḥammä́mži 'owner of the hammam', *qahwä́ži* 'owner of the coffee shop'.

3.2.9.7.9.   Pattern with suffix /-ūt/

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

šaḥḥū́t 'avarice',[108] *tmimū́t* 'naivety', *xẓariū́t* 'cruelty'.

3.2.9.8. Irregular nouns

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

---

[108] While the other two words listed here are of clearly Hebrew provenience, the case of *šaḥḥū́t* is interesting both from the morphological and etymological point of view. It consists of the Arabic root *šä́yḥ*, to which has been agglutinated the Hebrew morpheme /-ūt/. The basic meaning of the root is 'dry', extended subsequently to denote also lack of generosity.

ḅúl̩ṣu 'wrest' (< It. polso), *brū́du* 'stock' (< It. brodo), *famī́lya* 'family' (< It. famiglia), *gə́ṛṛa* 'war' (< It. guerra), *gūf* 'body' (< He. גוף), *místru* 'teacher, professor' (< It. maestro), *muī́lya* 'furniture', *rfuá* 'medicine, medication (< He. רפואה), *rigắlu* 'gift' (< It. regalo), *xanū́t* 'shop' (< He. חנות)

3.2.10.   Internal plural

As I have already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in Jewish Gabes exist two types of plural, namely the external, which is formed by addition of fixed suffixes, and characterized by high degree of unpredictability internal. The formation of internal plural is based on the allomorphy developed by the transition of a singular pattern into different syllabic structure denoting plural. This change might involve input of additional consonants or vowels of a new quality (Ratcliffe 2011). As observed by Cohen, the number of possible plural patterns has significantly shrunk compared to CA. In Jewish Tunis are attested seventeen patterns as opposed to twenty-six of the classical language (Cohen 1975:194). Wright gives even higher number, twenty-nine, out of which five are defined as rare (Wright 1874:199). The reason behind this reduction is, as in the case of singular patterns, the loss of *hamza* and elision of short vowels in open syllable.

In the vast majority of the grammars of both CA and Maghrebi dialects, the topic of broken plural is limited to an analytic presentation of all the attested patterns alongside with their examples, sporadically the corresponding singular patterns are given. As argued by Ratcliffe, 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 plural (Ratcliffe 2011).

However, numerous studies have undermined this assumption showing that the distribution of the plural patters is conditioned by a few factors. For CA have been stablished five principal criteria with reference to the singular form deciding on the distribution their 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 rather impossible to build any taxonomy of the singular based on all the criteria. Ratcliffe chose first three factors, grouping the singular patterns into six categories assigning to them attested plural patterns. This scheme involves only items attested in CA and shows that both phonological factors, like for example presence of a glide or a weak consonant, and morphological ones (e.g., gender marker) condition the choice of a plural pattern.

As has been already 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 whether incorporation of new nouns in modern dialects leads to the reinforcement of already existing patterns, or, on the contrary, brings about an emergence of new allomorphs. Ratcliffe studied a corpus of nouns in Moroccan Arabic and reached a conclusion that the natural loss of allomorphs is followed by changes of the distribution of others, and, finally, by a creation of new patterns (Ratcliffe 202:103). This discovery indeed provides evidence that the native speakers are capable of developing new grammatical rules regarding the allomorphs and therefore possess deeper morphological knowledge.

The following section will therefore have three principal aims: (1) presentation of the collected data, (2) establishing possible rules conditioning association of singular patterns to a given plural allomorph (3) detecting possible new internal plural patterns in Jewish Gabes.

3.2.10.1. Patterns with two consonants and one long vowel

It is associated with items which in singular have diphthong or *hamza*.

3.2.10.2. Pattern with long /ū/ CūC

dūd (< *dū́da*) 'worms', *sūd* (< *áswad*) 'black (PL)'.

3.2.10.3. Pattern with long /ī/ CīC

ḥīl (< *ḥāyl*) 'not fertilized'

3.2.10.4. Pattern with long /ā/ CCā

nšā 'women'

3.2.10.5. Pattern with three consonants and a short vowel CCvC

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

a) singular feminine form of the pattern CvCCa: *ᶜḍam* (< *ᶜáḍma*) 'eggs', *ᶜləb* (< *ᶜálba*) '*tins*', *ᶜləq* (< *ᶜálqa*) 'leeches', *ᶜṛəṃ* (< *ᶜáṛṃa*) 'piles', *ġləl* (< *ġə́lla*) 'fruits', *ẓṅəq* (< *ẓə́nqa*) 'blind alleys'.

b) singular nouns and adjectives with long /ī/: *qdəm* (< *qdīm*) 'old', *ṭrəq* (< *ṭrīq*) 'roads', *ždəd* (< *ždīd*) 'new'.

c) Singular adjectives designating colours and properties: *ʿwər* (< *ʿwər*) 'one-eyed', *kḥəl* (< *ákḥal*) 'black', *ẓrəq* (< *áẓraq*) 'blue'.

3.2.10.6. Pattern with one short vowel and /-a/ suffix

ṭə́bba (< *ṭbīb*) 'doctors', *wə́žra* (< *wžīr*) 'ministers'.

3.2.10.7. Pattern with three consonants and long /ā/ vowel CCāC

a) nouns of the singular scheme CvCC(a) and CCvC(a) form plural according to this pattern: *ʿbād* (< *ʿbəd*) 'people, men', *ʿwām* (< *ʿām*) 'years', *ʿrāš* (< *ʿarš*) 'weddings', *bgār* (< *bə́gra*) 'cows', *bnāt* (< *bənt*) 'daughters', *ffām* (< *ffum*) 'lips', *ḥbāl* (< *ḥbəl*) 'ropes', *ḥbāš* (< *ḥabš*) 'prisons', *kbāš* (< *kəbš*) 'moutons', *klāb* (< *kəlb*) 'dogs', *nfāṣ* (< *nəfṣ*) 'halves', *ryāḥ* (< *rīḥ*) 'winds', *šwād* (< *ə́šwəd*) 'black', *ṭfār* (< *ṭfər*) 'nails', *wdān* (< *wudə́n*) 'ears', *wqāt* (< *wuqt*) 'times', *xšām* (< *xšəm*) 'noses', *žnāš* (< *žənš*) 'species, kinds', *žbāl* (< *žbəl*) 'mountains', *žmāl* (< *žməl*) 'camels'.

b) nouns of the pattern CūC, CāC, and CīC, where the second radical semi-vowel occurs in the plural scheme: *ʿyād* (< *ʿīd*) 'festivals', *ḍyāṛ* (< *ḍār*) 'houses', *ḥwāš* (< *ḥūš*) 'houses, properties', *lwāḥ* (< *lūḥ*) 'planks, boards', *swāq* (< *sūq*) 'souks'.

c) adjectives of the pattern CCīC are associated with this pattern as well: *bnān* (< *bnīn*) 'tasty', *ḥbāb* (< *ḥbīb*) 'beloved, dear', *ġlāl* (< *ġlīl*) 'thick', *kbār* (< *kbīr*) 'big', *mlāḥ* (< *mlīḥ*) 'good', *ṃṛāḍ* (< *ṃṛīḍ*) 'sick', *nḍāf* (< *nḍīf*) 'clean', *qrāb* (< *qrīb*) '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: *rzāl* (< *rázəl*) 'men', *šḥāb* (< *sáḥəb*) 'friends'.

3.2.10.8. Pattern with three consonants and long /ū/ vowel

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

a) nouns of the pattern CvCC(a)/CCvC: *bṭūn* (< *bṭən*) 'bellies', *byūr* (< *bīr*) 'water wells', *drūⁿ* (< *drⁿa*) 'arms', *drūž* (< *dárža*) 'stairs', *dyūb* (< *dīb*) 'wolfs', *flūš* 'money', *frūx* (< *fərx*) 'pigeons', *mlūk* (< *məlk*) 'kings', *ktūf* (< *ktəf*) 'shoulders', *kṭūṭ* (< *kəṭṭ*) 'cats', *nžūm* (< *nážma*) 'stars', *qlūb* (< *qəlb*) 'hearts', *ryūs* (< *ṛāṣ*) 'heads', *ṣyūf* (< *ṣáyf*) 'summers', *šhūd* (< *šahd*) 'witnesses', *šhūr* (< *šhəṛ*) 'months', *šyūf* (< *šīf*) 'swords', *ṭrūf* (< *ṭərf*) 'pices', *ṭyūr* (< *ṭīr*) 'birds', *žlūd* (< *žəld*) 'belts', *žnūb* (< *žnəb*) 'sides', *žnūn* (< *žənn*) 'ghosts', *žyūt* (< *žīt*) 'olives'.

b) nouns of the pattern CvC²C² (compared to CA their second radical is geminated): *dmūm* (< *dəmm*) 'blood', *ṣṛōṛ* (< *ṣaṛṛ*) 'secrets',[109] *šnūn* (< *šənn*) 'teeth', *xdūd* (< *xədd*) 'cheeks', *ždūd* (< *žədd*) 'ancestors, grandparents'.

c) Nouns of the singular pattern CīC: *byūt* (< *bīt*) 'rooms', *dyūl* (< *dīl*) 'tails', *dyūn* (< *dīn*) 'debts', *xyūṭ* (< *xīṭ*) 'sewing threads'.

3.2.10.9. Pattern with three consonants and long /ī/ vowel CCīC

Similarly to CA, this pattern is extremely rare in Jewish Gabes. Cohen points out that in Jewish Tunis there is only one noun forming plural in this way, namely *maⁿža – mⁿīž* 'goats' (Cohen 1975:196). In Jewish Gabes also *ḥmār - ḥmīr* 'donkeys' is attested.

---

[109] The vowel quality of this form is conditioned by the phonetical environment, namely in lieu of the expected /ū/, the /ō/ vowel occurs due to the vowel rounding between two emphatic /ṛ/.

In Jewish Tripoli and Muslim Tunis apart from two mentioned here paradigms one can find also *ʿəbd - ʿbīd* 'black servants' (Singer 1985:583, Yoda 2005:240).

3.2.10.10. Pattern with three consonants, short vowel after the first radical and long /ā/ after the second one CvC²C²āC

It corresponds to the CA *fuʿʿāl* pattern and is associated with singular pattern Cv̄CvC denoting usually names of professions (Wright 1874:206, Cohen 1975:196).

ḥakkā́m (*<ḥā́kəm*) 'judges', *kəffā́r* (*<kā́fər*) 'blasphemers', *šəkkā́n* (*<šā́kən*) 'habitants', *ṣarrā́q* (*<ṣā́rəq*) 'thieves', *xaddā́m* (*<xā́dəm*) 'servants'.

3.2.10.11. Pattern with the /-ay/ morpheme after the second radical CCā́yvC

This allomorph corresponds to the classical pattern *faʿāʾil*, which in Jewish Gabes, as in many other Maghrebi dialects, has lost its *hamza* giving rise to the /ay/ diphthong. Most of the plural forms in this class derive from the singular pattern CCv̄C(a), nonetheless occasionally some nouns of the CvCC(a) pattern are associated with this allomorph as well:

ḥdā́yəd (*<ḥdīda*) 'bracelets', *ḥṣā́yən* (*<ḥṣān*) 'horses', *qmā́yəž* (*<qmə́žža*) 'shirts', *šlā́yəf* (*< šə́lfa*) 'sisters-in-law', *tbā́yəx* (*<tbī́xa*) 'meals, foods', *tqā́yəq* (*<tqī́qa*) 'minutes', *xlā́yəq* (*< xlī́qa*) 'figures, shapes, creatures'.

3.2.10.12. Pattern with a short vowel after the first radical and /-ān/ suffix

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

a) nouns with three regular consonants: *bəldā́n* (<*blād*) 'cities', *xərfā́n* (<*xrūf*) 'lambs'.

b) nouns of the singular pattern CāC (second radical semi-vowel): *bibā́n* (<*bāb*) 'doors', *biṭā́n* (<*ḅāṭ*) 'armpits', *firā́n* (<*fāṛ*) 'mice', *ḥiṭā́n* (<*ḥīṭ*) 'walls', *kišā́n* (<*kāš*) 'mugs', *šišā́n* (<*šāš*) 'foundations', *žirā́n* (<*žār*) 'neighbours'.

c) nouns of the singular pattern CCv̄ (third radical semi-vowel): *ʕadwā́n* (<*ʕadū*) 'enemies', *ʕaṣyā́n* (<*ʕaṣa*) 'sticks'.

d) one noun of the pattern CāCa: *ḥwā́yəž* (<*ḥā́ža*) 'things'.

3.2.10.13.   Pattern with four consonants, long vowel after the second radical and short vowel after the third one CCv̄CvC

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

a) nouns with four radicals: *ʕqárəb* (<*ʕqrắb*) 'scorpions', *ṣáfər* (<*ṣfűr*) 'birds', *fkárən* (< *fakrűn*) 'tortoises', *fnắžən* (<*fənžā́n*) 'coffee cups', *kwắkəb* (<*kā́wkəb*) 'planets', *mnắkəb* (<*mắnkəb*) 'elbows', *mṣắmər* (<*məṣmā́r*) 'nails', *ṣḅắḅət* (<*ṣəḅḅā́t*) 'shoes', *ṣmáṣər* (<*ṣəmṣā́ṛ*) 'brokers', *ṣnádaq* (<*ṣundűq*) 'boxes', *škắkən* (<*šəkkína*) 'knifes', *šnắšəl* (< *šắnšla*) 'chains', *xrắrəž* (<*xərrā́ža*) 'drains'.

b) nouns with second radical geminated: *blắlət* (<*bəllűta*) 'earrings', *bžắžəl* (<*bažžűla*) 'udders', *kšắkəš* (<*kəškā́š*) 'colanders', *šḅắḅəl* (<*šəbḅā́la*) 'fountains'.

c) there is one attested noun forming plural according to this scheme, which originally has *hamza* as first radical: *aránəb* (<*arnəb*) 'rabbits'.

3.2.10.14. Pattern with the /-wa/ morpheme after the first radical CwắCəC

In the vast majority of the grammars this pattern is not treated separately but rather is classified as an allomorph of the CCv̄CvC 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 singular into /-wa/ in plural, similar to that of long /ī/ into /ay/ in the CCayvC. The shift is attested in nouns containing in singular both long and short /a/:

a) nouns with long /ā/ after the first radical: *ḥwắžəb* (<*ḥắžəb*) 'eyebrows', *mwắkəl* (<*mắkla*) 'foods', *šwắrəb* (<*šắrəb*) 'lips', *šwắraʕ* (<*šắraʕ*) 'streets', *ṭwắwil* (<*ṭắwla*) 'tables', *žwắmiʕ* (<*žắmiʕ*) 'mosques'.

b) nouns with short /a/ after the first radical: *dwắməš* (<*daműš*) 'caves, tunels', *kwắnən* (<*kanűn*) 'ovens', *ṣwắbon* (<*ṣabűn*) 'soaps, detergents'.

c) also some monosyllabic words possessing short /ā/ from plural in this way: *ḍwắfar* (<*ḍfar*) 'nails', *ṣwắbaʕ* (<*ṣbaʕ*) 'fingers', *žwắnaḥ* (<*žnaḥ*) 'wings'.

3.2.10.15. Pattern with /-i/ suffix

As in Jewish Tunis, this pattern in Jewish Gabes is highly productive and covers a variety of singular pattern, the majority of which is feminine. The only masculine noun in this pattern is *krắši* (<*kə́rši*) 'chairs'.

a) feminine nouns with /-īya/ suffix: *fwắki* (<*fắkya*) 'dried fruits', *wzắg̣i* (<*wə́zg̣a*) 'lizards', *ẓṛắbi* (<*ẓaṛbī́ya*) 'carpet'.

b) feminine nouns with second radical geminated and third radical /y/: *flắli* (<*fəllắya*) 'combs', *zrắri* (<*zərrắya*) 'mattresses'.

c) feminine nouns with third radical /w/: *kšā́wi* (<*kə́šwa*) 'costumes', *lġā́wi* (<*lə́ġwa*) 'languages'.

d) some feminine nouns of the pattern CCā: *ʿašā́wi* (<*ʿšā*) 'dinners, *rdā́wi* (<*rdā*) 'curtains, blinds'.

e) some nouns with first radical /a/ or /y/ due to the loss of *hamza*: *aṛā́di* (<*aṛḍ*) 'grounds', *ašā́mi* (<*əšm*) 'names', *ibā́ri* (<*yə́bra*) 'needles'.

3.2.10.16.   Patterns with suffix /-a/

There is a relatively small group of plural patterns which apart from the internal modulation of syllable structure, admit also of the /-a/ suffix. This type of allomorphs can be defined as 'mixed' plural due to the double marking (Cohen 1975:201). It seems, therefore, that the internal marker of plural was not sufficient to distinguish it from a singular pattern and there was a need to prevent morphologically possible confusions. Below I have presented some selected paradigms.

3.2.10.16.1. Pattern with one short vowel CvCCa

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

ḥárfa (<*ḥrīf*) 'clients', *sə́rka* (<*srīk*) 'companies, firms', *ṣə́lba* (<*ṣlīb*) 'crosses', *ṭə́bba* (<*ṭbīb*) 'doctors'.

3.2.10.16.2. Pattern with a long /ā/ vowel after the second radical CCáCa

Some items of the pattern CvCCán form plural in this way:

ʿráya (< *ʿryán*) 'naked', *ḥfáya* (<*ḥafyán*) 'barefoot'.

Additionally, some names of origin and ethnicity are associated with this allomorph:

ġrā́ba (<ġárbi) 'Moroccans', rwā́ma (<rū́mi) 'Christians', žrā́ba (<žárbi) 'from Djerba'.

3.2.10.16.3. Pattern with long /ū/ after the second radical CCúCa

dkū́ra (<dkaṛ) 'males', ṣyū́ḍa (<ṣáyḍ) 'lions'.

3.2.10.16.4. Pattern with the -wā morpheme after the first radical

ṣwā́lda (<ṣúldi) 'pennies', twā́nša (<tū́nši) 'Tunisians'.

3.2.11.   Diminutive

Both substantives and adjectives can form diminutive. The CA pattern of masculine diminutive *CuCayC* has been replaced in Jewish Gabes as well as in Jewish Tripoli and Jewish Tunis by *CCǝyyǝC* (Yoda 2005:244, Cohen 1975:204). As pointed out by Cohen, the use of diminutive is limited to women and children and men use it mostly in an ironic context. Selected examples: *kǝlb > klǝyyǝb* 'small dog', *nǝfṣ > nfǝyyǝṣ* 'small half'.

3.2.12.   Numerals

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 enlisted cardinal numbers with examples of nouns in masculine and feminine. As can be inferred, only number (1) distinguishes formally between the two genders and causes inversion of the word order:

1. ʿabd wā́ḥad, mṛa wā́ḥda 'one man, one woman'

2. žūž ǝṛwā́zǝl, žūž amṛā́ 'two men, two women'

3. tlāt zġār, tlāt ǝ́bnāt 'three boys, three girls'

4. *árbʿa ḫyūṭ, árbʿa ḥoḥắt* 'four fish, four peaches'

5. *xamš(a) aṛwắzəl, xámša amṛắ* 'five men, five women'

6. *šəta aṛwắzəl, šəta amṛắ* 'six men, six women'

7. *šə́bʿa aṛwắzəl, šə́bʿa amṛắ* 'seven men, seven women'

8. *tmə́niya aṛwắzəl, tmə́niya amṛắ* 'eights men, eight women'

9. *tə́šʿa aṛwắzəl, təšʿa amṛắ* 'nine men, nine women'

10. *ʿásra aṛwắzəl, ʿásra amṛắ* 'ten men, ten women'

3.2.12.1. Eleven to nineteen

11 ḥdắš, 12 tazẓína, 13 ṭəḷḷəṭắš, 14 aṛbʿatắš, 15 xaməṣṭắš, 16 ṣəṭṭắš, 17 ṣəbʿaṭắš, 18 tə́məntắš, 19 tə́ṣʿatắš

3.2.12.2. Twenty to ninety

The units always precede the tens.

20 ʿasrín, wắḥd u ʿasrín, 30 tlatín, wắḥd u ʿasrín, 40 abʿaín, wắḥd u arbʿaín, 50 xamšín, wắḥd u xamšín, 60 šəttín, wắḥd u šəttín, 70 šəbʿaín, wắḥd u šəbʿín, 80 tamnín, wắḥd u tmanín, 90 təšʿín, wắḥd u təšʿín.

3.2.12.3. Hundreds and thausands

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

100 míya, 101 míya u wắḥəd, 102 míya u tnín, 103 míya u tláta, 132 míya tnīn u tlatín, 200 miytín, 300 tlat míya, 400 aṛbʿa míya, 500 xə́mša míya, 1000 álf, 2000 alfín, 3000 tlắt alắf.

3.2.13. Days of the week

nhar al-ḥádd 'Sunday', *nhar ət-tnī́n* 'Monday', *nhar at-tlā́t* 'Tuesday', *nhar əl-árbˁa* 'Wednesday', *nhar əl-xmī́š*[110] 'Thursday' , *nhar žə́mˁa* 'Friday', *nhar šəbbā́t* 'Saturday'.

---

[110] Due to the social taboo relating to the evil eye, this day has two additional names: *nḥar əl-fardi* 'unpaired day' and *nḥar ˁin əl-ˁadu* 'day in the eye of the enemy'.

3.3. Pronouns

3.3.1. Personal pronouns

3.3.1.1. Independent pronouns

	Singular	Plural
3M	hū́wa	hū́mma
3F	hī́ya	
2M	ánta	ántum
2F	ə́nti	
1	anā́	aḥnā́

As opposed to most Maghrebi dialects, the stress in the first person singular and plural
is placed not on the penultimate syllable, but ultimate, i.e., *anā́* instead of *ā́na* (Cohen
1975:210, Yoda 2005:115, Singer 1984:250). The classical form of the first-person
plural, i.e., *naḥnu,* has been reduced in the majority of the Maghrebi dialects to
ḥna/ḥnan. The absence of the initial /n/ has been explained by Cohen as dissimilation,
which supposedly is an early development, given its wide distribution among the
dialects of Arabic (Cohen 1912:87). 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 pharyngeal /ḥ/. Contrary to this, Jewish Tunis has in this place rather
unexpected /ə/ vowel (Cohen 1975:211). In the Bedouin dialect of Maṛāzīg, both
singular and plural forms of the 1st person have long ē at the end, i.e., *anē* 'me' *ᵊḥnē*
'we' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:66).

In all the Jewish dialect, the initial /h/ of the third person singular and plural
is elided, nonetheless, Jewish Gabes preserves the original consonantal realization, as
Muslim dialects do (Singer 1985:250). In other Jewish dialects the initial consonant

has been dropped and as a result *úwa* form emerged (Yoda 2005:115, Cohen 1985:210, Cohen 1912:336).

The forms of the second person singular are also somehow exceptional compared to other Maghrebi dialects and especially the Jewish ones. The general tendency across the majority of the dialects is the feminine form used for both feminine and masculine.[111] The only dialects documented until now, which have both forms are Muslim Algiers and some Moroccan dialects (Cohen 1975:211). Jewish Gabes has very clear distinction in this respect, which, as will be shown in the next chapter, has parallels in the verbal morphology. The second person plural in Jewish Gabes preserved the classical form *ʾántum,* unlike Jewish Tunis or Jewish Algiers which use an extended variant *(ə)ntumān.* As explained by Cohen, the /-ān/ suffix in this form can be an analogy to the plural marker of the nouns (Cohen 1975:212).

3.3.1.2. Pronoun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
	Singular	Plural
3M	-u, -ū́, -h	-həm
3F	-ha	
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 if it ends with consonant or vowel. In the third person masculine

---

[111] The historical background of this phenomenon has been given by Cohen, who claims that the predominance of the feminine form is related to the agglutination of the particle /-ya/ to the masculine form *ə́nta* in some dialects, i.e., *əntīya.* This hypothesis is supported by evidence coming from the dialect of Djidjelli, where the masculine form has two variants, i.e., *ənta* and *əntīna* (Cohen 1975:211).

singular, when a verb or a noun has at the end the /u/ vowel, the /u/ of the pronoun 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, in Muslim Algiers nous ending with a vowel regularly admit of -h, e.g., ʿadūh 'his enemy' (Cohen 1912:338). When it comes to the Jewish speakers of Algiers, most of them tend to omit the final /h/, but as pointed out by Cohen, some individuals do pronounce /h/, especially in forms of past tense 3PL, i.e. *(h)ašplūʰu* 'they destroyed him' (Cohen 1912:339). Interestingly, in the same form the Muslim speakers use a -ah suffix, e.g., *nsá̄uah* 'they forgot him' (Cohen 1912:339). In Jewish Gabes the original /h/ is attested in past forms of verbs with third radical weak, which in third person singular have /a/ vowel. In this case, instead of /u/, /h/ is added, e.g., *nšāh* 'he forgot him'. Also nouns ending with -a admit of /h/ suffix (cf. *ġda* 'lunch' below)

In the second person singular, the CA suffix /-ka/ in the Maghrebi dialects contracted to /-k/ when a word finishes with a vowel, and to /-ək/ when the ending is consonantal. The only exception to this rule is when a verbal form is ending with a long vowel, in this case /-ək/ suffix is agglutinated, e.g., *bʿatnā̄k* 'we sent you'. 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 as either as /-kəm/, or in labial and pharyngeal context as /-kom/.

The suffix of the 1st person singular has three possible variants, namely /-ni/, /-i/ and /-ya/. Their distribution is conditioned grammatically, namely /-ni/ is added only to verbs, while /-i/ and /-ya/ to nouns. The latter is applied only to nouns ending with vowels.

Nouns ending with /-i/, like *kə́ši* 'chair' constitute a separate category. As has been demonstrated below, the final vowel is elided in the singular and the personal pronouns are added to the root *kə́rš-,* but 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.

3MS	qálbu	his heart	xū(h)[112]	his brother
3FS	qálbha	her heart	xū́ha	her brother
2MS	qálbək	your heart	xūk	your brother
1SG	qálbi	my heart	xū́ya	my brother
3PL	qálbhəm	their heart	xū́həm	their brother
2PL	qálbkəm	your (pl) heart	xū́kəm	your (pl) brother
1PL	qálbna	our heart	xū́na	our brother
3MS	ġdāh	his lunch	kə́ršu	his chair
3FS	ġdā́ha	her lunch	kə́rša	her chair
2MS	ġdāk	your lunch	kə́ršək	your chair
1SG	ġdā́ya	my lunch	kə́ršī	my chair
3PL	ġdā́həm	their lunch	kəršī́həm	their chair
2PL	ġdā́kəm	your (pl) lunch	kəršī́kəm	your (pl) chair

---

[112] The final /h/ is audible only when an informant is asked to pronounce an isolated form, in a free speech it is completely elided.

1PL	ġdä́na	our lunch	kəršĭ́na	our chair

The aforementioned examples did not demonstrate any fluctuations in terms of syllable structure. Nonetheless, some nominal patterns require a replacement or a deletion of a vowel once the pronoun is added. This is the case for example in disyllabic nouns with short last vowel, e.g., *sä́ḥəb* 'friend' – *sä́ḥbi* 'my friend'. In turn, in nouns of the pattern CCəC the position of the short vowel /ə/ is changed after adding the possessive pronoun in order to prevent the short vowel in an open syllable. Below the example of *ṣḍəṛ* 'breast' is given:

3MS	ṣə́ḍṛu	his breast
3FS	ṣḍə́rha	her breast
2MS	ṣə́ḍrək	your breast
1SG	ṣə́ḍri	my breast
3PL	ṣᵊḍə́rhəm	their breast
2PL	ṣḍə́rkəm	your (pl) breast
1PL	ṣḍə́rna	our breast

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

Livro (it.) - book

3MS	livro əntˤä́u	his book
3FS	livro əntˤä́	her book
2MS	livro əntˤä́k	your book
1SG	livro əntˤä́na	my book
3PL	livro əntˤä́həm	their book

| 2PL | livro ənt‘ákəm | your (pl) book |
| 1PL | livro ənt‘ána | our book |

Below are presented examples of the weak verbs *nša* 'he forgot' which has a vocalic ending and of the verb *žāt* 'she came' possessing a consonantal suffix with personal pronouns added.

3SM	nšāh	he forgot him
3SF	nšáha	he forgot her
2SM	nšāk	he forgot you
1SG	nšáni	he forgot me
3PL	nšáhəm	he forgot them
2PL	nšákəm	he forgot you (pl)
1PL	nšána	he forgot us

3SM	žátu	she came to him
3SF	žátha	she came to her
2SM	žátək	she came to you
1SG	žátni	she came to me
3PL	žáthəm	she came to them
2PL	žátkəm	she came to you (PL)
1PL	žátna	she came to us

It is worth noting, however, that in Jewish Gabes the verb *ža* with the personal pronoun in the function of direct object is used to describe abstract phenomena rather than people. It occurs often in expressions related to health condition, e.g., *s-shār l-láxər žátni šxána* 'last month I got fever', *žátha* 'she got her period'. In turn, when it

comes to a visit of two people, a particle *ʿándi,* or /-li/ is used, e.g., *hī́ya žā́t ʿándna* 'she came to us'.

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

3SM	qáṭlu	he killed him
3SF	qṭə́lha	he killed her
2SM	qáṭlək	he killed you
1SG	qṭə́lni	he killed me
3PL	qṭə́lhəm	he killed them
2PL	qṭə́lkəm	he killed you (pl)
1PL	qṭə́lna	he killed us

3.3.2. Dative marker /l-/

In addition to a regular agglutination of a personal pronoun as a direct object, some verbs admit also of what Yoda calls 'enclitic dative marker' which corresponds to the classical preposition /-li/. The order therefore is following: verb, personal pronoun, dative marker. Below I presented examples of prefix conjugation and imperative:

3SM	yəžibū́lu	he will bring him to him
3SF	yəžibū́lha	he will bring him to her
2SM	yəžibū́lək	he will bring him to you
1SG	yəžibū́li	he will bring him to me
3PL	yəžibū́lhəm	he will bring him to them
2PL	yəžibū́lkəm	he will bring him to you (pl)

1PL	yəžibū́lna	he will bring him to us

žibulī́ya	bring him to me!
žibuhū́li	bring (pl) him to me!
žibuhū́l(h)u	bring (pl) him to him
žibuhū́lha	bring (pl) him to her!
žibuhū́lna	bring (pl) him to us!
žibuhū́lkəm	bring him to you (pl)!
žibuhū́lna	bring him to us!

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

3SM	žabəthálu	she brought her to him
3SF	žabəthólha	she brough her to her
2SM	žabəthálək	she brought her to you
1SG	žabətháli	she brought her to me
3PL	žabəthálhəm	she brough her to them
2PL	žabəthálkəm	she brought her to you (pl)
1PL	žabəthálna	she brought her to us

3.3.3. Reflexive pronoun

1) rūḥ-

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

3sm	hažž rū́ḥu	he raised himself

3sf	qáṭlət rū́ḥḥa	she killed herself
2sm	ḍṛət rū́ḥək	you harmed yourself
1sg	ḍā́ṛt rū́ḥi	I harmed myself
3pl	də́ṛbu rū́ḥḥəm	they hit themselves
2pl	ḍṛə́btu rū́ḥkəm	you (pl) hit yourselves
1pl	ḍṛə́bna rū́ḥna	we hit ourselves

Another reflexive pronoun used in Jewish Gabes is /nəfš-/. This, however, has slightly different connotation. When rūḥ- expresses rather physical reflexivity, /nəfš/ is used in more abstract context, e.g., *áḥšəb nə́fšək li qā́ꜥd fi žnān* 'imagine yourself sitting in the garden'.[113] However, some verbs admit of both variants. One of them is the verb 'to become', which in Jewish Gabes is expressed by verb *ꜥaməl* + 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 onself', e.g., *žīt brū́ḥi* 'I came alone'.

2) waḥd-

In Jewish Gabes the most popular expression for 'by oneself, alone' is /waḥd-/, which has the following inflection:

3SM	žā wáḥdu	he came alone
3SF	žāt wḥádha	she came alone
2SM	žīt wáḥdək	you came alone
1SG	žīt wáḥdi	I came alone

---

[113] Interestingly, when *nəfš* stands alone it means 'evil eye', e.g., *ꜥándu nəfš* 'he is sick because of the evil eye'.

3PL	žắu wḥádhəm	they came alone
2PL	žítu wḥádkəm	you (pl) came alone
1PL	žína wḥádna	we came alone

This pronoun seems to be attested only in a limited number of Maghrebi dialects, as for example Muslim Tunis has in this respect /bid-/ (Singer 1985:257), while Jewish Tripoli prefers /brūḥ-/ (Yoda 2005:129). Nonetheless, it has been attested in Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912:355).

3.3.4. Relative pronoun

1) *li*

The principal pronoun introducing the relative clause in Jewish Gabes is *li* and is not affected by gender or number, e.g. *tlắta battixắt li bʿáṭəṭhəm bə́ntək* 'three watermelons that you daughter has sent you', *tə́mma wắḥad li hű́wa ma ṭḥárrəkš* 'there is a man who does not move', *aná hű́wa li žítək ámš* 'I am the one who came to you yesterday', *li nḥaḅḅ húmma liắvər li šə́fthəm* 'what I want are the book that I saw'. The invariability of this pronoun has been attested in all Maghrebi dialects; however, the neighbouring dialects have its several variations, namely in Jewish Tunis *ə́lli/lli* (Cohen 1975:218), Maṛāzīg *álla/álli* (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:86). The usage of the relative pronoun is Jewish Gabes will be analysed more closely in the syntax chapter.

2) *ma*

Apart from the mentioned above *li,* which prevails in Jewish Gabes, one can find also a vestigial use of the pronoun *ma* being widely used in Muslim Tunis (Singer 1985:260), e.g., *xūd ma tḥəḅḅ* 'take whatever you want'. It has been replaced by *li* on the position of the relative pronoun probably in order to avoid misunderstanding due

to the second function of *ma* which is a negation particle, e.g., *anā́ ma nḥábbu* 'I do not like him'. Nonetheless, 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 bʿada* 'but you have already eaten', *mā́ni qáltlək* 'I already told you'.

3.3.5. The reciprocal pronoun

As in other Maghrebi dialects, *mʿa bʿəd* is an equivalent of 'each other', e.g., *anā́ wa ə́nti nəmšī́yu mʿa bʿádna* 'me and you will go together', *húmma tnīn žáu mʿa bʿádhəm* 'they came together', *əl-zġār nḍə́rbu mʿa bʿádhəm* 'the children hit each other'.

3.3.6. Interrogative pronouns

(1) *šnū́wa, aš* – what

šnū́wa nqúllək 'what will I tell you?', *aš yʿáməl?* 'what will he do?', *ša šʿa?* 'what time is it?' *wū́qt wuṣə́lt l-hū́ni šnū́wa šʿa li kā́nət?* 'when you arrived in here, what was the time?', *šnū́wa mʿátha* 'what is the meaning (of the word)?'.

(2) *(h)áni* – which

(h)áni tnī́ya nū́ṣəl bī́ha filblād? 'which way will lead us to the city?', *(h)ā́ni ṭáwla ṭḥábbi?* 'which table do you like?', *(h)ā́ni liā́vər ṭḥább?* 'which book would you like?', *(h)áni ášəm ʿaṭī́ti l-wə́ldək* 'what name have you given to your child?', *mən ā́ni blād žīt?* 'which city did you come from?'.

(3) *škūn, ašškū́n* – who

škūn rrázəl li ža áməš? 'who is the man who came yesterday?' *ašškún l-mṛa li žāt?* 'which woman has come?' *ašškún nāš šuft fi-s-sūq?* 'which people did you see in the market?' *škūn ə́nti?* 'who are you?', *wəld škūn ə́nti?* 'whose son are you?'.

This interrogative pronoun is usually not inflected, however, in Jewish Gabes one can occasionally find forms like *škū́nək?* 'who are you?' *škun úwwa?* 'who is he?'.

(4) *kəddáš* – how much/how many

kəddáš tḥábbi təffáḥ 'how many apples would you like?'

(5) , *kifáš, ša* – how

ša yəšəmǘu 'how is he called?', *ša hálək* 'how are you?', *kifáš ʿamə́lt háda?* 'how did you do that?'.

3.3.7. Exclamative pronouns

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

   1) madabi-

It is used to express a wish that is possible to come true. It is has a regular inflection, i.e. *madabī́ya, mad*abī́k etc.

   2) 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 of the personal suffixes, e.g.:

Elative	Masculine	Feminine
ákbəṛ 'bigger'	*ma-káḅru* 'how big he is!'	*ma-kbárha* 'how big she is!'
ázġar 'smaller'	*ma-ẓġáru* 'how small he is!'	*ma- ẓġárha* 'how small she is!'

áṭwəl 'longer'	*ša-ṭŭlu* 'how long he is!'	*ša-ṭŭlha* 'how long she is!'
áxfif 'lighter'	*ma-xfə́fhu* 'how light he is!'	*ma-xfə́fha* 'how light she is!'
áḥla 'sweeter'	*ma-ḥlá(h)* 'how sweet he is!'	*ma-ḥlə́ha* 'how sweet she is!'
áxyəb 'worse'	*ma-xáyybu/xĭbu* 'how bad he is!'	*ma-xáyba/xĭba* 'how bad she is!'
ṣaḥḥ 'stronger'	*ma-ṣaḥḥ* 'how strong he is!'	*ma-ṣáḥḥa/ṣḥĭḥḥa* 'how strong she is!'[114]

3.3.8. Demonstrative pronouns

1) Near reference

Masculine	hắda	
Feminine	hắdi	hắdu

The position of the pronoun with the sentence is not fixed, and it can either follow the noun, i.e., *əl-ḥsán hắda* 'this horse', or it can precede it, e.g., *hắda əṛ-ṛắzəl* 'this man'. Remarkably, in Jewish Gabes hắda can serve both for masculine, as well as for feminine nouns, e.g., *bə́ntək hắda nḥəḅḅ naxŭdha* 'I would like to marry this daughter of you'.

2) Far reference

	Singular	Plural

---

[114] The primary meaning of this adjective is 'strong', however, due to the social taboo, it serves also as an euphemistic equivalent of 'fat', especially with reference to a woman, e.g. *ʿánda ṣḥĭḥa* 'lit. she has a strength'.

| Masculine | hadák | |
| Feminine | hadík | hadúk |

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

3) Vestiges of *ha-*

The particle /-ha/, known from CA as a component of the demonstrative *hádạ* in Jewish Tunis forms a separate demonstrative pronoun inflected for person and number and indicates the physical presence of someone (Singer 1985:259). As reported by Cohen, the pronoun in question exists also in Jewish Tunis and is represented by a compound form *awáda* (< *hāhu hādạ*). In Jewish Gabes it seems to have survived only in two isolated forms, i.e., *háni* (< *hā + ána*), *háwwa* (< *hā + húwwa*). The second form serves as a demonstrative pronoun not only for the 3rd singular, but also for all the persons except for the 1st singular which has its own form, namely *háni*, e.g., *háni žīt* 'here I came', *háwwa žā* 'here he came', *háwwa žína* 'here we came'.

3.3.9. Indefinite pronouns

(1) *wáḥəd, wáḥda* – someone

(2) *mnádəm* – somebody, one (< He. בן אדם)

(3) *ʿabə́d* – a person, somebody, e.g., *tə́mma ʿábéd/ʿábəd wáḥad fəḍḍar* 'there is someone at home'

(4) *ḥadd* – no one

This pronoun is used exclusively in negative sentences or in expression *kəll ḥadd* 'everyone', e.g., *mā tə́mma ḥadd f-əḍ-ḍār* 'there is no one at home', *ḥadd ma ža* 'no one came', *ḥadd ma xnə́bhəm* 'no one stole them'.

(5) *bʿad əl-ḥadd* – unknown person, someone, e.g., *qəlt l-úmmi li bʿad əl-ḥadd ža* 'I told my mother that someone was coming', *bʿad əl-ḥáḍḍ hűni* 'someone is here'

(6) *bʿad* – some, unspecified place or item, few, e.g., *ʿala bắli šə́ftu fi-bʿad əl-blắd* 'in my opinion I have seen him in a town', *bʿad ənnắš žắu* 'few people came', *hűwwa ṣáḷḷa bʿad ṣḷawắt* 'he prayed some prayers'.

(7) *flān* – someone

This pronoun is used only for human being and cannot be followed by any noun, e.g., *flān wuṣal l-ḍ-ḍār* 'someone has arrived at home' (i.e., not: *flān rắzəl wuṣəl*).

(8) *ḥắža* – something, e.g., *madabî́ya ḥắža ṣŕábha* 'I would like to drink something', *nḥaḅḅ nqűllək ḥắža* 'I would like to tell you something', *tə́mma ḥắža li təthayyə́rni* 'there is something that worries me', *ʿatî́ni hadî́k əl-ḥắža* 'give me this thing'.

(9) *bʿad əl-ḥắža* – something, e.g., *ʿatî́ni bʿad əl-ḥắža* 'give me something'

(10) *šə́yy* – nothing, used only in a negative sentence, e.g., *ma ʿandî́š šə́yy* 'I have nothing', *ma nḥaḅḅ šə́yy* 'I do not want anything.'

(11) *šwî́ya*[115] – a bit, e.g., *ʿatî́ni šwî́ya mə́nha* 'give me just a bit of this'.

---

[115] In Jewish Djerba instead of *šwî́ya, tšî́ša* is used.

(12) *ā́xər* – another, e.g., *žāt ṃra áxra* 'another woman came', *šəft nāš axrī́n* 'I saw another people', *nḥabb ḥā́ža áxra* 'I want something else', *ʿatī́ni təffā́ḥa áxra* 'give me one more apple'

3.3.10.   Pronouns related to quantity

(1) *ṭrə́yyəf* – a slice, a piece, e.g., *ʿatrī́thu ṭrə́yyəf xā́bž* 'I gave him a small slice of bread'

(2) *bə́rša* – many, a lot, e.g., *hū́wa yəḥább bə́rša ḥwā́yəž* 'he wants many things', *ma təmmā́š bə́rša ṛmān* 'there are not many pomegranates'

(3) *yā́sər* – many, a lot, e.g., *tə́mma nāš yā́sər* 'there are a lot of people'

(4) *káttər* – the majority (in Muslim Tunis: *mukṭer*, cf. Singer 1985:286), e.g., *káttər əl-nā́š yḥábbu yəmšī́u l-ṣlā* 'the majority of people wants to go to the synagogue'

(5) *bā́qəl* – the rest, the leftovers, e.g., *nā́xəd əl-bā́qəl* 'I will take the rest'

(6) *kull* – all, every, whole, e.g., *xdə́mt nhār kúllu* 'I worked all day', *əl-nāš əl-kúll žáu hū́ni* 'all the people came here', *kūll aʿī́la ʿánda žūž ẓġār* 'in every family there are two children'.

4 Syntax

4.1. Introduction

The study presented below investigates several syntactic phenomena attested in Jewish Gabes. Since no systematic description of North African Arabic syntax exists, the selection of the topics studied here has been made based on Kristen Brustad's work on the syntax of spoken Arabic (2000), but several modifications have been made as well. One of the major differences is the methodology adapted in this chapter, namely the syntax of Jewish Gabes has been approached from 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 the data from the neighbouring dialects can provide valuable information for understanding the development of syntax in Jewish Gabes.

4.2. Definiteness

4.2.1. Introduction

The primary aim of this section is to specify the nature of the 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 rather it should 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, if the same factors condition definiteness in all the North-African dialects, or some variations occur.

4.2.2. Data

Definite:

1. **l-kbī́ra** xdáha ṛáẓəl, xda wəld wužī́r,
   wa **l-tā́nya** xdáha ṛáẓəl (2:13)

   He married the eldest with a man, the son of the minister, he married also the second one.

2. hum mšáu yā́sər, **ət-tnī́ya** ṭwíla u
   wfáləm əl-mā (2:56)

   They walked a lot, the way was long and they ran out of water.

3. **əl-ḅáḅa** ṣəlṭā́n ža: wən bə́nti? (4:12)

   The father sultan came: where is my daughter?

Indefinite:

4. ḥátṭi **šəkkī́na** u nqaṣṣúha (1:22)

   Bring a knife and we will cut it.

5. rqāt **ṃra ʕā́mia** (4:18)

   She found a blind woman.

6. də́xlət, tə́ṛqa **šubī́rya kbī́ra** (4:25)

   She entered and found a big bowl.

Indefinite specific:

7. **wā́ḥad** mša yə́ṭlab ya krī́mət áḷḷa
   (1:2)

   A man went to beg for money.

8. qā́mət aʕmlə́tlu **wā́ḥda** óxra (1:31)

   She got up to make one another.

9. šū́fu **wā́ḥad** l-ə́ktər aġžā́n, l-ə́ktər
   məxnā́n, l-ə́ktər ẓawā́li, xudū́la (2:14)

   Look for the one that is the laziest, the dirtiest and the poorest and marry her with him.

4.2.3. The Arabic system of definiteness and indefiniteness and its challenges

Most of the grammars of Arabic present the system of definiteness dichotomically, implying that the nouns can be either marked by the definite article and therefore definite, or unmarked and indefinite. This approach in case of Jewish Gabes, as in many other modern dialects, is inaccurate and fails to represent multiple levels of definiteness in natural language. As has been mentioned by Brustad, native speakers of Arabic use flexibly various shades of definiteness in order to manipulate the

discourse (Brustad 2000:18). The same observation has been made by Dominique Caubet in her analysis of the morphosyntax of Moroccan Arabic (1993:185).

What characterises the North-African group in terms of definiteness is the use of the article *wā́ḥəd*, meaning 'someone, one, somebody'. Its high occurrence is attested particularly 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 human nouns. Apart from *wā́ḥəd*, one can find also in Maghrebi Arabic *šəy* meaning 'some'.[116] The *šəy* particle is attested also in Syrian, however, is 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 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 (1993:185).

Before establishing the rules governing the system of definiteness and indefiniteness in Jewish Gabes, I would like to discuss some additional grammatical concepts, which might have impact on the notion of definiteness. I will adapt Brustad's view, who argues that definiteness constitutes a continuum interacting with concepts like number and animacy (2000:18).

4.2.4. Animacy – Individuation – Discourse

Definiteness is a notion closely related to the perception of a speaker and their idea of discourse. The speaker chooses to assign greater definiteness to items, that they

---

[116] The particle *wā́ḥəd* finds its parallel in Berber *jirane* 'one, someone'.

can see by themselves or are close and akin to them. The egocentric dimension of the definiteness has been already marked 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 perceptual subjectivity of the speaker, and therefore it 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 an ability of noun to be alive and animate, i.e., to act in a conscious manner. Thus, in order to establish the definition of animacy, Comrie 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 functions independently (1981:185). The 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.[117] The perception of

---

[117] As an example can serve Russian and Polish, where in the former the plurality increases the degree of animacy and therefore a noun admits of a special animate accusative morpheme, while in the latter the situation is exactly the opposite (Comrie 1981:188).

which nouns have the ability to act in an aware way depends to large extent on the socio-cultural factors of each speech community. Some languages make a more specific distinction between what deserves an additional marking in language as more animate/salient, disambiguating nouns related to kinships from the rest by 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., *yǝmmā-ha ntāʿ bāya* 'the mother of Baya' (Souag 2017:58). Some examples of the impact of animacy can be found also in Northwest Semitic. As argued by scholars of Biblical Hebrew, the direct object marker את *ʾēṯ* 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, in Hebrew inanimate collectives are accompanied by singular verbs when in the position of subject, e.g., לֹא תָבוֹא דִּמְעָתֶךָ 'and nor shall run down your tears' (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.

Another parameter relevant for noun phrases related to animacy is gender. This is of special significance in Slavic languages, where the discriminating category has been called by Janda as virility (1999:209). It has multiple morphological implications and as a term is not dichotomous, but similarly to definiteness in spoken Arabic, rather demonstrates diversification. Different levels of virility are reflected in the declension of human nouns in Polish, which when in the nominative might admit of three possible endings: honorific virile, neutral virile and deprecatory non-virile (Janda 1999:202). As has been suggested, the most animate and the most prominent category – honorific virile, was shaped by a sociolinguistic concept of idealized and

prototypical self, which is highly specific and unique. The personal and perceptual dimension of virility/animacy corresponds therefore to the ego-centric 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).[118]

Bearing in mind that various aspects of animacy may have an impact on the system of definiteness and indefiniteness, I would now like to discuss another satellite concept, namely individuation. It serves as one of the key factors relevant to the Transitivity Hypothesis formulated by Hopper and Thomson in their cross-linguistic study of the transitivity and its discourse implications (1980). In their view, transitivity is a global phenomenon which is central in every natural language and has multiple, predictable grammatical consequences. By rejecting the classical definition of transitivity viewed as a presence or absence of object, they propose to interpret it as a continuum consisting of various components, which, subsequently decide whether a clause is more or less transitive. Their hypothesis has also 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 Thomson (1980:252):

Table 18: Hopper and Thomson's parameters of transitivity

	HIGH	LOW
A. PARTICIPANTS	two or more participants	one participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action

[118] The /t/ morpheme as a marker of inferiority is a wide-spread phenomenon not only in Proto-Semitic, but in the entire Afro-Asiatic group it is attested among others in the Bantu languages. A cross-linguistic regularity of this morpheme has been observed on an early stage of the Semitic scholarship (Brockelmann 1908).

C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	agent high in potency	agent low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF OBJECT	object totally affected	object not affected
J. 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 Thomson illustrate the importance of those features in several languages. In Hungarian the word order of a sentence reflexes the level of object's individuation, while in Chukchee when the object is non-referential and non-individuated it is incorporated in a verb, which in turn is marked as intransitive (Hopper and Thomson 1980:257, Comrie 1973:243-4). It can be assumed, therefore, that there is a clear correlation between the categories of object's individuation and the transitivity of a verb. This statement can subsequently 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 verb 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 a framework of a single language. Čech and Pajas 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 (2009). 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 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 level of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 2001:53). This hypothesis was rejected for Czech, as the data analysed by Čech and Pajas clearly indicates that statistically there are no differences in distribution between one and two and more participant clauses in spoken and written language (2009:47). Hence, a corpus of transcribed spoken language can serve as basis for analysis of definiteness.

Dichotomic hierarchy parallel to that of Hopper and Thompson has been proposed by Khan in his study of object marking and agreement pronouns in Semitic in the context of individuation (Khan 1988). According to this model, there are eight qualities deciding whether a noun is individuated/salient or non-individuated and non-salient. Brustad, in turn, has expanded Khan's hierarchies by adding, among others, the notion of agency understood as an ability to act independently (Brustad 2000:23). 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 aforementioned scholars, some are more accurate, while others contain quality not necessarily applicable in Jewish Gabes. Below I propose a provisional hierarchy of individuation, which matches my findings in the most accurate way:

Table 19: 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

Those features designate tendencies rather than fixed rules.[119] 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. Almost always nominals being of relevance to the line of discourse are more individuated and definite. Therefore, the pair singular vs. plural appearing in Hopper and Thompson's hierarchy is not always relevant since plural entities relevant to the discourse usually will be definite and individuated. On the other hand, the category of agency proposed by Brustad would acquire more importance, as usually entities acting independently are more prominent in the discourse.

The correspondence between discourse and definiteness is of a special importance in this study, as vast majority of the collected text corpus consists of folktales, where discourse span and topics are clearly marked. In a situation when a speaker delivers to a hearer a story that is unknown to them, the definiteness of the entities appearing in this story depends in great extent on the degree of 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 be therefore

---

[119] The vagueness of this kind of hierarchies has been already highlighted by Brustad (2000:24).

twofold, it can be either discourse-related, or it can be part of assumed familiarity-related newness/givenness. This distinction has been first introduced by Prince and subsequently extended by other scholars including Rudy Loock (Prince 1981, 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/new depending on the speaker's assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her addressee(s) (Loock 2013:88). Hence, the speaker adheres 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 is applicable in many cases, has some impediments. Namely, in Arabic, as in many other languages, abstract and generic nouns attract the definite article. As an example of this exceptional behaviour can serve passage (1:3). This sentence appears in the very beginning of the story and the house at which the beggar arrives are 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 definite article. The first is definite due to its generic character. As argued by Krifka, a kind-referring generic nominal phrase can occur in an object position and can fulfil several roles, one of them being representation (1987:19). A representative object in this case refers to '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 to the ontological category of

houses.[120] The definiteness of the noun 'door' can be explained by the phenomenon of associative anaphora. As usually every house has a door, the speaker uses the definite article in the frame of cognitive psychology. Löbner argues that 'associative anaphora involves a hidden link or anchor which has to be introduced earlier' (1998:1). In the analysed passage, therefore, the definiteness of the door is anchored in the cognitive frame of the house.

4.2.5. Indefinite-specific and new topic marking

I already have pointed out that of a particular interest in this study is the space between absolute definiteness and absolute indefiniteness, namely different degrees of individuation. As observed by Khan: 'It is more accurate to state that some [nominals] are more individuated than others' (Khan 1988:XXXVIII). One of the instances of such ambiguity is indefinite-specific, which designates nouns which are syntactically indefinite, but possess a higher level of referentiality than indefinite (Wald 1983, Brustad 2000:26). In Jewish Gabes *wā́ḥəd* functions as the marker of indefinite-specific nouns, simultaneously playing an important role in 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 presented above. It calls in question the statement made by Marçais who claims that the distribution of *wā́ḥəd* in Maghrebi Arabic follows a decreasing tendency from West to East, with extremely high occurrence in Morocco and vestigial distribution in Libya and Tunisia,

---

[120] Similar interpretation of the term 'generic' appears in the Egyptian joke provided by Brustad (2000:32). There, parallelly 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.

where it is 'impossible' (1977:163). Both my findings and a text from Jewish Tripoli prove this statement to be wrong (Yoda 2005).

Brustad argues that a new topic can be introduced in many ways in different dialects of Arabic, and it can be indefinite, indefinite specific and sometimes definite. Based on her data, she established that the last option is particularly attested in Moroccan (Brustad 2000:36). 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:

| mša **l-wā́ḥda** ˤažū́ža u qálla: ˤamə́lli | *He went to an old woman and told her: please do* |
| mžə́ya, ə́mši u əxtəbī́ha (5:16) | *me a favour, go and ask her for her hand.* |

Here the old woman is preceded by *wā́ḥəd* 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, therefore the speaker needed to highlight her textual prominence. Very often a nominal that first is marked by *wā́ḥəd* is immediately repeated and followed by definite marker and proximal demonstrative pronoun:

| tə́mma ṣəḷṭā́n **wā́ḥəd**, əṣ-ṣəḷṭā́n há̄da | *There is a sultan, this sultan had a daughter* |
| á̄ˤndu bənt ˤžī́žali yā́sər (4:1-2) | *who was very dear to him.* |

This example illustrates the mechanism, by which a figure that was introduced as unknown for 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, sultan as an entity of high animacy and agency always attracts definiteness and individuation. A similar way of introducing a textually prominent, but 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:

māš nədū́yu ʕla wáḥəd ulə́d **ə́lli** ža-lwaqt   *Nous allons parler d'un garçon qui a*

tāʕu bāš yə́lbəš tfəllī́mu (Cohen 1964:28)   *attaint l'âge auquel on procède à la*

                                           cèrèmonie de la majoritè religieuse.

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:

ša ʕámlu? **tə́mma bīr ġárəq yásər** wa bīr háda   *What did they do? There was a very*

li yə́dxal fī yəmū́t, mā yətḷʕáṣ (2:57)   *deep well and whoever goes in dies,*

                                           does not go out.

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 wall, but at the same time it will not reappear in the discourse and therefore it could not admit of *wáḥəd*. Interestingly, it does appear in the second part of the sentence and is followed by a proximal demonstrative pronoun.

The same rule of lack of any marking on textually non-prominent nouns applies also to animate entities, as in the following example:

rqāt **ṃra ʕámia** u tə́rḥa fi-l-qáməḥ   *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.

4.2.6. Definite marking in Jewish Gabes as opposed to Moroccan

In order to specify the basic features of the system of definiteness in Jewish Gabes, I would like to analyse some of the examples from Moroccan Arabic and compare them against similar instances of use in Jewish Gabes. According to Brustad, Moroccan is the dialect with the highest occurrence of definite nouns, which very often contradicts the common rules of definiteness (Brustad 2000:36). One of those instances of unexpected use of definite article is first mention:

Table 20: Points of divergence between the system of definiteness in Jewish Gabes and Moroccan Arabic

Jewish Gabes	Moroccan
l-məštáġni ma ʿandū́š **ulā́d** u l-ẓawā́li ʿándu yā́sər ẓġār (3:3) *The rich one does not have children and the poor one has a lot of them.*	hāda wā́ḥəd ər-rā́žəl maʿandū́š **l-wlād**, ʿandu ġi[r] l-mra (Brustad 2000:36) *This is a man who has no children. He has only a wife.*
ža əl-bḥar qátlu: ʿalā́š ma qatlíš ʿalā́š ma ʿandíš **ḥūṭ?** qállu: ə́blʿ wā́ḥəd wa tulə́d ḥūṭ (3:64-65) *He went to the sea and the sea asked him: why didn't you tell me why I do not have fish? He said: swallow a man and you will birth fish.*	maši tšūf b-ʿīnk tqūl rāh kāyn **l-ḥūt** (Brustad 2000:37) *You will see with your own eyes and say there are fish.*
hrab bi-l-blā́d u ṣfā́ṛ **l-blā́d** áxra (6:66) *He fled from the town and travelled to another city.*	xəllāwha b-l-kərš w xwāw **blād** w ʿamməru blād (Brustad 2000:37) *He 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. Moroccan, despite the low level of salience, marks the non-existent

nouns as definite, while Jewish Gabes treats them as non-individuated and therefore indefinite. Contrary to this, an indefinite noun occurs in both dialects in the third example. The syntactic behaviour that is exhibited by Jewish Gabes is in line with usual grammatical rules, namely first mention of non-individuated nouns is usually unmarked.

The unexpected definite marking in Moroccan, according to Brustad, is best explained by the specificity and animacy factors (Brustad 2000:38). All the three examples of 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. The examples (1:22), (4:25), (4:63), (4:92) contain exclusively inanimate nouns with zero marking. Passage (7:85) is an example that theoretically could call this statement in question since animate entities with low individuation are marked as definite:

qām f-əṣ-ṣbáḥ u lqā **l-qaṭṭū́ṣa** tmáʿwi u **l-džádža** tgə́rgər u háda qállu: šnű́wa háda? (7:85)	*He woke up in the morning and found a cat meowing and a cock crowing and he said: what is that?*

Similar to the example (4:18-19), one would expect here zero marking signalising first mention of the one hand, and the aspect of unfamiliarity of the hearer with the referent from the other. The sultan fell victim of his wife's ambush and woke up in a completely unknown place. The reason why those 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

led 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 been previously mentioned in this chapter as virility. Brustad 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 a question with parallel examples from Jewish Gabes containing word *wəld* 'son':

Moroccan: gā[l]t-lu wlədt bənt. gāl-lha gūli-li šnu wlədti rāh ʾila wlədti l-bənt[121] ġa-ndəbḥk wndbəḥha. Ta šāft-u zāyd-lha b-l-mūs, gā[l]t-lu hda, wlədt l-**wəld** (Brustad 2000:38)	*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'.*
Jewish Gabes: mə́rto əl-lū́wla kā́nət žərbī́ya matə́tlu, kā́nu ʿándu bənt u **wəld**, əl-bə́nt xdáha rə́bbi biṛəṣ, u l-wəld ḥṛəq rū̄ḥu, xātər šāf ša ʿámlu fi-ruṣalayim ma tā́qəṣ (8:20)	*His first wife was from Djerba, she died, he had a daughter and a son, the daughter got married with rabbi Peretz, while the son killed himself because he had seen what the did in Jerusalem, he did not stand it.*
Jewish Gabes: əl-mṛá hā́blət, tžī̄b **wəld**, ma təmmā́š škūn yáqṭlu (2:55)	*The woman gave birth to a son, there is no one to kill him.*
Jewish Gabes: bʿad yamā́t, hī́ya žā́bət **wəld** (4:45)	*After some time, she gave birth to a boy.*
Jewish Gabes: hī́ya žā́bət **wəld**, ḥaṭṭə́tlo bəžawónk ʿal fxədd (6:12)	*She gave birth to a boy and put the bracelet on his shin.*

---

[121] The definite marking of the 'daughter' in this sentence is presumably due to its mention in the previous sentence.

The examples from Jewish Gabes clearly indicate that the concept of 'virility' does not attract definite marking as in Moroccan. The gender of a child notwithstanding, it is the first mention which brings about the encoding of the item as indefinite.[122]

Nonetheless, there are some similarities in terms of definite marking between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes. One of them is inalienable possession, especially in context of nouns designating familial relations. As has been observed by Brustad, those nouns in Moroccan almost never occur without any marking (2000:39). This is also the case in Jewish Gabes where all of them are either preceded by the definite article or have a possessive pronoun.

úmha aʿṭắtam flūš, ʿaṭắtam əl-bắš u mšắu (2:21)	*Her mother gave them money, gave them clothes and they left.*
wuqt l-úmma kắnət fi-l-kužĭ́na əl-bə́nt ḥaṭə́ṭla šə́mm wa l-úmma ma ʿarfə́tš (4:118)	*While the mother was in the kitchen, she put a poison [to mother's food], but the mother did not know that.*

Another point of convergence between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes is an asymmetry of noun-adjective phrase. According to the rules of Arabic, when a phrase is definite, both its members should be definite.[123] However, as shown by Brustad, in Moroccan a definite phrase where only the noun bears the definite article is permitted. A similar example has been found in Jewish Gabes:

Moroccan: ka-ytbāʿu f l-ḥānūt ʿaṣri	*They are sold in a modern house.*

---

[122] In Jewish Tripoli, similarly to Jewish Gabes, the gender of a child does not affect the indefinite marking (Yoda 2005:298).

[123] Despite this general tendency, in Classical Arabic there are cases of noun phrases where only the first part of the construct state is marked by the definite article, e.g., *ath-thalāthu rijālin* 'the three men' (Wright 1898:II, 264).

Jewish Gabes: xdā́u ṛubtṹ fi-l-ḥbǝl ġlīl u daxlṹ, habáṭ ḷuṭá (2:62)	*They took him and tied him up with a thick rope and put him [in the well], he descended.*

This inconsistency can be potentially explained by the continuum of individuation. The least 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 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 a feature characteristic only for the aforementioned North African dialects but constitutes part of the discussion on 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 2005:72-6). However, as has been shown by Pat-El, this theory is divergent with numerous examples of the use of definite article in Semitic languages. Based on her findings, she argues that originally the article was attached only to non-predicative adjectival forms, which only later was expanded also to the head noun (Pat-El 2009:42). Indeed, there are numerous languages, including Judeo-Arabic and modern Arabic dialects (especially those of the Gulf and the Levant), where only the adjective bears definite article (Blau 1952:33, Pat-El 2009:33). Both Blau and Feghali attempted to explain this inconsistency through compositum, namely, according to this theory, speakers treat a noun modified by an adjective as one entity (Feghali 1928, Blau 1995:161).

Pat-El rejected this assumption arguing that, if the phrase was supposed to be understood as whole, the article would be prefixed and not medial (2009:37). In case of Jewish Gabes and Moroccan, where the nominal phrase indeed is preceded by the definite article, this assumption would be valid and thus speakers would treat nominal phrase of low animacy and individuation as a whole.

4.2.7. Animacy factor in Jewish Gabes

It has been previously 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:

Inanimate definite article	Anthropomorphic use
əṣ-ṣəlṭán tʕádda, lqā yə́zṛa **fi-l-bṣə́l** (7:7) *When the sultan was passing by, he found [him] planting onion.*	qắllu: əl-bṣə́l hắda, tắklu wə́lla **yắklək**? (7:8) *He asked him: this onion, you will eat it, or will it eat you?*
qắllu: ṭúwwa nḥábbək tqűlli **əẓ-ẓṛắra** (7:21) *He said: now I want you to tell me, a water well.*	kəf yətáḷḷʕu ṣṭaḷḷ mən bīr, šnűwa **tqūl** (7:22) *When people take out a bucket from a well, what does it say?*
nḥábḅək tqűlli: šnűwa yəqúllu, **əš-šə́žwa**, fa-ḥáṭṭűha ʕal əl-nắr (7:16) *I want you to tell me now: what they would say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on fire*	šnűwa **tqūll**, kif yəṭṭíbu əl-qáḥwa bə-šə́žwa, šnűwa tqūll? (7:16) *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 the level of their animacy. Every question presupposes that the entity is able to speak. In the answers given to the sultan those entities turn out also to act independently and thus they possess some degree of agency.

4.2.8. 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. Out of the wide array of various qualities conditioning the definiteness of a noun, there are two factors in Jewish Gabes which should be pointed out: animacy and textual prominence. Of a special importance is the latter, since as this study has proven, the quality of textual prominence is superior to 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 utilize other syntactic devices in order to differentiate levels of definiteness.

4.3. Genitive constructions

This section aims at exploring 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 argues that in fact these two forms of a genitive relations represent two parallel systems possessing their own dynamics (2009:35). From the 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 relation is through annexation of two terms and inflection of the second one with the genitive case. Nevertheless, throughout the history of Arabic, also alternative, analytic, means existed to express a genitive. Eksell mentions the particles *li* meaning 'for, belonging to' and *min* 'of'. The emergence of fully established and functional analytical genitive construction can be accounted for by the fact that in almost all modern Arabic dialects have lost their case system. [124] 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 constructions in Jewish Gabes, as well as identify some cross-dialectal parallels.

4.3.1. Data

Iḍāfa:

---

[124] The 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).

1. u šnū́wa **yahū́d žbəl** yáʿmlu? ya žbā́li, əl-ʿómər kla bhīm (9:12)

   And what were the Jews of mountains doing? Oh, mountaineer, a donkey has eaten the Omer.

2. qāl: ā́na ᴴᴱʿaníᴴᴱ u əl-xábža ḥabb nakə́lha, ʿaṭī́ni **ṇfáyyəṣ xábža**, wa aʿṭī́ni ḥžī́na šmī́ʿa, u **qritī́ṣ wuqī́ḍ** bāš nəšʿálha (1:19)

   He said: I am poor and I would like to eat the bread, so give me half of bread and give me (the poor, miserable) candle and a box of matches so I can light it.

3. ʿamlī́lu ḥžī́na óxra u dəxlī́lu **kə́mša lwīž** fi-l-ʿažī́n (1:38)

   Make another [pitiful bread] and put a handful of coins inside the dough.

Genitive exponent

4. yā́xdu šwə́ya mən **mə́lḥ tʿa omer** wuqt yəmšī́u yəṣalī́u (9:1)

   They were taking a bit of the Omer salt when they were going to pray.

5. tə́mma wā́ḥad, yə́qʿad tā́ḥt **sə́zra tʿa blāḥ**, yəxáll fúmmu wa yəštə́nna ḥatt əl-blā́ḥ yətā́ḥu fi-fúmmu (2:15)

   There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm, he would open his mouth and he would wait until the date falls into it.

6. mšāt **l-náxla tʿa ṛmā́n**, tā́xəd l-ʿasá, nazáṛṛəm u tə́ḍṛəblu fi-rə́žli mən lū́ṭa (2:23)

   she went to the pomegranate tree, collected some branches, bound them, and started hitting his feet from beneath.

4.3.2. Genitive exponent in 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 in 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:[125]

---

[125] The table is based mostly on Naim (2011).

Table 21: Genitive exponents in selected dialects of Arabic

Genitive exponent	Region
dyāl / d-	Morocco
əddi (Djidjelli), *əlli* (Constantine)	Algeria
ntāᶜ, mtāᶜ, tāᶜ	Libya, Tunisia
ḥagg, ḥaqq	Arabian Peninsula, Galilee Bedouin, Sudan
māl	Iraq and Oman, Yemen
dīl, dēl	Qəltu dialects of upper and lower Iraq, Anatolia, Syria-Lebanon-Palestine
lēl	Qəltu dialects, Daragözü, Sudan
bitāᶜ	Egypt

This provisional comparison clearly indicates that the genitive exponent in various dialects has different etymological origins. Eksell divides them in two main groups: those deriving from a noun denoting possession, like for example *ḥagg* in Ṣanᶜānī Arabic which when isolated means 'property, right' (Watson 1993:220), and those which originate in relative/demonstrative pronoun, e.g., CA *allāḏī* > Moroccan *dyāl* (Eksell 2009:39). The Tunisian *ntāᶜ* would therefore fall in the first category, as originally it denotes property or possession.

From the historical point of view, the function of *ntāᶜ* as a genitive exponent is attested as early as 10-11th century (Blau 1965:82). It is well established in a wide array of the North-African dialects and is particularly operative in the sedentary dialects. Similarly, the Moroccan *dyāl*, which according to Brustad shows the highest frequency among all Arabic dialects (Brustad 2000:85). On the other hand, *dēl-lēl* exponents in Mesopotamia and Anatolia are obsolete and not productive. This discrepancy has been explained by Eksell by means of an Aramaic substratum. While the Moroccan *dyāl* indeed derives from *allāḏi*, the Mesopotamian *ḏēl* presumably

originates in the Aramaic /d-/ particle, and therefore has ultimately been rejected as a foreign element (Eksell 2009:48).

4.3.3. 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.[126] Several restrictions govern the first type of annexation: the annexed term cannot admit of the definite article, not 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/, is replaced by an allomorph -ət/at. Jewish Gabes, as many other modern Arabic dialects, usually does not permit a phrase consisting of more than two nominal annexes.[127] Potential multiple annexation strings are broken by the genitive exponent. An annexation phrase can be modified attributively by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun, in which case the attribute is mandatorily in agreement with the attributed term.

An annexation phrase is applied in a number of genitive constructions ascribed to 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

---

[126] These terms have been borrowed from the syntax of Ṣanʿānī dialect (Watson 1993:173).

[127] The same rule exists, *inter alia,* in Ṣanʿānī Arabic and in other Maghrebi dialects (Watson 1993:176, Marçais 1977:171).

classificatory, indicating a type or kind of the annexed term.[128] The examples come

from both the text corpus and questionnaires:

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 the first and the second example can be

replaced by the analytic prepositional construction with *ntāᶜ* and with the preposition

fi 'in', i.e., **yahū́d ntāᶜ žbəl* and **žā́ra fi-l-ḥámma* (lit. 'pilgrimage in El-Hamma'), the

third one, meaning literally 'the heart of the house' is rejected as ungrammatical,

probably due to its fixed character.

(1)	*yahū́d žbəl*	Jews of mountains
(2)	*žā́rat əl-ḥámma*	pilgrimage to El-Hamma
(3)	*qəlb əḍ-ḍār*	the house interior

Synthetic genitive of quantity:

This type of annexation is exclusively classificatory and, contrary to Moroccan, cannot

be replaced analytically by means of *ntāᶜ*.[129] As can be inferred from the following

examples, very often the genitive of quantity is indefinite:

(1)	*ṇfáyyəṣ xábža*	little half a bread loaf
(2)	*nəfṣ šᶜa*	half an hour
(3)	*rās əl-bṣəl*	one onion

Synthetic genitive of description

---

[128] This distinction has been borrowed from *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic* by Mark W. Cowell (1964:458).

[129] Brustad gives an example of *xəmsa d drāhəm* 'five drahms', which in Jewish Gabes was categorically rejected as ungrammatical. Similarly, in Ṣanᶜānī 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).

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)	*laḥm ʕalū́š*	lamb meat
(2)	*ṣǝṭṭ ǝl-bḥar*	seashore
(3)	*žīn ǝl-gúmra*	the beauty of the moon

<u>Synthetic genitive of possession:</u>

This type of genitive covers both alienable (e.g., house) and inalienable (e.g., parts of body) possession. It is particularly operative in the semantic field of kinship and parts of body. As the first example demonstrates, the annex can be indefinite. While an alienable possession can be expressed analytically, i.e., *dār ntāʕ babā́y*, some phrases expressing human relationships cannot. An informant categorically rejected the form **l-umm ntāʕk* 'your mother', **l-bū ntāʕk* 'your father' and **l-xū ntāʕk* 'your brother' as ungrammatical, nonetheless accepted the form *wǝld ntāʕha* 'her child' as an indicative equivalent of *wǝ́ldha*. On the other hand, parts of body are acceptable in a periphrasis, e.g., *l-wudǝ́n ntāʕk* 'your ear'.

(1)	*muṛt xū́ya*	the sister of my brother
(2)	*wǝld ṣǝḷṭā́n*	the sultan's son
(3)	*dār babā́y*	my father's house
(4)	*wúdnǝk wa yǝ́ddǝk*	your ear and your hand

4.3.4. Analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes

The genitive exponent *ntāʕ* in Jewish Gabes has several truncated allomorphs: *tāʕ, taʕ,* and *ta.* Eksell points out that in Morocco and Algeria the analytic genitive is the ordinary way to express the genitive (2009:36). This suggests, therefore, that also in Tunisia its occurrence would be high, especially among sedentary dialects. Indeed, as

can be inferred from my data, the use of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes is much higher 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 the lack of agreement prevails in the Maghrebi dialects, some Bedouin dialects of Algeria and Morocco possess also feminine *mtāʕət* and plural *mtāwʕ* forms. Similarly, parallel forms have been attested in several Bedouin dialects of Southern Tunisia and Libya, where one finds also distinct plural forms: *mtāʕīn* and *mtāʕāt* (Marçais 1977:168). However, among all the Arabic dialect, only in Egyptian the gender and number agreement are obligatory (Brustad 2000:72).

Following the taxonomy applied for the synthetic genitive, I shall now itemize the main types of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes:

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-žnə́bb ntāʕ l-bənt*	the daughter's side
(2)	*əṣ-ṣū́ra tāʕ l-ʕarū́ṣa*	the bride's dowry
(3)	*l-məžā́n tā́ʕkəm*	your scale
(4)	*lə́bša tāʕ ᴴᴱsába*ᴴᴱ *u* ᴴᴱsā́vtaᴴᴱ	grandfather and grandmother's clothes

Analytic genitive of attribution:

230

It corresponds to the synthetic genitive of description and potentially can be replaced by it. It seems, however, that the analytic annexation denotes more individuated referents:

(1)   ṣə́ẓra kbī́ra tā‘ blāḥ   the big fruit tree
(2)   náxla tā‘ ṛmā́n   the pomegranate tree
(3)   mə́lḥ tā‘ ᴴᴱomerᴴᴱ   the Omer salt

Analytic genitive of time:

While the first two examples can be replaced by the synthetic annexation, the expression of hour is possibly only made analytic either by means of the genitive exponent, or by the preposition *fi*.

(1)   ᴴᴱxṓdəšᴴᴱ tā‘ ᴴᴱnissanᴴᴱ   month Nissan
(2)   līl tā‘ ᴴᴱbíšaḥᴴᴱ   the night of Passover
(3)   tlā́ta tā‘ sbāḥ   three in the morning

Analytic genitive of place:

The basic function of this type of genitive is to narrow the focus of the annexed term. Potentially it can be replaced by the analytic construction, but the two types of genitive differ in meaning. While *yahū́d tū́nəš* bears the meaning of classification, pointing out taxonomically to the distinctiveness of the Jews of Tunis from other Jews, *yahū́d tā‘ tū́nəš* is focusing on the place of their origin. In the sentence: *žā́u yahū́d tā‘ tū́nəš* ‘the Jews of Tunis came’ the speaker is stressing the fact that the Jews came <u>from</u> Tunis, and therefore the focus is on the place of their origin, and not on the ethnic distinctiveness from other Jews.

(1)   yahū́d tā‘ tū́nəš   the Jews of Tunis
(2)   əẓ-ẓġā́r tā‘ škū́la   the children of the school
(3)   xábž tā‘ ṣūq   bread of the market

4.3.5. Formal restrictions

As has been observed by many scholars, the choice between the synthetic and the analytic genitive very often is restricted by some formal factors (Brustad 2000:74, Eksell 1980:106, Marçais 1977:171). In the case of Jewish Gabes a few motivations can be distinguished. First of them is related to the high occurrence of Hebrew loans, which never form synthetic annexation. My data includes the following examples: ^{HE}agadá^{HE} *ntāʿna* 'our Aggada', ^{HE}abı́l^{HE} *ntāʿu* 'his mourning', ^{HE}šəbbat^{HE} *ntāʿu* 'his shabbat', *məlḥ tāʿ* ^{HE}ʿomer^{HE} 'the salt of Omer'. Secondly, a multi-term noun phrase is usually broken by the genitive exponent, e.g., ^{HE}roš^{HE} *əl-*^{HE}xódəš^{HE} *tāʿa* ^{HE}nissā́n^{HE} 'the beginning of the month 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-kə́rši ntā́ʿy* 'my chair', *duww ntāʿha* 'her light'. The following graph summarizes the distribution of the analytic and the synthetic genitive, demonstrating the overlapping categories:

Figure 6: Overlapping categories of the analytic and the synthetic genitive
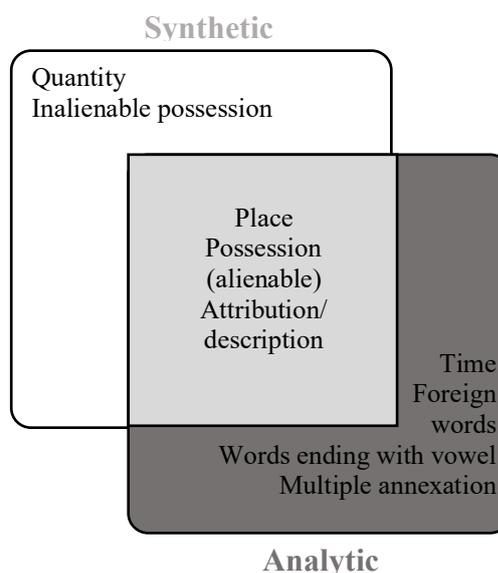
4.3.6. The genitive and the definiteness

It is widely accepted that the genitive exponent in the dialects of Arabic is a domain of specific and individuated phrases, as opposed to the construct phrase, which tends to be correlated with general relations of kinship and possession. Previously I also mentioned another distinction, namely that any type of genitive can function either as individuation, or as classification. The former is closely related to the notion of possession and therefore it denotes highly individuated items, which potentially can be expressed also by synthetic annexation with a pronoun. Contrary to this, classificatory genitive characterizes annexation noun phrase of low individuation and general identity, indicating their kind (Brustad 2000:80). Nonetheless, this distinction is not always completely clear. For example, Brustad argues that the example from Egyptian given by Eksell *il-kitāb bitāᶜ is-siḥr* 'the book of magic' demonstrates the use of a classificatory construction, since it refers to a specific book (Eksell 1980:87). This interpretation is rather against the rules established by Cowell. 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 noticed also 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 individuation and specificity of a noun does not entirely affect the use of the genitive exponent in Moroccan, as it also fulfils a classificatory function, which usually characterizes 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 when in an indefinite phrase its function is mainly classificatory. An example of the latter is seen in the following passage:

mšāt l-**náxla tˤa ṛmə́n**, tə́xəd l-ˤasá (2:23)   *She went to the pomegranate tree, collected some branches.*

The reference here is the type of the tree, namely the speaker highlights that it is the 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 identification in a definite phrase, it can have a contrastive aspect:

ˤamə́lt qə́ṣqṣu u ḥaṭṭə́lla šə̆mm **fi-l-žnə́bb**   *She prepared couscous and put a poison on*

ntˤa bənt (4:116)   *the daughter's side.*

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 finally 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.:

əl-wə́ld **tāˤ** hə́di əl-mra   *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:

l-ꜥarš šə́bꜥa yyām; nhār yəxášlu **əṣ-ṣúra tāꜥ l-ꜥarúṣa**, yáꜥmlu, u mən ġúdwa sḥə́bha yəḥáddədu	*She wedding lasts seven days; 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 identificatory (contrastive, expositive, deictic) when in a definite one. This assumption confirms Cowell's argument that: *identification is fundamentally a function of definiteness and classification a function of indefiniteness* (1964:458).

4.4. Adjectival and verbal agreement

In this section I will present the main features of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes, outlining simultaneously a 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, agreement depends either on syntax, or on semantics of the phrase. She gives an example of the word 'committee' which can be perceived both as 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

(Hasselbach 2014:35).[130] The semantic perception of the head noun by the speaker will be of particular interest in the following part of the discussion.

4.4.1. Historical perspective

Semitic languages exhibit several agreement systems, the rise of which is 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 governing syntactic relationship between both head nouns and attributive adjectives, and subjects and predicates.[131] 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 those two extrema is placed CA, where agreement depends both on animacy, i.e., inanimate nouns take feminine singular agreement, and on the position in a sentence, namely subject agrees with the predicate only when it precedes, but not when it follows.

From the historical point of view, nominal agreement rose in different circumstances from verbal agreement. The latter, as argued by Givón and Hasselbach, is closely related to the grammaticalization of pronouns, which commenced from appositional constructions, and subsequently became incorporated in the verb (Givón 1976, Hasselbach 2014:41). This theory is supported by evidence from Akkadian and Neo-Aramaic dialects. However, the origin of nominal agreement is less

---

[130] Following Corbett, in my study I will apply the following terminology: 'controller' i.e., the element determining agreement, and 'target', namely a form determined by agreement (Corbett 2006:4, Hasselbach 2014:35).

[131] There are numerous examples of incongruence in Biblical Hebrew streaming form re-writing and editing of the biblical text in different periods of time (Levi 2013).

straightforward. One of the theories is related to grammaticalization, namely that nominal agreement could have risen from weak deictic pronouns (Lehmann 1988:59-60). Alternative explanation, based on the 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 a default gender and 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 arouse is still matter of debate among scholars. Is it 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 lately spread onto controllers. Beyond this point, each language applied its own rules governing the agreement. In the case of CA, two restrictions have been imposed, i.e., animacy and position.

4.4.2. Data analysis

The data presented below has been obtained by means of a questionnaire:

1. Human feminine plural head nouns:

1. ən-nšā žā́u yə́ṭlbu l-mā — *The women came to ask for water.*

2. ən-nšā l-oxrī́n kắnu yəxắfu mə́nhu — *Other women were scared of him.*

3. bnāt məžyanī́n yəžī́u l-ʕárš — *Beautiful women will come for wedding.*

4. šʕắt l-bnāt yəmšī́yu yə́sthụ — *Sometimes girls go to dance.*

5. qbəl kắnu nša yúldu fi-l-gitū́n — *Earlier women would give birth in tents.*

2. Human masculine plural head nouns:

1. fi-l-əbdű l-ʕárš əržála yə́ṣrbu qáḥwa — *At the beginning of the wedding men drink coffee.*

2. zg̣irắt dī́ma yə́lʕabu fi-ṣətwắn — *Boys would always play in the court.*

3. l-nās l-əkbár žā́u — *The elders have arrived.*

4. nāš l-kull/kulla žā́u yəšúfu l-ʕarū́ṣa — *Everyone came to see the bride.*

5. l-aʕbād l-kbār mā yəṭlʕuṣ mən dárhəm — *The elderly people do not leave their homes.*

3. Singular nouns denoting group of people:

1. dār l-ʕarī́š əbdắu yəg̣nī́u — *The family of the groom started singing.*

2. l-ḅuliṣĩ́ya žā́u u ḥabšúhum l-kull — *The police came and arrested everyone.*

4. Animal head nouns:

1. l-ʕalắliš mšáu əl-lwắd yə́srbu l-mā — *Lambs went to the river to have some water.*

2. l-ʕaṣáfir əlli šə́fthəm ʕắməš žā́u mən ṣáḥra — *The birds that you saw yesterday had came from the desert.*

3. ṭyūr žā́u — *Birds have came.*

4. tlắta aḥṣanắt, xámṣa bg̣ār — *Three horses, five cows.*

5. əl-bg̣ār ndə́bḥu qbəl l-ʕīd — *The cows are slaughtered before the festival.*

5. Inanimate head nouns:

1. srĩ́na bibắn əždəd — *We bought new doors.*

2. əl-nharắt yətáʕddu bə-šwĩ́ya — *The days pass by slowly.*

3. tmə́nya nəxlắt hắdu — *These eight palm trees.*

4. tlắta xabžắt hắdu — *These three loaves of bread.*

5. šə́bʕa ḥazṛ́ắt nduwwrĩ́n u nfathĩ́n — *Seven round and flat rocks.*

The data presented above clearly demonstrates that there is a strict agreement in Jewish Gabes both in the nominal and verbal phrase. The examples have been classified according to the categories of animacy and gender. As can be inferred, regardless the gender or level of animacy of the controller, almost all the targets are in complete agreement. Moreover, the CA rule of the position of the controller in the sentence is not operational in Jewish Gabes, since agreement occurs regardless of whether the subject precedes or follows the predicate.

Contrary to the strict agreement prevailing in Jewish Gabes, the Bedouin dialect of the South Tunisian Nifzāwa region exhibits a complex system of plurality patterns. Originally this dialect had three types of agreement: 1) masculine plural agreeing with plurals of male persons, 2) feminine plural agreeing with female persons, animals, and inanimate nouns, 3) optional deflected agreement of feminine singular instead of feminine plural when a noun in not quantified by a numeral (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017:262). A study conducted by Ritt-Benmimoun shows that the feminine plural agreement is slowly being replaced by the masculine plural, but at the same time the deflected type of agreement continues to prevail in certain semantic environment.[132] It is used with female humans when they are treated as a group, and therefore the noun is of low individuation, e.g. *tabda l-banāwīt tṣaffig* 'the girls start to clap' (Ritt-Benimoun 2017:266). Nonetheless, speakers very often switch between strict and deflected plural, starting a sentence with the deflected one and then use feminine and masculine plurals interchangeably. It seems, however, that the

---

[132] Ritt-Benmimoun shows numerous cases of code switching between original and perceived as traditional agreement of plural female nouns with plural female verbs, and more progressive and prestigious forms of masculine plurals targets. The first pattern is preferred by older speakers, while younger ones choose the second one (2017:267).

perceptive factor plays a decisive role and even masculine humans, when perceived as a group, trigger deflected agreement of verbs, participles, and anaphoric pronouns. The same rule applies to singular nouns denoting group, animals, and inanimate nouns. Specificity and individuation attract strict plural agreement (feminine or masculine), while nouns denoting general and collective entities trigger deflected feminine singular agreement. This claim is additionally supported by the fact that highly unindividuated nouns like *ḥāžāt* 'things' or *umūṛ* 'issues' are almost always accompanied by deflected targets (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017:279).

As one can infer from the above description, the dialect of Nifzāwa is significantly different from Jewish Gabes in the usage of agreement patterns, despite their relative geographical vicinity. From the typological point of view those differences are rather expected, as the former belongs to a more conservative, Bedouin variety of Arabic, while the latter represents sedentary dialects, which usually are of a more progressive nature.

The question arises as to whether the strict agreement is a feature of all sedentary dialects, or Jewish Gabes is somehow unique within this group. In order to answer this question, one would have to examine text corpora of other dialects from the region and study agreement patterns present in them. To the best of my knowledge, the only sedentary North-African dialect with a published text corpus is Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964). The grammar of Jewish Algiers contains a short corpus of texts, but their size and nature (some of them are letters, documents etc.) do not allow a thorough analysis (Cohen 1912). Similarly, Jewish Tripoli, which includes only one folktale (Yoda 2005). Nonetheless, Yoda points out in a section of syntactical notes that Jewish Tripoli has strict agreement between nouns and their modifiers (Yoda

2005:285). A tentative study of texts from Jewish Tunis resulted in the following list of examples of deflected agreement:

1. **ə́nnša tə́bda əttaxmī́l** wəlbdī́qa bəlḥā́ža bəlḥā́ža. **tə́bda nqū́lu** bbaʿd əlbayt wə́lla maqṣū́ṛa (81)[133]

   Les femmes commencent le rangement et le nettoyage object par object. Elles commencent disons, par une chambre ou un réduit.

   Women start tidying and cleaning one object after another. They start saying: one room less [lit.: after this room or shortened]

2. tə́mma ḥaž-óxra li yaʿmlū́a **ə́nnša** məlqbəl: **yəsə́rryu** ḥṛā́waṛ (81)

   Il y a une autre chose que font les femmes avant (Pesaḥ), c'est d'acheter les épices.

   There is also another thing that women used to do before: they would buy spices.

3. **ənnā́š yə́mšyu** loṣḷā́ (83)

   Les gens vont à la synagogue.

   People go to the synagogue.

4. əlʿawwadī́ya tódṛob **wəlġannā́ya tʿalləl** (28)

   L'orchestre joue et les chanteurs chantant.

   The orchestra plays and the singers sing.

5. **ənnā́š təšmaʿ tətzā́ra** mən šīra lšīra, **tə́bki wetṣiyyaḥ** (139)

   En entendant cela, les gens se mettaient à courrir.

   People would hear it and run from side to the other, crying and screaming.

6. **qā́mət ənnša** bəẓġarīt, **wəṛžāl yətbāwšu** (140)

   Les femmes se mirent à pousser des cris de joie, les hommes à s'embrasser.

   The women started shouting out of joy and men [started] kissing.

---

[133] All the examples have been borrowed from Cohen (1964). Each of them is followed by the page in this publication, on which it appears. The English translation has been made by the author and is based on the Arabic text rather than on the French translation.

Indeed, most of the instances of the usage of agreement in Jewish Tunis demonstrate strict verbal and adjectival agreement. Neither the animacy of the controller, not the position of the subject seems to affect the choice of the pattern. This general tendency notwithstanding, the quoted examples indicate vestiges of an older system, in which both factors could have been operational. The impact of the individuation and animacy is demonstrated by examples (1) and (2). The first one appears at the very beginning of the story about how the Jews of Tunis were celebrating Passover. The reference is general and generic, and therefore 'women' are followed by deflected target. After the identity of women is established and acquired more specificity, the noun takes strict agreement, as shown by example (2). Similarly, in example (3) 'men' are highly individuated, because the preceding passage treated their role at Passover. Contrary to this, the example (4) contains an unindividuated and not prominent entity treated as a group, hence the deflected agreement. The same rule applies in example (5). In example (6) the situation is somewhat different. The noun 'women' takes deflected agreement, while 'men' demonstrates full agreement. Two explanations can be offered as to why the former does not take strict agreement. According to the first one, the decisive factor is the position of the predicate, resembling vestiges of a rule known from CA. The second one presupposes different levels of individuation assigned to both genders. Women in this case would take deflected agreement because of their low individuation.

Parallel instances of usage of the deflected agreement are attested in Moroccan Arabic. As argued by Brustad, the choice of an agreement pattern depends on the speaker's perception of the noun and whether it is interpreted as a generic and homogenous mass, or as a specific and defined group of individuals (2000:55).

Providing textual evidence to this statement, she quotes a sentence, in which the noun *n-nās* 'people' appears twice, once taking deflected agreement, and the other time the strict one.

4.4.3. Conclusions

In sum, it can be assumed that Jewish Gabes demonstrates strict agreement pattern. It is reasonable to presuppose however 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. The uniformity of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes could potentially be explained by a North-West Semitic substrate, in which strict agreement prevails.[134] As has been observed, the same pattern occurs in Jewish Tripoli. A historical investigation involving text corpus reflecting spoken language from XIX and XX century from Gabes, as well as a comparative study of Jewish Gabes with its Muslim counterpart would certainly shed more light on the development of agreement patterns.

---

[134] A hypothesis related to a North-West Semitic substrate in Judeo-Arabic is discussed in greater detail in the section "Expressions of Tense and Aspect".

4.5. 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, following Otto Jespersen, applied in her study on the historical development of the Aramaic syntax the definition of subordination based on the 'nexal hierarchy', where the main nexus contains the lower one, which is syntactically dependent on it (2012:21). Subordination, therefore, is perceived as the opposite term of coordination, which describes relationship between two independent clauses, which are not embedded.[135] From both definitions quoted here one can gather that subordination is a relatively wide category, which covers numerous syntactic types of 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.

4.5.1. 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

---

[135] As will be shown in the course of this chapter, this is not always the case, and the two categories can interconnect.

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 the relative clauses cover, we can distinguish two types, i.e., restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. The former limits the reference of the head noun in order to assist the hearer to identify its referent. Due to its attributive character, the clause of the restrictive type will occasionally be referred to here as 'attribute'. 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 a special interest in my investigation is that of 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 the relative clauses, followed by a brief outline of the development of relative clauses in Semitic. This approach may help explain syntactic behaviour of some types of relative clauses in Jewish Gabes. The examples presented

below have been divided into definite and indefinite heads, and subsequently further classified according to the position of the head noun.[136]

1. Attributive clause with definite head noun

Head which has grammatical role of object

1. hāk əl-xábža li aʿṭətắlək ša ʿamə́lt bíha? (1:27) — *The bread that I gave to you, what have you done with it?*

2. hāk əṛ-ṛắẓəl li aʿdátu l-kə́lba húwa ṣắḥbi — *That man whom the bitch bit is my friend.*

3. l-ʿaṣắfir ə́lli šə́fthəm ʿắməš žắu mən ṣắḥra — *The bird that you saw yesterday had came from the desert.*

Head which has grammatical role of subject

4. ə́ršəm əl-yə́dd li aʿṭatī́ (ə)l-kə́ff tətqáṣṣ (6:85) — *Write: the hand that hit me will be cut.*

5. l-ḥắža ə́lli aʿžíža aʿlík xudíha (7:89) — *The thing that is valuable for you, take it.*

6. nhār wắḥəd žāt ə́xt l-mṛa hadík li tə́ṣṛī mə́nhu əl-kmáž — *One day the sister of that woman who buys from him textile came.*

7. úxti raxə́l ə́lli tə́škən fi-tū́nəš žāt tẓū́rna — *My sister Rachel, who lives in Tunis, came to visit us.*

Head that has a noun as an annex

8. əl-mṛā ḍắṛha kbíra búrša — *The woman whose house is big.*

Head which is a complement of prepositon

9. əl-bír ə́lli nša yáxdu mə́nnu l-ma — *The well from which people take water.*

2. Attributive clause with indefinite/indefinite-specific head noun

Head that has the grammatical role of object

1. l-ẓawắli ma aʿndū́š mákla yaʿtī́ l-ẓǻáru (3:4) — *The poor one does not have food to feed his children.*

---

[136] This taxonomy has been borrowed from the grammar of Ṣanʿānī Arabic (Watson 1993:230), and the reason I find it useful is its relevance to the examination of the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

Head that has the grammatical role of subject

2. tə́mma wắḥəd li hΰwa ma thắrrəkš, hΰwa yəštə́nna ḥátt yətắḥlu mắkla fi-fΰmmu (2:16)

    There is a man who does not move, he waits for the food to fall down in his mouth.

3. qắllu: škūn li qāʕd mxábbi (4:37)

    They said: who is the person who is hiding?

4. kắnu žūž familyắt yətáʕrqu mʕa bináthəm

    There were two families, which were arguing between each other.

5. tʕádda ḥda ṛắẓəl u kān ṛắqad

    He passed next to a man who was sleeping.

6. rqāt ṃra ʕắmia u tə́rḥa fi-l-qắməḥ (3:18-19)

    She found a blind woman who was grinding wheat.

Head that is a complement of a preposition

7. ər-ṛắẓəl tlʕa u rqā žmǝl aʕlΐ sunḍΰq kbīr (4:85)

    The man came out and found the camel with a big box on it.

8. ṛqa hắdək əl-muṛt wắḥda li áʕnda ḍáṛba (2:47)

    He found that woman who has a blow.

9. xanΰt kbΐra wa fΐha wắḥəd yə́baʕ kmāž

    A big shop, in which a man was selling textile.

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 *allaḏī,* which was inflected for gender, person, and number (Wright 1896 I:270).[137] Three components of this pronoun can be identified, namely the demonstrative element /al/, the demonstrative morpheme /l/, and the demonstrative pronoun *ḏā* or

---

[137] As observed by Pat-El, there is no phonological motivation behind this etymology. It is more plausible that the CA relative pronoun is an innovation, which combines 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 (Pat-El 2017:257). The closest dialect to Jewish Gabes which uses this pronoun is Djidjelli, where one finds /əddi/ (Marçais 1956).

<u>ḏū</u>. The relationship between the relative pronoun and demonstratives is attested also in Biblical Hebrew, which, according to historical-comparative reconstruction, at an early stage used to utilize the near demonstratives as relative pronoun (Holmstedt 2011).[138]

4.5.2. 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 postnominal (like for example in English and Jewish Gabes), prenominal (Alambak, a variety of languages spoken in Papua New Guinea), or internal, where the head occurs within the restricting clause (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 it is linked anaphorically to the noun phrase (Dryer 2005).[139] Thus, a more general division based on the position of the head noun can be drawn, namely relative clauses can be either externally-headed or internally-headed (Holmstedt 2011). As will be shown in the following part, Jewish Gabes represents external, postnominal relative clauses.

---

[138] Apart from a presumed early relative strategy involving near demonstratives, Biblical Hebrew possesses also another relative complementizer 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).

[139] Some more detailed divisions include also adjoined relative clauses present is some Australian languages (e.g., Diyari), and double-headed relative clause represented by a single language Kombai (Trans-New Guinea) (Austin 1981:188, Dryer 2005).

In an extensive study of the formation of relative clauses in about fifty languages, Keenan and Comrie 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 relativized. This strategy is particularly common in languages which possess case a marking system (e.g., Slavic languages). Nonetheless, also languages without cases can utilize 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 relativized (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66). This strategy will be also 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, aimed at indicating the positions in a sentence, from which a noun phrase can be relativized. The scholars claim that the relativizability of those positions is uneven and can be presented in a form of a gradually decreasing sequence, where the left extreme designates the most relativizable position, while the right one marks a position that is unlikely to be relativized:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66)

This means that, in a cross-linguistic perspective, subject is the position of the head noun that is most frequently relativized by a restrictive phrase, while object of

comparison usually would not.[140] The hierarchy has, however, some constraints and languages usually allow only certain positions to be relativized by means of 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 relativized (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 relativization only of the subject with 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 unacceptability of certain relativized position by reformulating the idea expressed by the unacceptable sentence. My informant of Spanish categorically rejected the phrase involving object of comparison as ungrammatical: *el hombre que que Maria es más alta 'the man who Maria is taller than' and immediately proposed: el hombre, que es más bajo de Maria 'the man who is shorter than Maria', where 'the man' has been promoted from object of comparison to the 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

---

[140] 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 relativizable. For example, in Spanish any preposition in a restrictive clause precedes the relative particle, e.g., *el cajón 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 the sentence where the homonyms stand next to each other is ungrammatical, e.g., * *la casa que que mi casa es más alta* 'the house than which my house is higher'. The same situation prevails in French (Keenan and Comrie 1977:74).

as natural and correct: הגבר שרחל גבוהה יותר ממנו, דחף אותה 'the man who Rachel is taller than pushed her' but found the sentence without the predicate somewhat unnatural.

Hence it can be assumed that an accessibility hierarchy corroborated for a certain language based on a free speech will represent the most acceptable instances of relativization, which were judged by a speaker as most comprehensible and natural. Keenan and Comrie point out that their hierarchy should not be treated as fixed grammatical order but rather as a continuum of acceptability (1977:90). It is plausible, therefore, that some positions will not be relativized in a free speech but will be somewhat accepted by the speaker in a questionnaire. In the table below I present examples of relativization occurring in Jewish Gabes. The passages which are followed by a number placed in brackets have been taken from the text corpus and thus represent free speech, while those which 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.

4.5.3. Relative clauses in Semitic perspective

The nature of relative clauses has been broadly discussed in scholarship of Semitic languages. Undoubtedly relativization constitutes a sort of 'promotion' of the head noun, which by means of extraposition acquires a higher level of prominence. Holmstedt, in the description of relative clauses in Biblical Hebrew, points out that every relative clause can be characterized by two factors, i.e., subordination, since the relativized clause is dependent syntactically on the head noun, and pivot

constituent, related to the polyfunctionality of the head noun in a relative clause (2011).

From the historical point of view, relative clauses are linked to the construct state. As pointed out by Pat-El, all Semitic languages have two strategies to mark nominal attribution, namely nominal dependence, and adnominal complement (2012). Relativization 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, also adjectives and relative clauses in Semitic originally reflected dependence on a head noun (1995). Numerous examples from Akkadian indicate that both the head noun and the attributive verb carry 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 known as Žbāla in northern Morocco, the variants of the particle /d/ are used both in relatives and in genitives.[141] A similar function is reflected by the

---

[141] It has been argued that this strategy was present also in Proto-Semitic (Pat-El 2017:458). However, the fact that the /d/ element marking genitives is attested almost exclusively in western Maghreb (Morocco and Algeria) does not necessarily mean it stems in straight line from Proto-Semitic but could have emerged due to the contact with Romance languages. It could be argued against this claim that the /d/ genitive exponent is attested, albeit scarcely, in Quran and therefore reflects the original

Aleppan particle /il/, which nominalizes the relative clause and stands in construct state with the head noun (Brustad 2000:101, 109). As will be demonstrated in the following section, also some temporal clauses reflect a parallel construction.

One of the central questions in the 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, and their study of CA is of a particular interest for the understanding of the modern dialects as well (2008). Unlike most other Semitic languages, Arabic does demonstrate case inflection of relative pronouns in the dual and therefore its syntactic function can be precisely determined (Wright 1896, 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. [142] The two following examples should illustrate this difference:

ARABIC:

arinā š-šayṭānayni llaḏayni   ᵓaḍallānā[143]
                  ACC.   ACC.

POLISH:

wskaż nam dwóch diabłów,   którzy nas zwiedli (my translation)
           devils.ACC   rel.pro.NOM
Show us the two devils who led us astray.

---

morpheme. As an alternative solution it could be proposed that the /d/ element existed in an obsolete form in some varieties of Arabic, but the presence of Romance-speaking population in North-western Africa and the fact that those languages utilize a homonymic morpheme to mark genitive relation might have brought the /d/ element to a wider use.

[142] This discrepancy has already been observed by Wright (1896 II:320).

[143] This example originally occurs in Wright 1896 II:320; the transcription is quoted according to Pat-El and Treiger (2008).

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 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 be assumed, therefore, that in Indo-European languages, the relative pronoun constitutes a link between the syntax of the head (pro)noun and the relative clause. In Semitic, 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 syntactically treated as a substantive (Pat-El and Treiger 2008).

4.5.4. Data analysis

I shall start the discussion of the syntactic behaviour of the relative clauses in Jewish Gabes by arguing against the claim made by Harell regarding Moroccan Arabic that the subordinate clause is a restrictive adjectival modifier (1962:164). This statement not only is not true for Moroccan Arabic, as has been proven by Brustad, but does not hold water in other Arabic dialects either (2000:89). In Jewish Gabes, relative clauses can modify restricted and non-restricted nouns alike. Example (1.7) 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 table clearly demonstrates that the 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 the sentences with highly individuated antecedents. Therefore, the *li-ə́lli* pronoun often accompanies nouns preceded by demonstrative pronouns, as in examples (1:1) and (1:2) whose referent is very clearly specified. Similarly, in the example (1:5) 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 that kind of sentences the reference, 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 defined quality. The example (2:8) demonstrates even more explicit usage of the indefinite-specific article, since it is preceded by a demonstrative, hence there is no doubt the referent is individuated.

On the other hand, clauses modifying entities of low individuation which are textually non-prominent lack the relative pronoun. This is the case for example in the statements of non-existence, like in (2:1). Apart from the omission of the relative pronoun, in some indefinite clauses a conjunctive particle occurs, as demonstrated by the examples (2:3) and (2:6). The question arises in what type of circumstances an indefinite head noun is relativized asyndetically, and when the relativization is realized by means of coordination. It seems that in asyndetic clauses the verb functions as an adjectival modifier, like in the example (2:5), i.e., 'there were two arguing families'. On the other hand, /wa/ or /u/ introduce a verbal modifier and the

focus is on the actual action, and not on the quality of the modified term, like in example (2:6).

Relativization 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 in her study on subordination (2005:21). 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 utilize any grammaticalized construction to convey relativization. Jewish Gabes, on the other hand, does possess specific construction to clearly code relativization, but examples (2:5) and (2:9) suggest that in sentences with 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 as coordinate-like or subordinate-like type (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 for coordination on the one hand, and dependency characterizing subordination on the other. Therefore, the instances of ambiguous relativization in examples (2:5) and (2:9) could be explained as co-subordinative, since they do not involve embedding, but they display dependency of two actions, i.e., in (2:5) the action of seeing engages semantically the action of sleeping.

The corelation between the indefinite-specific category and the occurrence of the *li-ə́lli* pronoun is attested in many modern Arabic dialects. Even though Brustad

does not present any examples of indefinite noun phrases with conjunctive relative clause, she reaches the same conclusion regarding indefinite nouns followed by *ə́lli*, namely the primary function of this construction is to narrow the reference of the head noun (2000:95). Nonetheless, in her data only unmarked indefinite-specific nouns are treated in this way, while those accompanied by *wā́ḥəd* behave like indefinites (Brustad 2000:96). This is a rather paradoxical conclusion, since *wā́ḥəd* usually marks indefinite-specific nouns with a higher degree of individuation and textual prominence (new topic marker). In Jewish Gabes, by contrast, *wā́ḥəd* does attract the relativizer. Brustad mentions, however, that in Moroccan Arabic nouns marked with another indefinite-specific article *ši* can be relativized with *li*. It might be possible, therefore, that North-African dialects permit relativization of indefinite-specific nouns with the relativizer, but with different degrees.

The lack of a straightforward dependence between definiteness and relative pronouns does not seem to be an innovation of modern Arabic dialects. As has been observed by Blau, in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic there are numerous cases of interchanges between asyndetic and syndetic relative clauses.[144] Usually when an indefinite head noun is followed by the syndetic construction, it has a distributive meaning, it is an ordinal number, or the head noun is generic (Blau 1961:232). 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 (cf. the first section of this chapter). This is the case with the usage of *wā́ḥəd* followed by the relative pronoun in Jewish Gabes. As has been shown in the

---

[144] Another type of interchanges found in Medieval Judeo-Arabic involve mismatch between gender/number of the head noun and the form of the relative pronoun (Blau 1961:235-237).

section on definiteness, the indefinite-specific article often refers to an individuated entity. On the other extreme of this chiastic regularity lay definite head nouns followed by an asyndetic construction. They are well attested in CA, especially in sentences where the head noun bears the definite article due to its genericity (Wright 1898 II:318). In Jewish Gabes, however, this usage seems to be limited to heads followed by a nominal phrase with a possessive pronoun only.

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 the five passages, where the relativized position is object pronoun, possess a resumptive pronoun. On the other hand, no instances of indefinite head nouns with resumption have been attested.

This relatively uniform system, prevailing 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 the resumption does not takes place in all the positions. As reported by Brustad, a resumptive pronoun in the position of direct object is rare (Brustad 2000:109). However, it is obligatory when the syntactic position of the referent of the head noun is genitive or object of preposition. Contrary to this, in Jewish Gabes the resumption does occur in both direct object, and object of preposition.

Finally, judging from the examples of relativization in Jewish Gabes, one can corroborate the application of the Accessibility Hierarchy. Indeed, subject (four

examples), and direct object (five examples) are the two single positions that are most commonly relativized in Jewish Gabes. The third position of frequency are relative clauses with a prepositional annex, which occurs mostly in indefinite nouns. Nonetheless, it is possible that in free speech one will find also other positions relativized, but those the speakers find the most understandable and natural.

Summing up, the 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 of the occurrence of the *li-ə́lli* pronoun. Indefinite-specific nouns are very often followed by the relative pronoun, which indicates they fall in the definite range of the definiteness hierarchy, as opposed to 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-ə́lli* 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 Wegner, 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 spoken and informal register, she has demonstrated, that very often a definite head is followed by an asyndetic relative clause (Wegner 2010:217). As will be shown in the following section, also adverbial constructions 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 (Wegner 2014).

4.5.5. Non-attributive relative clauses

Head which has the grammatical role of object

1. wa ꜥə́wəḍ **li** aꜥmə́l m̱báraẖ (1:34)	*And he repeated the same as he did yesterday.*
2. qə́llu: ngīd, **li** t̠ábḅ naꜥmə́llək (2:28)	*He told him: I will guard, I will do whatever you want.*

Head which has grammatical role of subject

3. ža **li** wáqəf ꜥalə́yəm, qə́lla: žíbi (2:26)	*The person in charge came and told her: bring him!*
4. əl-mṛá hя́blət, tžīb wəld, ma təmmя́š **škūn** yáqt̠lu (2:55)	*The woman gave birth to a son, there was no one to kill him.*
5. tə́mma bīr ǵя́rəq yя́sər wa bīr hя́da **li** yя́dxal fī yəmя́t, mā yət̠ꜥя́ṣ (2:57)	*There was a very deep well and whoever goes in dies, does not go out.*
6. aня́ qáhwa wu **li** yəṣṛə́bni šя́ẖwa wu **li** yətꜥя́ləm bя́ha tə́mknu dáꜥwa (7:19)	*I am coffee, and those who drink me [I am] an enjoyment, and those who get used [to the enjoyment], I become their curse*

In addition to the relative clauses analysed in the previous section, Jewish Gabes also possesses two types of non-attributive clauses. The first one involves the relative pronoun *li-ə́lli* without head noun. As can be seen, it prevails in the above examples

and its reference can be both human (e.g.,5), and non-human (e.g., 2). The second type, which occurs across the dialects of Arabic, utilizes non-specific, non-attributive pronouns. In Jewish Gabes, however, this is attested only scarcely.[145] The majority of dialects employ *ma* for 'what' and *mīn* for 'who(m)' (Brustad 2000:99). As demonstrated by example (4), interrogative particle *škūn* functions in Jewish Gabes as a non-specific relativizer for human reference, while non-human reference is relativized by *li*, as exemplified by example (2). Finally, applying the Accessibility Hierarchy, one can infer that subject position by far outranks the object.

4.5.6. 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 the study of Cristofaro (2005: chapter VI).[146] Subsequently, I shall discuss some aspects of the historical development of adverbial clauses in Semitic and some Arabic dialects.

---

[145] The occurrence of the two particles seems to be uneven and conditioned geographically. According to Brustad, 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 it has not been attested in Moroccan (Brustad 2000:100).

[146] In my study I will utilize terminology applied by Cristofaro in her study on subordination. Therefore, the events coded by the main and the dependent clause shall be referred to as 'states of affairs'. This term has been borrowed from Functional Grammar (Siewierska 1991) and is more precise than 'event', as the latter implicates dynamicity and punctuality (Cristofaro 2005:25).

4.5.6.1. Definition and cross-linguistic typology

An adverbial construction combines two clauses in a way that the clause conveying dependent state of affairs describes the circumstances, under which the main state of affairs (henceforth: SoA) takes place. Following Cristofaro, I shall reject the traditional definition, which stipulates that the dependent clause is embedded in the main one (Cristofaro 2005:155). 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 at capturing the types of adverbial clauses as precisely as possible. Therefore, compared to the model of Cristofaro, 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 different semantic values ascribed to each type of dependent SoA, adverbial clauses differ also in terms of predetermination of some grammatical features represented by the SoAs. Thus, the temporal and purpose clauses predetermine the time reference of the SoAs, by indicating their sequential time order (e.g., purpose clause presumes that the independent SoA is anterior to the dependent one), or simultaneous co-realization, 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 realization 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 from each other (Cristofaro 2005:167).

From the 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 coding adverbial relations in this way is Tamil, which utilizes a nominalized form with a special case marker (Cristofaro 2005:56). The CA subjunctive also can be interpreted as a sort of deranked form, since it is marked by *faṭḥa* at the end of the imperfective form as opposed to *ḍamma* in the indicative (Wright 1898 II:60). Contrary to this, Jewish Gabes demonstrates a balanced strategy, coding subordination by structurally equal forms.

4.5.6.2. Semitic perspective

The development of adverbial subordination in Semitic is parallel to that of relative clauses. Presumably, they originate in the model of relative clauses, where the relative

pronoun was in construct state with the following adnominal complement.[147] When the pronoun lost its inflection, it became a frozen particle treated as the marker of adnominal attribution, and not part of the matrix sentence (Pat-El 2012:24). Similarly, some nouns denoting time or place underwent a process of grammaticalization 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.[148]

In CA the accusative serves as a default marker of adverbial relations. There are numerous cases of nouns which acquire adverbial function when inflected with the accusative case, e.g., *marrat-an* 'once'. Alongside those forms, exist also adverbs marked by the archaic suffix /-u/, e.g., *qabl-u* 'previously', and entities functioning entirely as adverbs, e.g., *ġad-an* 'tomorrow', though 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 be established, therefore, 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).

---

[147] This proves the claim made in the previous section, that construct state was the default way of expressing attribution in Semitic (Goldenberg 1995, Pat-El 2008).

[148] As has been shown by Pat-El, Aramaic diverges significantly from other Semitic languages in terms of subordination strategies. It did not utilize nominal dependence and the only way of coding subordination was by means of determinative-relative pronoun (Pat-El 2012:28).

4.5.6.3. Data analysis

4.5.6.3.1.   Purpose clauses

1. wáḥəd mša yə́ṭlab ya krī́mət álḷa (1:2)	*A man went to beg for money.*
2. ma yʿarfús škūn yə́xdu yə́qṭlu (2:37)	*They did not know who took it in order to kill it.*
3. aʿṭíni ḥžína šmíʿa, u qritíṣ wuqíḏ̣ bāš nəšáʿlha (1:19)	*Give me half of it and give me (the poor, miserable) candle and a box of matches so I can light it.*
4. bʿaṭū bāš yəmū́t (2:60)	*They sent him to death.*
5. hak əl-zawā́li kūl nār xmīš, yə́mši l-xū(h) yaʿṭī́ flūš (3:2)	*That poor one goes every Thursday to his brother, in order that he gives him money.*
6. xúya kə́fi ža ʿaṭī́ flūš bāš yáʿməl šəbbát (3:9)	*If my brother comes give him money so he can have shabbat.*
7. qā́llu: aná́ má́ši l-ṛə́bbi yaʿṭíni bāš nwúkkəl zġári (3:18)	*He told him: I am going to the God, so that he gives me something so that I can feed my children.*
8. qāl: mšīt l-ṛə́bbi nžibī́lkəm bāš tā́klu (3:42)	*He said: I went to the God to bring you (the food) so you can eat.*
9. lá́žma ṭábḅaṣ bāš tə́dxəl (4:16)	*She had to lean down to go in.*
10. ža wā́ḥəd əl-ᴴᴱmélexᴴᴱ yəškī́lu (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 particle variant seems to combine two factors:

(1) it is utilized 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, entailing *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.[149] 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 example, in the passage (2:60) the subject of the verb *bʿaṭu* is different from the one of *yəmūt* hence the particle. On the other hand, in passage (2:1) the subject of both verbs is co-referential: *wắḥəd mša yə́ṭlab*, 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 (4:16) demonstrates this usage of *bāš*.

4.5.6.3.2.   Temporal clauses

1. aʿṭī́ əl-xábža yəštáǵna bī́ha wa wuqt yəwə́lli aʿšīr, nǽxdu (1:13)
Give him this bread so that he becomes rich from it and when he is already rich, we will marry him.

2. wuqt l-úmṃa kắnət fi-l-kužī́na əl-bə́nt kắnət táxšəl əl-fxād
While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter was washing the dishes.

3. nhar li nǽxdək ma tədwə́yyəš maʿ əl-nǽš (7:64)
From the day we get married you will not talk to people.

4. tʿáddau šə́bʿa əyyắm mən ən-nhār əlli mša
Seven days have passed from the day he left.

5. lilə́tha li ʿárəš, yáḥləm wắḥəd ḍə́rbu kəff (6:64)
On the night of the wedding he had a dream that someone hit him with a palm of hand.

6. kūl mṛa li tū́ləd, tlat árbʿa ayyắm u yắxdu l-wəld yəllə́wḥu (2:36)
Every woman who gives birth, after three or four days someone would take the child and throw it away.

---

[149] Both switch-reference morphology and personal agreement might interact in many ways. As pointed out by Cristofaro, modifications of the personal agreement can be used to code switch-reference (2012:70).

7. yəxáll fúmmu wa yštónna ḫatt əl-bláḥ yətáḫu fi-fúmmu (2:15)

He would open his mouth and he would wait until the date falls into it.

8. wuqt hŭwa ka-yʿáš fi-l-nófs əl-līl, žāt wáḥda mṛa, žāt u lúwḥa ḥáža, hŭwa yəḥább yʿárəf šnŭwa lúwḥat (2:32)

While he was guarding at midnight, a woman came, she came and threw something, he wanted to know what she threw.

9. hŭwa ka-yómši fə-ṣ-ṣótt əl-bḥár mḥáyran, wa híya qáʿdət fi-l-balkŭn šəfáthu yómši (7:70)

While he was walking worried on the beach, she sat down on the balcony and saw him walking.

10. yáxdu šwóya mən mólḥ tʿa ^{HE}omer^{HE} wuqt yəmšĭu yəṣalĭu

They would take a bit of the Omer salt when going to pray.

11. bʿad təšʿ u arbʿín yəkómlu l-^{HE}ʿómər^{HE} u yʿálqu l-mólḥ

After forty-nine days they would complete the Omer by hanging the salt.

12. kəf žā ʿámmi aná ma kóntš fə-ḍ-ḍār

When my uncle came, I was not at home.

13. hŭwa, kánt míta hŭwa bāš yəmŭt aʿlóya, kān yəžĭ yórqā ʿáyša, mšāt ʿalóyha (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-ṣəltán tʿádda, lqā yózṛa fi-l-bṣəl (7:7)

When the sultan was passing by, he found the man planting onions.

15. baʿd ma mátət áʿrəš mʿa mṛa óxra

After [his wife] died, he got married with another woman.

16. áqbəl mā bdīt náxdəm kənt láhi b-úmmi

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, in which one of them represents a dependent SoA, and the other the major one. However, in the data pool have been included also a few examples of adverbial clauses which do not possess dependent SoA, like example (11).

Typologically, three principal types of temporal clauses can be distinguished regarding the temporal relation of the dependent clause (Cristofaro 2012:159):[150]

 (i) temporal posteriority ('before' relations), where the dependent clause occurs after the main clause, as exemplified by the passage (16).

(ii) temporal overlap ('when' relations), where both the dependent SoA and the main one occur at the same time, as in the example (8), in which the main clause, namely 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); the dependent SoA takes place before the main clause, as exemplified in (1), i.e., firstly 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 clauses. Therefore, I shall 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 and Kortmann and supplements the three main types proposed by Cristofaro (Givón 1990 II:330, Kortmann 1997:80):

Simultaneity Overlap 'when' one of the SoAs is punctual, while the other one is continuous:

 (12) kəf ža ʿámmi anā́ ma kə́ntš fə-ḍ-ḍāṛ   *When my uncle came, I was not at home.*

Simultaneity Duration 'while' indicates two continuous SoAs overlapping in the time:

---

[150] Other scholars, like for example Givón, propose taxonomy based on the temporal relation of the main clause towards the dependent one, therefore, according to his classification the Cristofaro's temporal posteriority is classified as 'precedence' (Givón 1990:330).

(2) wuqt l-úmṃa kắnət fi-l-kuẑĩna əl-bə́nt kắnət táxšəl əl-fxắd

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) aṣ-ṣəḷṭắn tʿádda, lqā yə́zṛa fi-l-bṣə́l (7:7)

When the sultan was passing by, he found a man planting onion.

Terminal boundary indicates a final point of the independent SoA:

(7) yəxáll fúmmu wa yəšténna ḥatt əl-blắḥ yətắḥu fi-fúmmu (2:15)

We would open his mouth and he would wait until the date falls into it.

Initial boundary the dependent SoA indicates an initial point of a continuous SoA expressed by the main clause:

(3) nhār li nắxdək ma tədwə́yyəš maʿ əl-nắš (7:64)

From the day we get married you will not talk to people.

As can be seen in the above examples, Jewish Gabes utilizes several ways of expressing temporal relations in adverbial clauses. The most common particle is the grammaticalized CA noun *wuqt* 'time'. It is used particularly to introduce a dependent SoA of a continuous or repetitive character, cf. (2), (8). On the other hand, *kəf* marks punctual and single SoA, as in (12). Terminal boundary relations are marked by *ḥátta*.

Apart from the syndetic constructions, Jewish Gabes employs also the asyndetic type in temporal clauses. This is the case, among others, when the dependent SoA contains the verb 'to be', as in (13), where the particle is omitted. The coordinative type of adverbial clause is employed also 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 extended duration in 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 either by means of parataxis or by hypotaxis. In the former there is no formal relativization, while in the latter the temporal noun is followed by the relative particle *ə́lli-li*. The status of this particle is somewhat problematic, as in this construction it relativizes indefinite nouns. Brustad has observed that the *illi* particle in some modern dialects of Arabic can function as nominalizer of an adverbial phrase when the head noun refers to time and is of low individuation (Brustad 2000:102). This resembles the original Semitic structure of nominal dependence employed in 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 usage 'quasi-relativization', or co-subordination is exemplified by the passage (3) and can be contrasted with the passage (4), containing 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 SoA are juxtaposed next to each other without any lexical link.[151] Regarding the temporal particles, it has been pointed out that *wuqt* tends to mark continuous or repetitive actions, while *kəf* is generally used for punctual and single ones. The

---

[151] The pitfalls of the traditional distinction between subordination and coordination and the fact that subordination does not necessarily involve clauses have been pointed out also for European languages (Kortmann 1997:57).

classification proposed by Cristofaro has been expanded by several more specific categories borrowed from Givón and Kortmann.

4.5.6.3.3. Conditional clauses

(1) ma nqatlŭkš kān tžíbna aġžā́n mən Baġdā́d (2:65)

I will not kill you if you bring us the idle from Baghdad.

(2) twŭ́lli žīn kān yəžī́ hadā́k əl-ʿaġžā́n mən Baġdā́d (2:67)

You will come back to be a ghost if the idle from Baghdad comes here.

(3) kān ə́nti tə́ṭḷab mə́nni bāš(i) nžī, nžīk

If you ask me to come, I will come to you.

(4) kān ʿarā́ft li ə́nti qā́ʿd fi-l-blā́d, kə́nti nžī nẓū́rək

If I had known that you were in the town, I would have come to visit you.

(5) hŭ́wa, kə́nt mīta hŭ́wa bāš yəmū́t ʿalə́ya, kān yəžī́ yə́rqā ʿā́yša, mšāt ʿalə́yha (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.

(6) kān štənnə́tni tqī́qa wa anā́ dawwī́tək (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 protasis SoA. The apodosis has a future time reference relative to the protasis. Irrealis is encoded by p-stem in both part of the sentence:[152]

---

[152] Although the Bedouin dialect of Nifzāwa spoken in the south of Tunisia often features the s-stem in the protasis, I have not attested any examples of this construction in my corpus (Ritt-Benmimoun 2020). This could potentially point to language contact with Israeli Hebrew, where the p-stem in the protasis of irrealis is a norm.

kān + p-stem	p-stem
protasis	*apodosis*

On the other hand, the counter-fact 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:

kān + s-stem	s-stem form of the verb 'to be' + p-stem verb form
protasis	*apodosis*

However, occasionally, they can also have the structure exemplified by the passage (6):

kān + s-stem	s-stem verb from
protasis	*apodosis*

It seems that in the latter type, the main clause bears some degree of probability, albeit very low. The perfective form in the example (6) apparently signals that the woman still has some hope to save the man, although she is aware of his terminal condition. This usage of the perfect expressing low-likelihood SoAs is attested also in Biblical Hebrew (Givón 1997, 1990 II:334).

4.5.6.3.4.   Reason

(1) ə́nti aˤla xátər ṣáḥbi aná nˤáwnək	*Because you are my friend, I will help you.*
(2) ma mšāš l-xádma ˤala xátər ṃrīḍ	*He did not go to work because he was sick.*
(3) híya hábtət lúṭa, u l-bít krátha xátər xáyba mátu fíha bə́rša z̧ġār	*She went down and rented the room because it was bad, too many children had died in it.*
(4) l-wəld ḥrəq rūḥu, xátər šāf šā áˤmlu fi-ruṣalayim	*The son burnt himself because of what they had done in Jerusalem.*
(5) aná mā ˤarə́šts mˤáha li ma ˤaṭatíks əl-máhar	*I did not marry her because I did not give her the dowry.*

This type of adverbial clauses combines two SoAs connected through the logical relation of cause and effect. The dependent SoA expresses the reason of the occurrence of the main one. In Jewish Gabes the reason relation is expressed though *xátər* or *aˁla xátər*, 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 clauses.

Typologically and semantically reason subordination is related to 'when' and 'after' temporal clauses, in a sense that both of them are causally related. Moreover, reason dependent SoA, just like temporal SoA, is factual. For this reason, many languages code both types of subordination with the same morphology. Cristofaro demonstrates an example of the Greek particle *hōs,* which in the Homeric language was coding purpose and 'when' clauses, while in Classical Greek it was extended to express reason relations too (Cristofaro 2012:162). In Jewish Gabes, the factual value of the dependent SoA is signalled by the 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.

4.5.6.3.5. Manner

(1) rákəb ˁal əl-bhím u ražlí fi-luṭá — *He rides the donkey with his legs on the floor.*

(2) bˁad təšˁ u arbˁin yəkámlu l-ˁómər u yˁálqu l-məlḥ — *After forty-nine days they would complete the Omer by hanging the salt.*

(3) yədúru fi-l-blád wa yəšúfu kifáš əl-aˁbád yáˁyšu — *They would patrol the city, looking how people live.*

(4) hū yəxáyyəṭ wa yəqím ŕáṣu 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 the majority of other adverb clauses, in manner constructions the main SoA first comes followed by the dependent one.

4.5.6.3.6. Concessive

(1) ma xašlə́tš əl-fxǟr u anǟ ṭḷəbt mə́nha bāš táxšəl	*She did not wash the dishes even though I asked her to do so.*
(2) ḥátta kān ḷ-mṭār əqwī́ya, məlžū́m aˤlī́na nəṭḷˤu mən əḍ-ḍāṛ	*Although there was heavy rain, we had to leave the house.*
(3) kǟnət mrī́ḍa búrša u qǟmət (qádrət) tə́lləf bi zġǟrha	*Despite her heavy illness, she made an effort to take care of her children.*

Concessive adverbial constructions consist of two SoAs which are linked through the relation of opposition. The dependent clause expresses circumstances that theoretically should have prevented the occurrence of the main clause (examples (2) and (3)), but the event nevertheless takes places, or the dependent clause theoretically should have brought about the occurrence of the event in the main clause, but it did not take place (1). Therefore, the dependent SoA is always factual. In Jewish Gabes the concessive relation can be expressed either coordinatively, like in examples (1) and (3), or through the concessive particle *ḥátta*.

To sum up the syntactic behaviour of adverbial constructions in Jewish Gabes, several points should be made. The primary strategy used in the dialect is balancing, although some degree of deranking can be identified as well, since the verb in the dependent clause cannot admit of verbal particles (e.g., the /ka-/ particle indicating a continuous action). The semantic classification based on the model of Cristofaro was

274

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 manner or concessive constructions, show a strong tendency toward coordination.

4.5.7. Complementation

In the investigation of complementation in Jewish Gabes I shall apply the following definition of complementation proposed by M. Noonan: *the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate* (2007:52). In other words, complementation provides information which is necessary for conveying a full meaning of a sentence. In this respect they differ from types of subordination 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).

4.5.7.1. Typological preliminaries

Numerous historical studies of various languages indicate that complementation derives from non-embedded, apposition-alike structures involving nouns and pronouns (Noonan 2007:57). In this kind of constructions, which were particularly common in 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 code different grammatical categories, nevertheless several types can be distinguished cross-linguistically. The most common type is a sentence-like complement, which can have a twofold form. The first one behaves like an independent sentence, and the predicate is in the indicative mood. The second type involves subjunctive forms, which morphologically are distinctive from the indicative ones and in virtually all languages can stand in an independent sentence in several grammatical contexts (imperative, cohortative, irrealis etc.). 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 complementizer, but some languages convey complementation by means of parataxis and verb serialization, a method that is particularly common in sub-Saharan languages. Moreover, a single grammatical form can serve as a complement, e.g., infinitives or participles. 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 calls 'equi-deletion' (henceforth: equi) (2007:75). 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 non-sentence-like type. Equi is found mostly in languages

where the use of an overt subject is necessary, and therefore it will not take place in those coding the subject by 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 a phenomenon called 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 related to the syntagm of complements which involves deletion of an argument is raising. It entails removing an argument of predication from the dependent SoA and promoting it to the matrix and as a result, the argument acquires new a grammatical function. This process usually takes place when the raised argument is syntactically part of the complement, but semantically it 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.[153] As will be shown in the following section, this statement has some serious impediments for a number of languages.

Complement clauses are prone to undergo a variety of reduction, out of which two of them deserve special attention. Simple clause reduction takes place in three-

---

[153] 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).

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, due to the process called clause union, both matrix and dependent clause share the same grammatical features (Noonan 2007:83). This process usually involves merging of both predicates in 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 Mary eat the apples' (Noonan 2007:84). In this sentence, 'let' and 'eat' from a ditransitive predicate, whose arguments are both '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 complements. At this point it should be argued that both morphology and syntax of the complements is, to a large extend, governed by the semantics of the matrix predicate, which in turn can produce a number of interconnections between the two clauses. The semantic integration between the matrix and the complement SoAs has been subject of extensive studies. Givón has observed that the semantic interconnection between the clauses is stronger when the agent of the matrix controls the realization of the complement (1990:526). According to this statement, manipulative predicates will generate stronger semantic corelation with the complement, than, for example, utterance or proposition. Moreover, Givón has suggested that due to semantic integration events from both clauses merge into one

spatio-temporal dimension.[154] This view has been called in question by Cristofaro, who shows a number of cases where despite spatio-temporal integration, there is no semantic correlation between the clauses (2012:119).

The semantics of the matrix predicate is 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. The first type of dependency is in time reference, which sometimes is also referred to as time predetermination (Cristofaro 2012:116). Within this dependency, the tense coding of complement predicates is a result of the meaning of the matrix predicate. On the other hand, the complement can have tense constituency of its own, in which case it is denoted as indetermined tense reference (Noonan 2007:103). The former type is exemplified by predicates expressing wish, order, command, or desire, since the predicate of the following component will always have future reference. Contrary to this, knowledge and utterance predicates do not imply any time reference of the complement.

Another dimension of the clause dependency is truth-value, or epistemic dependency. It assumes 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,

---

[154] As pointed out by Noonan, also the syntax of the complement can signal to what degree the clauses are semantically integrated. Sentence-like complements tend to be more independent from the reduced ones, which due to their incorporation in the matrix represent higher degree of semantic integration (Noonan 2007:101).

some languages code irrealis mood of the complement by means of the subjunctive (e.g., Spanish) or a distinct form of complementizer (e.g., Russian).

In sum, the world's languages utilize various types of morphological and syntactical reduction in complements demonstrating 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 concept that the forms code. Similarly, iconicity of distance points to the correlation between formal distance between forms and their conceptual distance. In the 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.[155] On the other hand, utterance predicates almost always involve use of a complementizer, because the act of speaking and its content are not related conceptually.

---

[155]On the ground of CA, this correlation is exemplified, among others, by interchangeability between the complementizer ʾan al-maṣdariyya and the actual maṣdar 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 reduced, nominalized form of the complement (LeTourneau 2011).

4.5.7.2. Complementation in CA

In the previous section it has been pointed out that the world's languages code complement dependency by utilizing different syntactical and morphological devices. In what follows I shall briefly discuss forms of complementation present in CA. The grammarians distinguish three types of complementizers in CA, each of them being ascribed to different semantic values of the complement.[156] The first one, *ʾanna* follows propositional predicates denoting factual assertions and therefore the tense reference is often past (Wright 1896 II:26). The predicate in the complement is in the indicative, while its subject is in the accusative case. The second kind of complementizer is *ʾinna*, which occurs exclusively after the utterance predicate *qāla*. Finally, the third type, namely *ʾan*, 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, *ʾan* 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 *ʾan an-nāṣibatu* 'the *ʾan* that governs the subjunctive' and the latter is called *ʾan muxaffafa* 'the lightened *ʾan*' (LeTourneau 2011).

It can be inferred, therefore, that the semantics of the matrix predicate in CA is the factor conditioning the syntactic behaviour of the complement. Following this assumption, one can expect the syntactic processes described in the first section of

---

[156] Some linguists add to the list of the CA complementizers also *allaði* since it appears in the expression: *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi llaḏī* 'Praised be the God that…' (Spitaler 1962)

this chapter. Indeed, Persson (1999) in a study of complement-taking predicates in Arabic observes that raising occurs when the agent of the matrix is able to control the way the agent of the complement acts. This proves that there is a strong relation between type of predicate in matrix and the form of a whole complement sentence.

4.5.7.3. Semantic taxonomy of complement taking predicates[157] in Jewish Gabes

In the previous section it has been repeatedly highlighted that there is a strong correlation between the semantics of complement and its syntax. As has been observed by Givón, the isomorphism of those two dimensions gives rise to clause union and event integration, which in turn significantly affects the syntax of the entire sentence (Givón 1990 II:40). Bearing in mind the importance of the semantics of the matrix predicate, in what follows I shall divide 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 in his cross-linguistic study on complementation proposed a very detailed taxonomy of CTPs appearing in various languages (2007:121). Some of them are only sporadically attested and do not demonstrate any syntactic peculiarities. Hence, I will rather follow the model proposed by Cristofaro, which outlines the most common categories, with some minor modifications (2012:99).[158]

---

[157] Following Noonan, henceforth the CTP abbreviation will be used.

[158] Givón proposes even more general classification of CTPs, outlining three main categories: modality verbs, manipulation verbs and perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs (1990 II:41).

4.5.7.3.1. Modals

1. lắžəm nšŭfu šnŭwa áʕndu fi-l-bīt (4:91)	*We must see what he keeps in his room.*
2. ġúdwa əl-mélex fi-šə́t tʕa ṣbāḥ lắžəm yətə́mša aʕl ṣəṭṭ l-bḥār (7:75)	*Tomorrow at six in the morning the king is supposed to take a stroll on the beach.*
3. muš lắžəm nəḍfnŭha (4:79)	*We cannot bury her.*
4. tnə́žžəm tə́dxul ṭŭwwa	*You can enter now.*
5. ma yənəžmŭš yə́dəxlu aʕla xátər ma aʕndhúmš əl-məftáḥ	*They cannot enter because they do not have the key.*
6. məlžŭm aʕlíya bāš nə́mši əl-yŭm l-ṭḅīb	*I must go to the doctor today.*
7. baʕd ma tkaṣṛət rəžlŭ əṭṭŭwwa ma yənžə́mš yə́mši ʕalíha	*After he broke his leg, he cannot walk yet.*
8. ḥátta kān ḷ-mṭār əqwíya, məlžŭm aʕlína nəṭḷʕu mən əḍ-ḍāṛ	*Although there was a heavy rain, we had to leave the house.*
9. yəlžə́mma ṭáḅḅaṣ bāš tə́dxəl (4:16)	*She had to lean down to enter.*

It is widely recognized by linguists that there are two main distinct types of modality (Comrie 1985, Givón 1990 II:52, Cristofaro 2012:60). The first epistemic, which refers to the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth of the proposition. The other is deontic modality, which conveys obligation or permission referring to an event as yet unrealized. A third type relates to ability and is sometimes termed dynamic modality.

As the above passages demonstrate, Jewish Gabes utilizes 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 the conjugated verbal form 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 *lắžəm* and is used when the subject feels an internal need or moral obligation to perform the

action expressed by the complement.[159] However, as the example (7:75) demonstrates, the particle in question has also another usage. Namely, it can introduce an event that is highly likely to occur. In example (7:75) *lắžəm* does not denote a personal need or obligation of the king to walk, but rather indicates that this is what he usually does, or that he has planned, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that tomorrow he will walk on the seashore. This, therefore, expresses epistemic necessity.

Apart from the particle *lắžəm*, an obligation is expressed also by means of the construction involving the passive participle *məlžűm* and inflected preposition *aˁl*.[160] However, unlike *lắžəm*, which denotes personal obligation of the subject, this structure is applied 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 the 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 3SM 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:[161]

---

[159] This uninflected particle is widely spread in modern varieties of Arabic. It has been attested, among others, in Gulf Arabic (Holes 1990:201) and in Ṣanˁānī Arabic, where it can occur in a hypotactic construction with the complementizer /innih/ (Watson 1993:160).

[160] In Jewish Tunis exists also version *lắžəm aˁl* (Cohen 1964:48). However, it has not been attested in Jewish Gabes.

[161] All the examples have been borrowed from Cohen (1964:48-60).

(1) mṛa **yəlzəmha** taʿməl fonctions tāʿ ṛāžəl — *une femme (…) doit remplir les fonctions d'un homme*

(2) ə́lli umān «ḥəšbūn iš» u **yəlzəmma** taʿməl əl-fonctions ntāʿ ṛāžəl — *qui est le compte de ʾiš et doit exercer les fonctions d'un homme*

(3) wəl-fonctions ntaḥḥa **yələzmmməm** yəbdāw doubles — *et dont les fonctions vont être doubles*

(4) ma **yəlzəmnāši** bāš baṛmənnām baṛmənnām nqūlu lli isṛaīl zāda ġalṭīn — *nous ne devons pas dire que Israël est dans l'erreur*

(5) flān **yəlzəməlna** nuqfūlu, ulā flān «baṛmənnām baṛmənnām nəfṭāṛ» **yəlzəmna** bāš nūqfu fi rīgla-lli-īya **təlzəm** — *nous assurer la défence d'un tel, ou bien, helas, un tel est décédé, nous devons nous mobiliser pour telle chose qui est nécessaire*

The semantic value of this construction is by no means homogenous. 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 example (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 the 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.

4.5.7.3.2.   Phasal

1. **bdāt tə́mši** tə́mši tə́mši (4:16) — *She started walking, walked, and walked.*
2. tə́ḍṛəblu fi-ṛə́žli mən lū́ṭa ḥatt əl-ṛáẓəl **bdā yəthárrək** wa də́mmu **bdā yə́zri** (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. húmma **wúqfu yəbnı̃yu** əl-ḍāṛ — *They stopped building the house.*
4. ə́ržaʿt náxdəm kif ma kənt áqbəl — *I continued working as I worked before.*
5. kə́mmelt nṭə́yyəb əl-márka — *I finished cooking the soup.*

The function of phasal predicates is to mark the point in time, in which the complement SoA is happening. Thus, it can express either an onset of the action, continuation, cessation, or termination. Unlike aspectual operators, they 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, while there is no information about when this SoA takes place.[162]

Jewish Gabes utilizes several verbs to express phase in which the dependent SoA is:

onset	continuation	cessation	completion
bdā	*ržaʿ*	*wúqəf*	*kə́mməl*

It is worth noting that the verb *ržaʿ* '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 the action was suspended, 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.[163] Interestingly, due to language contact, the iterative meaning of *ržʿa* has been adopted also in

---

[162] The distinction between internal and external temporal constituency is coded by different grammatical categories. As has been observed by Siewierska, the external time reference is rendered by adverbs or other aspectual operators, which place certain SoA on a timeline. Contrary to this, phasal predicates code only internal progress of the SoA and therefore cannot be regarded as aspectual operators.

[163] Other varieties of Syrian Arabic, like for example the dialect of Damascus, utilize the verb *ṛaḍḍ* (Grotzfeld 1965:90).

Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Maʿlūla, where it occurs in the asyndetic construction *rkʿ* + verb (Correll 1978:83).[164]

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 have always a prefix form.

4.5.7.3.3.   Manipulative

1. hū́wa **ṭ̣ləb** mə́nni bāš nə́mši bə-šwī́ya	*He asked me to walk slowly.*
2. hū́wa li **xallā́ha** bāš tə́qṭəl ṛaẓə́lha	*It is him who made her kill her husband.*
3. **ḍə́bbərt** aʿlī́h bāš yəšəllə́fha flūš	*I convinced him to lend her money.*
4. hū́wa **ġáṣḅā** bāš tā́kəl	*He forced her to eat.*

The manipulative CTPs can be principally divided in two groups: (1) expression of causation (force, make, persuade) and (2) expressions of request (ask, order, request, command). Within both those groups, the agent causes an affectee to perform the action expressed by the complement. Similarly to the phasal predicates, also manipulative CTPs have predetermined time reference, since the complement SoA always takes place after the matrix predicate.

In Jewish Gabes the manipulative predicates are followed by the particle *bāš* due to the lack of coreference between the matrix and the complement subjects. Example (1) represents request predicates, while the other examples fall within the category of causation.

---

[164] I am indebted to dr Ivri Bunis for providing me the comparative data from the dialect of Maʿlūla.

4.5.7.3.4. Desiderative

1. ṭúwwa bníyuli qṣarr qbal ḏāṛ ḅaḅáy, xīr mən tá‘u, u **nḥábba** sahrĩn tákməl (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. hũwa **yəḥább** yá‘rəf šnũwa lúwḥat (2:32)

He wanted to know what she had thrown.

3. **tḥabb** tə́dxal ə́nti? (2:58)

Would you like to go in?

4. ṭúwwa **nḥábbək** tqũlli škūn hádi li qá‘da tfašárlək fi-ḥwáyəž hádi kúlla

Wow I want you to tell me who this person is, who explains you all those things.

5. ámə š **ḥabbítək** tžī t‘áwə́nni

Yesterday I wanted you to come and help me.

6. qāl: ána ᴴᴱ‘aní ᴴᴱ u əl-xábža **nḥabb** nakə́lha (1:19)

I am poor and I would like to eat the bread.

7. ma ḥabbũš yəqullũla yəqaṭlũ l-‘áṛab

They did not want to tell her that the Arabs had killed him.

Desiderative CTPs express a wish for the realization of an action conveyed by the complement predicate. The subject of the matrix predicate might be either coreferential with the experiencer of the complement, or the dependent clause can be brought about by a third person (Cristofaro 2012:103). The time reference of the desiderative predicates is predetermined, and the complement predicate has always future meaning.

In Jewish Gabes the verb representing this class is invariably *ḥabb*. As the 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 definition, one of the outcomes of raising is a non-sentence-like complement type (Noonan 2007:79). However, in the light of the data from Jewish Gabes, this

assumption turns out to be inadequate. Without any 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. The passage (5) is equal to: *ā́məš ḥabbī́t tǧi tʿā́wə́nni*, where the subject of the complement predicates coded by the 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.

4.5.7.3.5. Perception

1. anā́ wəld ṣəḷṭā́n, **šmʿat** li tʿáməl ʿárš taʿ bə́ntək (6:91)	*I am a son of sultan and I have heard that you had made a wedding for your daughter.*
2. **šmʿat** tədwə́yya wā́ḥda u bʿad dónya šə́ktət wa rqīta mī́ta (4:77)	*I heard a woman talking and then everything became silent and I found her dead.*
3. f-əl-lī́l **šmaʿtu** yətkə́lləm maʿ ẓāṛ	*At night I heard him talking to the neighbour.*
4. əl-ḅuliṣi **šāf** əl-xannáb kif təlʿa mən l-ᴴᴱxanū́tᴴᴱ	*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 determined 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 in the majority of the examples is in the prefix conjugation, indicating the

durative character of the verb.[165] 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 is can also be classified in the following group, namely the PTCs of knowledge.

4.5.7.3.6.   Knowledge

1. l-kbī́ra táʿrəf li ma ʿandáš šəmm wa l-zġī́ra táʿrəf li ḥaṭə́ṭla (4:121)	*The old one knew she did not have any poison and they young one knew she did give her poison.*
2. l-bnāt áʿrfu li ma aʿndī́š ġləmm	*The girls learnt that I did not have livestock.*
3. yəšə́ddu ʿalə́ya ənžū́m u šmā li anā́ žī́tək (5:40)	*The moon, the stars, and the sky are my witnesses that I have come to you.*

The knowledge PTCs indicate either a state of knowledge, or the process in course of which the subject acquires certain knowledge. In Jewish Gabes the same verb *ʿarf* expresses both possibilities. The passage (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 *aʿrf* and *šədd* are followed by the complementizer *li* which nominalizes the complement.

---

[165] Due to the immediate and durative character of the act of perception, it is common across world's languages to code the complement predicate by participle (Noonan 2007:142).

4.5.7.3.7.　Propositional attitude

1. aˤndək əl-ḥáqq li sahrī́n ma mšītš, nə́mšilo (5:10)   *You are right that I have not gone to him for two months, I will go to him now.*

2. aná̄ fi-bá̄li ə́lli hū́wa mūš ḥabb yə́rbaḥ   *I think he is not going to win.*

Through propositional CTPs the subject expresses an evaluation of the content conveyed by the complement. Since usually this evaluation 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 only scarcely attested and comprises two expressions, both of them followed by the complementizer. Their time reference is undetermined, since the complement of example (1) refers to the past, while (2) to the future.

4.5.7.3.8.　Utterance

1. hū́wa qā́lli ˤamru ma yə́ržaˤ əl-hū́ni   *He told me that he would never come back to this place.*

2. aná̄ qátlu ma ˤātə́š tə́mma məlžū́m bāš tbə́ddəl šə́lha   *I told him that it was not possible to change the stock.*

Utterance predicates describe a process of transfer of information which is coded by the complement. As pointed out by Cristofaro, the transferred information can be expressed in the form of either direct, or indirect quotation (2012:121). 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 complementizer occurs in them, and as a matter of fact the dependent clause

has a form similar to that of direct speech.

4.5.7.3.9.   Emotion

1. fárḥat múṛt ḅū́ha li žāt (4:66)	*The step-mother was happy that she came.*
2. anā́ nádəm ə́lli ma ʿāwəntū́š wuqt ə́lli kān mṛīḍ	*I regret that I did not help him when he was sick.*
3. anā́ ġlat li ma qbəltə́š əl-xádma hā́di	*I am sorry that you have not got this job.*

This category is not included neither in Cristofaro's model, nor in Noonan's.[166]

Predicates of emotion express an emotional attitude of the subject towards SoA

expressed by the complement. Their time reference is not predetermined. In Jewish

Gabes they attract the occurrence of the *li-ə́lli* complementizer.

4.5.7.4. 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 both restrictive and non-restrictive. Historically they derive

from the pattern of nominal dependency, similarly to adjectives and adverbial clauses.

---

[166] Noonan's model includes however predicates of fearing, cf. Noonan (2012:130).

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 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 relativized item is indefinite, relativization is prone to be realised by means of coordination or asyndetically. Finally, my data have confirmed the accurateness of the Accessibility Hierarchy, demonstrating that subject and direct object are the two most relativized positions in Jewish Gabes.

The investigation of adverbial clauses made 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 grammaticalized 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 have utilized the model proposed by Givón and Kortmann, which allowed me to demonstrate different aspects of temporal dependency (Givón 1990 II:330, Kortmann 1997:80). In addition, I have argued that some classes utilize coordination in order to render adverbial relations. This was the case in some temporal clauses, as well as manner and coordinative 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. From the historical point of view, it has been demonstrated that CA utilizes three types of complements depending on the semantics of the main predicate. Subsequently, a semantic taxonomy of predicates taking

complements was presented. Each class of complements has been specified with respect to the 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 particle *lắžəm, məlžűm aʕl* and *yəlžəm* + personal pronoun. Finally, it has been demonstrated that some predicates, like for example desiderative, bring about raising of the complement subject to the position of the direct object of the matrix predicate.

4.6. Expressions of tense and aspect in Jewish Gabes

4.6.1. Introduction

There is a general scholarly consensus that the verb system of modern Arabic dialects incorporates both aspect and tense coding devices (Eisele 1991:193; Brustad 2000:203). [167] Indeed, these two categories are inextricably linked, and both participate in expressing events. However, Brustad, after comparing data from several dialects, reaches the conclusion that it is aspect that prevails in the verb system of spoken Arabic, and indicates that separate mechanisms are used to convey time (Brustad 2000:202). This might give the impression that all the Arabic dialects code aspect and tense in an equal way. Not surprisingly, that is far from correct. The dialects in fact display immense differences in their verb 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 is, therefore, to present a thorough investigation of the relationship between tense and aspect in Jewish Gabes and of its wider contextualization in relation to other Arabic dialects. Comparative material has been excerpted from Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964, 1975), Muslim Tunis (interview with an informant), ʿAulād Msalləm (Simeone-Senelle 1985), Bedouin dialect of Douz in Southern Tunisia (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011, 2014), and Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005). The introductory remarks comprise a short presentation of the verb system of Jewish Gabes, as well as discussion on the origin of the /ka-/ preverbal particle. In the second part of the chapter, I demonstrate that the p-stem

---

[167] It is worth noting that the debate on the nature of the verb 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 the scholarship of Semitic languages, the best example being Biblical Hebrew.

and the s-stem in Jewish Gabes are mostly aspectual, and their temporal value is imparted by external elements. Subsequently, I discuss the expressions of perfect in modern Tunisian dialects, where, as will be shown, there are salient functional divergences between Jewish and Muslim varieties. I provide an explanation of this phenomenon involving a Northwest Semitic substrate underlying the Jewish dialects. The final part of the chapter deals with the compound forms of the p-stem (*/qāᶜd/, /qāᶜ/, /ḵa/, /kān/ and /ḥābb/*).

4.6.2. Syntax of verbs in Jewish Gabes

The structure of verb phrase in Jewish Gabes comprises the following primary elements: the verb itself, preverbal particles or auxiliary verbs, negation particles. The inventory of the last two elements differs from dialect to dialect. This issue will be analysed more closely in the part that follows.

The two basic forms of the verb in Jewish Gabes are called in the present study the s-stem) (*fᶜəl*) and p-stem (*yəfᶜəl*). 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 the light of the distinction between lexical and formal (viewpoint) aspect, and the possible tense-related implication it might bear. Thus, in order to avoid any imprecisions, in what follows I will be using a terminology based on morphology. Moreover, the term 'perfect' in some studies designates a specific aspectual value coded formally by the active participle (Brustad 2000:142, Eisele 1990(1):173). As will be shown in the subsequent section, 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: mā verb + /š/ clitic, and (2) predicate negation expressed by the particle *muš*.

4.6.3. Distinction between preverbal particles and auxiliaries

The emergence of preverbal particles in any language is closely related to its internal, diachronic processes of grammaticalization and morphological reduction (Owens 1998:105). The category of preverbal particles in Jewish Gabes is interconnected with the role 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 as frozen particles on the other. Their double nature seems to present some difficulties for the analysis of Arabic dialects. Harrell classifies under the category of 'auxiliaries' in Moroccan both those items lacking full conjugation and those with regular verbal forms (1962:178). Contrary to this, Eisele, when investigating auxiliaries in Egyptian Arabic, sets out four features they display, one of them being obligatory subject coferntiality among members of the verb phrase (1992:160). In the present section, following Eisele, a clear distinction between those two categories is made. Thus, lexical items lacking full conjugation will be classified as preverbal particles, while verbs coreferential with the subject will be grouped under the category of auxiliary.

4.6.4. The origin of preverbal particles in Jewish Gabes

Four preverbal particles can be distinguished in Jewish Gabes. They stem from two separate verbal forms, i.e., *qāʕəd* and *kān*. The first particle is an uninflected form of

the AP *qāʿəd.* As I shall argue, this form gave rise to a number of clitics, the most obvious being *qāʿ* which presumably emerged due to the loss of the final consonant, which might have taken place after it underwent devoicing to [t] and subsequent assimilation to the [t] conjugation prefix of the 2SG, 3FS and 2PL.[168] The two other particles are /ḵā-/[169] and *kān.* While the latter is no doubt a grammaticalized form of the 3MSG 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 conjugation morpheme /n-/ of the 1SG/PL. As will be shown later, this explanation does not hold water in the light of the data. Alternatively, as I shall argue, it developed from the participle *qāʿəd,* being the next stage in the development of the particle *qāʿ.*[170]

As reflected in emphasis spread, the sound [q] in Jewish Gabes is the weakest of the emphatic consonants. The sound [q] could have, therefore, undergone de-emphaticization, turning into the unaspirated stop [k]. It also is 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 realization of [ʿ] in the dialect is much weaker than

---

[168] The tendency of the preverbal particles to assimilate to the personal prefixes of the main verb has already been pointed out by Stewart, who gives an example of the Egyptian /bi-/ clitic turning into /mi-/ in the 1PL, i.e., *minākul* 'we are eating,' instead of * *binākul* (Stewart 1998:117).

[169] In the transcription unaspirated stop is represented as [ḵ], while its aspirated counterpart as /k/.

[170] A similar phenomenon of phonetic reduction of a preverbal element is attested in Neo-Aramaic dialects, where the /bət/ particle in the construction *bət-qaṭəl* 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.'

in other varieties of Arabic, especially the eastern ones. Instances of the elision of [ˤ] are also attested in neighbouring Jewish Tripoli, where one occasionally finds the form *ča* being a truncated version of the genitive exponent *čˤa*.[171]

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.[172] Another explanation of the reduction of this vowel could be a de-grammaticalization of the original verb form. As pointed out by Stewart, some clitics emerge due to the loss of a personal prefix, by which they become grammatically dependent items (Stewart 1998:118). In the form *qāˤəd* the long [ā] vowel is central for coding the grammatical function of the active participle and therefore its reduction to a short [a] might 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 *qāˤəd*. The reconstruction is based on the following phonological processes leading to the emergence of the particle /ḵa-/ in Jewish Gabes:

qāˤəd > *qāˤət > qāˤ > *qaˤ >*qa > ḵa

The process described above involves a number of cross-linguistic phenomena involving broadly understood language change which have been under investigation the past few decades (DeLancey 1997, Bybee 2003, Aarts 2004). Namely, as

---

[171] 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.

[172] M. Cohen 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 *ˤammāl* > *ˤa*) (1924:57-58).

demonstrated above, the evolution of active participle *qāʿəd* towards a progressivity marker was furnished by the subsective gradience of this form, which, in turn, has led to its reanalysis and subsequent grammaticalization.[173] Moreover, the sequence of synchronically attested forms: *qāʿəd > qāʿ > ḵa*, demonstrates that the process underlying this change consists of a number of micro-changes, which represents a gradual development. In other words, the case of the /ḵa-/ particle and its derivatives constitutes a point of intersection between the synchronic gradience, and gradualness, which by its nature is diachronic (Traugott and Trousdale 2010:22). The coexistence of the full verb form alongside the auxiliary and clitics deriving from it in Jewish Gabes, offers therefore a unique insight into the dynamics of language change.

4.6.5. The particle /ka-/ in other dialects

The occurrence of the progressive marker /ka-/ is not limited in fact to Jewish Gabes. In a comparative study of a vast variety of Arabic dialects (stretching from Morocco to Iraq) conducted by Agius and Harrak, it is argued that numerous dialects from different sub-groups utilize morphological variants of this particle (1987:164-180). Agius and Harrak argue the source of all such particles to be the modal participle *qāʿid*. Regarding Moroccan, however, Stewart calls their claim into question, arguing that the Moroccan particle /ka-/ derives from the perfective form of the verb *kān* used in conditional clauses (1998:104). Its development from marking conceptual dependency within conditional apodoses to denoting every type of the indicative

---

[173] As explained by Aarts, the subsective gradience designates 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, the intersective gradience refers to the membership of one element to different categories (e.g., some adverbs can mimic the adjective) (Aarts 2004:361).

mood seems to parallel the expansion of the particle /b-/ in other dialects. Owens argues that marking evidentiality with /b-/ was facilitated by its usage in sequences of verbs occurring in narratives. This stage of development is exemplified by Nigerian Arabic (Owens 2018:243). 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, a similar development is evidenced in some NENA dialects, where the construction *bət-qaṭəl* - originally used in the apodosis of conditional clauses - acquired new functions and started denoting indicative habitual events with discourse dependency (Khan 2020). Khan explains this by means of construction grammar, whereby syntactic spread takes place due to a cognitive schematisation of grammatical constructions.

The model argued 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 /ḵa-/ denoting the progressive. Rather, Jewish Gabes /ḵa-/ is more likely to originate in *qāʕəd*. In support of this, I present two arguments, one phonetic, and the other syntactic. Firstly, within Jewish Gabes, the [ḵ] of the particle differs from the [k] in *kān* in terms of aspiration. While the [ḵ] of the particle is unaspirated, the [k] in *kān* is conspicuously aspirated [kʰ]. 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 the further development to [č], e.g., in

Baghdadi Arabic (Holes 1991:655). [174] In Jewish Gabes /k̲a-/, the unaspirated allophone indicates therefore the uvular origin of this consonant.

The second argument is the clear syntactic distinction between the use of *kān* and the /k̲a-/ particle and other forms deriving from *qāʕd*. Whereas *kān* marks past habitual events and occasionally fulfils contrastive function (cf. the following paragraph), the latter particles are functionally interchangeable and denote progressivity, albeit with different time references.[175]

4.6.6. Origin and distribution of /kān/ + p-stem construction

The function of *kān* in Jewish Gabes is relatively similar to that of CA. According to Marmorstein, the auxiliary *kāna* in CA functions as a temporal adapter, which expresses anteriority of the predominantly aspectual predicate (2016:68). In addition, as pointed out by Nebes (1982), it denotes past tense, where the time reference cannot be retrieved from the context. Jewish Gabes utilizes both *kān*, a frozen form of the verb 'to be,' i.e., a preverbal particle, as well as 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 cliticization of the verb 'to be.'

It appears, therefore, that in Jewish Gabes two separate developments led to the emergence of two distinct particles, i.e., /ka-/, from *qāʕd* which marks a

---

[174] In some dialects, like for example in the Arabic spoken in 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.

[175] This issue will be further discussed in the analysis.

progressive event, and *kān* denoting past, predominantly habitual events. The distribution of those particles will be analysed in greater detail below.

4.6.7. Aspect and tense – theoretical remarks

The relationship between tense and aspect in some languages can be confusing, leading to imprecise conclusions.[176] It is crucial, therefore, to draw clear distinctions between the two categories 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.

4.6.7.1. Aspect

Aspect can be generally defined as the shape of the event expressed by the verb.[177] 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 characterizing an event.[178] A situation, therefore, can be viewed as perfective, i.e., viewed as temporally bounded or imperfective, i.e., expressing duration in time without indicating whether it ended or not (Forsyth 1970:347). The distinction between those two categories also entails considering the way in which they are presented. Perfective thus presents the

---

[176] As pointed out by Comrie, there is a conceptual and terminological confusion of those terms in the scholarship of Romance languages (1976:94). The weakness of the terminology has been also observed by Eisele (1991:76) in the study of Woidich (1975) on active participle forms in Cairene Arabic.

[177] For the history of the scholarship of aspect and the questions it poses see Binnick (1991:135-158).

[178] As argued by Sasse, presently it is 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 (2002:201).

situation as a whole, while imperfective focuses on its phasal nature and is seen from within (Comrie 1976:16). Although no unequivocal definition of aspect exists, it could be tentatively assumed that cross-linguistically, the imperfective is associated with continual, habitual and generic meaning, while the perfective has punctual, iterative and resultative connotations (Binnick 1991:156). In addition, aspect can be divided into two subgroups, namely, formal, 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 grammaticalized, 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). It 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 those classes

and the verb morphology that tells us how a language expresses aspect. In general terms, it can be assumed, that the s-stem 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 distinguished between four classes of lexical aspect: states (like, desire, want, etc.), activity (run, walk, swim, etc.), achievement (lose, find, recognize, 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 (Vendler 1957). A more detailed classification based on lexical aspect and its relationship with verb system in Jewish Gabes will be proposed below.

4.6.7.2. 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, Perkins & Pagliuca 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 verb 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; Horesh 2011; Brustad 2000:203). If this is indeed the case, a question arises as to what extent Arabic verb 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 those studies seem to converge and

confirm that the only tense feature stable across various dialects is the past encoded by the s-stem.[179] 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.[180] 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 system for temporal structure of verbs (1947). 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 the 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 present the temporal dimension of a verb in relation to the time of speaking and (2) relative time reference, which defines the time of an event in relation to another event (Comrie 1976:ii, Reichenbach 1947). As pointed out by Brustad, and as the following analysis will prove, the Arabic tense system in the main clause is closely related to the speech time. On the other

---

[179] Even to this rule there are some exceptions. As demonstrated by Horesh (2011), in Palestinian Arabic some stative verbs in s-stem might have non-past reference.

[180] The complexity of the p-stem and its dependence on the discourse has been also observed for CA (Marmorstein 2016:239).

hand, the time reference of the dependent clause is determined by the main clause (2000:204).

4.6.8. Analysis

In the following section I shall analyse the aspectual and temporal functions of the verb system in Jewish Gabes. I will argue that the verb without any overt time expression in this dialect is 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, one which was based on data provided by a female informant from Aˤulād Msalləm (26km north from Sfax).[181] Unfortunately, the religious 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, that is the only available study on aspect and tense in Tunisian Arabic, and 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 principal forms, namely imperfective (fr. *inaccompli*), associated with unfinished, ongoing events, and perfective (accompli) which express completed, temporally-bounded actions. This binary opposition, in turn, has evolved in order to enable the rendering of the notion of concomitance, which is understood as the co-occurrence of an event with another state of affairs—speech time or another point of reference invoked in the utterance (Simeone-Senelle 1985:58). Thus, the concomitant

---

[181] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof.essor Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle for sharing her article with me and providing me with some insightful comments on Tunisian Arabic.

form of the imperfective is the actual or relative present, while the concomitance of the perfective is expressed by the perfect, expressing a past event concomitant with the present (as opposed to a non-concomitant aorist in some languages, which does not have any additional time dimension).

The conclusions of the study in question and the verb forms provided by the informant substantially differ from the state of affairs in Jewish Gabes. As I shall argue, this dialect does not express perfect in the same way as ʿAulād 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), nor 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.

4.6.8.1. Plain forms

4.6.8.1.1.   P-stem

The temporal value of the p-stem is undefined and strongly dependent on the context. It is compatible with the following lexical and viewpoint types of aspect. For lexical aspect, I adopt Vendler's lexical aspect classes (3.1 above).

Lexical Aspect Class

(I) State

(1) l-kbī́ra **tʕárəf** li ma ʕandáš šəmm (4:121)
     The old one knew she did not have any poison.

(2) qā́llu la **nʕárfək** u la žī́tni u la šə́ftək (6:23)
     He told him: I do not know you, and you did not come to me and I have never seen you.

In both (1) and (2) the time reference is past.

(II) activity

(3) **yəmšī́u** l-əl-bḥar kul nhār ᴴᴱšəbbā́tᴴᴱ

     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 (4), and, according to Simeone-Senelle's terminology, concomitant forms, accompanied by a lexical 'actualizer,' i.e., an adverb indicating its future reference (5):

(4) anā́ **nʕā́wnək**
     I will help you.
(5) ġúdwa **nžī́blək** əl-flū́š
     Tomorrow I will bring you money.

Viewpoint Aspect

(I) habitual

Both past and present habits can be expressed by means of this form:

(6) **yə́qʕadu** kul lī́la u **yəṣallī́u**
     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, it can also encode the present.

(II) progressive

(7) tə́mma wɑ́ḥəd **yəxáll** fúmmu wa **yəšténna** ḥatt əl-blɑ́ḥ yətɑ́ḥu fi-fúmmu
     (2:15)
There is a man, he opens his mouth and waits until the dates fall into his mouth.
 As the above example demonstrates, 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.

4.6.8.1.2.   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

(I) activity

(8) húwa **žra** wa **xda** ʿaṣɑ́ u **dṛə́bbā** dárha (2:33)
     He ran and took a stick and hit her on the back.
(II) accomplishment

(9) šə́ddi ṣəlṭɑ́n bə́ntek ẓ-zɣɑ́ra **bnāt** əq-qṣɑ́ṛ (2:87)
     Your majesty, it is your youngest daughter who has built this castle.
(III) achievement

(10) **fáhmu** tə́mma wɑ́ḥəd hū́ni (4:36)
       They realised that someone was here.
As demonstrated, in all the above examples the s-stem has a past time reference.

Viewpoint Aspect

The s-stem is compatible with lexemes implying iterative and perfect meaning:

(I) Iterative

(11) **šə́lləf** mə́nni flūš tlā́ta maṛṛā́t

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, this is encoded by the s-stem in Jewish Gabes.[182] Thus, an immediate past that bears a relation to the present is expressed by s-stem:

(12) ṭū́wa **xrəž**

He has just gone out.

Similarly, the s-stem also expresses a resultative meaning:

(13) - ʿalāš ə́nti ʿaīti?   - ṭū́wa **kəmmə́lt** taṇḍī́f tʿa dār

      - *why are you tired?*   - *I have just finished cleaning the house.*

Such usages of the s-stem with perfect meaning as in Jewish Gabes (12-13) are in fact found in ʿAulād Msalləm as well, especially with certain verbs of movement and perception (Simeone-Senelle 1985:71). However, in addition to those, there is a significant group of verbs in that dialect which express the perfect through the *fāʿil* pattern, i.e., the historical AP. This includes verbs of perception, such as 'to understand,' 'to hear,' 'to see,' but also various telic and atelic verbs, such as 'to buy,' 'to run,' 'to give birth.' The following examples are taken from Simeone-Senelle

---

[182] In Arabic dialects outside of North-Africa, the perfect meaning of the active participle is a wide-spread phenomenon (Brustad 2000:182).

(1985). In the subsequent section they will be contrasted with analogous examples from Jewish Gabes:

(14) **fáhma** əd-dərs?
Have you understood the lesson?

(15) **bǽni** filla kebíra lǽken baʕída ʕal-bled
He has built a big house, but it is far away from the city.

(16) he-r-rážel **šári** əž-žmel
This man has just bought a camel.

(17) əl-mrā **wēlda**
The woman has given birth.

As can be seen from the above examples, the *fāʕil* pattern in ʕAulād Msalləm covers several types of perfect such as resultative (16), and recent past (17).[183] According to Simeone-Senelle, the distribution of the s-stem and *fāʕil* pattern is somewhat inconsistent and certain verbs appear in both forms with perfect meaning, however, the informant notes that *fāʕil* expresses a longer duration from the speaker's point of view in the present (1985:72).

By contrast, Jewish Gabes never utilizes the active participle to encode the perfect. Instead, to render the recent past, it employs the s-stem with an adverbial 'actualizer.' 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 those forms will be discussed in detail in the section on the AP) and instead proposed the following:

(18) **fhəmt** əd-dərš?

---

[183] For different types of perfect see: Comrie (1976:56).

Have you understood the lesson?

(19) **bnā** filla kbī́ra ā́ma baʿī́da mən əl-blād
He has built a big house, but it is far away from the city.

(20) hāk ər-rā́žel ṭū́wa **srā** əž-žməl
This man has just bought the camel.

(21) əl-mrā **wə́ldət**
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 (Brustad 2000:183). By contrast, in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:308) I have found only one occurrence of the AP, which Yoda translates using the English present perfect:

(22) ṣ-ṣəḷṭan qaʿəd məzzalu **ṭayəḥ**
The Sultan's luck has run out.

On the other hand, there are numerous instances of the resultative state which is expressed by the s-stem:

(23) aná xalčǝk u **žič** mən bʿid u nḥəṃ ṇaṛak
(…) 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 perfect.[184] However, there are numerous cases of the s-stem clearly used in perfect context. The following passage comes from a story about an alleged appearance of a comet in the sky. One of the characters, who

---

[184] Other usages of this form in Jewish Tunis will be mentioned in the section on the active participle.

has not seen the comet, asks a random person about the reason for the panic in the city. The person answers:

(24) mnīḥ mā qās tšūf? əddənya māš tūfa baʿbūṣ ənnəžma **xrəž**
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 present of the dialogue. 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:[185]

(25) hī́ya **ġā́sla** šʿáṛha
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 split between Jewish and Muslim dialects in the encoding of the perfect, with a strong preference among Jewish dialects to express that aspect by the s-stem.[186]

---

[185] The example was provided by Professor Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun in private correspondence with the author.

[186] 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 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 higher occurrence than the English perfect (for example, it is possible to combine it with time specification, which is

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 the s-stem for the expression of perfect in Jewish Gabes.

4.6.8.1.3.   Active participle *fāʕil*

As presented above, in many Arabic dialects the *fāʕil* pattern, historically the active participle, bears the meaning of a perfect. Scholars of Arabic highlight the resultative (Brustad 2000:183) and stative (Eisele 1990) nature of this form.[187] In other words, it denotes a state with relevance to speech time. In addition to this principal meaning, Brustad also notes that the active participle of verbs of motion indicates a progressive action (2000:185).[188]

In Jewish Gabes the active participle does not have the meaning of a perfect. It denotes events ongoing at speech time. Its distribution is limited to a semantically heterogenous 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

---

ungrammatical in English). Therefore, the sentence: *Carlos ha llegado* in *Castellano* and *Norteño* would be rendered in Argentinian Spanish: *Carlos llegó* '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 separatism is one of the possible factors.

[187] The term 'stative' is rather inaccurate considering the class of lexical aspect also designated 'stative.'

[188] The double meaning of the active participle has been explained by Brustad. 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., *māši* 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' (Brustad 2000:186).

active participles occurring in the textual corpus and in conversations with the informants:

Table 22: Most common active participles in Jewish Gabes

wāqəf	standing
ʿārəf	understanding
māši	going / walking
rāqəd	sleeping
šārəb	drinking
wākəl	eating
šāyəf	looking
qāʿəd	sitting
šāri	buying
rākəb	riding
ʿāyəš	living
lābəš	wearing

It is worth noting that not every verb can form an active participle. Moreover, the informant has pointed out that some of the forms on the list above are acceptable, but a p-stem form preceded by *qāʿəd* would sound more natural. Specifically, the active participles *māši, rāqəd, wāqəf, lābəš,* and *qāʿəd* were considered the most acceptable whereas the active participles *šārəb* and *wākəl* were deemed as sounding more natural in the *qāʿəd* + p-stem construction. The informant also rejected some forms occurring in Simeone-Senelle's study, namely: *žāri* 'running,' *qābəl* 'accepting,' *wālda* 'giving birth,' *fāhəm* 'understanding,' indicating that they sounded unnatural.

It should be noted that the distribution of the active participle expressing the perfect in Muslim Tunis also seems to be restricted. It is not possible in Muslim Tunis to

express the perfect of recent past by means of the *fāʿil* pattern. Instead, *ma-zə́lt-ki*[189] + s-stem is used.[190]

(26) ma-zə́lt-ki **xrəž**
He has just gone out.

(27) ma-zə́lt-ki **ṅḍəft** əḍ-ḍāṛ
I have just cleaned the house.

An alternative construction for expressing a very recent event is /tawawī́n/ + s-stem:

(28) əl-film ṭawawī́n **bda'**
The film has just started.

In this usage, Muslim Tunis converges with Jewish Gabes, which utilizes *ṭūwa* + s-stem to express the perfect of recent past, but differs from ʿAulād Msalləm, which uses the *fāʿil* scheme in this context (cf. example (3) above).

Nonetheless, Muslim Tunis utilizes the active participle to express a resultative aspect, describing a state in speech time that results from a past event:

(29) šə́ftu hadə́ka? **bắni** dār kbī́ra
Did you see that man? He has built a big house.

(30) - šbī́ha ma žī́tš?   - mắhi **wélda** ždī́da
      - Why did not she come?   *- She has given birth.*

As noted, the use of the active participle to express the perfect occurs across the Muslim varieties of Arabic, as exemplified from three different dialects:

(31) hād-əl-ktāb āna **qāṛəh**
Je l'ai lu, ce livre! (Moroccan, Caubet 1993:231)

---

[189] This construction is apparently a variant of *ma-zal-kif* appearing in Singer's grammar of Muslim Tunis (1984:651).

[190] I am deeply indebted to Mr. Anis Mokni for providing the above examples and for sharing his insightful comments on Muslim Tunis.

(32) ḥaliyyan **muxtārtu**

As of now, I have chosen him. (Syrian, Brustad 2000:189)

(33) l-kahraba **wāṣla***?*

Has the electricity arrived? (Kuwaiti, Brustad 2000:189)

4.6.8.1.4.   The divergent use of the active participle in Muslim and Jewish varieties suggesting a northwest Semitic substrate underlying Jewish varieties

As the previous sections have demonstrated, Jewish and Muslim dialects utilize 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 generally to denote the resultative perfect. I have shown that this differing usage is not limited geographically but rather appears to be an isogloss distinguishing Judeo-Arabic from its Muslim counterparts in general. This phenomenon is, therefore, very likely rooted deeper in the cultural and historical development of the two communities, suggesting a different substrate underlying Judeo-Arabic. I would like to offer here a few possible explanations, related to 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 the 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, forming in this way 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 being spoken in the coastal cities, while the latter is used in the hinterland (Aguadé 2018:34).

A fundamental question in our case is what was the language of everyday communication of the first Jewish communities in North Africa, and especially before they began speaking Arabic.[191] There is, however, little to no documentation 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 Northwest 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 Northwest 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 2018:209-210) and in Punic (Krakhmalkov 2001:199-200) the syntax of the active participle generally parallels that of modern Judeo-Arabic. Already in pre-Islamic Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and closely related dialects, it is integrated into the verb system and, by replacing the p-

---

[191] Although the sources on the first Jewish settlements in North Africa are very scant, it can be assumed that a Northwest Semitic language was imported to North Africa due to the resettlement of the Jewish population from Palestine. According to the treatise of Josephus Flavius *Against Apion* II, the beginning of Jewish presence in the area west of Egypt is related to the decision of King Ptolemy Lagi (328-285) to settle Jews from Palestine in the Libyan city of Cyrene, which he had 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 suggests that before the Roman conquest, the Jews living in the area corresponding to today's Tunisia were using Punic (1991:22).

stem, encodes present and immediate future (Stevenson 1924:56, Gzella 2015:302, Bunis 2018:209-210). Moreover, this usage was 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 northeast of Damascus. In these dialects, the historic active participle has retained the function of expressing 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, codes perfect (Bunis 2021).

I have noted that in the modern Judeo-Arabic of Gabes, the active participle is employed with a limited group of semantically heterogenous verbs. However, the common denominator of those verbs is their prevalence in day-to-day usage. It could be argued that due to their high occurrence, they preserve the Aramaic syntax, while less common verbs were more susceptible to assimilation into the Arabic verb system. With those 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. In Aramaic, it is one of the features that distinguishes it 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, the more one moves from east to west, the more the vowel reduction becomes conspicuous (1977:24). Indeed, the Maghrebi Arabic vocalic material is much poorer in comparison to any eastern dialect. Below one can find a short comparison between selected eastern and western dialects:

Table 23: Vowel distribution in Eastern and Western dialects of Arabic

Eastern	Western	
kammalat	*kəmməlt*	'she finished'
Ṣanʿānī (Watson 1993:138)	Jewish Gabes	
xashim	*xšəm*	'nose'
Gulf (Holes 1990:286)	Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:345)	
katab	*ktəb*	'he wrote'
Cairene (Eisele 1990:174)	Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1975:95)	
thalātha	*tláta*	'three'
Gulf (Holes 1990:293)	Jewish Algiers (Cohen 1912:365)	

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 (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2011:25, 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, who proposed two separate and independent developments in the two language groups (2013:173). If we accept this assumption, the question remains what triggered the reductive tendency in sedentary Arabic in 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 were aimed at presenting similarities between Jewish North African Arabic and Aramaic, especially Palestinian 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 requires 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.

4.6.8.2. Compound forms

4.6.8.2.1.   /qāʿd/, /qāʿ/, /ḵa/ + p-stem

The origin of those preverbal particles has been proposed in the section on the verb system in Jewish Gabes. Essentially, I argue that both /qāʿ/ and /ḵa/ derive from /qāʿd/ and that they reflect different stages within a process of cliticization. The *qāʿd* particle is attested in both inflected (35) and uninflected (34) forms:

(34)   wən mšīt wən hrábt **qāʿd** yəbkī́u (3:41)
       Where have you gone, where have you disappeared, they were weeping.

(35)   hī́ya **qāʿda** tʿáyyəṭ
       She is screaming.

Example (34) demonstrates how the MSG form of the active participle has become frozen. This form, in turn, undergoes further truncation, as outlined below:

(36)   aná̄ ṭū́wwa **qāʿ** nḥáḍḍar fi-l-má̄kla

322

I am now preparing food.

(37) ʿašíya əl-wəlád **ka**-yáklu wa šáfu əl-žmál ža (4:109)

    In the evening the boys were eating and saw the camel coming.

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 also used with ingressive verbs indicating 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 (35) above and further examples from Jewish Tunis, which also include prefix forms of the root /qʿd/:[192]

(38) ḥína bāb əḍḍāṛ **yóqʿəd** maḥlúl u **qāʿdín** yádəxlu əžžirán wəlfāmílya kolla

    Maintenant, la porte de la maison reste ouverte, et les voisins et toute la famille ne cessent d'entrer.

(39) ənnāš ləkbāṛ **yoqʿədu** yəddúyu

    Les grandes personnes bavardent (Cohen 1964:28)

On the other hand, /qāʿ/ 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:

(40) əlbənt ləkbira qalč **qa** čədwi ləxča qaltla

    The elder sister said, while speaking to her sister, she said to her (…) (Yoda 2005:298)

(41) ṃṣugṛa duwčək li **qa** čədwi fia?

    Is your story that you are telling certain? (Yoda 2005:300)

---

[192] I have not found any truncated forms of /qāʿəd/ in Jewish Tunis.

(42)   u kif čaṛaw ləqmə́žža **qa** čġənni
       And when you see the shirt singing (…) (Yoda 2005:306)

Therefore, it can tentatively be established that the inflected forms of the active participle *qāᶜǝd* serve to denote strictly present events, while its truncated variations mark both past and present. However, the common denominator of all of them is to express ongoing, durative events.

4.6.8.2.2.   /kān/ + p-stem

As in the case of *qāᶜǝd*, I argue that *kān* undergoes a similar process of cliticization. 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:

(43)   qbǝl **kānu** nša yú̄ldu fi-l-gitú̄n
       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 section on the distribution of the particle /ka-/ in various dialects of Arabic, this indeed seems to be the case in Moroccan, where the use of /ka-/ was expanded from conditional clauses to marking the indicative mood in general (Brustad 2000:234, Stewart 1998:104). The data explicitly indicates that this is not, though, a plausible explanation for 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

qāʿəd and /ḵa-/ as markers of durative, ongoing events is identical. In addition, in the section on the preverbal particles in Jewish Gabes, I presented the phonological change explaining the origin of /-ḵa/ in *qāʿəd*. Therefore, although the /ka-/ particles which occurs in Moroccan and Jewish Gabes Arabic are homonyms, they have notably different function and origins.

4.6.8.2.3.   ḥābb + p-stem

This construction is one of the ways of expressing the predictive future in Jewish Gabes. In natural, fast speech one can also find the variant *ḥabb*. It derives from the active participle of the volitive verb *ḥābb* 'to want.' It seems, however, that the original meaning of this form has been lost, and, in a similar fashion to *qāʿəd* and *kān*, *ḥābb* is in the process of cliticization and a semantic shift from volitive to future marker. Its dependent character is also reflected in the Jewish Tunis construction *ḥabb-iqūl*, translated literally by Cohen as 'ce qui veut dire,' i.e., 'which means,' 'in other words.' Let us consider the following two examples:

(44)   hū́wa **ḥābb** yʿárəš mʿa bənt əṣ-ṣəltā́n
       He is going to get married to the sultan's daughter.

(45)   anā́ fi-bā́li ə́lli hū́wa mūš **ḥabb** yə́rbaḥ
       I think he is not going to win.

While *ḥābb* in the former 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 a volitive verb to predictive future marker is also a feature of other Arabic dialects, e.g., the Kuwaiti future marker /b-/ developed from the imperfective stem *yabi* 'he wants' (Brustad 2000:242, Owens 2018:206). Outside the Semitic context,

there are numerous examples of this process, e.g., the Greek future marker $\theta\alpha$ presumably derives from $\theta\dot{\varepsilon}\lambda\omega$ meaning 'I want' (Pappas & Joseph 2001). Some Arabic dialects, on the other hand, utilize variants of the verb 'to go' to render future reference, i.e., Syrian *raḥ* and Egytpain /ḥa-/ (Brustad 2000:242).[193] The same strategy is employed in Jewish Tunis:

(46) **mā̌š** nədű́yu ˤla wắḥəd ulə́d
      Nous allons parler d'un garçon (…) (Cohen 1964:28)

Nonetheless, in Jewish Gabes this construction is not the only way of expressing 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, (44) and (45), with the following passages:

(47) qalə́tlu: ə́lli táḥkəm **yəṣĭ́r** (7:83)
      She told him: whatever you decide will happen.

(48) anɑ́ yəžiű́ni fi-n-nhɑ́r u fi-l-lĭ́l **nṣɑ́̌wər** mˤak u l-mḥákma **tṣār** bərk mən ġádwa (7:91)
      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.

Example (47) 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

---

[193] In Kuwaiti and Syrian dialects there are two futures particles, i.e., /b-/ and /raḥ/ which mark respectively epistemic and deontic future (Brustad 2000:241).

promise, the form used by her is in p-stem. Similarly, example (48) is a statement of the sultan's regarding his future relationship with his wife. Hence, both forms used by him are in p-stem, as the occurrence of the future events is certain.

In sum, the two ways of expressing 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 intentive, low-probability mood and epistemic future; while events expressed by the p-stem are characterized by high probability, factual events. This distinction, thus, mirrors the two particles marking epistemic and deontic future in Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects. It is also worth noting that the functional expansion of *ḥābb* from volitive towards a modal epistemic usage is another manifestation of the subsective gradience, exemplified by the active participle *qāʿəd*. Aarts proposes the following scheme of the verbal gradient evolving towards modality: main verb > catenative > semi-auxiliary > modal idiom > marginal idiom > central modal (2007:98). Nonetheless, as argued by Traugott and Truesdale (2010:30), more widespread cross-linguistically is a gradual acquisition of modality by a single verb form. The reanalysis of the Jewish Gabes active participle *ḥābb* as a modality marker corroborates this assumption.

4.6.9. Aspect in narrative

As has been observed by Brustad, narratives are particularly important source of knowledge about both aspect and tense in any language, due to the abundance of forms and construction they represent (2000:186). 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 called them respectively foreground and background (1979:231). As one can expect, the two types of narrative strategies will interact in different ways with the aspect.

The findings of Brustad's analysis seem to confirm Hopper's statement that perfective forms serve to foreground the narrative, while the imperfective ones create the background of main events. This strategy is also prominent is Jewish Gabes, as exemplified by the following excerpt:

(1) tə́mma wā́ḥad, **yə́qʿaḍ** táḫt ṣə́ẓra tʿa blā̄ḥ, **yəxáll** fúmmu wa **yštə́nna** ḥatt əl-blā̄ḥ yətã́ḥu fi-fúmmu, fə-l-lã́xər hū́wa **yə́qʿad** əkāk, **žã́u** l-wúžra (2:15-16)

There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm, he would open his mouth and he would wait until the date falls into it; finally, when he was sitting like this, the ministers came.

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 and hence the s-stem. Similarly, background information can be marked by the preverbal particle /ka/:

(2) wuqt hū́wa **ka-yʿã́š** fi-l-nə́fṣ əl-līl, žā̄t wã́ḥda mṛa, žā̄t u lúwḥa ḥã́ža (2:32)

While he was guarding at midnight, a woman came, she came and threw something.

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:

(3) wắḥəd **mša** yə́ṭlab ya krî̃m tʕa álḷa **wuṣál** lə-d-dắr, **ḍrəḅḅ** əb-bắb, **yə́ṭlaḅ** (1:2-3)   *A man went to beg for money, he arrived at a house, knocked on the door and begged.*

(4) mə́ṛtu **ḥálllət** ẓərbə́yya u **tə́ṛqa** tắḥta žwabắt u **qrátam** (5:7)   *The wife lifted the carpet and found beneath the letters from the father and read them.*

In the passage (4) 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 expresses therefore a single event (Carruthers and Janice 2012).

As observed by Hooper, 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, durative aspects. The former is particularly prominent in sequences of verbs:

(5) hû̃wa **žra** wa **xda** ʕáṣa u **dṛə́bba** dárha u **hárbatlo** (2:33)   *He ran and took some branches and hit her back, but she escaped from him.*

(6) **žắu** mən xádma əl-lulắd, **də́xlu** u **ṛqắu** šubî̃rya (4:28)   *Boys came back from work, entered, and found the bowl.*

The above sequences involve kinetic verbs like 'run', 'take', 'hit' and 'enter'. On the other hand, as the examples (1) and (2) demonstrate, in the backgrounding were used stative and atelic verbs like: 'sit', 'wait', 'guard' etc.

3.5.10. Conclusions

This chapter was concerned with the ways the verb system of Jewish Gabes expresses tense and aspect. The central question was whether an isolated verb form has any temporal value or is it mostly aspectual. As I have demonstrated in the course of my analysis, the verb in Jewish Gabes encodes primarily 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 regarding the function of the *yafʿalu* pattern in CA (Marmorstein 2016:239).

A 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 with Moroccan Arabic. It is worth noting that the distribution of preverbal particles across the dialects of Arabic is uneven. Some dialects like for example Egyptian or Moroccan have developed particles marking 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 cliticization. Similarly, it has been argued that *kān* expressing past habituality and *ḥābb* used as future marker are undergoing the same process.

The present investigation was concerned also with different treatment of the *fāʿil* pattern across several Tunisian dialects. I have argued that, in contrast to Muslim

dialects, the Jewish ones do not utilize this form to express the perfect aspect. Presumably under the influence of Aramaic, this form is associated rather with present states and the 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 the article.

4.7. Word order

4.7.1. Theoretical preliminaries

The order of the sentence constituents (verb, subject, object) has been an object of interest of typologists in the past century (e.g., Greenberg 1966, Comrie 1981). Different combinations of those elements are associated with various discourse functions and appear in distinct types of utterance (Brustad 2000:320). On the Arabic ground, some scholars have repeatedly expressed the view that the word order predominating in the dialects is SVO, as opposed to the CA order VSO. This was observed, for example, in Egyptian Arabic by Gamaleldin (1967:58). On the other hand, El Yasin seems to be less radical and points out that both orders are equally represented, although SVO has become more natural and acceptable in the dialects in contradistinction to CA, where its usage was more limited (1985:107-8). From the typological point of view, Arabic shares some syntactic features with other VSO languages, i.e., post-nominal position of adjectives, or prepositions instead of postpositions (Brustad 2000:319, Ingham 1994:37).

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 1896 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, shift from foreground to background (Khan 1988:37). Moreover, in terms of type of utterance, Dahlgren observes that SV is much more frequently found in dialogues, than in narratives (2011). On the other hand, the VS order prevails in narratives. Dahlgren's analysis of an Early Arabic text clearly indicates that this type of order

occurs much more frequently than SV. This naturally is a consequence of the literary form of the text and its descriptive nature. Finally, in absence of an independent subject, the classical language permits also OV order with fronted, focused object.

A number of pragmatic factors can affect the 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 can convey personal attitudes and social relations. According to the terminology proposed by the two scholars, the former is called 'transactional', while the latter 'interactional'. As pointed out by Brustad, narratives, which are example of transactional language, tend to have stable topic and therefore the expected order is VS. On the other hand, in the 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.

4.7.2. Typological perspective

An important contribution to the investigation of word order patterns in the world's languages was study by Li and Thompson, which challenged the view that the basic structure of every language entails subject-predicate (henceforth: S-P) alignment (1976). 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 the languages can be: only subject prominent, only topic prominent, both subject and topic prominent, none of the categories is prominent. Although the study in question involves only a limited number of languages, and, as the scholars point out it is rather difficult to establish

what 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. Therefore, in what follows, 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.

4.7.3. 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 are of VSO type. On the other hand, binodal sentences consist of two elements, where the first is a given 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 OVS and SOV were detected.

SUBJECT – PREDICATE alignment
 VSO

1. kánət hak əl-xábža kbĩra ʿalĩya (1:37)   *The bread was too big for me.*
2. ṭálʿat ktĩba fi-l-ḥĩṭ (1:42)   *An inscription appeared on the wall.*

3. žắu əž-žnű́n qállu (2:63) — *The ghosts came and told him.*

4. táll'at əl-fəḷḷáya wa l-fəḷḷáya fíha šəmm (4:70) — *She took out the comb and the comb had a poison on it.*

5. ṭála't əl-xắdma, kān tə́šbaḥ fī (1:4) — *A handmaid went out and kept looking at him.*

6. fi-l-líl ḥaṭə́ṭlu ḅəns, raqdátu ráqda ḅríma, xdāt əl-frə́š nt'áhu, žắbət əl-xaddắma nt'áha u ḥawlátu l-ḥūš ḅaḅáha (7:84) — *At night she gave him sleeping drugs, she out him asleep, took his bed, brought his servants, and moved him to her father's premises.*

SVO

7. l-žbālíyya yắxdu ḥḅəll u kull yūm y'áqdu 'áqda — *The mountaineers would take a rope and every day they would tie a knot.*

8. wắḥəd mšā yə́ṭlab ya kərı́m t'a áḷḷa (1:2) — *A man went to beg for money.*

9. bə́ntek əl-zǵíra bnāt əq-qṣắṛ (2:87) — *It is youngest daughter who has built this castle.*

10. əl-'ábəd háda kān mḥáyyər (7:69) — *The man was worried.*

11. hű́wa ka-yə́mši əl-ṣəṭṭ əl-bḥár mḥayrắn, wa hı́ya qá'dət fi-l-balkűn šắfə́thu yə́mši (7:70) — *While he was walking worried on the beach, she sat down on the balcony and saw him walking.*

12. anắ ḥkə́mt 'alı́k u ə́nti ma wqəftís fi-kə́lmtək (7:82) — *I gave you a condition and you did not keep your promise.*

VOS

13. xarḅətə́nna múxna l-mṛa hắdi (7:53) — *This woman has messed with our heads!*

OSV

14. hắdi l-mṛa ə́nta txūd? (7:48) — *Are you going to marry this woman?*

4.7.4. Distinctive features of S-P sentences

Li and Thompson in their study (1976) have outlined main grammatical features of subject-prominent languages, simultaneously indicating points of divergence with the

topic-prominent type. The first difference is the definiteness of noun phrase, namely in contradistinction to the T-C type where the topic by principle is definite, in the S-P the noun can be also indefinite. This can be proven by indefinite-specific noun *wā́ḥəd* in the example (8), and by indefinite *ktī́ba* in (2). The noun, however, has to be in agreement with the verb, which conveys the kernel action of the information. As will be shown in the following part, this is not the case in the T-C structure, where fronted noun phrase is independent syntactically from the verb in the comment (Li and Thompson 1976:462). As a result of this assumption, one can infer that in the C-T 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 the functional point of view, subject orientates in the event and provides and insight into the action (1976:464). This is particularly conspicuous in verbs expressing experience, state etc. As far as the position in the sentence is concerned, the above passages indicate that subject can be located both before and after the verb. In addition, as has been observed by Li and Thompson, subject is involved in a number of grammatical processes, which are not possible in the case of topic (1976:465). Thus, for example, equi-deletion or verb serialization is possible only with subject.[194] This is exemplified by the passage (6), where the same subject, which occurred in the previous sentence, is correlated with every verb in the sequence.

4.7.5. 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

---

[194] The process of equi-deletion in Jewish Gabes was treated in the chapter on subordination.

the plot is moved forward by series of verbs. There is, however, a significant difference 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, building the plot of events. Hopper notices that foregrounding tends to be pragmatically unmarked. Since foregrounding moves the plot forward and is characterized by high dynamics, the new information is expressed mostly by predicates and the subject is very often presupposed, hence the VS order. This strategy is exemplified by the passages (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 introduced by the subject or the object. Therefore, one should expect the SVO/SOV order in commentary and description (Hopper 1977:220). 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, SVO very often is applied in order to express contrast between two entities, like in the passage (12). Another form of contrastive focus is exemplified by the passage (9), where SVO serves to single out one entity, i.e., a daughter, out of a group of the king's daughters.

TOPIC – COMMENT alignment
Topic is referred to in the comment as a complement of a preposition

15. hak əl-xábža yəžáyyəd fíha ṛə́bbi (1:15)   *The God will add to this bread.*

16. əl-ḥwā́yəž hắdu, škūn qāˤd yəfašə́rlək fíhəm? (7:26)   *Who explains you all these things?*

17. (ə)tláta battixất li bʿaṭəṭəm bə́ntək, fíhəm ramz (2:10)	*There is a hint in these three melons that your daughter has sent you.*
18. əl-mélex ṣárlu ʿažə́b hádi ḫáža əl-ʿabə́d (7:20)	*The king was amazed by this man.*

Topic is referred to in the comment by a personal pronoun

19. əl-ʿámla mšűma ʿamə́ltha (7:13)	*What a mistake I made.*
20. hadî́k əl-maqṣűfat šə́bʿa šnīn, nhar ḅaḅáha tʿádda u lqā əṣ-ṣəḷṭán (7:3)	*This girl cursed seven years, one day her father was passing and met him the sultan.*
21. əl-ḅṣə́l háda, tə́klu wə́lla yáklək? (7:8)	*This onion, you will eat it or it will eat you?*
22. əl-mə́lḥ, yəḥaṭṭű fi-ṣríra u la fi-qrəṭíṣ	*The salt, they put it in the pocket, and not in the box.*
23. hād əl-xábža ʿámri ma rātá́ ʿəyní (1:21)	*This bread, my eye has never seen one like this.*
24. aná̃, yəžiűni fi-n-nhắr u fi-l-líl nṣáwər mʿak (7:91)	*They will come to me in the daytime and at night I will consult with you.*

4.7.6. Grammatical features of T-C structures

Topic-comment sentences significantly differ from the S-P one in terms of structure and function. To begin with, applying once more the Ingham's terminology, this type of sentence is binodal, i.e., it consists of two pieces of information. The topic constitutes a known information, while in the comment the speaker delivers a new one. Since the identity of the topic is known for the collocutor, or is easily retrievable from their memory, the topic by principle 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 to the position in the sentence, topic is always fronted, in contradistinction to subject, which, as indicated above, can admit of different positions. In addition, T-C languages are characterized by low occurrence of passive constructions. Li and Thompson point out that some

languages do not have any form of passivization (Lahu, Lisu), while others, like for example Mandarin, make very sporadic usage of the passive voice in speech (1976:467). In Jewish Gabes, as has been indicated in the chapter on verb morphology, CA passive verb stems are obsolete and rarely appear in spoken language. T-C languages are also characterized by lack of so called 'dummy' subject constructions, which are common in languages having S-P alignment, e.g., 'it is raining' in English. Jewish Gabes, as other Arabic dialects, does not have this kind of constructions (Brustad 2000:333). On the other hand, dummy subjects occur often in impersonal expressions replacing the passive, e.g., *nə́qtəl* 'he was killed' > *yəqtlū́* 'they (dummy subject) killed him'. From the functional point of view, topic sets a thematical domain, in framework of which 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 preposition (17). Nonetheless, Brustad remarks that most of Li and Thompson's study is based on Mandarin, which does not utilize anaphoric reference (2000:336). In Arabic, on the other hand, anaphora occupies significant place in the syntax. Thus, lack of syntactic relation between topic and comment should not be regarded as argument against Jewish Gabes being a C-T language, as it would violate basic rules of this language.

4.7.7. SVO versus T-C

The question arises if SVO and topic-prominent sentences are congruent and fulfil the same functions. Khan in his study of word order in CA has argued that discourse

functions of the SV order converge with those of T-C (1988). Similarly, Brustad argues that SV order can be analysed as topic-prominent (Brustad 2000:336). 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 which contains nuclear stress in lengthened and a conspicuous raise in the pitch occurs. This phenomenon is also attested in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe and will be further discussed in the following section (Coghill 2018:309). The binodal structure can be represented in the transcription in the following way:

ə-ḥwắyəž hä́du | škūn qāʿd yəfašə́rlək fíhəm? (7:40)

All these things, who explains you them?

In addition, the fact that the topic is almost never in agreement with the subject of the comment lends 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 the text (7) demonstrates how the T-C structure sets a thematical domain of the dialogues:

(2) qắllət: tə́mma wắḥda bnə́ya yəšəmmiű́ha maqsű́fat šə́bʿa šnīn (3) **hadĺ́k əl-maqsű́fat šə́bʿa šnīn | nhar ḅaḅä́ha | tʿádda u lqā əṣ-ṣəḷṭä́n** (4) qắllu: šnűwa ḥä́lək wa šnűwa hä́da (5) qắllu: nä́ḥəmdu ṛə́ḅḅi, la bāš ʿalḯna (6) qắllu: nḥaḅḅ nə́šdək nə́šda (7)

aaa! aṣ-ṣəlṭán tʿádda lqā yə́ẓṛʿa fi-l-bṣə́l (8) hū qállu: **əl-bṣə́l hə́da | tə́klu wə́lla yə́klək?** (9) qállu: ə́šmʿa, tlə́ta yām fi-yə́ddək tžíbli əl-xbə́r.

(2) there was a girl, whom people used to call 'cursed seven years' (3) this girl cursed seven years, one day the sultan was passing by and found her father (4) he asked him: how are you and so on (5) he said: thank God, everything is all right (6) he told him: I would like to ask you a question (7) oh! when the sultan was passing by, he found the man planting the 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

The passage (3) 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 into 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 7: An example of a thematical span

daughter – topic of the tale

father – topic of the dialogues

onion – topic of the first dialogue
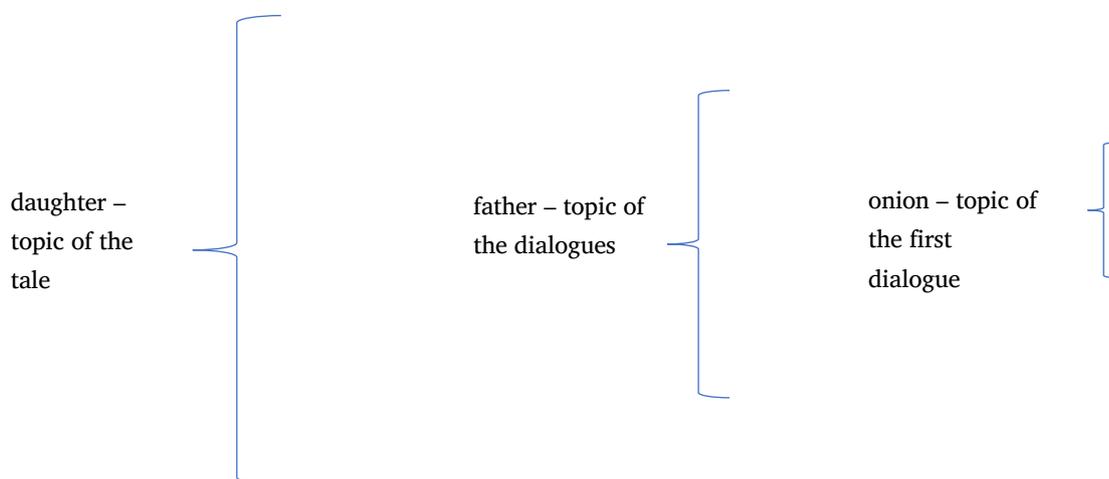
The folktale contains a series of three lexical riddles revolving around three topics: onion, coffee kettle, and water well. Every riddle occurs in a separate dialogue between the king and the father and is introduced by the king. Subsequently, the same topic continues in the solution of the riddle delivered by the daughter. The topic of every riddle is introduced by the C-T type:

I. hū qắllu: **əl-bṣə́l hắda | tắklu wə́lla yắklək**?

this onion, you will eat it, or it will eat you?

II. áma nḥább̭bək tqűlli: šnűwa yəqűllu, **əl-šə́žwa | fa ḥaṭṭűha ʿal əl-nắr,** šnűwa tqūl?

but I want you to tell me now: what would they say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on fire, what would you say?

III. qắllu: ṭúwwa nḥábbək tqűlli **əẓ-ẓrắra | kif yətắḷḷʿu ṣṭaḷḷ mən bīr,** šnűwa tqūl?

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?

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 the passage (3) the VOS order: *tʿádda u lqa aṣ-ṣəḷṭắn* encodes an event, moving the plot forward. On the other hand, in the passage (7), which is an explanatory comment with the focus on the sultan, one can see SVO*: aṣ-ṣəḷṭắn tʿádda 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 topicalized SVO order, provide 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:

(1) tə́mma wáḥad ṣəḷṭán wa ʿándu wuləd (2) l-wuləd háda | kul mə́ṛṛa yáxəd əmṛā,

existence   focus
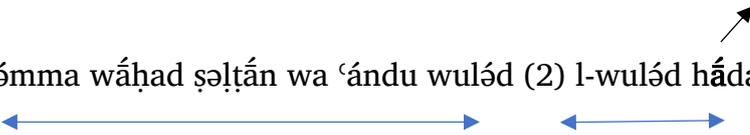
žə́maʿ yə́qaʿd maʿ u yəšəyyə́bā

(1) there is a sultan and he has a son (2) this son, each time he takes a woman, he

spends with her one week and leaves her

In sum, as the above analysis demonstrates, SVO and T-C should be generally regarded as two distinct types of sentence with different discourse functions. I have presented two arguments related to the intonation and syntax of those sentences in support of that view. While the topic is conspicuously separated from the comment by the pause, SVO constitutes one intonation group. This, in turn, is reflected by the syntactic independence of the topic, which, unlike the SVO, is not followed by the predicate. The only exception to this rule was SVO with topicalized subject occurring after an introductory statement of existence.

4.7.8. Points of convergence and divergence with NENA

A comparative look at the information packaging in the North-East Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe and 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, 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 (Coghill 2018:309). In addition, both Jewish Gabes and Telkepe share presence of indefinite topics. Usually, the topic is introduced by a presentational sentence stating an existence of an entity or is flagged by the indefinite-specific marker *wắḥəd* (/xa-/ in Telkepe). In Jewish Gabes there are also rare instances of a first-mentioned topic, which are not activated in any way:

HEzūgHE yəḥábbu bʿádəm yásər, ʿáršu, u ma tḷaʿúš mən aḍ-ḍắṛ, mən əl-ʿárš sahrín (5:1)
A couple loved each other a lot, they got married and for two months since the wedding have not leave their home.

This is the opening sentence of the tale, yet the couple is not definite or introduced by an existential sentence. According to Gundel indefinite topics are usually anchored in another, definite entity (Gundel 1988:215, Coghill 2018:308). However, as the example (5:1) demonstrates, the topic can appear for the first time as indefinite and unanchored.

Another point of convergence of Jewish Gabes with Telkepe is topicalization of adverb or adverbial clause. In numerous Arabic dialects it is a common tendency to topicalize temporal verbs, like *ṣār* '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 be utilizing this strategy. However, there are numerous cases of topicalized adverbial clauses, which have the same intonational structure as the T-C sentences:

líla fi-l-líl | xúdi li ʿažíž ʿalík wa trúḥi l-ḅaḅák (7:81)	*Late in the night take whatever is valuable for you and go back to your father.*

nhar | əl-mélex tˤad, mášɩ ˤal əl-bḥár, *One day the king was passing by, found*

yə́rqa (7:65)   *(…)*

Coghill reports the same tendency in Telkepe, where topicalized adverbs set a temporal frame of the event (2018:310).

Despite certain similarities between the two languages, in 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 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 the contact with Turkic (Khan 2018:21). Moreover, in those NENA dialect which adopted OV, syntactic elements expressing goals of verbs of movement are placed after the verb, while usually in OV languages 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 a 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, however, the basic word order is VSO. It also has been recently argued that some varieties of Berber are in a process of shift to a topic-prominent language (El-

Hankari 2015). As this chapter has indicated, both VSO and T-C types are equally

basic in Arabic, hence no contact-induced change within word order could occur.

4.8. Demonstrative pronouns

4.8.1. Historical background

Semitic languages utilize a diverse array of demonstrative pronouns, which can be broadly divided into two categories: near and far deixis. According to the historical reconstruction of Hasselbach, the most common morpheme of the former is /ḏV/, widespread across almost all branches of Semitic, including Ethiopic, North-West Semitic and varieties of Arabic (2007).[195] This base in some languages has variant /zV/, like for example /zə-/ in Geʿez, or /ze/ in Hebrew. Apart from the aforementioned basic morpheme, Semitic demonstrates a variety of additional demonstrative elements, which either function as near deixis independently, or are attached to other elements, forming a cluster of morphemes. The list of the demonstrative elements utilized in Semitic includes among others: /hā/, /la/, /n/, /t/.[196] The extension of the original /dV/ element by those elements is exemplified by Hebrew *hallāze*, Arabic *ʾallāḏi*, Geʿez *zəntu* (Hasselbach 2007:2). In the same way can be extended the plural base /ʾVllV/, which also has a shorter version /ʾVl/. 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 in three groups. The first utilizes the /k/ element, which is attached

---

[195] The /dV/ base is not attested in East Semitic, which utilizes the /an/ base for the near deixis instead.

[196] 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 the /t/ element represents a Proto-Semitic demonstrative and originally had three gender-sensitive variants: /tu/ (MS), /ti/ (FS) and /ta/ (neutral) (1907:31), it is more plausible that in the case of Geʿez it derives from the independent pronoun *wəʾətu*, while in the rest languages where is occurs it rather marks the feminine.

to the near deixis marker. This strategy is applied among others by virtually all Arabic dialects and by Geᶜez. On the other hand, languages like Hebrew and Phoenician do not have a separate morpheme in order to express remote deixis and employ anaphoric pronouns instead. Finally, a small number of languages apply demonstrative elements participating in formation of near deixis, like for example /la/ in Tigre /lohV-/ base (Hasselbach 2007:7).

It can be therefore assumed that Proto-Semitic had two demonstrative bases, namely /ðV/ for the singular, and /ʔVl/ for the plural. The optionality of the demonstrative elements other than /ð/, alongside with the fact that they are usually attached to other elements points to their later development. Similarly, the /ʔVllV/ form of the plural seems to consist of the original /ʔVl/ base with attached /lV/ element. The question remains what the relationship between is the singular and the plural bases, and if their morphological heterogeneity reflect the original state. Hasselbach has posed this question in her study on the demonstratives in Semitic but failed to provide any in-depth analysis. Judging from the oldest textual attestations of demonstratives in Semitic, it is reasonable to assume that the Old Babylonian singular far deixis pronoun *ullûm* contains the Proto-Semitic element /ʔVl/ (Hasselbach 2007:23). Therefore, one cannot exclude the possibility, that at an early stage of Semitic this element served to express near deixis.

4.8.2. Typological perspective

Demonstratives in a cross-linguistic perspective demonstrate an immense diversity and heterogeneity. A few in-depth studies of demonstratives in world's languages are available (Bhat 2007, Diessel 1999). The scholars highlight that the demonstratives

fulfil crucial communicative functions and have multiple pragmatic usages. In addition, Brustad points to the vital role they play in narratives, where they tend to occur abundantly, and especially in the management of discourse topics (2000:113). Since my text corpus consists mostly of narratives, their analysis should give clear and reliable picture of the deixis mechanisms in North-African Arabic. This section will attempt to outline main pragmatic functions of the demonstratives in a typological perspective and provide solid theoretical underpinnings of the further analysis of my data.

To begin with, languages utilize different categories in order to express deixis. The most common deictic criterium is a spatial distinction between near and remote. Bhat demonstrates that the majority of the world's languages have two-fold spatial categories, although there are languages, in which distinction is based on three or more points (2007:177). The spatial point of reference of the deixis also demonstrates an 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 of 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 the pronominal demonstratives function as independent pronouns substituting a noun or a noun phrase, adnominal usage, which cooccurs with a noun. Adverbial demonstratives do not present any variation in Jewish Gabes and therefore will 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 syntactic classification, demonstratives can also be divided according to their pragmatic functions. In the scholarship of demonstratives, the most commonly applied division in this respect is that proposed by Halliday and Hasan, according to which demonstratives can have either exophoric or endophoric use (1976: 57-76). The latter type of demonstratives is sometimes described as 'pointer', namely it directs the hearer's attention to the entities found in the surrounding of the interlocutors. As argued by Diessel, the exophoric use is apparently the basic and the unmarked one, and the other types derive from it (1999:114). 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 utilized in order to track the participants occurring previously in the discourse. They are obligatorily coreferential with the noun they accompany. Anaphoric demonstratives 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 the endophoric usage, fulfil language-internal function (Diessel 1999:101). Namely, they refer to propositions expressed in the discourse by indicating a specific aspect of the utterance, like for example its truthfulness or falsehood. The last type of endophoric demonstratives is called recognitional and it is utilized adnominally to activate a specific knowledge shared by both participants of the speech situation. In other words, it can be established that it introduces an 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 be evoked later in the discourse.

It is important to point out that demonstratives across all world's languages present the same tendency towards grammaticalization. Diessel argues that in fact the endophoric use of demonstratives can be considered as grammaticalized, since it has evolved from a purely deictic exophoric application towards a functional organisation of the discourse information (2007:112).

4.8.3. Pragmatic analysis of the data

The data including demonstrative pronouns in Jewish Gabes have been organised according to the criterium of the spatial deixis. It includes near deixis, remote deixis, and the unstressed demonstrative pronoun. The morphology of demonstratives has been treated in detail in the chapter on pronouns, hence 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 El-Souf (Algeria) and Jewish Tripoli, in order to obtain more comprehensive picture of the functionality of pronouns in the region.

4.8.4. Syntactic distribution

Demonstrative pronouns are usually used adnominally, nonetheless there are some cases of a pronominal usage in the text corpus as well. It appears that demonstratives substituting nominals in North Africa are applied to a lesser extent in comparison, for

example, to the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Christians for Urmi, where they occur in a variety of syntactic positions (Khan 2016:12).

In various Arabic dialects a demonstrative can either precede or follow the noun. Brustad 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 (Brustad 2000:129). Apart from those restrictions, the dialects demonstrate a certain level of variation in terms of the placement of demonstratives, usually motivated by the pragmatics. As my data indicates, demonstratives in Jewish Gabes are subject to strict grammatic rules. The proximal demonstrative obligatorily follows the nouns, while the distal and the unstressed ones are placed before the noun. This diverges significantly from Moroccan Arabic, where Harrell does not mention post-nominal demonstrative construction at all, while Brustad mentions only several examples occurring in her data (Harrell 1962, Brustad 2000:129). The latter scholar 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 (2000:130). 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.

4.8.5. Proximal demonstratives

Proximal demonstratives fulfil a variety of narrative functions. They modify an item which constitutes the subject of the ongoing discussion:

(1) u bə́rša nāš kān yʕámlu ḫáža **hádi**?   *And many people would do this thing?*

Pronominally, they designate a protagonist of the narrative:

(2) **háda** dí̄ma yə́žī yʕáwnu u yəbə́ʕu l-   *This man always goes to help him sell the*
šə́lha (5:3)   *stock.*

Moreover, they fulfil an identificatory function by narrowing the reference:

(3) žāt əl-bə́ntu **hádi** šəmí̄a maqṣúfat   *His daughter came, the one that is called*
šə́bʕa šnīn (7:12)   *'cursed seven years'.*

Similarly, as the following passage demonstrates, proximal demonstratives are utilized as a means of recognition:

(4) qállu: ya šə́di ^{HE}mélex^{HE}, **hádi** bénti,   *He said: your majesty, it is my daughter, he*
qállu: bə́ntek **hádi** nḥabb naxúdha (7:42)   *told him: this daughter, I would like to marry her.*

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-ʕábəd **háda** kān mḥáyyər (7:69)   *This man was worried.*

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 the prenominal occurrence of proximal demonstratives in my text corpus:

(6) qállu: **hádi** mṛa ə́nta txūd? hí̄ya   *Are you going to marry this woman? She*
mahbúla, qá/lət ʕáqla fi-ḥzárha (7:48)   *is insane, she said that her mind is on her knees.*

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, therefore it is followed by *hắda* :

(7) támma bīr ǵárəq yásər wa bīr **hắda** li   *There was a very deep well and whoever*
yádxal fī yəmū́t, ma yəṭ̣ʿáṣ (2:57)   *goes in that well dies, does not go out.*

4.8.6. 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 *wắḥəd*, which subsequently is repeated with the accompanying distal demonstrative. In this context, the indefinite-specific has a cataphoric reference:

(1) támma **wắḥda** bnə́ya yəšəmmiúha   *There was a girl, whom people used to call*
maqṣū́fat šə́bʿa šnīn, **hadī́k** əl-maqṣū́fat   *'cursed seven years', this girl cursed seven*
šə́bʿa šnīn, nhar ḅaḅắha tʿádda u lqắ əṣ-   *years, one day her father was passing and*
ṣəḷṭắn (7:2-3)   *met him the sultan.*

(2) kān ya ma kān, aʿlắ **wắḥəd** ṣəḷṭắn   *Once upon a time there was a Sultan, that*
hadắk ṣ-ṣəḷṭắn qaʿd yəxə́mməm kifắš   *Sultan was thinking what to do in order to*
yʿáməl bāš yắṛa ulắd l-blād (Jewish   *see the people of the city.*
Tripoli)

The far deixis forms are utilized in order to indicate temporal distance, as demonstrated by the example (3). In the first passage *hadắk* marks temporal precedence of the first action, i.e., the man riding the donkey, followed by more recent action of rubbing an onion:

(3) tíla fíha nqāb, wa **hadā́k** ʿaryā́n u lábəš wa hádi xdāt ṛaṣ əl-bṣə́l u ḥakkə́tlo ʿal žbī́nu (7:37)

In a fabric there were holes, so he was both dressed and naked, and she took an onion and rubbed it on his forehead.

In addition, far deixis can express a spatial distance, like in the passage (4):

(4) qāl: ə́ntum mahbulī́n, ʿáqla fi-ḥzárha **hadī́k** txáḷḷaṣ fi-ṣʿárha u ṣáʿrha wuṣə́l ḥáṭṭa ṛažlī́ya, kān tkū́mi txáddər, ə́ržʿu lǧā́di (7:49)

They told him: are you going to marry this woman? She is insane, she said that her mind is on her knees. He told them: you are insane, her mind was on her knees because she was finishing [combing] her hair and her hair reaches the legs, when she stands up, she will let you know, go back there!

In certain contexts, 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':

(4) húnna žā́bu ẓǧār, wa ʿaṭáu **l-hadā́k** l-ʿašā́š (2:52)

They would birth children and give them to a guard.

Anaphorically, far deixis is utilized to express a referent, which has been mentioned previously in the discourse, but the speaker assumes that it is hardly retrievable from the memory of the listener:

(5) əṛṛā́ mən kull ṛqā **hádək** əl-muṛt wáḥda li ʿánda ḍárba (2:47)

He had a look and found among all of them the woman who has a blow on her back.

(6) u l-mṛa u ṛážəl li saknī́n fi-**hadī́k** əl-ḥūš daxxlú u ʿamlúlu kabúḍu (Jewish Tripoli)

And the woman and man who lived in that house took him inside, and showed him respect.

Moreover, in terms of managing discourse topics, distal demonstratives occur in a construction marking the first mention of a secondary story figure. It comprises the unstressed distal demonstrative *hak* and the demonstrative distal pronoun:

(8) ʿaṛṣt mʿa **hak** əṛ-ṛážəl, **hadák** əṛ-ṛážəl   *She got married with that man, that man*
yáxdəm ʿaláyəm u yəžíb u yáśri (Jewish   *would work, bring food, buy things.*
El-Souf, Algeria)

4.8.7. Unstressed distal demonstratives

In addition to the proximal and distal demonstratives, Jewish Gabes utilizes also an ungendered, unstressed demonstrative article. Unlike the unstressed demonstrative article /had-/ in Moroccan Arabic, which, as argued by Harrell, does not distinguish between near and far deixis, *hak* in Jewish Gabes is related to remote deixis, and in some cases, it substitutes the full distal demonstrative.

(1) **hāk** əl-qáḍḍ l-ʿažíž, əbṭát (1:6)   *What a precious figure! She got late.*

(2) ʿṭátlu, xūd hād əl-xábža u kúlha,   *She gave to him saying: take this bread and*
rfʿáha ʿažbáthu **hāk** əl-xábža (1:16)   *eat it. He took it and found a favour in the*
    bread.

(3) frāḥ əṣ-ṣəlṭán, žā l-**hāk** əl-wáld, ʿaṭálo   *The sultan was happy, he came to this man,*
flūš, lwīž (2:53)   *gave him money, coins.*

(4) žūž axwát, wáḥəd ẓawáli wa wáḥəd   *Two brothers, one poor and the other one*
məštáġni, **hāk** əl-ẓawáli kūl nār xmīš,   *rich. That poor one goes every Thursday to*
yámši l-xū yaʿaṭí flūš (3:1-2)   *his brother, so he gives him money.*

(5) az híya žábət **hāk** əl-məžyán l-úmha   *So she brought that scale to the mother.*
(3:49)

As shown by the above examples, the functional interchangeability of the two types of demonstratives is significant. To begin with, the usage of *hāk* in the example (4) suggests that it can replace *hadák* in the construction introducing the first mention of a protagonist. Moreover, as demonstrated by the example (3), it functions anaphorically to mark an entity, which has already been introduced in the discourse,

but it is not immediately retrievable from the memory of the listener. Similarly, in the 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 it is a truncated version of *hadā́k*.

4.8.8. Demonstratives in North-African Arabic – a comparative perspective

As has been already mentioned, Moroccan Arabic utilizes some demonstrative strategies, which do not occur in Jewish Gabes. This discrepancy tentatively suggests that the western varieties of North African Arabic diverge in terms the expressions of deixis from their eastern counterparts. In the present section I will shortly investigate the distribution of demonstratives in selected dialects of the region.

Already a preliminary examination of the data from Jewish Tunis reveals some differences. Although the forms of near and far deixis converge in both dialects, Jewish Tunis utilizes a shortened form of the proximal demonstrative, which Cohen calls 'construct state form' (1975:224). In contradistinction to the full form, which by principle follows the noun, its short counterpart precedes the noun. Its presence is also attested in Moroccan, as well as in Syrian and Kuwaiti varieties (Brustad 2000:115). However, it appears that this form in Jewish Gabes is not utilized. Although *hād* occurs in example (3:2), I argue that it is rather *hā́da* with elided final vowel, rather than a separate form. The elision of vowels in a 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 with the Syrian and the Kuwaiti unstressed demonstrative

article /ha/ (Cohen 1975:225). This form has not been attested in Jewish Gabes neither.

The Bedouin dialect of Douz presents some similarities with Jewish Gabes, namely it has a set of two full far and near demonstratives and an ungendered *hāk*, but it utilizes also the so called 'double' demonstrative construction, attested among others in Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014:83, Brustad 2000:131). It 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 from of the remote demonstrative *dāk*. In Jewish Algiers, Cohen points out solely that *dāk* is a shorter variant of *hadā́k*, without giving any description of its syntactic behaviour. On the other hand, Brustad marks that *dāk* in the region of Fez, which can modify both singular and plural nouns of both genders, functions in a way similar to that of proximal anaphoric *hād* (2000:126). In the region of Tangiers this demonstrative has form *dīk*, and like *dāk* is anaphoric and ungendered (Brustad 2000:127).

CONCLUSION

This thesis 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 Nort-African Arabic. It has strived to address several challenges that modern Maghrebi dialectology faces. As has been pointed out in the introduction (Chapter 1), this field suffers from lack of diachronic approach to syntax, particularly in a comparative perspective. The study presented in this dissertation has hopefully contributed to better understanding of Jewish North-African dialects on the one hand, and casted more light on the communal differences on the other. This study has demonstrated that Jewish Gabes belongs to the first-layer (pre-Hilāli) dialects of Maghrebi Arabic, which, with exception of Mahdia, 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 the section on phonology (Chapter 2), I have paid special attention to the development of sibilants in North Africa, proposing that the harmonization of alveolar and palato-alveolar sibilants could potentially be explained by a Berber or Late Punic substrate. I have demonstrated a number of Berber dialects, which harmonize the causative prefix with the phonetic environment of the verb. I have argued that the emergence of the sibilant harmony in North-African Arabic could be related to an articulatory difficulty caused by the [RTT+] feature of palatal sibilants, which existed neither in Berber of the 7th century CE, nor in Late Punic. A comparison between various neighbouring dialects suggests that Jewish Gabes should be defined as a mixed-type dialect, as it contains multiple examples of both alveolar, and palato-alveolar sibilants. Nevertheless, a high level of palatalization is one of the isoglosses

that Jewish Gabes shares with other Jewish Tunisian dialects. Muslim dialects of the region, on the other hand, prefer alveolar harmony. When it comes to the distribution of /h/, I have demonstrated, that in contradistinction to Jewish Tunis, this sound in Jewish Gabes has stable and audible realization. The second part of the chapter dealt with emphasis spread in Jewish Gabes. The preliminary results of this analysis, firstly, prove that the pharyngealized 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 four 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. Finally, I have demonstrated that David Cohen's claim about the tendency toward the preservation of diphthongs among Jewish dialects of Tunisian Arabic is not valid for southern Tunisian dialects, where they tend to be contracted.

The section on morphology (Chapter 2), has demonstrated that the dialect of Gabes differs in some aspects from its typologically closest dialect, namely the Jewish dialect of Tunis. This is the case, for example, with the suffix conjugation of the X form geminated, where in the dialect of Gabes in forms of consonantal suffix one finds /ə/ inserted between the two alike consonants. I have paid special attention to the diachronic evolution of the verb system, demonstrating that the CA form IV has completely disappeared from this dialect. Moreover, as has been argued, Jewish Gabes has developed an alternative way of expressing the passive by bipartite construction involving an active verb with a personal object pronoun. I have

explained this development by means of analogy. The section on nominal morphology was primarily focused on the thorough presentation of data. Where possible, I have made remarks on semantic differences of 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.

Chapter 4 was devoted to the investigation of syntax. It included 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 the deflected agreement has ever been generalized in Judaeo-Arabic. In contradistinction to this, the second-wave dialects 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 both restrictive and 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 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 relativized item is indefinite, relativization is prone to be realised by means of coordination or asyndetically. The study of adverbial clauses made 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 predicates taking complements was presented. Each class of complements has been specified with respect to the 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 particle *lắžəm, məlžū́m aʕl* and *yəlžəm +* personal pronoun. The section on expressions of tense and aspect has demonstrated that the p-stem and s-stem are primarily aspectual, and their temporal dimension is expressed by other constituents of the sentence. I have shown that the active participle in the Jewish dialects encodes present progressive, while in their Muslim counterparts it functions as perfect. It has been tentatively suggested that this divergence can point to a North-West Semitic substrate in the Jewish varieties. In the section on word order I have demonstrated that the SVO order differs from C-T and should be generally regarded as two distinct types of sentence with different discourse functions. I have presented two arguments related to the intonation and syntax of those sentences in support of that view. Finally, in the section on demonstratives I

have made distinction between proximal, distal, and unstressed distal pronouns, analysing simultaneously their discourse functions.

Summing up, as the present dissertation has demonstrated, Jewish Gabes typologically belongs the group of first-layer, sedentary dialects, which at present are virtually non-existent in North Africa. This is mostly due to an influx of rural and Bedouin population to Maghrebi cities, which has brough about a merger of the first- and second-layer dialects, resulting in turn in redefinition of the traditional isoglosses. A part of this thesis was devoted to the investigation of confessional difference as reflected in the Jewish and Muslim varieties of Arabic. One of the promising pathways of the future research would be extending this line of investigation to other communities in order to understand better the nature and the development of Judeo-Arabic. As I have demonstrated, Jewish dialects differ from their Muslim counterparts not only on the lexical level, but there exist certain salient grammatical divergences as well. Research combining linguistic inquiry with social history could therefore render some intriguing results.

A corpus of selected narratives used in the dissertation

1. Begger

(1) múši qállu: ána fqə́rtū qūm aġní, ána qtə́ltu qūm aḥyí (2) wáḥəd mša yə́ṭlab ya karı́m tˤa álḷa (3) wuṣál l-əḏ-ḏā́ṛ, ḏrəḅḅ əb-bā́b, yə́ṭlaḅ ya karı́m tˤa álḷa (4) ṭálaˤt əl-xádma, kān tə́šbaḥ fī (5) ffuṃṃ táqaˤ wa əl-ˤə́yn ḅaṛṛáqa (6) hāk əl-qáḍḍ l-ˤažı́ž, əbṭát (7) nadátha lələ́tha (8) qaltə́lha: ya ḫlı́ka ka-yəkšə́bha ḥádd (9) u qálḷək: ža yə́ṭlaḅ (10) tálaˤt tšūf fī (11) qalə́tlu: ə́dxəl! (12) qaltə́lha: ə́šmˤi, xúdi ˤažı́n, aˤžní, u ṭə́yyəbi xábža u fi qálb abyı́ha b-əlwı́ž (13) ˤatyı́ əl-xábža yəštáġna bı́ha wa wúqt yəwə́lli ˤašīr, nə́xdu (14) tálaˤt əl-xábža wa ˤatatálhu (15) qátlu: əštə́nna šwı́ya, hāk əl-xábža yəžáyəd fı́ha ṛə́ḅḅi (16) ˤṭátlu, xūd hād əl-xábža u kúlha (17) rfáˤha aˤžbáthu hāk əl-xábža (18) ṭlaˤ, lqa ḥanút aḥdá (19) qāl: ána ᴴᴱˤaní ᴴᴱ u əl-xə́bža ḥabb nakə́lha, ˤaṭíni ṇfáyyəṣ xábža, wa aˤṭíni ḥžína šmı́ˤa, u qriṭíṣ wuqı́ḍ bāš nəšáˤlha (20) xdáha, ˤaṭá ṇfáyyəṣ xábža óxra (21) ruwáḥ bı́ha aḍ-ḍā́ṛ, qāl əl-mə́rtu: hād əl-xábža ˤámri ma rātá́ ˤəyní (22) ḥáṭṭi šəkkı́na u nqaṣṣúha (23) húwa qaṣṣ, ṭalˤu hāk əl-ḥəžı́n əl-lwı́ž əl-kúll (24) qāˤ aḥžı́n əmbáraq fi-ˤažə́b ṛə́ḅḅi (25) mən ġádwa wulə́lha, qalə́lha: ya krı́m tˤa álḷa (26) qāˤ tšūfi škūn ža? (27) qalə́tlu: hāk əl-xábža li aˤtáḷək šā ˤmə́lt bı́ha? (28) ya lə́lla, ḥabb nakə́lha áma yə́sər ˤlíya u kbíra ˤalíya (29) xdīt ṇfáyyəṣ xábža ḥžína šmı́ˤa u qriṭíṣ wuqı́ḍ bāš nətaˤáša bı́ha (30) qaltə́lha: ˤamlílu ḥžína óxra (31) qámət aˤmlə́tlu wáḥda óxra (32) qalə́tlu áqbəl ma ˤaṭatálhu: ṛaḍḍ báḷək ˤlíha, ṛə́ḍḍ báḷək tbˤíha (33) qálha: mlíḥ, u mša l-dáru (34) fi-tnı́ya dxəl əlᴴᴱḥanútᴴᴱ, wa ˤáwəḍ li ˤamə́l ṃbáraḥ (35) ža f-əṣ-ṣḅāḥ ya krı́m tˤa álḷa (36) ašbīk ržˤat? (37) ya lə́lla, kánət hāk əl-xábža kbíra ˤlíya, ˤaṭítha əl ᴴᴱḥanútᴴᴱ u xdīt ṇfáyyəṣ xábža, u šmı́ˤa u qriṭíṣ wuqı́ḍ (38) ˤamlílu ḥžína óxra u dəxlílu kə́mša lwīž fi-l-ˤžı́n (39) ṛə́ḍḍ báḷək taˤaṭı́ha ᴴᴱḥanútᴴᴱ, kúlha ə́nti (40)

qálha: mlīḥ (41) húwa hbaṭṭ mən əl-drúž, l-aḥžĭ́n, ʿatər, tāḫ u māt (42) ṭálʿat ktĭ́ba fi-l-ḥị́ṭ: ána qṭə́ltu qūm aḫyĭ́, ána fqə́rtu, qūm aǵnĭ́.

(1) Moses told 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 widely open while she was gazing on him (6) what a precious figure! She got late (7) Her mistress called her (8) She told her: oh, figure, that no one has ever seen! (9) and she told her: he came to beg (10) She came out to see him (11) She told him: come in! (12) She (the mistress) told her: listen, take dough, knead it and bake bread fulling him from inside with coins (13) Give him this bread so he becomes rich from it and when he is already rich, we will marry him (14) The bread came out and she gave it to him (15) She told him: wait a little bit, the God will add to this bread (16) She gave to him saying: take this bread and eat it (17) He took it and found a favour in 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 (the poor, miserable)[197]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 told 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, the 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?! (27) The bread that I gave to you, what have you done with it? (28) Oh 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

---

[197] The word *ḥažĭ́n/ḥžĭ́na* is introduced in folktales to notify the listener that something bad is going to happen to the main character.

bread (the poor, the miserable) candle and a small box of matches in order to light it (30)

She told her: make him another bread (literally: make him another misery) (31) She got

up to make one another (32) She told him before giving it to him: be careful with it, make

sure not to sell it (33) He told 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) Oh my lady, the bread

was too big for me, I gave it to the shop and took half of 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 told 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. The sultan and three daughters

(1) əṣ-ṣəḷṭán, ʕándu tlāt bnāt (2) l-kbíra sʕára bda áḅyaḍ, u tánya báhya u tálta zġíra (3) əẓ-zġíra kánət fáyqa (4) mšát l-əṣ-ṣúk, f-ə-ṣṣúq srat tláta bəṭṭíxa (5) híya mšat žábət tláta bəttíxa (6) wáḥda ṭáyba, ḥámra, wáḥda xáḍra u wáḥda báhya (7) wa ḅʕaṭthəm l-əṣ-ṣəḷṭán, lə-ḅaḅáha (8) əl-ḅáḅa tə́llʕa tláta battíxa, mabṣúṭ, bə́ntu bʕaṭ́tlo battíxa (9) qáṣṣhəm, əl-lúla ḥámra, u tánya ṭáyba u tálta xáḍra, nə́yya (10) (əž)ža l-wužír qállu: ə́šmʕa, (ə)tláta battixát li bʕaṭ́təm bə́ntək, fíhim ramz (11) qállu: l-ḥámra, bə́ntək l-kbíra káḅrat, l-óxra f-ət-tníya wa əl-tálta zġíra (12) əl-ḅáḅa tġáṣṣaṣ, ša ʕáməl? (13) l-kbíra xdáha ṛáẓəl, xda wəld wužír, wa l-tníya xdáha ṛáẓəl (14) wa hadík zġíra, qāl, ya kálba bənt kálba, qálləm: šúfu wáḥad l-ə́ktər ağžán, l-ə́ktər məxnán, l-ə́ktər ẓawáli, xúdula (15) tə́mma wáḥad, yə́qʕaḍ taḥt sə́zra tʕa blāḥ, yəxáll fúmmu wa yštə́nna ḥatt əl-bláḥ yətáḥu fi-fúmmu (16) f-əl-láxər húwa yə́qʕad əkāk, žáu l-wúžra qállu: tə́mma wáḥad li húwa ma tḥárrəkš, húwa yəštə́nna ḥátt yətáḥlu mákla fi-fúmmu (17) qállu: hadák žíbu yáxəd əl-bə́nt (18) žabúla, qərqrú, qállu: xúda (19) qállu: yā šə́ddi ṣəḷṭán, aná ma ʕandə́š šnúwa nákəl, wa ə́nti tʕatíni bə́ntək? šnúwa nʕáməl bíya? fi šnu nuwkə́lla? fi šnu ṣuṛṛúba? (20) qállu: ána ma nʕarə́fš šə́yy, ʕamə́lli mžíya wa xūd əl-bənt, ma nḥabš nšūf ḥlíqatkə́m (21) úmma ʕatátam flūš, ʕatátam əlbáš u mšáu (22) bʕad nhar žáu táḥta əl-náxla, wa əl-bə́nt ʕamlə́t ᴴᴱsukáᴴᴱ (23) mšāt l-náxla tʕa ṛmán, táxəd l-ʕarúf, nə́ẓṛəthum u tə́ḍṛəblu fi-rə́žli mən lúṭa ḥatt əṛ-ṛáẓəl bda yətḥárrək wa də́mmu bda yə́zri fi ᴴᴱgúfuᴴᴱ, yúqəf ʕal rə́žli u bda yə́mši (24) əl-ḍə́ṛḅ qə́ymu (25) híya qʕádət u tʕádat ᴴᴱšayaráᴴᴱ, qámət žāt l-əl-kbír tʕaham, qátlo: ʕammə́lli mžíya, ṛáẓli ma ʕandúš xádma, xúdu mʕákəm, yə́xdəm wa yʕáwnək (26) ža li wáqəf ʕalə́yəm, qálla: žíbi (27) ža, qállo: tgíd ʕášš fi-l-líl? (28) qállu: ngīd, li tḥabḅ nʕamə́llək (29) mšáu mšáu

mšáu fi-ṭ-ṭnĩya ʿátsu (30) u qáʿdu u yáklu u yə́ṣṛbu u habáṭ ʿaláyəm əl-lĩl (31) wa qállu:

ə́nti tʿaš ʿal aḥṣanát (32) wuqt hũwa ka-yʿáš fi-nəfṣ əl-lĩl, žāt wáḥda mṛa, žāt u lúwḥa

ḥáža, hũwa yəḥább yʿárəf šnũwa lúwḥat (33) hũwa žra wa xda ʿaṣ̃á u dṛə́bba dárha u

hárbatlo (34) ṣəbbáḥa ṣbāḥ rqáu wəld mə́yyət, wəld ṣəḷṭán (35) l-ṣ-ṣəḷṭán ʿándu šə́bʿa

nša (36) kul mṛa li tũləd, tlāt árbʿa ayyám u yáxdu l-wəld yəlláwḥu (37) ma yʿarfúṣ

škūn yáxdu yə́qtlu (38) wáḥda tžīb u šə́tta ma yəžibúš (39) wáḥda fĩhim tánġa (40)

ža l-ṣ-ṣəḷṭán, qállu: ya šə́ddi ṣəḷṭán, ána fi-l-lĩl nʿašš u žāt xyál, xbaṭṭ ḥáža u mšát (41)

kif xbaṭṭ ána zrīt wṛá u dṛə́bta (42) aṣ-ṣəḷṭán bda yəxə́mməm (43) qállu: tʿárəf šnu

tʿáməl? xūd šə́bʿa nšā ntʿak, ána dṛə́bta fi-d-dhə́ṛṛ ntáha (44) šūf škun ʿándu dṛabb fi-

dhə́rha (45) škūn yəžĩ yáxdu u yəllúwḥu? (46) qállu: ʿándək ḥaqq ya wə́ldi (47) ə́ṛṛa

mən kull ṛqa hádək əl-múrt wáḥda li ʿánda dárba (48) qálla: ya bənt aḥarám, qaṣṣúla

rása! (49) šnũwa ᴴᴱmitbarerᴴᴱ? (50) hĩya ma tžĩbiš əẓ̇ẓ̇ár, l-oxrĩn yəžĩbu, az hĩya kənt

tánġa (51) húnna yũldu wa hĩya tə́qtlu (52) húnna žábu ẓġār, wa ʿatáu l-hadák l-ʿašáš

(53) fraḥ əṣ-ṣəḷṭán, ža l-hāk əl-wə́ld, ʿatálo flūš, lwĩž (54) qátlo: ə́nti mnʿátni! (55) əl-

mṛá háblət, tžīb wəld, ma təmmáš škūn yáqtlu (56) hum mšáu yásər, ət-tnĩtya twĩla

u wfáləm əlmā (57) ša ʿámlu? tə́mma bīr ġárəq yásər wa bīr háda li yə́dxal fī yəmũt,

ma yətḷʿáṣ (58) ža wáḥad mə́nhum qállu: ṭhabb tə́dxal ə́nti? (59) qállu: báhi, nə́dxəl

(60) bʿaṭu bāš yəmũt (61) ya yəžĩb ya ma yəžĩbiš (62) xdáu ṛubtú fi-l-ḥbəl ġlīl u daxlú,

habáṭ ḷuṭá (63) žáu əž-žnũn qállu: šnũwa ṭhabb hũni? ʿaláš tqalláqna? (64) qállu:

ʿándna ġləṃṃ, ma aʿndáš mā (65) qállu: ṭũwwa nqaṭlũk, ma nqaṭlũkš kān tžĩbna

aġžán mən Baġdád, ža hadák əžžĩn wa mə́ṛtu ʿamáltlu ᴴᴱbeayótᴴᴱ mā kānətš báhia

mũṛtu (66) tġáṣṣaṣ ʿaláya, də́ṛba də́ṛba rə́ddha aḥṣán (67) qálla: ma tuwlĩ aḥṣán, twũlli

žīn, kān yəžĩ hadák əl-ʿaġžán mən Baġdád (68) qállu: kān tžĩbli aġžán mən Baġdád

nʿatĩk əl-mā, nʿatĩk li ṭhabb ə́nti wa mə́ṛti tə́ṛžʿa əžžĩna (69) qállu: ána aġžán mən

Baġdǻd! (70) qállu: ə́nti?! (71) qállu: əy (72) qállu: kifǻš žīt? (73) qállu: žīb əl-fə́rṣa!
(74) húwa ḫǻṭəṭ yə́ddu ʿal əl-fə́rṣa wa híya wulǻt žīn (75) qállu: ʿándək ḥaqq (76)
ʿatǻlo dhəbb wa mā (77) tlʿa fíšʿa, əl^{HE}šayará^{HE} fárḥu wa ʿaṭǻu l-mā l-ġləmm ntʿáhəm
u rúḥu əḍ-ḍǻṛ (78) žāt əl-mə́ṛtu qālə́tlo: aššnű́wa ʿamə́lt ġǻdi, šnű́wa qbə́lt (79) húwa
ʿaṭǻla dhəbb qálla: ʿamlí li tḥábbi (80) qālə́tlo: žībə́tli də́nnya kúlla! (81) híya žǻbət
xaddǻma qwíyy (82) qaltə́lləm: ṭúwwa bníyuli qṣaṛṛ qbal dār ḅaḅáy, xīr mən tʿǻu, u
nḥábba sahrín tákməl (83) fíšʿa bnáu sráu muḅílya (84) waqt kúll əl-ḅǻḅa lǻhi bi-l-
xádma ntʿáu (85) u nhar wǻḥad žat əš-šə́mš, húwa qʿad fi-l-balkṍn u šǻf əq-qsár (86)
qāl: əšškű́n kəlb bna ḍāṛ qbəlt u xīr mən ḍǻṛi? (87) ža wuzír qállu: ya šə́ddi ṣəḷṭán,
bə́ntek əz-zġírra bnāt əq-qsǻṛ, li luwwáḫta mʿa háda aġžán (88) nadáham, žāt əl-bə́ntu
ža əṛ-ṛǻẓəl, qállu: ya šə́ddi ṣəḷṭán, ǻna ma ʿarə́šts mʿáha li mā ʿatatíks əl-máhar, ṭúwwa
nʿatík əl-máhar wa ṭúwwa nʿáməl əl-ʿárš (89) ʿámlu ʿárš kbīr u žábu zġáru wa qʿádu
fi-qsǻr

*(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 suk 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, the her father (8) the
father took out 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 told him: listen, there is a hint in these three melons that your
daughter has sent you (11) he told 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 with a man, the son of the minister, he married
also the second one (14) and that small one, he said, the daughter of the bitch, he told*

them: look for the one that is the laziest, the dirtiest and the poorest and marry her with 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 falls into it (16) finally, when he was sitting like this, the ministers came and told him (to the sultan): there is a man who does not move, he waits for the food to fall down in his mouth (17) He told him: that one bring so he marries the daughter (18) They brough him to her, they told him: marry (her) (19) he told him: oh, 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? How will I dress her? (20) he told 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 (pl) 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, collected 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 told 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 told her: bring him! (27) he came and told him: will you guard the cattle in the night? (28) he told 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, drunk and the night fell upon them (31) and they told 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 some branches and hit her back but she escaped from him (34) early in the morning they found a dead child, the child of 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 and killed it (38) one gives birth and six other do not (39) one of them was jealous (40) he went to sultan and told 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 told 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 sign of a hit on her back (45) who was coming to take the child and throw it away? (46) he told him: you are right, my boy (47) he had a look and found among all of them the woman who has a sign on her back (48) he told her: oh, accursed woman! Cut off her head! (49) What turned out? (50) she did not birth, and the others did so she was jealous (51) they would birth and she would kill (52) they would birth children and give her to look after it (53) the sultan was happy, he came to this man, gave him money, coins (54) He told him: you saved me! (55) the woman got pregnant, she will give birth, 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 that well dies, does not go out (58) one of them came and sked him: would you like to go in? (59) he told 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 entered him in the well, he descended (63) the ghosts came and told him: what do you want here? Why are you disturbing us? (64) He told him: we have cattle, but we do not have water (65) he told him: I will kill you now, but I will not kill you if you bring us the idle from Baghdad, a ghost came and his wife was making him problems, was not good his wife (66) he got angry with her, he hit her, hit her and turned her into a horse (67) he told her: you

will not be a horse and you will come back to be a ghost if the idle from Baghdad comes here (68) he told him: if you bring here the idle from Baghdad, I will give water, I will give you whatever you want and my wife will come back to be a ghost (69) He told him: I am the idle from Baghdad! (70) he told him: you?! (71) He told him: yes! (72) he told him: how did you walk? (73) he told him: bring the mare (74) he put his hand on the mare and she turned into a ghost (75) he told 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 cattle water and set off home (78) his wife came and told him: what did you do down there? What did you receive? (79) he gave her the gold and told her: do whatever you want (80) she told him: you have brought me an entire world! (81) she brough strong workers (82) she told 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 told him: your majesty, it is youngest daughter who has built this castle, the one that you had expelled with the idle from Baghdad (88) the father summoned them, the daughter came together with the man, he told him: I have not gotten married with her because I had not given you the dowry, now I will give you the dowry and now we will make the wedding (89) they made big wedding and had children and stayed in the castle.

3. Two brothers

(1) žūž axwā́t, wā́ḥad ẓawā́ḷi u wā́ḥad məštáġni (2) hāk əl-ẓawā́ḷi kūl nhar xmīš yə́mši l-xū(h) yaʿaṭī́ flūš (3) l-məštáġni ma ʿandū́š ulád u l-ẓawā́li áʿndu yā́sər ẓ̌ġār (4) l-ẓawā́li ma ʿandū́š mákla yʿaṭī́ l-ẓġáru (5) ma ʿandū́š xádma, ma ʿandū́š ma yákəl (6) yə́mši l-xū, xū məštáġni, áʿndu yā́sər flūš, ma ʿandū́š ẓġār (7) yaʿṭī́ nqūl ᴴᴱméa šékelᴴᴱ yʿáməl šəbbát ntʿáu (8) bʿad yamát l-xū l-məštáġni mša l-blād, ṣfaṛ (9) u ža l-mə́rtu u qálla: xū́ya kə́fi ža ʿaṭī́ flūš bāš yáʿməl šəbbát (10) qátlu: mlīḥ (11) hū́wa ža, qálla: aʿṭī́ni flūš lə-šəbbát (12) mạ́rra lū́la ʿṭátu, mạ́rra tánya ʿṭátu, mạ́rra tə́lta qátlu: yálla, ə́mši l-ṛə́ḅḅi yáṭləb yʿatī́k, ána muš ṛə́ḅḅi táʿk (13) aḥšə́m u mša l-ḍāṛu yə́bki, qām yə́mši, yə́mši l-ṛə́ḅḅi (14) bda yə́mši yə́mši yə́mši (15) šə́yyəb ḍāṛu u mša (16) wuṣə́ll əl-bḥár (17) qállu əl-bḥár: wən mā́ši ónti? (18) qállu : ána mā́ši l-ṛə́ḅḅi yʿatī́ni bāš nwúkkəl ẓġári (19) qállu: yaʿýšək, kif ónti mā́ši l-ṛə́ḅḅi, áṭəlbu ʿalā́š ána ma ʿandī́š ḥūṭ fi-l-bḥár (20) qállo: bā́hi u mša (21) qábəl ṣə́ẓṛa kbī́ra taʿ blāḥ (22) qʿad táḥta (23) žāt əl-nə́xla qáltlu: wən mā́ši? (24) qálla: mā́ši l-ṛə́ḅḅi náṭlbu yaʿtī́ni bāš nwúkkəl uládi, ma aʿndī́š nwukə́lləm qāʿdī́n mžʿanī́n u mərt xū́ya ḥašmə́tni (25) qátlu: aʿýšək, kif ónti mā́ši l-ṛə́ḅḅi, qúllu ʿalā́š ána ma ʿandī́š blāḥ (26) qálla: bā́hi u mša (27) žálu ṛáẓəl ṭwīl, məžyā́n (28) qállu: wən mā́ši ónti? (29) qállu: mā́ši l-ṛə́ḅḅi (30) ʿalā́š? (31) qállu: ma ʿandī́š flūš, ma ʿandī́š xádma u ma ʿandī́š bāš nʿaī́š (32) qállu: bə́ṛṛa, ə́mši, ə́ržaʿ ʿal əṭnī́tək (33) qállu: ʿalā́š? (34) qállu: nšīt nqúllək (35) šnū́wa, qállu? (36) qállu: əl-nə́xla qāl ʿalā́š ma təllá́ʿs ġálla (37) qállu: bə́ṛṛa ə́mši ḥáfər táḥta u tə́ṛqa bə́ṛma mʿábya bi-l-wī́ž, bə́ṛṛa ə́mši ḍāṛək (38) hū́wa mša wa ḥáfər ḥáfər ḥáfər, u rqa bə́ṛma kbī́ra mʿábya bilwī́ž, xdáha wa mša l-ḍáṛu (39) mša mən táli əl-bḥár (40) wuṣə́l əl-dār, fárḥu bī ẓġáru, mə́rtu l-kull (41) wən mšīt, wən hrábt, qʿad yə́bkī́u (42) qāl: mšīt l-ṛə́ḅḅi nžibī́lkəm bāš táklu (43) hū́wa žāb lwī́ž wa dhə́bb wa yəḥábbu yužnū́ (44) mšáu lə

373

^{HE}gisá^{HE} yəžíbu məžyán (45) mšāt əl-bə́nt, qátla: əl-bə́ba yəḥább, ʿatíni l-məžyán tʿkákəm (46) qátla: šnúwa žābílkəm ḅaḅákəm (47) qátla: ma nʿaráfš šnúwa žāb bə́nna áma ḥabb yúžən, hía ẓǵíra, ma təfhə́mš (48) aʿtáta əl-məžyán u ḥaṭə́ṭ ʿášəl (49) az hía žábət hāk əl-məžyán l-úmha (50) u qʿádu yúžnu šnúwa wa kəddáš žāb (51) wúžnu wa tṛə́ddu əl-məžyán (52) əl-məžyán kə́fi ža, žāt tšūf əl-gisá, tə́rqa ^{HE}yahalóm^{HE} lə́ṣqat fi-l-hák əlʿášəl (53) žāt l-ṛāzə́lha qátlo: xūk, mnin žāb əl ^{HE}yahalomím^{HE}, əl-flúš? (54) qálla: xəllí, xəllí, áʿyšu ẓǵáru šnúwa ṭḥabbíhim (55) qátlu: la! ṭúwwa nə́mši l-ḍāṛu u nšúfu šnúwa áʿndu (56) mšāt l-ʿándum wa rqə́t ṣʿabu ḍāṛhum, lábšu bə́hi wa kláu bṛíma (57) qállu: mnin ža háda? (58) qállu: mə́ṛtək qátli bə́ṛṛa mši l-ṛə́bḅi, mšīt l-ṛə́bḅi, ṛábḅi ʿatáni (59) qállu: ^{HE}labriút šelxá^{HE} wa mšáu l-ḍáṛhum (60) žāt l-mə́ṛt əṛ-ṛážəl qátlo: bə́ṛṛa ə́mši l-ṛə́bḅi žīb háda (61) bə́ṛṛa ə́mšī əl-xūk wa žīb bə́nna (62) húwa yəxáf mə́nna, ža əl-xū qállu: hážni wən mšīt ə́nti (63) əl-xū nəyál mšáu əl-bḥár (64) ža əl-bḥár qátlu: ʿaláš ma qatlíš ʿaláš ma ʿandíš ḥūṭ? (65) qállu: ə́blʿ wáḥəd wa tūlə́d ḥūṭ (66) əl-bḥár blaʿ l-xū (67) qāl əl-mə́ṛt xū: ʿal xáṭəṛ húwa mša, əl-bḥár bə́lʿu (68) qáʿdət tə́bki.

(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 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 told her: if my brother comes give him money so he can have shabbat (10) she told him: fine (11) he came and told her: give me money for shabbat (12) first time she gave him, second time she gave him, third time she told him: go

to the 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 told him: where are you going? (18) he told him: I am going to the God so he gives me something and I feed my children (19) he told him: please, once you go to the God, ask him why I do not have fish in the sea (20) he told 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 told her: I am going to the God to ask him 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 ashamed me (25) told him: please, once you go to the God, ask him why I do not have fruits? (26) he told her: fine, and left (27) a tall and handsome man came to him (28) he told him: where are you going? (29) he told him: I am going to the God (30) why? (31) he told him: I do not have money, I do not have work, I do not have anything for a living (32) he told him: go back on your way (33) he told him: why? (34) he told him: I forgot to ask you (35) what? He said (36) he said: why the palm does not have fruits? (37) he told him: off you go, dig beneath it and you will find a coffer full of coins, than 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 the God to bring you (the 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 (the scale), give me your scale (46) she told her: what did you father bring you? (47) she told 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 told him: where did you brother bring the diamonds, money? (54) he told her: leave him in peace, his children will live on it, what do you want from them? (55) she told 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 told him: where all this comes from? (58) he told him: your wife told me to go to the God, so I went to the God and the God gave me (59) he told him: to your health, and they went back home (60) the wife came to the man and told him: go to the 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 told 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 told his sister-in-law: because of you has gone, the sea swallowed him (68) and she wept.

4. Beauty of the Moon

(1) tə́mma ṣəḷṭə́n wə́ḥad (2) aṣ-ṣəḷṭə́n háda ʿándu bənt ʿžížali yásər (3) ṃúrtu mátət, xda ṃra óxra (4) əl-bə́nt ṭə́ṭlaʿ bárra u šəmš tə́zṛaq (5) ṃuṛt ḅúha nə́ġrat mə́nna (6) žāt l-ṣán ʿa, qátlo: ʿamə́lli mžíya, xūd əl-bə́nt u ə́mši qṭə́lha (7) əl-sánʿa xdáha l-ġába áma kə́du bāš yəqṭə́lha, qʿad mʿa wa xlā, ráqdat (8) ráqdat, xə́lla u mša (9) mša l-ḍ-ḍāṛ, qalə́tlu: wə́nhi? (10) qə́lla: qṭə́lta u lwáḥta (11) qátlu: ma tqūlš l-ḅaḅáha (12) əl-ḅáḅa ṣəḷṭə́n ža: wən bə́nti? (13) qátlu: ma naʿaráfš, tə́laʿat ma žə́təš (14) áʿməl ḅuliṣíya, aʿbə́d fə́rkšu fi-l-blə́d əl-kúlla, ma rqə́was, əl-bə́nt rə́ḥat (15) híya mə́škina fə́qət, ka-trúḥ fi-lġába (16) bdāt tə́mši tə́mši tə́mši, ṛqāt ḍāṛ, əl-bə́b ᴴᴱagolᴴᴱ zġīr, lžə́mma ṭə́ḅḅaṣ bāš tə́dxəl (17) də́xlət (18) rqāt ṃra ʿámia (19) u tə́rḥa fi-l-qáməḥ (20) híya dáxlət bi-škə́t, bi-škə́t bi-škət (21) rqāt bīt, əl-bīt fíya tbən (22) qʿádət tərtə́ḥ (23) bʿad mərtə́ḥa híya žyʿána, ʿaṣ́ána, tə́lʿat bi-škət (24) tə́lʿat, də́xlət l-mə́ṭbax (25) də́xlət, tə́ṛqa šubírya kbíra (26) fíha šə́baʿ laḥmə́t, šə́baʿ kaftə́t wa qúṣquṣ (27) xdāt žnáyyəb u klátu (28) žə́u mən xádma əl-lulə́d, də́xlu u ṛqə́u šubírya (29) úmmi ġə́lṭat əl-yúm, ma tšúfəš (30) ʿáməlt bə́rq šə́tta (31) qə́ṣmu mʿa bʿádam, klə́u u šə́ṭku (32) mən ġádwa ṛqə́u ta ḥqáya, kif kif (33) mən baʿd ġádwa kif kif (34) qə́lla: ə́mma šbīk, ʿalə́š tʿámli bə́rq šə́tta muš šə́baʿ? wə́ḥda nə́qṣa (35) qátlu: wulidə́ti, ə́na kān nʿamə́lkəm kif kif, kif də́mma (36) fhə́mu tə́mma wə́ḥad húni (37) qə́llu: škūn li qʿad mxə́bbi? kān wəld yəwə́lli xúna u kān bənt twə́lli áxtna wa kān ʿáyša twə́li maʿána (38) híya tə́lʿat, əḍ-ḍāṛ kúlla ulə́t ḍuww (39) qallúla: žīn əl-kúlla wa ə́nti txábbya? ə́nti mən əl-yōm twə́li ə́xtna (40) fárḥu bíha fárḥa kbíra (41) u bdə́t tnə́ḍḍəf əḍ-ḍāṛ, tnáhəl l-ankbút u ṭṭáyyba mʿa xmə́ta wa kull ḅríma (42) əḍ-ḍāṛ kúlla tábṛəq, wa híya kúlla tábṛəq, wa yəḥabbúha yásər, wa əl-xə́mma ṭḥ́ábba yásər, wa híya ʿáyša fi-l-xír (43) tʿádu yamə́t, əl-wə́ld lə́kbír ᴴᴱhexlítᴴᴱ yʿárəš ʿalə́ya (44) ʿámlu ʿarš (45) bʿad yamə́t, híya žə́bət wəld (46) yəḥallúha

377

yásər (47) ža xarráž, əl-xáma qáltla: bárri bárri əmši šwíya, əṣrí ḥawižátlīk (48) ḥənna, xrəž, qərfa, šwāk, u qammún, u pxōr (49) híya žabətlu ġarbán, ʿabətu bi-l-qómaḥ (50) húwa xda əl-qómaḥ wa híya xdāt ḥwáyəž ntáha u dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍāṛ (51) dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍāṛ, taʿáməl ḥánna, taʿážin fíha, u əl-bxōr tbáxxar (52) wa húwa mša mən ẓə́ṅqa l-ẓə́ṅqa (53) wuṣəl l-əḍ-ḍāṛ muṛt ḅúha (54) húwa qálla: ána xarráž, tálaʿat muṛt ḅúha (55) híya xdāt ḥwáyəž li ḥábbət (56) u žabətlo kə́mša qṣúr rimán (57) qálla: ma žíbtli? žíb u lā žíbət žīn əl-gúmra (58) qátlu: qūl šna qúlt mə́rra tə́nya (59) qaləla: žīn əl-gúmra! (60) qátlu: žīn əl-gúmra ʿáyša? (61) qálla: ʿáyša, u ʿáršət u ʿánda wəlád, u ʿáyša fi-xyár əl-xír (62) qátlu: kəfáš?! ḥəžni! (63) dəxlət l-əḍ-ḍāṛ, žábət fəḷḷáya u qúmbra (64) qəṛṣátum fi ᴴᴱnyárᴴᴱ u tálaʿt mʿam u mšāt l-əḍ-ḍāṛ žīn əl-gúmra (65) qátla: žīn əl-gúmra? (66) tbáwšu, u fárḥu u yədwíyyu, fárḥat múṛt ḅúha li žāt (67) qátla: šnā xdīt mən əl-xarráž? (68) qátla: xdīt ḥə́nna l-sʿári (69) qátla: ḥəží, nʿáməl ṣʿárək, náʿməl pxōr (70) táḷḷʿat əl-fəḷḷáya wa l-fəḷḷáya fíha šəmm, ḥaṭəṭə́lha fi-ṣəʿárha wa híya mátət, áma híya ma matə́tš (71) xdīt əl-wəld, ləbšə́tlo əl-qúmbra wa ᴴᴱgamᴴᴱ húwa mə́yyət (72) tnadíya xmáta, nadáta: žīn əl-gúmra, žīn əl-gúmra, ma wəžnətáš, la əl-wəld yə́bki, la l-mṛa tətkə́lləm (73) ma ʿarfə́tš škūn ža ʿánda (74) nadə́t, nadə́t, mšāt l-ʿánda, rqáta míta (75) qʿádət tə́bki (76) ḥatt žáu l-wulád mən xádma fi-ʿašíya (77) qáḷət: šnúwa nqúlkəm, gúmra mátət, šmʿat tədwíya wáḥda u bʿad dənya šə́ktət wa rqíta míta (78) rqáwuha lúwwḥa wa bdáu yəbkíyu (79) muš lážəm nədfnúha (80) ʿándəm žməll, ṛúbtuha bi-l-ṣundúq, híya u wəldha, ḥattúha ʿal žməll u qáḷḷu: šmʿa, ma túqaf kan yəqullúlak ə́žaḥ žáḷək (81) mša əž-žmól u ra təmma wáḥad, ʿándu šə́baʿ nša (82) qaʿd maʿm u yədwi mʿam (83) tálʿatlo kə́lma ə́žaḥ žáḷək (84) əž-žmól brəqq u qʿad (85) ər-rážəl tlʿa u rqa žməl ʿaləy ṣundúq kbīr (86) škūn bʿaṭ žməl bi-l-ṣundúq? (87) xda əl-ṣundúq, ḥállu, u də́xlū fi-l-bít (88) yə́qʿad mʿáha, yə́bki, yə́bki, yə́bki (89) sə́kkər bīt

bi-l-miftáḥ u tl‘a (90) əl-nás qállu: šnu ‘ándu fi-l-bɩ́t, bda yə́bki, tl‘a ‘aynɩ́n dəm‘ɩ́n ḥamrɩ́n (91) húwa mša əl-xádma wa húnna qállu: lážəm nšúfu šnúwa ‘ándu fi-l-bɩ́t (92) ḥállu əlbɩ́t ‘ándum miftáḥ u rqáu ṣundúq (93) ḥállu əl-ṣundúq u šáfu əlmṛa, ᴴᴱbúbaᴴᴱ u də́nya kull wúlli ḍúww (94) kifáš ma yəbkɩ́š háda, hum q‘ádu u yəbkɩ́u (95) wáḥda qálat: nḥabb mə́kla mən yədə́yha (96) óxra mə́ššət fi-ṣ‘ará u žāt yə́dda fi-fəllə́ya, ḥə́ṭəṭ yədá fi-fəllə́ya u hɩ́ya fáqət (97) qátla: mən aḥyáni ṛəḍḍ fī rūḥ (98) əl-mṛa ‘árfat šnúwa ‘ámlət tə́mma (99) žāt əl-wə́ld, nahátlo qúmbra (100) əl-wə́ld bda yə́bki (101) žabúla mə́kla (102) qállu: šm‘u ṭúwwa, húwa, kɩ́nt mɩ́ta húwa bāš yəmū́t ‘alə́ya, kan yə́ži yə́rqa ‘ə́yša, mšāt ‘alə́yha (103) daxlúha fi-ṣunúq fɩ́š‘a (104) u ḥaṭṭúha ‘al žməll (105) ‘amlū́ hāk, xdáua, rubtúha fi-l-žmə́l, rubtúha bi-l-ḥbə́l u ḥaṭṭúha fi-l-qə́‘da (106) əl-wə́ld fi-yə́dda (107) u ṛúbtu ṣundúq u qállu l-ž-žmə́l: bə́ṛṛa, hə́ža dáṛa (108) əl-žmə́l mša (109) a‘šɩ́ya, húmma, əl-wələ́d ka-yə́klu wa šúfu əl-žmə́l ža (110) rqáu hɩ́ya qə́‘da wa əl-wə́ld fi-yə́dda (111) fárḥu fárḥa kbɩ́ra (112) də́xlu l-ḍ-ḍāṛ, qallū́la: aḥqɩ́na šnúwa žáha u šnúwa ‘ámlət fɩ́ha mə́ṛt ḅúya (113) hɩ́ya bdāt tfīq šwɩ́ya f-əḍ-ḍāṛ, bə́dlət ḥwižáta u ṣá‘ubat rúḥa u mšāt l-əšfišári, srīt šəmm, xdīt u mšāt l-əl-múṛt ḅúha (114) aaa žīn əl-gúmra, ḅúšu ta‘nə́qu (115) ma tə́ṭḷ‘a‘iš mən hú́ni kan ma ṭáftṛi (116) hɩ́ya mšāt ṭṭə́yyəḅ wa ‘amə́lt qə́ṣqṣu u ḥaṭṭə́lla šəmm filžnə́bb nt‘a bənt u žabátu (117) əl-bə́nt qlə́tla: ma žibtɩ́š mā? (118) wuqt l-úmma kɩ́nət fi-l-kužɩ́na əl-bə́nt ḥaṭə́tla šəmm wa l-úmma ma ‘arafə́tš (119) qalə́tla: kūl ə́nti lúla, ə́nti ḍ‘áfa (120) əl-mə́ṛt qalə́tla: la,la, ə́nti kbɩ́ra (121) l-əkbɩ́ra t‘árəf li ma ‘andáš šəmm wa l-əzġɩ́ra t‘árəf li ḥaṭə́tla (122) l-əkbɩ́ra xdāt əmġárfa lúla, fɩ́š‘a mátət (123) nžɩ́ra əl-kúll žáu (124) aš tə́mma, aš tə́mma, muṛt ḅáḅa mátət (125) nadáu əṣ-ṣəḷṭə́n mən mḥákma, húwa ža (126) qálla šnu tə́mmaš? kifáš? (127) qátlo: ḅaḅá t‘árəf šnu ‘amlə́ti? (128) ḥqátlo əl-kúll (129) qálla:

ṭűwwa təštáhəl (130) ʿanə́qa u bə́ša, fraḥ bə́ya (131) hî́ya žə́bət ṛaẓə́lha u xwátu u úmmu u šə́knu ʿánda ṣaḷṭə́n u ʿáyšu ʿáyša bə́hya.

(1) there was a sultan (2) this sultan had a daughter who was very dear to him (3) his wife had died and he got married with another woman (4) the daughter would go out and the sun would shine (5) step-mother was jealous about her (6) she went to the servant and told 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 told him: do not say anything to her father (12) the father sultan came: where is my daughter? (13) she told him: I do not know, she left and have not come back (14) they called police, people were looking for her in the entire city but did not find, the daughter is gone (15) the poor girl woke up and started walking in the forest (16) she started walking, 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) 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 told her: mother, what is the matter with you? Why are you cooking only six portions and not seven? One is missing

(35) she told him: oh, my children, I have been cooking for you exactly the same portions, as always (36) they thought: there is someone in here (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 told her: all this beauty and you are hiding ? from now on you will be our sister (40) they rejoiced 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 get married with her (44) few days later they made wedding (45) after some time she gave birth to a child (46) the were spoiling her a lot (47) a merchant came and the mother told her: go for a bit and buy something for yourself (48) henna, corals, spices, teeth medicament, cinnamon and hair conditioner (49) she brough 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 carbons (52) and the merchant went from alley to alley (53) he arrived at step-mother's house (54) he told her: I am a merchant, and she went out of her home (55) she took the things that she liked (56) she brough him a handful of pomegranate peels (57) he told her: what did you bring me? It does not compare to what žīn əlgúmra brought me! (58) she told him: say again what you just said (59) he told her: žīn əlgúmra! (60) she told him: žīn əlgúmra is alive? (61) he told her: she is alive and she got married and she has children and she lives the happiest live (62) she told him: how come?! (63) she went home and took a comb and a small shirt (64) she wrapped them in a paper and went to the house of žīn əlgúmra (65) she told her: žīn əlgúmra? (66) they kissed, rejoiced and chatted, the step-mother 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 told 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 a poison on it, she put it on her hair and she died, but she did not died 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 əlgúmra, žīn əlgúmra, but she did not answered, neither the child cried, nor the woman talked (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, gúmra 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) they had a camel, they put her in a box, her and her child, they put them on the camel and told 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 has he 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 not he cries? They sat down and weeping (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 inspirits me brough me back the 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) they bound the box and told camel: off you go, take her home (108) the came left (109) in the evening, them, 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 told her: tell us what happened to you and what 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) oh, žīn əlgúmra, they kissed and hugged (115) you will not leave this place until you eat (116) she went to cook, prepared couscous and put a poison on the daughter's side and brough it (117) the daughter told her: will you not bring water? (118) while the mother was in the kitchen, she put a poison to mother's food but the mother did not know that (119) she told 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 they 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 step-mother has died (125) they called the sultan from the court, he came (126) he told her: what is the matter? How? (127) she told him: father do you know what she did to me? (128) she told him everything (129) he told 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 happy life.

5. A tale of an old woman

(1) ^{HE}zūg^{HE} yəḥábbu bʿádəm yắsər, ʿáršu, u ma tḷaʿúš mən əḍ-ḍấr, mən əl-ʿárš sahrín (2) u ḅaḅấ ʿándu šắlha (3) háda díma yə́ži yʿắwnu u yəḅáʿu l-šắlha (4) u ḅaḅấ yəbʿáṭlo žwabất: ya wə́ldi ə́ža ʿāwə́nni, tʿaddáu sahrín, tʿaddádu tláta, u ma žātš tʿáuni (5) sahrín ma žāš, ma yəwužbúš (6) híya kắmət ənnhár tnə́ḍḍəf əḍ-ḍắṛ (7) mə́ṛtu ḥállət zə́ṛḅə́yya u tə́ṛqa táḥta žwabất u qrátam (8) qátlu: šbīk ḅaḅák yəbʿáṭlək kull mə́ṛṛa žwāb, ma tṛə́ḍḍlus, ma twažbúš (9) ʿándu šắlha, šắlha wắqfa, bə́ṛṛa ə́mši ʿắwnu! (10) ʿándək əl-ḥáqq li saharín ma mšītš, nə́mšīlo (11) lbəš bắhi, u ʿaṭáṭḷu mắkla u ṭḷʿa (12) wúqfət fi-l-balkū́n, fi-š-šəbbī́k (13) tʿádda wəld ṣəḷṭ̣ấn (14) hū́wa ṛắha wa tāḫ ʿal ^{HE}moxó^{HE} (15) mša l-əḍ-ḍấr mṛíḍ̣ (16) mša l-wắḥda ʿažū́za u qálla: ʿamlə́li mžī́yya, ə́mšī u əxtəbī́ha (17) qátlu: ya wə́ldi, híya ʿárša b-ṛažə́lha, kifáš nə́mši naxtə́ḅa (18) bə́ṛṛa ə́mši, ána naʿaṭí̇k flūš li tḥábbi (19) l-ʿažū́za ma ʿandúš flū́š, híya mšát (20) híya mšát, də́ṛbət ʿal bāb qátla: žīt náxtaḅ (21) qáltla: ma taḥšmíš!? ána mʿárša b-ṛáẓli! (22) tayyḥáṭṭa mən dṛū́ž (23) qátla: híya mʿárša, ʿánda ṛažə́lha, šnū́wa nʿamə́llək (24) qálla: bə́ṛṛa ṛtáḥi wa nšū́fu šnū́wa nʿámlu (25) bʿad yamắt hū́wa ža wa qálla: bə́ṛṛa mšī ma taʿmə́llək ḥatta šə́yy we áṭlabi mə́nna (26) mšát, qálla: máṛṛa óxra žī́ti, šnu tḥábbi ʿándi? (27) qátla: šə́mʿi, ə́ṭḷəḅi ḥwắyž ṣʿaḅ, xálli yəšə́ybni u yəšə́ybək (28) qátla: šnū́wa nqū́llu? (29) qátla: qullī́lu yʿamə́lli damū́š, nə́ṭḷʿa mən dári bāš ma yəšū́fni ḥadd u nžī l-ʿándu (30) u yʿamə́lli qṣaṛṛ: ʿažə́ntu ḥánna u hazə́ṛtu dhə́bb, u žắbya bi-l-ḥū́t u waṛḍ u moḅílya bắya, zṛ̣ábi (31) wə́ṣḷət, qátlu: šnū́wa nqū́llək, ʿándi bšắra bắya: tḥ̣ə́ḅḅ qṣaṛṛ u ʿážna ḥánna, nuwắr u waṛd u žắbya bi-l-ḥ̣ū́ṭ (32) qálla: bṛímá, bắhi (33) l-ʿažū́za háblət, ḥáža ṣ̌áyba wa hū́wa qāl bắhi? híya štʿ́ážbət, ma amnə́tš (34) mšát ḷ-mṛa qátlu: hū́wa ṛḍa (35) qátla: ṛ̣ḍa? ṛḍa (36) tʿádda wuqṭ wa hū́wa ža l-ʿažū́za qálla: qullī́la kúll šắy ḥ̣ắḍaṛ (37) híya štʿ́ážəb, ḥ́ábbət tšūf kəfắš ʿamlúha (38) də́xlət l-damū́š wa hū́wa

385

mṛīd (39) qálla: ə́zri, ə́zri, dawwyī́ni, bnī́tlək əqqṣár bli mónha, ḥázərtu dhəbb wa ʿažə́ntu ḥánna (40) hī́ya hábtət də́rža tálya u qalə́tlo: yəšə́ddu ʿalə́ya ənžū́m u šma li ā́na žī́tək, kān štənnə́tni tqī́qa wa ā́na dawwī́tək (41) hī́ya wúṣlət wa hū́wa mīt (42) ḥaṭə́ṭo bi-l-ṣundū́q u ʿabə́tu bi-l-mə́lḥ u kull yūm tḥall əl-ṣundū́q wa tə́bki (43) u tə́tlʿa əl-fū́q, l-ḥmə́ta u tqúlla: šbīk dʿafitə́š, šbīk muš ka-tákli, aššbī́k təbkə́yy (44) əl-ḥáma qalə́tla: wən mšī́ti, wən mšī́ti, ʿalə́š ə́ynī́k ḥamrī́n? (45) ma twažibə́š (46) kull yūm hī́ya tǧīb, tə́bki, u tžī ə́yna nəfxī́n (47) əṛ-ṛáẓəl ža, hū́wa bʿa šə́lha u ʿāwə́n ḅū (48) ᴴᴱodᴴᴱ sār, ᴴᴱodᴴᴱ sahrī́n kif kif, hī́ya tə́mši, tə́bki u ṭə́ṭḷʿa (49) žāt úmmu u qátlu: šūf, ā́na ma nʿárafš šnū́wa ʿánda, tǧīb šʿa šʿatī́n u tžī (50) əṛ-ṛáẓəl tǧáṣṣaṣ u qāl: yálla, ə́žžu ʿalə́ya mən húnni! (51) hī́ya mšāt l-ġādi, ā́ʿnda l-mə́kla, ā́ʿnda kūl šə́yy, qáʿdət (52) də́xlət l-hāk əḍ-ḍāṛ qaʿdət, tə́bki ʿala ṛáẓəl (53) fi-l-láxər hī́ya qálət: xálaṣ! (54) lə́bšət ḥwə́yž ṭaʿ ṛáẓəl, u tʿárəf ṛaẓə́lha qaʿd filᴴᴱbet kaféᴴᴱ (55) ʿáməlt rū́ḥa ṛáẓəl, ṭə́ṣṛuḅ qə́wa, ṭə́ṣṛuḅ tē (56) u tṣáḥbat mʿáu (57) nār wə́ḥad qátlu: ə́ža l-ḍári (58) ža mʿáha (59) ə́ḥbəl aʿl aḍ-ḍə́ṛ (60) biūt, dhəbb, mobī́lia, zṛ́ábi (61) wa hū́wa ra žábya maʿ ḥuṭṭə́ṭ (62) qálla: aʿṭī́ni žūž ḥuṭṭə́ṭ (63) qalə́tlu: šūf, naʿṭī́k žūž ḥuṭṭə́ṭ, nʿaṭī́k árḅʿa, əš-ṣə́ṛṭ tžī́bli úmmək tə́ṛqəd mʿáya (64) qálla: ḥə́ḍar (65) hū́wa ṭḷáḅa žūž ḥuṭṭə́ṭ wa hī́ya ʿatátu árḅʿa (66) žabə́tlo ṣṭall, ḥaṭṭə́ṭlu árḅʿa, ḥaṭə́ṭlo mā (67) u ža l-úmmu wa qálla: bə́ṛṛa ə́mši mʿáy l-ṣáḥbi (68) úmmu žāt mʿau u šáfət əḍ-ḍə́ṛ ḅṛ́ima, mūš kif tʿa l-ʿabə́d (69) qʿádət l-ōṃ, ṣə́ṛbu qə́wa (70) ibn ā́məl lʿába u hrab (71) qátla: wə́nhu wə́ldi? (72) kifə́š mša u xallə́ni? xallə́ni mʿa ṛə́ẓəl? (73) l-ōṃ tǧáṣṣaṭ u tnə́fṛž (74) qalə́tla: ma txafī́ṣ, ā́na muš ṛə́ẓəl, ā́na mṛa (75) kifə́š?! (76) qátla: štə́nni šwī́ya u tšúfi (77) hī́ya də́xlət l-ḍ-ḍə́ṛ wa lə́bšət ḥwə́yəž ntʿa (78) qátla: šnū́wa ə́nti ᴴᴱkəllə́ᴴᴱ ntʿái? (79) qátla: ᴴᴱkenᴴᴱ (80) qátla: šúfi, wə́ldək bʿa úmmu ʿal žūž ḥuṭṭə́ṭ (81) əl-bə́nt aḥqatə́la əl-aḥqə́ya ntʿáha ʿal ʿažū́ža li žátha, šnū́wa li zṛ́ála (82) qalə́tla ḥwə́yəž ṣʿab wa hū́wa ʿamə́lləm, kifə́š

386

ma nə́mši nšūf (83) ́ana ma wṣult hū́wa māt (84) xdīt fi-qálbi, saxáfni, qʿádət nə́bki (85) qalə́tla: wə́ldək ʿal žūž ḥuṭə́ṭ xálla úṃṃu (86) mən ġádwa əṛ-ṛ̣ā́žəl ža bāš yā́xəd úṃṃu (87) hī́ya qátlo: xallī́tni mʿa ṛ̣ā́žəl?! ma taḥšə́mš?! (88) ́ama ʿándəka mə́žžal, hī́ya mə́ṛtək, hū́wa frāḥ wa ʿáyšu fi-l-xī́r.

(1) a couple loved each other a lot, they got married and for two months since the wedding have not leave they home (2) and the father has a stock (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 from the father and read them (8) she told 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 a stock, the stock is stopped, off you go and help him (10) you are right that I have not gone to him for two moths, 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 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 told her: please do me a favour, go and ask her for her hand (17) she told 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 told her: I came to ask for your hand (21) she told her: are you not ashamed?! I am married to my husband (22) she pushed her from the stairs (23) she told him: she is married, she has a man, how can I help? (24) he told her: take a rest and we will see what we will do (25) after some days he came again and told her: please go and ask for her hand, she will not do anything to you (26) she went and the woman told

her: you came again? What do you want from me? (27) she told her: listen, ask impossible things, he will leave you and me in peace (28) she told 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 told 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 told her: excellent (33) the old woman lost her mind, so difficult thing and he said yes? She was shocked, did not believe (34) she went to the woman and told her: he agreed (35) she told her: agreed? Agreed (36) after some time he went to the old woman and told her: tell her that everything is ready (37) she was surprised, went down to see how he did that (38) she entered the channel and found him ill (39) he told 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 told him: my witnesses the moon, the stars and the sky that I have come, if you had waited 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 everyday 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) her step-mother told her: where did you go? Where did you go? Why are you eyes red? (45) she would not respond (46) everyday 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 told 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 cry 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 told 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 told her: give me two fish (63) she told 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) told her: settled (65) he ask her for two fish and she gave him four (66) she brought him a bucket and put some water (67) and he went to his mother and told 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 made 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) she told her: fear not, I am not a man, I am a woman (75) how come?! (76) she told her: wait a minute and you will see (77) she went to her room and put her regular clothes (78) she told her: how come? Are you my daughter-in-law? (79) she told her: yes (80) she told 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 told 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 told her: your son for two fish left his mother (86) the next day the man came to pick up his mother (87) she told 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. ẓᶜafrána

(1) təmma wáḥad ṣəlṭắn wa ᶜándu wuləd (2) l-wuləd háda, kul mə́ṛṛa yáxəd əmṛā, bənt, žə́maᶜ yə́qaᶜd maᶜ u yəšəyyə́ba (3) kānt wắḥda mṛa, kānt ᶜánda bənt wa əl-bənt ᶜažíža ᶜaláya yásər, šəmmáta ẓᶜafrána (4) úṃṃa tḥə́žža l-škúla u tžíba mən škúla (5) ẓᶜafrána ya bə́nti, nadá (6) wəld əṣ-ṣəlṭắn hū šmᶜa ẓaᶜfrána (7) mša ṭlabā́ mən úṃṃa wa ᶜárəš mᶜa (8) qᶜad mᶜa žə́mᶜa u šəyyə́ba l-úṃṃa, yálḷa (9) u kūl mə́ṛṛa yáxəd bənt u yəllúwha (10) ẓᶜafrána, wuqt húwa xdáha, ᶜaṭála bəžawónk (11) ᶜaṭála wa qálla: kān tžíbi bənt, ḥaṭṭə́ya fi-drᶜa, u kān tžíbi wəld, ḥaṭṭə́ylo fi-fxádu (12) híya žábət wəld, ḥaṭṭə́ṭlo bəžawónk ᶜal fxədd (13) əl-wə́ld kḅaṛ wa yə́mši l-škúla (14) təmma wáḥad, yəḥább yə́mši l-ḥažž wa ᶜándu bənt (15) húwa mša l-mə́ḍḍəḅ wa ᶜatátu ṣundúq ḥwắyž ntᶜu (16) mša l-ᶜándu, qállu: ána máši l-ḥažž, nᶜatík bə́nti ṛəḍḍ bálək ᶜaláya, u nᶜatík əl-ṣundúq (17) kif nži nqúllək (18) qállu: báhi (19) adák mša l-ḥažž u láxər xda əl-bənt (20) qálla: ᶜárši mᶜáya! (21) ma ḥabbə́tš wa húwa ṣákra fi-l-ḥíṭ (22) əṛ-ṛắžəl ržᶜa wa qállu: ᶜaṭíni bə́nti wa ᶜatíni ṣundúq (23) qállu: la nᶜárfək, u la žítni, u la šúftək (24) húwa bda yə́bki, ᶜaṭíni bəṛq əl-bənt, qállu: ma ᶜandíš (25) wa hāk əl-bənt yᶜaṭála xabž u žaytún u yəxallə́ya fi-l-ḥíṭ (26) u yəqúlla: ᶜárši mᶜáya, wa tqúllu: ma, wa húwa yəqᶜádā (27) kul yūm kif kif (28) əl-ḅáḅa mša l-ḥákəm (29) qállu: ᶜándək šhúd? (30) qállu: la (31) qállu: kifáš tᶜáṭi əṣ-ṣundúq u bə́ntək bla šhūd? (32) qállu: ma aᶜarftáš (33) ma nə́žmu nᶜamlú šəy, ma ᶜándu šhūd (34) əš-šibáni, taġžíla li xdáha wa kádu yásər əl-bəntu, yáxəd həbár, məlyáha bi-l-ma, ḥáṭṭu ᶜála kə́tfu wa yᶜaṭi l-ẓġār fi-škúla yə́ṣṛəbu ma (35) u qállum: aᶜl ktáfa ᶜawíša bníti, bə́ntu šmaᶜ ᶜawíša (36) ža əl-wə́ld ẓᶜafrána (37) hádak əl-wə́ld fállaḥ, ᶜándu ᶜákəl báhi (38) əl-místru ma žaš (39) qállu: ána ṣəlṭắn, nə́mši wa nṭálḷa ḥāk əṛ-ṛắžəl (40) ḅāḅ əl-wə́ld, əṣ-ṣəlṭắn mᶜa wžíru yᶜámlu dúra fi-l-bláḍ wa šúfu wəld ẓġír wa qálləm: ána náḥkəm! (41) əl-místru ža wa qállum:

yálla, dáxlu l-bīt (42) əṣ-ṣəlṭán qāl l-wəld: óža l-húni (43) qắllu: šnúwa tḥább ʿándi? (44) qắllu: qúlli kəfáš táḥqəm bāš tóllʿa haqq ntʿa ṛắẓəl (45) qắllu: ma nqúllək kān ma tʿatíni ət-tắž (46) wəld ẓġīr yáḥkəm ʿalína f-ətắž (47) qắlla: bắhi (48) xúdu, dáxlu l-ḥamắm, ʿáwmu, bədllúlu wa ḥaṭóṭu tažž (49) fi-l-ḥamắm ṛqắu fi-fxóddu əl-bəžawónk (50) qallúlo: ya šóddi ṣəlṭán, hắda wóldu (51) ḥaṭólo tažž u qắllu: óža qúlli šnúwa óḥkúm ntāk, šnúwa nʿámlu ṭúwwa? (52) qắllu: šūf, nḥabb míya áškri, nəbʿáṭəm u yəfórkšu əḍ-ḍār kúlla rókna rókna (53) bʿáṭu əl-áškər, dáxlu wa fórkšu rókna rókna (54) wa yóšəmʿu bənt: aa…aa… (55) ᴴᴱ matzáv ᴴᴱ ntắha ṣắyəb yắsər (56) qắllu: ʿaṭíni nḥall əl-bắb (57) ḥállu əl-bắb wa rqắu bənt, híya dắʿyfa, bə-šíf tətkólləm (58) xdắuha fíšʿa l-ṣḅiṭál, ʿānwnúha, nəḍfúha (59) wa šóddu əṛ-ṛắẓəl, qắllu: gəddắb, xdít əl-bónt txabbíta húni (60) ḥaṭṭúhu fi-l-ḥábš, qắllu: žīb əl-ṣundúq ntắu (61) fíšʿa ʿatálo ṣundúq (62) wa fárḥu bi-l-bónt (63) əl-bónt kábrat, ʿárəš ʿalóya əl-wóld ṣəlṭán (64) lilótha li ʿárəš, yáḥləm wắḥad ḍórbu kóff (65) húwa qām f-əṣ-ṣḅáḥ, qāl: nắxəd kóff fi-l-blắd ntắy? (66) áhrab bi-l-blắd u ṣfaṛ l-blắd áxər (67) l-mṛa kắmət, wən əl-ʿaríš, wónhu? (68) ma təmmaúš, ma nʿárəfš wən mša (69) húwa mša, habáṭ fi-blắd, la ʿandū ḍāṛ, la ʿandū flūš, la ʿándu ḥáṭṭa šəy (70) u ža ʿamól ᴴᴱ óhel ᴴᴱ u qaʿd fíhu u yóxdəm móndəb wa yʿálləm ẓġār (71) yákəl wa yʿáyš f-ák əl- ᴴᴱ óhel ᴴᴱ (72) tómma ġắdi ṣəlṭán, bóntu bāš tʿárəš (73) árḍu əl-místru, qắllu: óži əl-ʿárš ntʿắna, bónti bāš tʿárəš (74) húwa lắbəš ḥwáyəž dərblín (75) kúlam qắʿdin fi-l-bdú wa húwa qắʿd fi-l-lắxər (76) ʿámlu l-ʿaráš mắkla u ṣṛắb u kull (77) fi-l-lắxər ža ṛắẓəl bóntu, nšíbu, mən wắḥad l-wắḥad yəqúllu: šnúwa ḥabb tʿáti rigálu? (78) wa húwa yəqáyyəd fi-žmắm (79) wắḥəd yəqúll móya, wắḥad yəqúll miytín, wắḥad yəqúll tláta, árbʿa (80) ḥátta wuṣlú l-hắda l-ẓawắli (81) šnúwa tʿaṭī ónti? (82) nʿaṭi míyat nắga, húwa ršəm, míya ʿalóləš, húwa ršəm, ʿášra ahṣanắt (83) ʿaláš mūš tqáyyəḍ, tqáyyəḍ! (84) yəqáyyəd, fi-l-lắxər hadák əṛ-ṛắẓəl

tġážžəl ʿatáhu wáḥad kəff (85) qállu: ə́ršəm əl-yə́dd li ʿatáti (ə)lkəff tatqáṣṣ (86) lắžəm tqayyə́da u qayyə́da (87) ufʿa əl-ʿárš u mša l-blắdu (88) əl-ḅaḅá fraḥ li əl-wə́ld ža, qállu: nḥabb míẙa ḥắža u míẙa háda u míẙa háda wa əl-ḅáḅa ʿatálo (89) hűwa rkab ʿal aḥṣ́án kbīr (90) hűwa wṣəl l-ḅlắṣa u kra (91) u ža l-ṣ-ṣəlṭ́án qállo: ána wəld ṣəlṭ́án šmʿat li yʿáməl ʿarš taʿ bə́ntək u ma ʿraṭṣ ʿalə́ya, ána nḥaḅḅ ṭűwwa (92) ʿáməl əl-ʿárš mən ždīd (93) hűwa ákbar mə́nhu (94) qállu: bắhi (95) qállu: árḍ ʿalək əl-ʿabədd kul kắnu (96) qállu: bắhi (97) ʿámlu əl-kə́rš ntʿau kəf kəf (98) əl-kə́rš ə́ntʿu fắrə̀ɡ (99) qállu: škūn hűni qắ́ʿd? (100) qállu: wáḥad ẓawắli, ṣə́ṛṃaṭ (101) qállu: ána nə́qʿad fī (102) qállu: la, muš mən qádṛək (103) qállu: la, ána nə́qʿad fī (104) ʿámlu ʿárš mən ždīd kif mắṛṛa lűla (105) wúṣlu l-il-rigắlu (106) bdắu yəqáyydu ḥátta yűṣlu li hűwa (107) qállu: šnűwa tʿatí ə́nti? (108) qállu: míẙat nắga (109) də́xəllu míẙa (110) míẙa ʿáyza, dxə́llu míẙa (111) kə́məl ᴴᴱrešimáᴴᴱ šnűwa məktűb lűṭa hắdi? (112) məktűb: li ʿatá kəff tətqə́ṣṣ yə́ddu (113) qállu: ána li kān hűni, ṭűwwa qə́ṣṣu yə́ddu.

(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 Zʿafrắna (4) the mother would walk her to the school and back (5) Zʿafrắna, my daughter, she would call her (6) the son of sultan heard Zʿafrắna (7) he went to the mother to ask for her hand and he got married with 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 with Zʿafrắna, he gave her a bracelet (11) he gave it to her and told her: if you birth a girl, put this bracelet on her arm, and if you birth 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 the 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 told him: I am going to Mecca, please pay attention to my daughter and I am giving you the box (17) when I het back I will tell you (18) he told him: fine (19) he went to Mecca and the other took the girl (20) he told her: get married with me! (21) she did not want and he locked her in a wall (22) he came back and told him: give me my daughter and the box back (23) he answered: I do not know you, you have never came 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: get married with me, and when she replied: no, he would make her stay (in the wall) (27) every day the same (28) the father went to the judge (29) he told 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 was upset that he had taken the daughter and 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 ʿawĩša, his daughter's name is ʿawĩša (36) the son of Zʿafrắna 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 get back the 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 told 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 get back the 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 hammam, washed him, changed his clothes and put on his head the crown (49) in hammam they found on his shin the bracelet (50) they

told him: your majesty, this is your son (51) they put the crown on his head and told 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 head a girl: aa..aa.. (55) her situation was severe (56) they told 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 cough the man, they told him: liar! You took the girl and hid her in here (60) they took him to the prison and told him: bring his box (61) he gave him the box at once (62) and they rejoiced the girl (63) the girl grew up and the sultan's son got married with her (64) on the night of the wedding he had a dream that someone hit him with a palm of hand (65) he woke up in the morning and said: how will someone hit me with a palm in my own city? (66) he escaped 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 told 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 made the wedding, food, beverages, everything (77) at the end 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) 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) log: 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 told him: I want one hundred of this and on 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 told him: I am a son of sultan and I have heard that you had made a wedding of your daughter and you had not invited me, I would like now (to attend) (92) they made a wedding again (93) he is more powerful than him (94) he said: fine (95) he told him: invite all the people that attended the last wedding (96) he said: fine (97) they organised the chairs in the 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 told them: I will seat 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 told 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 told him: I am the one who was sitting here, now cut his hand.

7. Sultan and the daughter of a peasant

(1) hádi əl-xarráfa tʿa nánti úmmi žáyma (2) qáln: təmma wáḥda bnáya yəšəmmiúha maqṣúfat šə́bʿa šnīn (3) hadík əl-maqṣúfat šə́bʿa šnīn, nhar ḅaḅáha tʿádda u lqá əṣ-ṣə́ḷṭán (4) qállu: šnúwa ḥwáḷək wa šnúwa háda (5) qállu: náḥəmdu ṛə́bḅi, la bāš ʿalína (6) qállu: nḥabḅ nášdək nə́šda (7) aaa! aṣ-ṣə́ḷṭán tʿádda, lqā yə́ẓṛa fi-l-bṣə́l (8) hū qállu: əl-bṣə́l háda, táklu wə́lla yáklək? (9) qállu: ə́šmʿa, tláta yām fi-yə́ddək tžíbli əl-xbár (10) kān la baʿd yə́qtlu (11) ḥžīn mša l-əḍ-ḍáṛ, yə́ndəb ʿal aṛṛáṣu, ə́lʿamla mšúma li ʿamə́ltha u yə́bki (12) žāt əl-bə́ntu hádi šəmíʿa maqṣúfat šə́bʿat šnīn (13) ḥqáha ḅaḅáha, qátlu: ḅáḅa mā txáfṣ, nhar təlt əlyúm aná nqúllək šnúwa twážbu l-əṣ-ṣə́ḷṭán (14) nhar təlt əl-yúm, qalə́tlo: bárra qúllu l-ṣ-ṣə́ḷṭán: kān ʿášt, náklu u kān mīt kláli (15) mša l-əṣ-ṣə́ḷṭán, qállu: áka áka, wúka wúka (16) áma nḥábḅək tqúlli: šnúwa yəqúllu, əl-šə́žwa, fa-ḥaṭṭúha ʿal əl-nár, šnúwa tqúll, kif yəṭṭíbu əl-qáḥwa bəšə́žwa, šnúwa tqúll? (17) uuu, qálla, əl-ʿámla mšúma ʿamə́ltha ṭúwwa (18) qátlu: ḅáḅa ma txáfṣ (19) nhar təlt əl-yúm, qátlu bárra qúllu: aná qáhwa wu li yəṣṛə́bni šáḥwa wu li yətʿáləm bíha tə́mknu dáʿwa (20) əl-mélex ṣáṛlu ʿažáb hádi ḥáža əl-ʿabə́d (21) qállu: ṭúwwa nḥábḅək tqúlli əz-zṛáṛa (22) kif yətáḷḷʿu ṣṭaḷḷ mən bīr, šnúwa tqūl? (23) qāl: kəfáš nʿáməl ṭúwwa, mša l-bə́ntu yə́bki (24) qátlu: ḅáḅa ma txáfṣ (25) nhar təlt əl-yúm, qalə́tlo: qūl l-ṣ-ṣuḷṭán: aná lūḥ u rə́ḥti tfūḥ u láḥmi maẓrúḥ (26) qállu: əḥwáyəž hádu, škūn qāʿd yəfašə́rlək fíhəm? (27) qállu: nḥábḅək ṭúwwa tʿamə́lli hə́kka (28) ʿarián u lábəš, yə́bki u yə́dḥak, u rə́kəb u yə́mši ʿal rážli (29) aḥžír xāf (30) mša l-bə́ntu qátlu: ḅáḅa ma txáfṣ (31) nhar təlt əl-yúm, qátlu: žíbli bhīm (32) bhīm zǧirún qalə́tlo, qṣir (33) ḥaṭṭátu ʿal əl-bhím (34) rə́kəb ʿal əl-bhím u rážli fi-luṭá (35) u nḥítlu ḥwáyəž u ləbšə́tlo tíla (36) tíla fíha nqāb, wa hadák ʿaryán u lábəš (37) wa hádi xdāt ṛāṣ əl-bṣə́l u ḥakkə́tlo

ʿal žbī́nu (38) tawə́lla ʿadmu ʿabtī́n, ḫáltu ḫlī́la u rū́ḥu tálʿat (39) u yə́ḍḥak mə́yyət

mən əḍ-ḍḥák (40) mša l^HEmáléx^HE, l-mə́léx qállu: ṭū́wwa nḥabbǝk tqū́lli škūn hádi li

qáʿda tfašárlǝk fi-l-ḥwáyǝž hádi kúlla (41) qállu: ya šə́di mə́léx, hádi bə́nti (42) qállu:

bə́ntek hádi nḥabb naxū́dha (43) ža mə́léx, xda tláta sǝná́ʿ ntáʿu (44) qállu: əmlá́u

qóffa bi-l-ḥwáyǝž bahī́n l-kull, u ffā́ḥ u ṣabū́n u ə́žu l-ʿarū́ṣa (45) wúṣlu l-ḍá́r tʿa ǝṛ-

ṛáẓǝl, ḍáṛbu ʿal əl-bā́b (46) wa hī́ya qáлǝt: ʿaqli fi-ḫázri, ma nžəmš nqūm ṭū́wwa (47)

rū́ḥu əl-mə́léx (48) qállu: hádi m̥ra ə́nta txūd? hī́ya mahbū́la, qáлǝt ʿaqla fi-ḥẓárha (49)

qāl: ə́ntum mahbulī́n, ʿaqla fi-ḥə́rha hadī́k txáлǝṣ fi-ṣʿárha u ṣáʿrha wuṣǝl ḥátta ražī́ya,

kān tqū́mi txáddǝr, ə́ržu l-ǵádi (50) rə́žu, tə́blu ʿal əl-bā́b (51) qaltə́lhǝm: ḥáṭṭu

ržə́lkǝm ʿal əl-bǝnná́y u yǝdd ʿal ṅǝẓẓár u yǝdd ʿal əl-ḥaddá́d (52) mšáu l-mə́léx, qállu:

šnū́wa əl-ḥwáyǝž hádu? (53) xarbǝtǝ́nna múxna m̥ra hádi (54) qáллǝm: ḥáṭṭu

ražə́lkǝm ʿal ʿáṭba u yǝdd ʿal əl-bā́b u yǝdd bi-l-ḥálka u tə́ḍrǝbu (55) dáxlu, fárḥǝt

bíhǝm u šā́fǝt əl-qáffa (56) qaltə́lhǝm: šǝlmū́ l-mə́léx bə́rša bə́rša bə́rša (57) áma

qullū́lu, nǝqṣī́n fi-š-šma tláta qwáqǝb u fi-l-bḥár tláta marákǝb (58) rū́ḥu u qállu: ya

ʿarū́ṣa, ya ʿažī́za, u qablə́tna (59) eee, qāl, ya šə́ddi mə́léx! qaltə́nna naqṣī́n fi-š-šma

tláta qwáqǝb u fi-l-bḥár tláta marákǝb (60) wa qalə́lhǝm l-mə́léx háka: šnū́wa xnə́btu

mǝn qóffa? (61) ^HEbemét^HE xə́nbu tláta mǝn kul ḥáža (62) hū́wa yǝḥább yʿárǝš ʿalə́ya

u bdá́u əl-ʿárš (63) qálla: ə́šmʿi, á́ndi maʿk ṣǝṛṭ wáḥad (64) n-nhar li ná́xdǝk ma

tǝdwə́yyǝš mʿa əl-ná́š (65) ʿáršu, nhār əl-mə́léx tʿad, má́ši ʿal əl-bḥár, yǝ́rqa, nu kifá́š?

(66) žā́ wáḥǝd əl-mə́léx yǝškī́lu (67) qállu šnū́wa, qállu: ya šə́ddi mə́léx, aná́ á́ndi

fárṣa bǝyyə́tha fi-l-fundū́q u wə́ldǝt bʿīr, tə́mma fárṣa tžīb aḥmī́r? (68) qállu: xallī́li

ntfákkǝr (69) əl-ʿábǝd háda kān mḥáyyǝr (70) hū́wa ka-yə́mši əl-ṣǝṭṭ əl-bḥár mḥayrá́n,

wa hī́ya qáʿdǝt fi-l-balkū́n šāfǝ́thu yə́mši (71) qátlu: šbī́k? (72) qálla: b̥rá́ṣǝk ya m̥ra,

xallī́ni (73) qáltlu: lázǝm taḥqī́li (74) qállu: ʿándi fə́rṣa u žábǝt bhīm u l-mə́léx qāl

twáḥmət aᶜl bᶜīr u hádək húwa li žāb (75) qalátlu: ġádwa əl-málax fi-šátt tᶜa ṣbāḥ lážəm yətámša ᶜal ṣəṭṭ l-bḥar (76) ánta ġádwa fi-ṣbáḥ xūd šᶜaír u ábda áġəršu fi-gəẓġáẓ al-bḥár (77) tᶜádda əl-málax, qállu: ya mahbűl, tázrᶜa lšaᶜír fi-ṣáṭṭ əl-bḥár? (78) qállu: mána támma fárṣa tžíb bᶜír (79) ᶜaráf əl-málax, qāl: háda ᴴᴱrakᴴᴱ márti, ma təmmáš ḥáža áxra (80) ža l-ḍāṛ qálla: ášmᶜi, ṭúwwa aná málax u ma nḥabbúš fdḥáya (81) líla fi-llíl xúdi li ᶜažíž ᶜalík wa trúḥi l-babák (82) aná ḥkámt ᶜalík u ánti ma wqəftís fi-kálmtək (83) qalátlu: álli táḥkəm yəṣír (84) fi-llíl ḥaṭáṭlu bəṇṣ, raqdátu ráqda bṛíma, xdāt əl-fráš ntᶜáhu, žábət əl-xaddáma ntᶜáha u ḥawlátu l-ḥūš babáha (85) qām f-əṣ-ṣbáḥ u lqa l-qaṭṭűṣa tmáᶜwi u l-džádža tgárgər u háda qállu: šnűwa háda? wən ṣbáḥt? šnűwa náᶜməl húni? (86) qáltlu: muš ánti ṣ-ṣərt ᶜalíya? (87) qálla: ṣərt ᶜalīk? šnűwa? (88) qalátlo: ḥáža ᶜažíža ᶜalíya (89) l-ḥáža álli aᶜžíža aᶜlík xudíha u ámši (90) qátlu: ánti ᶜažíž ᶜalíya u xdítək (91) qálla: aná, yəžiűni fi-n-nhár u fi-l-líl nṣáwər mᶜak u l-máḥkma tṣār bərk mən ġádwa, bᶜad ma nṣáwar mᶜak.

(1) This story is from my grandmother, ummi žáyma (2) there was a girl, whom people used to call 'cursed seven years' (3) this girl cursed seven years, one day her father met the sultan (4) he asked him how are you and so on (5) he said: thank God everything is all right (6) he told him: I would like to ask you a question (7) oh! when the sultan was passing by, he found the man 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) 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 'cursed seven years' (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 told 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 fire, what does it say? When people prepare a 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 told him: go and tell him 'I am coffee, and those who drink me enjoy, and those who get you 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) three days later, she said: you will tell him 'I am wood, my smell is pleasant and my body hurts' (26) he told him: who explains you all these things? (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) poor man got scared (30) he went to his daughter and she told him: father, do not be afraid (31) three days later she told him: bring me a donkey (32) a small one, she said, a short one (33) she put him on the donkey (34) he was riding the donkey and his feet were shuffling on the floor (35) and she undressed him and put on him a piece of fabric (36) in a 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 told him: now I want you to tell me who this person is, who explains you all those things (41) he said: your majesty, it is my daughter (42) he told him: this daughter, I would like to marry her (43) the king came and took his three servants (44) he told 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) they went to the king (48) they told him: are you

going to marry this woman? She is insane, she said that her mind is on her knees (49) he

told them: you are insane, her mind was on her knees because she was finishing [combing]

her hair and her hair reaches the legs, when she stands up she will let you know, go back

there! (50) they came back and knocked on the door (51) she told 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 told him: what are those things? (53) this woman has messed with our

heads! (54) he told 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 told them: give my best regards to the king (57) but tell him:

there are three starts missing on the sky and three ships in the sea (58) they went back and

told him: what a dear bride and how she received us! (59) oh! your majesty, but she said

that there are three stars missing on the sky and three ships missing in the sea (60) and the

king told 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 told 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 told

him: what happened? He said: 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 told 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 told him: what is wrong with you? (72) he told her: let it go, oh woman,

leave me in peace (73) she told him: you have to tell me (74) he told 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 told 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 told him: are you insane? How come are you sowing barely in the sand? (78) he told 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 told her: I am a king now and I do not want gaffs (81) late in the night take whatever is valuable for 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 out him asleep, 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 cock crowing and he said: what is that? Where I woke up? What am I doing here? (86) she told him: aren't you my condition? (87) he told her: your condition? How? (88) she told 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 told 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aarts, Bas. 2004. "Conceptions of Gradience in the History of Language". *Language Sciences* 26: 343-389.

Adams, J.N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Adams, J.N. 2007. *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agius, Dionisius and Amir Harrak. 1987. "Auxiliary Particles Preceding the Imperfective Aspect in Arabic Dialects." *Arabica* XXXIV: 164-180.

Aguadé, Jordi. 2012. "Verbs reflecting CA form IV Patterns in Moroccan Arabic". *Romano-Arabica* 12: 7-15.

Aguadé, Jordi. 2018. "The Maghrebi Dialects of Arabic." In *Arabic Historical Dialectology*. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 30, edited by Clive Holes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29-64.

Al-Tairi, Hamed, Brown, J., Watson, C., & Gick, B. (2017). "Tongue Retraction in Arabic: An Ultrasound Study". In *Proceedings of the 2016 Annual Meeting on Phonology* (Los Angeles) edited by K. Jesney, O'Hara C, C. Smith, R. Walker.

Anderson, John, and Charles Jones (eds.). 1974. *Historical Linguistics. Volume 1: Syntax, Morphology, Internal and Comparative Reconstruction.* Amsterdam: North Holland.

Archangeli, Diana and Douglas Pulleybank. 1994. *Grounded Phonology.* Current Studies in Linguistics 25. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Archangeli, Diana. 1999. "Introducing Optimality Theory". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28(1): 531-552.

Arnold, Werner. 1990. *Das Neuwestaramäische V. Grammatik*. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Bahloul, Maher. 2011. "Agreement". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. 2019. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad: Phonology, Morphology, and Texts*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Basset, André & Picard, André. 1948. *Éléments de grammaire berbére (Kabylie–Irjen)*. Algiers: éditions "La Typo-Litho" et Jules Carbonelér.

Basset, René. 1893. *Étude sur la Zenatia du Mzab*. Paris: Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Algier.

Basset, René. 1894. *Études sur les dialectes berbères.* Paris: Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Algier.

Baussier, Marcelin. 1931. *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français.* Alger: Nouvelle édition par M.M. Ben Cheneb.

Behnstedt, Peter. 1998. "Zum Arabischen von Djerba (Tunisien) I". *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 35: 52-83.

Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2010. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte.* Vol 1. Leiden: Brill.

Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2018. The Formation of the Egyptian Arabic Dialect Area'. In: *Arabic Historical Dialectology,* Clive Holes (ed.), 64-96. (Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 30). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bekins, Peter. 2014. *Transitivity and Object Marking in Biblical Hebrew: An Investigation of the Object Preposition et".* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Benkato, Adam. 2014. "The Arabic Dialect of Benghazi, Libya: Historical and Comparative Notes". *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 59: 57-102.

Bhat, Darbhe. 2007. *Pronouns.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blench, Roger. 2001. "Types of language spread and their archeological correlates: the example of Berber". *Origini* 23:169-90.

Binnick, Robert. 1991. *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blau, Joshua. 1952. "Numerals in Judeo-Arabic [Hebrew]". *Tarbiz* 23:4, 27–35.

Blau, Joshua. 1979. *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*. (in Hebrew). 2nd ed. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Blau, Joshua. 1999. *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*. 3rd ed. Jerusalem: Ben Zwi.

Blau, Joshua. 2010. *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic, vol. 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Boogert, Nico van den. 1997. *The Berber Literary Tradition of the Sous.* Leiden: NINO.

Brockelmann, Carl. 1908. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* Vol. 1. Berlin: Wentworth Press.

Brown, Gilian and George Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brunot, Louis and E. Malka. 1940. *Fès: glossaire judeo-arabe de Fès.* Rabat: Ecole du Livre.

Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Bukshaisha, F. A. M. 1985. *An Experimental Phonetic Study of Some Aspects of Qatari Arabic.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Bulliet, Richard. 1979. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period.* Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Bunis, Ivri. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic from the Byzantine Period.* PhD dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Bunis, Ivri. 2020. "The Morphosyntactic Conservatism of Western Neo-Aramaic Despite Contact with Syrian Arabic." In *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic,* edited by Geoffrey Khan & Paul M. Noorlander. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

Bybee, Joan. 2003. "Mechanism of Change in Grammaticalization: The Role of Frequency". In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics,* edited by Brian Joseph & Richard Janda, 602-623. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bybee, Joan, R. Perkins & W. Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World.* Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Cadi, Kaddour. 1987. *Système verbal rifain: Forme et sens.* Paris/Louvain: Peeters.

Cantineau, Jean. 1960. *Cours de Phonétique Arabe.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Caubet, Dominique. 1993. *L'Arabe Marocain.* Études Chamito-Sémitiques. Paris-Louvain: Éditions Peeters.

Chabot, Jean-Baptiste. 1940. *Recueil des inscriptions libyques.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Chtatou, Mohamed 1997. "The Influence of the Berber Language on Moroccan Arabic". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123: 101-118.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2018. "Information Structure in the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Telkepe". In *Information Structure in Lesser-Described Languages: Studies in Prosody and Syntax*, edited by Evangelia Adamou, Katharina Haude, and Martine Vanhove, 297-328. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cohen, Marcel. 1924. *Système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps.* Paris: Leroux.

Cohen, David. 1964–1975. *Le parler arabe des juifs de Tunis*. I. *Textes et documents*. 2. *Etude descriptive et historique*. The Hague: Mouton.

Cohen, Marcel. 1912. *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger.* Paris: Champion.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Corbett, Grenville G. 2006. *Inflection.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Correll, Christoph. 1978. *Untersuchungen zur Syntax der neuwestaramäischen Dialekte des Antilibanon (Maʿlūla, Baḫʿa, Gubb ʿAdīn) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Auswirkungen arabischen Adstrateinflusses.* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XLIV, 4. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Corriente, Federico. 1977. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle.* Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe De Cultura.

Corriente, Federico. 2012. *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusi Arabic.* Leiden: Brill.

Cowell, Mark. 1964. *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Čech, Radek and Petr Pajas. 2009. "Pitfalls of the Transitivity Hypothesis: Transitivity in Conversation and Written Language in Czech". *Glottotheory* 2: 41-49. De Gruyter Akademie Forschung.

D'Anna, Luca 2021. The Judeo-Arabic Dialect of Yefren (Libya): Phonological and Morphological Notes. *Journal of Jewish Languages* 9 (1): 1-31.

Davis, Stuart. 1995. "Emphasis spread in Arabic and grounded phonology", *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 465–498.

Dayf, Šawqī. 1990. *Taysīrāt luġawiyya*. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif.

DeLancey, Scott. 1997. "Grammaticalization and the Gradience of Categories: Relator Nouns and Postpositions in Tibetan and Burmese". In *Essays on Language Functions and Language Type,* edited by Joann Bybee, John Haiman & Sandra Thompson, 51-69. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Diem, Werner. 1979. "Studien zur Frage des Substrats im Arabischen." *Der Islam* 56: 12–80.

Diesel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization.* John Benjamins.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2005. "Order of relative clause and noun". In *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eisele, John. 1990. "Time Reference, Tense, and Formal Aspect in Cairene Arabic." In: *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics I,* edited by Mushira Eid, 173-212. Current Issues in Linguistics Theory, 63. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Eisele, John. 1992. "Egyptian Arabic Auxiliaries and the Category of AUX." In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics IV,* edited by Ellen Broselow, Mushira Eid, & John McCarthy, 143-65. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 85. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Eisele, John. 2011. "Aspect." In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Eksell, Kerstin. 1980. *The Analytic Genitive in the Modern Arabic Dialects*. (= *Orientalia Gothoburgensia*, 5). PhD dissertation, University of Göteborg.

Eksell, Kerstin. 2009. "D/L Particles in Arabic Dialects : A Problem Revisited". In *Relative Clauses and Genitive Constructions in Semitic.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, edited by Janet Watson and Jan Retso.

El Aissati, Abderrahman. 2011. "Berber Loanwords". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Managing Editors Online Edition: Lutz Edzard, Rudolf de Jong. Consulted online on 05 May 2022.

El Hankari, Abdelhak. 2015. "Tarifit Berber: From VSO to Topic-Initial". *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 7: 307-330.

El Yasin, Mohammed. 1985. "Basic Word Order in Classical Arabic and Jordanian Arabic". *Lingua* 65 (1-2): 107-122.

Feghali, Michel. 1928. *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban.* Paris : Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Ferrando, Ignacio. 2011. "Collective". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich and Otto Jastrow et al. 1980. *Handbuch der Arabischen Dialekte*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie XVI (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 2002. *A Grammar of CA*; translated from German by Jonathan Rodgers. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Foley, William, and R. D. Van Valin, Jr. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Forsyth, John. 1970. *A Grammar of Aspect.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt & Shay, Erin (eds.) 2012. *The Afroasiatic Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 18–101.

Gamaleldin, Saad. 1967. *A Syntactic Study of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic.* Mouton: The Hague.

Gebski, Wiktor. 2022. "Expressions of Tense and Aspect in the Tunisian Varieties of Arabic. A Comparative Study of Jewish and Muslim Dialects". *Journal of Jewish Languages* 10:1-33.

Givon, Talmy. 1980. "The Binding Hierarchy and the Typology of Complements". *Studies in Language* 4, 333–77.

Givon, Talmy. 1990. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction.* Vol. 2 Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ghazali, Salem. *Back Consonants and Back Coarticulation in Arabic.* PhD thesis. University of Austin, Texas.

Goldenberg, Gideon. 1995. "Attribution in Semitic Languages". *Langues Orientales Anciennes: Philologie et Linguistique* 5–6:1–20.

Grand'Henry, Jacques. 1972. *Le parler arabe de Cherchell (Algérie).* Louvain-la-Neuve : Institut Orientaliste.

Grand'Henry, Jacques. 2011. "Algeria". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Greenberg, Joseph. 1996. *Universals of Language.* M.I.T. Press.

Grotzfeld, Heinz. 1965. *Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik (Dialekt von Damaskus)*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium: Neue Serie VIII. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Guerrero, Jairo. 2015. "Preliminary Notes on the Current Arabic Dialect of Oran (Western Algeria)". *Romano-Arabica* 15: 219-233.

Gundel, Jeanette. 1988. *Universals of Topic-Comment Structure.* In *Studies in Syntactic Typology*, edited by M. Hammond, 209-239. John Benjamins.

Gzella, Holger. 2015. *A Cultural History of Aramaic.* Leiden: Brill.

Gzella, Holger. 2013. "Animacy". In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill.

Hanitsch, Melanie. 2019. *Verbalmodifikatoren in Den Arabischen Dialekten: Untersuchungen Zur Evolution von Aspektsystemen.* Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Neue Serie 27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Harrell, Richard. 1962. *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Haspelmath, Martin 2009. ''Lexical Borrowing: Concepts and Issues''. In: Martin Haspelmath & U. Tadmor (ed.). *Loanwords in the World's Languages. A Comparative Handbook.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 35-54.

Hasselbach, Rebeca. 2014. *Agreement and the Development of Gender in Semitic (Part I). Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 164: 33-64.

Heath, Jeffrey. 1987. *Ablaut and Ambiguity. Phonology of a Moroccan Arabic Dialect.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Heath, Jeffrey. 2002. *Jewish and Muslim dialects of Moroccan Arabic.* London: Curzon

Heine, Bernd. 2003. "Grammaticalization". In *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics,* edited by Brian Joseph and Richard Janda. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 575-601.

Henshe, Yehudit. 2007. *Hebrew Elements in Daily Speech: A Grammatical Study and Lexicon of the Hebrew Component of Tunisian Judeo-Arabic* (in Hebrew). Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.

Henshke, Yehudit. 2013. "Tunisia, Pronunciation Traditions". In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill.

Hirschberg, Haim Zeev. 1974. *A History of the Jews in North Africa: From Antiquity to the Sixteenth Century.* Vol 1. Leiden: Brill.

Hoberman, Robert. 1989. "Parameters of Emphasis: Autosegmental Analysis of Pharyngealization in Four Languages". *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 2: 73-97.

Holes, Clive. 1990. *Gulf Arabic.* London: Routlege.

Holes, Clive. 1991. "Kashkasha and the Fronting and Affrication of the Velar Stops Revisited: A Contribution to the Historical Phonology of the Peninsular Arabic Dialects." In *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wold Leslau,* edited by Alan S. Kaye. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Holmstedt, Robert D. 2011. "Relative Clause: Biblical Hebrew". In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill.

Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse". *Language* 56: 251-299.

Hopper, Paul and Elisabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horesh, Uri. 2002. "Tense or Aspect: Is Arabic Past Tense an Implicature?." Ms., University of Pennsylvania.

Horesh, Uri. 2011. "Tense." In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Huehnergard, John. 2006. "On the etymology of the Hebrew relative *šɛ-*". In *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, 103–125. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian.* London Oriental and African Language Library, I. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Janda, Laura. 1999. "Whence Virility? The Rise of a New Gender Distinction in the History of Slavic". In *Slavic Gender Linguistics,* edited by Margaret H. Mills, 201-28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jongelling, Karel and Robert Kerr. 2005. *Late Punic Epigraphy.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Jongelling, Karel. 2008. *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Keenan, Edward and Bernard Comrie. 1977. "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar". *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1): 63-99.

Khan, Geoffrey. 1988. *Studies in Semitic Syntax.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2008. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi.* Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2009. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj.* Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2018. "Remarks on the Historical Development and Syntax of the Copula in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects." *Aramaic Studies* 16(2): 234-69.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2021. "The Coding of Discourse Dependency in Biblical Hebrew Consecutive Weqaṭal and Wayyiqṭol." In *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 7, edited by Aaron Hornkohl & Geoffrey Khan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kortmann, Bernd. 1997. *Adverbial Subordinators: A Typology and History of Adverbial Subordinators based on European Languages*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la Phonologie du Proto-Berbère.* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe).

Kossmann, Maarten. 2009. 'Loanwords in Tarifiyt, a Berber Language of Morocco.' In: Martin Haspelmath & U. Tadmor (eds.). *Loanwords in the World's Languages. A Comparative Handbook.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton

Kossmann, Maarten. 2013. "The Arabic Influence on Northern Berber." Leiden: Brill.

Kossmann, Maarten. 2020a. 'Sibilants in Libyco-Berber'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 140:4.

Kossmann, Maarten. 2020b. 'Proto-Berber Phonological Reconstruction : an Update'. *Linguistique et Langues Africaines* 6: 11-43.

Krahmalkov, Charles. 2001. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar.* Leiden: Brill.

Krifka, Manfred. 1987. "An Outline of Genericity". Forschungsberichte des Seminars für natürlich-sprachliche Systeme, Universität Tübingen.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1947. "La nature des procès dit analogiques". *Acta Linguistica* 5: 17-34.

Ladefoged, Peter. 1982. *A Course in Phonetics.* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).

Laoust, Emile. 1912. *Etude sur le dialect Berbère du Chenoua.* Paris

Ledgeway, Adam, and Ian G. Roberts. 2017. *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lehmann, Christian. 1988. "Towards a Typology of Clause Linkage". In *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse,* edited by John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Leitner, Bettina, Erik Anonby, Mortaza Taheri-Ardali, Dina El Zarka, & Ali Moqami. 2021. "A First Description of Arabic on The South Coast of Iran: The Arabic Dialect of Bandar Moqām, Hormozgan." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 66: 215-261.

Leoug, Tommi, Dimitrios Ntelitheos and Meera Al Kaabi. 2021. *Emirati Arabic: a Comprehensive Grammar.* London: Routledge.

LeTourneau, Mark. 2011. "Subordination". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Levi, Yaakov. 2011. "Agreement: Biblical Hebrew". In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics,* edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill.

Liddicoat, Mary-Jane, Richard Lennane, and Iman Abdul Rahim. 1998. *Syrian Colloquial Arabic: a Functional Course.* M. Liddicoat & R. Lennane.

Löbner, Sebastian. 1998. *Understanding Semantics.* London: Arnold Publishers.

Loock, Rudy. 2013. "Extending Further and Refining Prince's Taxonomy of Given/New Information: A Case Study of Non-Restrctive, Relevance-Oriented Structures". *Pragmatics* 23(1): 69-91.

Louali, Naima and G. Philippson. 2004. "Berber Expansion into and within North-West Africa: a Linguistic Contribution". *Afrika und Übersee* 87:105-30.

Magidow, Alexander. 2013. *Towards a Sociohistorical Reconstruction of Pre-Islamic Arabic Dialect Diversity.* PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Marçais, Philippe. 1956. *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Nord constantinois Algérie)*. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Marçais, Philippe. 1977. *Esquisse grammatical de l'Arabe Maghrebin.* Paris: Librarie d''Amérique et d'Orient.

Marçais, William. 1902. *Le Dialecte Arabe Parlé à Tlemcen. Grammaire, Textes et Glossaire.* Paris.

Marmorstein, Michal. 2016. *Tense and Text in CA: A Discourse-oriented Study of the CA Tense System.* Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 85. Leiden: Brill.

Matras, Yaron 2009. *Language Contact.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

McMahon, April. 1994. *Understanding Language Change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meillet, Antoine. 1912. "L'évolution des formes grammaticales". Scientia (Rivista di Scienza) 12.384–400. Repr., Antoine Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, I, 130–148. Paris: Champion, 1948.

Motylinski, Gustave Adolphe. 1904. *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès.* Paris : E. Leroux.

Mpiranya, Fidele and Rachel Walker. 2005. 'Sibilant Harmony in Kinyarwanda and Coronal Opacity'. *GLOW* 28.

Múrcia Sánchez, Carles 2011. *La lengua amaziga a l'antiguat a partir de les fonts gregues i llatines.* Barcelona: Promocions i Publications Universitàries.

Naïm, Samia. 2011. "Possession". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Napiorkowska, Lidia. 2015. *A Grammar of the Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Diyana-Zariwaw.* Leiden: Brill.

Nebes, Norbert. 1982. *Funktionsanalyse von kana yafʿalu: Ein Beitrag zur Verbalsyntax des Althocharabischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tempus- und Aspektproblematik.* Hildesheim: G. Olms.

Noonan, Michael. 2007. "Complementation". In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description,* edited by Timothy Stophen, Vol 2: *Complex Constructions,* pp. 52-150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ohala, John. 1992. "What's cognitive, what's not, in sound change," In *Diachrony within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition*, edited by Günter Kellermann & Michael D. Morrissey. Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang Verlag. 309-355.

Omani, Osama and Aziz Jaber. 2019. "Variation in the Acoustic Correlates of Emphasis in Jordanian Arabic: Gender and Social Class". *Folia Linguistica* 53(1): 169-200.

Owens, Jonathan. 2018. "Dialects (Speech Communities), the Apparent Past, and Grammaticalization: Towards an Understanding of the History of Arabic." In *Arabic Historical Dialectology*, edited by Clive Holes. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 30. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 206–256.

Öpengin, Ergin 2020. 'Kurdish.' In: *Arabic and Contact-induced Change: A Handbook,* Christopher Lucas and Stefano Manfredi (eds.)(pp. 459-487). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Palva, Heikki. 2011. "Dialects: Classification". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Pappas, Panayiotis & Brian Joseph. 2002. "On Some Recent Views Concerning the Development of the Greek Future System". In *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pat-El, Na'ama and Alexander Treiger. 2008. "On Adnominalization of Prepositional Phrases and Adverbs in Semitic". *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 158(2): 265-283.

Pat-El, Na'ama. 2009. "The Development of the Definite Article in Semitic: A Syntactic Approach." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54(1): 19-50.

Pat-El, Na'ama. 2012. *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Pereira, Christophe. 2010. *Le Parler Arabe de Tripoli (Libye)*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.

Prince, Ellen F. 1981. "Toward a Taxonomy of Given/New Nnformation". In *Radical Pragmatics*, edited by Peter Cole, 223-254. New York: Academic Press.

Prince, Alan, and Paul Smolensky. 1991. *Optimality Theory: Constraint Interaction in Generative Grammar*. Piscataway, NJ.

Putten, Marjin van. 2014. *A Grammar of Berber of Awdjila (Libya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Ratcliffe, Robert R. 1992. *The broken plural problem in Arabic, Semitic and Afroasiatic: A solution based on the diachronic application of prosodic analysis*. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University.

Ratcliffe, Robert R. 1998. *The 'broken' plural problem in Arabic and comparative Semitic: Allomorphy and analogy in non-concatenative morphology*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Rattclife, Robert. 2002. "The Broken Plural System of Moroccan Arabic: Diachronic and Cognitive Perspectives". *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics*, XIII–XIV, edited by Dilworth Parkinson and Elabbas Benmamoun, 87–110. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Rattclife, Robert. 2011. "Tense". In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* edited by Keers Versteegh. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Reckendorf, Hermann. 1921. *Arabische Syntax.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Reichenbach, Hans. 1947. *Elements of Symbolic Logic.* London: Macmillan.

Retsö, Jan. 2011. "CA". In *The Semitic Languages, An International Handbook* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 36), edited by Stefan Weninger et al. 782-811. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Ritt-Benmimoun,Veronika. 2011.*Texte im arabischen Beduinendialekt der Region Douz (Südtunesien).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ritt-Benmimoun,Veronika. 2014. *Grammatik des arabischen Beduinendialekts der Region Douz (Südtunesien).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2017. "Agreement with Plural Heads in Tunisian Arabic: The Bedouin South". In *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends – Recent Developments – Diachronic Aspects,* edited by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, 261-287. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2020. "Conditional Structures in South Tunisian Bedouin Dialects". *Mediterranean Language Review* 28: 29-60.

Rössler, Otto. 2001 [1958]. Die Sprache Numidiens. In idem, *Gesammelte Schriften zur Semitohamitistik.* Pp. 392–418. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.

Rubin, Aaron. 2005. *Studies in Semitic grammaticalization.* Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Saada, Lucienne. 1981. *Études sur le parler arabe de Tozeur (Tunisie).* Paris: Geuthner.

Saadoun, Haim (ed). 2006. *Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteen and Twentieth Centuries: Tunisia.* Tel Aviv: A.R.T. Offset Printing.

Saarikivi, Janne. 2006. *Studies on Finno-Ugarian Substrate in Northern Russian Dialects.* Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 2002. "Recent Activity in the Theory of Aspect: Accomplishments, Achievements, or Just Non-Progressive State?". *Linguistic Typology* 6(2):199-271.

Schwarzwald (Rodrigue), Ora. 1984. "Analogy and Regularization in Morphophonemic Changes: The Case of the Weak Verbs in Post-biblical and Colloquial Modern Hebrew". *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 9:15-28.

Sebag, Paul. 1991. *Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie. Des Origines a Nos Jours.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Segert, Stanislav. 1976. *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic.* Göttingen: Verlag C.H. Beck München.

Siewierska, Anna. 1991. *Functional Grammar.* London and New York: Routlege.

Simeone-Senelle, Marie-Claude. 1985–1986. "Systèmes aspecto-temporels en arabe maghrébin (Tunisie)." *Matériaux Arabes et Sudarabiques* 63–81.

Singer, Hans-Rudolf. 1984. *Grammatik der Arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Shimron, Joseph. 2003. *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-Based Morphology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Souag, Lameen. 2017. "Clitic Doubling and Language Contact in Arabic". *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 66: 45-60.

Spitaler, Anton. 1962. "*al-ḥamdu lillāhi llaḏī* und Verwandtes". *Oriens* 15: 97-115.

Stewart, Devin J. 1998. "Clitic Reduction in the Formation of Modal Prefixes in the Post-CA Dialects and CA Sa-/Sawfa." *Arabica* 45: 104–28.

Stumme, Hans. 1896. *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch.* Hinrich: Leipzig.

Szyncer, Maurice. 1963. 'Sur l'inscription néopunique ''Tripolitaine 27''. *Semitica* 12 :45-50.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 1986. "Les Alternations Conditionées des Chuintantes et des Sifflantes dans les Dialectes Arabes." Comptes rendus du G.L.E.C.S., XXIV-XXVIII (1979-1984), pp.413-435.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2008. 'Les verbes dérivés à préfixe "S" en berbère: le cas du zénaga, entre grammaireet lexique'. In : Gábor Takács. Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A.B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp.284-309.

Talmoudi, Fathi. 1980. *The Arabic dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Talmoudi, Fathi. 1986. *A Morphosemantic Study of Romance Verbs in the Arabic Dialects of Tunis, Susa, and Sfax.* Goteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Tobi, Tsivia. 2016. *From Bride to Daughter-in-Law:The World of Jewish Women in Southern Tunisia and Its Reflection in Popular Literature* (in Hebrew). Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zwi and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Traugott, Elisabeth, and G. Trousdale (eds). 2010. *Gradience, Gradualness and Grammaticalization.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Van Valin, Jr., R. D. and R. J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge.

Vendler, Zeno. 1957. "Verbs and Times." *The Philosophical Review* 66(2): 143-160.

Vycichl, Werner. 1990. "Die Palatalisierung von Q im Berberischen", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 63: 39-43.

Wald, Benji. 1983. "Referents and Topic within and accross Discourse Units: Observations from Current Vernacular English". In *Discourse Perspectives on Syntax,* edited by Flora Klein-Andreu, 91-116. New York: Academic Press.

Watson, Janet. 1993. *A Syntax of San'ani Arabic.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Watson, Janet. 1999. "The Directionality of Emphasis Spread in Arabic". *Linguistic Enquiry* 30(2): 289-300.

Wagner, Esther-Miriam. 2014. "Subordination in 15th- and 16th- century Judaeo-Arabic". *Journal of Jewish Languages* 2: 143-164.

Woidich, Manfred. 1975. "Zur Funktion des aktiven Partizips im Kairenisch-Arabischen." *ZDMG* 125:273-93.

Woodhead, D.R., and Wayne Beene (eds.). 1969. *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic.* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Wright, William. 1898. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language.* 3rd edition. Simon Wallenburg Press.

Yoda, Sumikazu. 2005. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya): Grammar, Text and Glossary.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Yoda, Sumikazu. 2006. "Sifflant' and 'Chuintant' in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Gabes (South Tunisia)". *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 48: 7-25.

Younes, Munther. 1993. "Emphasis Spread in Two Arabic Dialects". *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 5:119–145. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.