Jewish Languages

Text specimens, grammatical, lexical, and cultural sketches

Edited by
Lutz Edzard and Ofra Tirosh-Becker

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Cover illustration: Rhymed blessing in the vernacular German spoken by Jews (early Yiddish) for anybody who carried this heavy book to the synagogue, Mahzor Worms, fol. 54r; © National Library of Israel. This is the oldest dated Yiddish text known to us.

North-African Judeo-Arabic

Ofra Tirosh-Becker, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

1. Introduction

The *Maghreb* is a geographical region encompassing the northern portion of the African continent, from Morocco in the west, Algeria and Tunisia at its center, to Libya in the east. It includes the Mediterranean and Atlantic coastlines as well as the Atlas mountain range that separates the coastlines from the Sahara Desert, stretching for 2,500 km through Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

1.1 A brief history of Jews in North Africa

There has been a presence of Jews in the Maghreb for millennia. Jewish settlements in North Africa date back to pre-Roman times, to the Greek colony of Cyrenaica in eastern Libya. In Roman times, Jews were deported also to the Maghreb and many settled in what is now Tunisia. Noteworthy is the Jewish community which settled in Djerba island, off the Tunisian coast, and built the famous *Ghriba* synagogue, which to this day is annually visited by many. Jews thrived in parts of North Africa in the centuries that followed.

The Muslim Arab invasion of the Maghreb took place in the late seventh century. Under Muslim rule Jewish communities developed in important urban centers: in the coastal cities of Tunisia, along the Algerian coast (in Bougie (Béjaïa), Algiers and Tlemcen), and as far as the extreme Maghreb (especially in Fes and in the Atlas Mountains among the Berber populations). The relationships between Muslims and Jews in the Maghreb were relatively good, except for the period in which they were under the rule of the Almohades (12th century), who persecuted non-Muslims.

Already in the seventh century, the Jewish population in North Africa was augmented by Iberian Jewish immigrants, who fled from Christian persecution. A greater wave of immigration of Iberian Jews took place between 1391 and 1492 due to growing persecution of Jews in Spain and Portugal. However, the most significant influx of Jews to the Maghreb followed the 1492 expulsion of Jews by the Spanish Inquisition. On 31 March 1492, the joint Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Isabella and Ferdinand, issued the Alhambra Decree (also known as the Edict of Expulsion) ordering the expulsion of all Jews from Spain by 31 July of that year. Hundreds of thousands of Spanish Jews were driven out of Spain, relocating primarily to the Maghreb, due to its close proximity to Spain, where they quickly prospered. Naturally, some tensions arose between the new immigrants, known as *megorashim* (lit. exiles), and the local inhabitants, known as *toshavim*, over customs and commnal structure.

After the Middle Ages, for three centuries, North Africa was under a loose control of the Ottoman Empire, except for regions in the Moroccan and Algerian Atlas mountain range controlled by local Berber tribes. Ottoman rule was centered in the cities of

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. During the 19th and 20th centuries, North Africa was colonized by France, Spain and Italy. The 1830 French occupation of Algeria marked the beginning of a process by which French culture gradually became dominant among Algerian Jews. This process accelerated after the 1870 Crémieux Decree that granted French citizenship to the majority of the Jewish population in Algeria and deepened their integration. In 1961 French citizenship was also extended to the Jewish communities, who lived in oases towns deep in the Sahara Desert.

Five decades after the occupation of Algeria, in 1881, a French protectorate was established in neighboring Tunisia. Tunisia had begun a process of modern reforms even before the French arrived, and these were accelerated under their rule. French control of Morocco, in the form of a Protectorate that was officially established in 1912, was a colonial regime that preserved the Moroccan monarchy, with its administrative center in Rabat. Unlike to Algerian Jews, French citizenship was not extended to Tunisian or Moroccan Jews. It is noteworthy that from 1912 Morocco's Mediterranean shore in the north as well as its extreme south regions were under a Spanish protectorate. Italian colonization of Libya began in 1911 and lasted until 1943. The country was occupied by Italy after the Italo-Turkish War, which resulted in the establishment of two colonies (Tripolitania and Cyrenaica), later unified in the colony of Italian Libya. The colonization lasted until Libya's occupation by the Allied forces in 1943.

During the 1950s and 1960s all of the North African states gained independence from their colonial European rulers. Libya became independent in 1951, Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, and finally Algeria in 1962. Immediately following their independence and as a result of Israel's independence, most Maghrebi Jews emigrated out of North Africa to Israel, France, Canada. and other countries.

1.2 Multiglossia

The turbulent history of North Africa in general, and of Maghrebi Jews in particular, being subjected to Roman, Spanish, Arab, Turkish, Berber, and European colonial rule over the centuries, had left its mark on their language use. 19th and 20th century North African Jews lived in a multi-lingual environment that included, in addition to their own Judeo-Arabic dialects, also Muslim-Arabic dialects, French/Italian/Spanish as well as Hebrew and Aramaic, their historical cultural languages. Inevitably, this complex reality was reflected in their linguistic behavior. Maghrebi Jews lived in a state of *multiglossia*, a term that refers to a situation where a group of people use multiple languages, or noticeably different varieties of language, on a daily basis to communicate with diverse members of their surrounding societies and for distinct purposes. For example, Algerian Jews used their local Judeo-Arabic dialects for intra-community interactions, French for official discourse with the government, local Muslim Arabic to interact with their Muslim neighbors, and Hebrew to conduct religious rituals and for studying Judaism. Multiglossia, however, is not static as it is affected by changes in the linguistic environment. Thus, with increasing integration of Algerian Jews into French society and culture (especially after receiving citizenship) their multiglossia had gradually shifted as well. While the older generation used Judeo-Arabic as the primary language for intra-community discourse, the younger generations, while still in a stage of multiglossia, preferred

using French for intra-community interactions, reserving Judeo-Arabic mainly for inter-action with their grandparent generation. Moreover, not all members of the community were proficient to the same level in all languages or varieties.

Linguistic differences among social groups within the Jewish community are often referred to as *sociolects*. For example, proficiency in Hebrew varied significantly among members of the community. The well-educated rabbinic elite held mastery over Hebrew and Aramaic. Educated men in the community, while less proficient in Hebrew, were versed enough in Hebrew to participate in the religious rituals at the synagogue, while uneducated men and the women had only limited knowledge of Hebrew. A notable exception were female family members of local rabbis, who were often well versed in Hebrew.

1.3 North African Judeo-Arabic

Dialects spoken and written by the Jews of the Maghreb are collectively referred to as North African Judeo-Arabic. These should be viewed through two reference frames. The first is the historical prism of Judeo-Arabic, and the second is within the context of Maghrebi Arabic dialects.

Judeo-Arabic had been spoken and written in various forms by Jews throughout the Arabic-speaking world for more than a millennium. Following the spread of Islam in the 7th century, Jewish varieties of Arabic came to exist all around the Arabic-speaking world. Medieval Judeo-Arabic, written in Hebrew script, is the language in which Jewish thinkers and scholars, mainly from the 9th through the 15th centuries, composed their works. These include giants such as Saadia Gaon, Maimonides, and Yehudah Halevi, who composed their seminal cultural contributions in Judeo-Arabic (Blau 1999; Blau 2002).[1] Nonetheless, as demonstrated by the treasure trove found in the Cairo *Genizot,* Judeo-Arabic was far from being only a scholarly language, rather it was a ver-nacular language serving traders and laymen as much as scholars (Goitein and Friedman 2008). In the late fifteenth century Judeo-Arabic writings began incorporating more local dialectal elements, reflecting a variety of regional Neo Judeo-Arabic dialects that served broader speaker communities. Hence, North-African Judeo-Arabic discussed in this chapter, spoken and written in the 19th and 20th centuries, is an ensemble of Neo Judeo-Arabic dialects, which carry a legacy that can be traced back to Medieval Judeo-Arabic.

The second prism through which North African Judeo-Arabic should be viewed is that of Arabic dialectology. Scholars working on the Judeo-Arabic dialects of the Maghreb classify and describe them either as pre-Hilali or non-Hilali urban dialects, or simply as sedentary dialects (Chetrit 2017). These dialects have characteristic features that distinguish the dialects of the Maghreb from those of the Mashriq (eastern Arabic dialects). There are certain features common to North African Judeo-Arabic dialects that stem from the fact that they are first and foremost Maghrebi dialects (well known are the imperfect 1SG and 1PL forms, see below). Much of the grammatical sketch presented in this chapter is from the perspective of synchronic Arabic dialectology.

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1   For a detailed discussion of Medieval Judeo-Arabic see the chapter "Classical Judeo-Arabic" by Lutz Edzard in this book.

1.4 Communal dialects

As articulated by Haim Blanc in his seminal 1964 book on communal dialects in Baghdad, Arabic dialects reflect a wide spectrum of communal varieties. The differences among communal dialects may be manifested not only in the significant Hebrew and Aramaic component characteristic of Judeo-Arabic, but also in a variable range of phonetic, morphological, morphosyntactic and lexical differences.

Communal differences between the Jewish dialects and the Muslim dialects (and Christian dialects, wherever they are present) are well documented throughout the Arabic-speaking world. This concept was first introduced by Blanc in his aforementioned study, where he identified major differences between the Arabic dialects spoken by the Muslims, Jews, and Christians of Baghdad. In that book Blanc also described the *major differentiation* between Muslim and Jewish dialects in some North African cities, notably Oran (Ar. Wahrān, Algeria) and some smaller Algerian towns near the capital Algiers. The Jews of these towns speak sedentary dialects, while the Muslims speak nomad dialects.

Blanc also suggested that in some other North African cities, including Algiers, Fes (Morocco), and Tlemcen (Algeria), there is an *intermediate differentiation* between the two communal dialects, namely a number of dialectal differences that correlate well with communal affiliation (Blanc 1964: 15–16). In Algiers, for example, there are phonological differences between the Jewish and Muslim Arabic dialects: CA /q/ is pronounced by the Jews as [ʔ], but the Muslims pronounce it [q]; CA /t/ is pronounced [t] by the city's Jews, but [tˢ] by its Muslims (M. Cohen 1912: 21, 43–45). The city of Tunis is another example for such *intermediate* communal differentiation (Walters 2011). David Cohen, who studied the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis, documented more than two dozen of such differences in an article he dedicated to this subject. An example is the pronunciation of the CA interdental fricatives *ṯ* (ث), *ḏ* (ذ), *ḏ̣* (ظ) that is preserved in the Muslim dialect, while the city's Jews pronounce them as plosive dental-alveolar *t, d, ḍ* in line with other urban Maghrebi dialects. Another example is the pronunciation of /h/ by Tunis' Muslims vs. lack of its pronunciation by the city's Jews, leading to different pronunciation of words such as the demonstrative pronoun: *hāḏa* (M) vs. *ada* (J) 'this' (D. Cohen 1970). Additional phenomena that distinguish local Jewish dialects from their Muslim counterparts are discussed in the grammatical sketch below.

1.5 Orthography

Like most other Jewish languages, written Judeo-Arabic consistently uses Hebrew characters.[2] To a large extent, the Hebrew script symbolizes the Jewish identity of the dialect-speaking community. This orthography assigns a Hebrew letter to each Judeo-Arabic character and is based on the similarity between the Hebrew and Arabic consonant system: /ʔ/ = א, /b/ = ב, /d/ = ד, /h/ = ה, and so forth. Diacritic points were added when additional distinctions were necessary: ג or ג֗ denotes /ġ/ while ג׳ or ג֞ denotes /ǧ/; כ and ך denote /k/ while כֹ and ךֹ denote /x/; צ and ץ denote /ṣ/ while צ֗ and ץ֗ denote /ḍ/. As the fricative interdental consonants *ṯ, ḏ,* and *ḏ̣* were not preserved in North African

2   The Karaites (mainly in the 9th to 11th centuries) were an exception, as they wrote a significant part of their Judeo-Arabic treatises in Arabic script. See Tirosh-Becker 2011, vol. 1: 49–50.

Judeo-Arabic there was no need to use diacritics to distinguish them from their plosive counterparts *t*, *d*, and *ḍ*.[3] The *šadda* is marked by doubling the character. Unlike the classical Judeo-Arabic script that was used in Medieval Judeo-Arabic, the script of North-African Judeo-Arabic is more phonetic in nature, reflecting the spread of emphatic pronunciation, consonant shifts, and vowel quality.
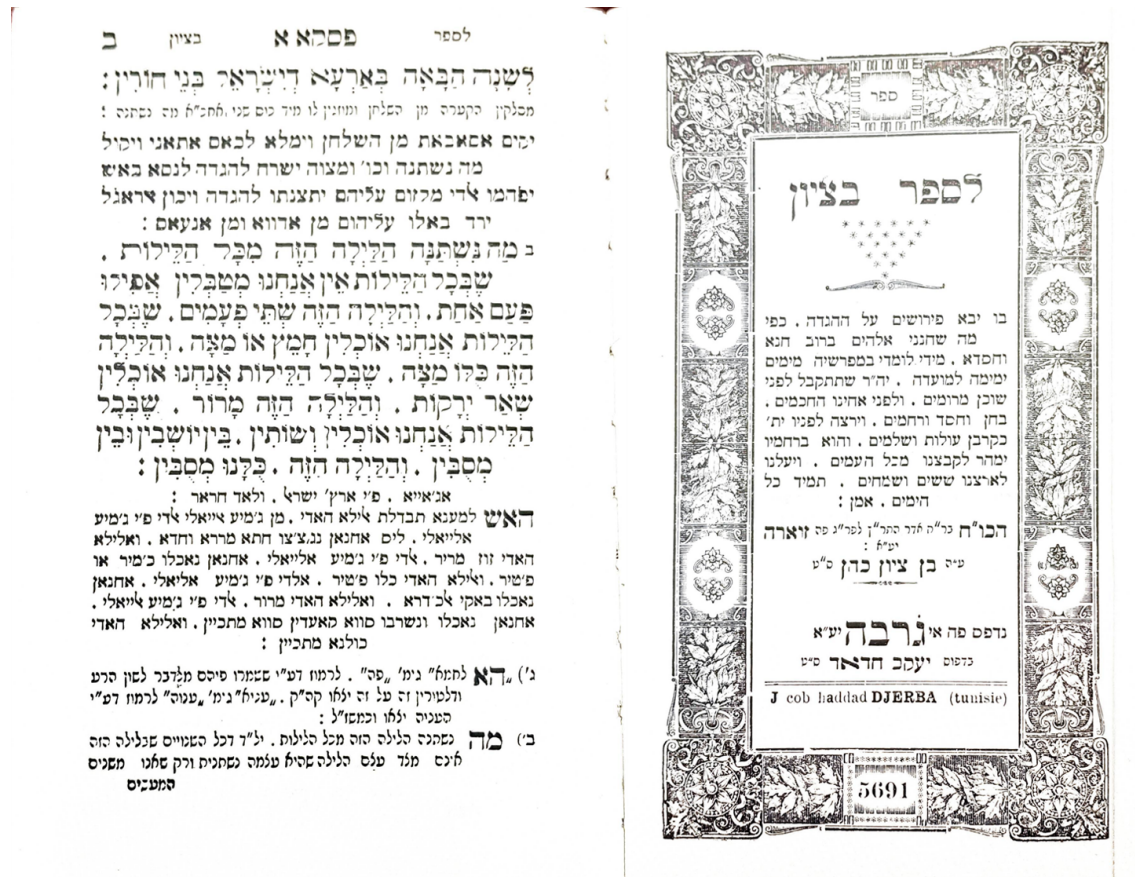
Passover Haggadah, Djerba, Tunisia (Ben Zion Cohen 1931, *le-Sapper be-Zion*, Djerba: Ḥadad imprimerie)

1.6 Literary genres and language registers

A rich literature was written in North African Judeo-Arabic throughout the Maghreb, spanning a variety of literary genres. Judeo-Arabic Bible translation traditions (known as *šarḥ,* pl. *šurūḥ*) were orally transmitted from one generation to the next. Fortunately some of these *šurūḥ* were eventually put down in writing in manuscripts or in print. Judeo-Arabic *šarḥ* traditions exist also for important post-biblical texts such as tractate *ʔAvot* of the Mishnah, the Passover Haggadah, and piyyuṭ *Mi Khamokha* (composed by Rabbi Yehudah Halevi, 1075–1141). A large body of rabbinic literature was composed in Judeo-Arabic by Maghrebi rabbis across the entire region, in large urban centers as well as in small towns. This encompassed commentaries to the Bible and post-biblical literature, translations of rabbinic scholarly works, description of rites and customs, and

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3   On early Judeo-Arabic written in phonetic spelling in pre-Saadianic writings see Blau and Hopkins 2017.

more. Secular Judeo-Arabic literature evolved in 19th century North Africa when some of its scholars adhered to the ideology of the European *Jewish Enlightenment* movement. These scholars developed Judeo-Arabic journalism, mainly in Tunisia and Algeria, but also in Morocco and Libya, as well as Judeo-Arabic translations of classical European fiction. Poetry is another literary genre that was popular among Maghrebi Jews, including religious and cultural poems, the *maṭruz* poetry that interweaves Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, poetry reflecting historical events, and even women's poems (Chetrit 1994).

As discussed above, within the multiglossia state of Maghrebi Jews language proficiency differed between social groups within the community (aka *sociolects*). As literary works targeted different audiences, authors were propelled to select different *registers* for different literary genres. For example, the language used in Bible translations was archaic, elevated and conservative as it was intended for the scholarly elite and due to the revered status of the text. In contrast, a written pamphlet explaining the customs of a certain holiday for the laymen population had to be written in a register that is close to the colloquial dialect in order to be understood (Tirosh-Becker 2014). Some of these register differences will be pointed out in the grammatical sketch below.

2. Grammatical Sketch

The following is a brief grammatical sketch of the most salient properties of North African Judeo-Arabic dialects. As indicated above, there are significant differences between the Jewish dialects within this extended geographical region, which spans from Morocco in the west to Libya in the east, with dialectal variations even within each geographical unit. Therefore, the following grammatical sketch should be viewed as a general introduction to this group of dialects as a whole, rather than a detailed description of each dialectal region. The description below focuses on the characteristics of key dialects in the region's four major countries – Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.

For more detailed discussions of the different North African Jewish dialects see the following works and the bibliography therein: Morocco: Heath 2002, Chetrit 2016, Chetrit 2017, Stillman 1988, Heath and Bar-Asher 1982, Bar-Asher 1999; Algeria: M. Cohen 1912, Tirosh-Becker 2012; Tunisia: D. Cohen 1975, Tedghi 2016; Libya: Yoda 2005, D'Anna 2021.

2.1 Phonology
The discussion below focuses on consonants for which there are special pronunciation characteristics in North African Judeo-Arabic dialects.

2.1.1 /q/
The split between the two main realizations of the CA phoneme /q/ is well known. While unvoiced realizations, such as [q], [ʔ], or [k], are characteristic of sedentary Arabic dialects, voiced realizations, mainly [g], are characteristic of nomad and rural Arabic dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 52). Since the Jewish communities in North Africa were predominantly sedentary city and town dwellers, the /q/ is realized in these communities as an unvoiced consonant.

[q]: The [q] realization is found in numerous Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects (Heath 2002: 141–147; Chetrit 2017), as well as in the major cities of Constantine (Algeria), Tunis (Tunisia) and Tripoli (Libya) (Tirosh-Becker 1989:289; D. Cohen 1975: 30–32; Yoda 2010).

[ʔ]: In the main Moroccan urban belt of Rabat-Meknes-Fes and in nearby Ouezzane and Sefrou the Jewish dialects have a glottal stop [ʔ] for /q/. The [ʔ] realization is also pronounced by the Jews of Algiers (Algeria) (Heath 2002: 142; Stillman 1988: 31; M. Cohen 1912: 29).

[k]: In some Moroccan and Algerian Jewish dialects the /q/ had fronted to the velar un-voiced consonant [k] or to the medio-palatal consonant [kʲ]. This realization is charac-teristic to the region of Oujda in northeastern Morocco near the Algerian border, as well as the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Wahrān (Oran) and Tlemcen in western Algeria. It is noteworthy that while the Jews of Tlemcen pronounce /q/ as [k], the Muslims of that city pronounce this phoneme as [q]. The pronunciation [k] is also characteristic of Mo-roccan Judeo-Arabic dialects spoken east of Moulouya and in the pre-Saharan fringes, an area which extends from Oujda in the northeast to the Draa Valley to the southeast, passing by Tafilalt[4] and the Todgha area (Chetrit 2017; Levy 2009: 341; Tirosh-Becker 2011: 119).

[g]: This realization is characteristic of nomad Muslim dialects. However, in many Jewish dialects there are a few words in which this consonant is realized [g] due to borrowing from nomad or rural Muslim dialects. These borrowed words are often drawn from the semantic fields of agriculture and nomad life, for example, *bəgṛa* (=cow), *gəmṛa* 'moon', *gṛun* 'horns', *nāga* 'female camel', *sāg* 'to lead animals' (Heath 2002: 146; Heath and Bar-Asher; Tirosh-Becker 1989: 289, fn.23; Tirosh-Becker 2011: 119). A [g] realization of /q/ is also found in Moroccan communities, which otherwise pro-nounce [q], when singing the lyrical romantic poetry of the *ʕrubi* genre, which is of Bedouin origin (Chetrit 2014:217).

2.1.2 Sibilants

An important phonological feature of many Maghrebi dialects is the neutralization of the sibilant pairs /*s/ and /*š/, /*z/ and /*ž/ (Watson 2011: 868). Such sibilant neutrali-zation is prevalent in many Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects and in the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis, but not in Algerian and Libyan Judeo-Arabic, which preserve a distinction be-tween the four sibilant phonemes /s/, /š/, /z/, and /ž/.

A phonemic neutralization resulting in the two sibilant phonemes /s/ and /z/ (/*š/ > /s/, /*ž/ > /z/) is a regular feature in most Jewish Moroccan dialects, e.g., *sʕel* (<*saʕala* 'to cough' and < *šaʕala* 'to ignite'), *zbəl* (<*zibl* 'garbage' and <*žabal* 'mountain'). This neutralization is found in the dialects of the main urban belt (Rabat, Meknes, Fes),

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4   In Tafilalt the potential phonetic convergence of /q/ > [k] and original *k is avoided by the shift *k > [t] (original *t/*ṯ is pronounced [tˢ]), e.g., *qalb > klb* 'heart', *kalb > tlb* 'dog' (Heath and Bar-Asher 1982: 39). In free speech of women from Oujda there are vestiges of the affricated realization [tˢ], [tˢ] for *k, particularly in the suffixes *-k, -lk*, used as a declension mark of the second-person singular, or in the verb *kan* (Chetrit 2017).

the Atlantic strip, Marrakesh, Tafilalt and in most of the small southern towns (Heath 2002: 132). The sibilant phonemes /s/ and /z/ vary in their realization from one community to another, ranging from pronunciations close to [s] and [z] to realizations close to [š] and [ž] (Chetrit 2017: §2.1). However, even in such dialects a few words may exhibit sibilant differentiation due to dialect-switching or borrowing from local Muslim dialects or by influence of Hebrew (e.g., the root √ *qdš*).

In the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis the phonemic neutralization of the sibilants resulted in the two phonemes /š/ and /ž/ (/*s/ > /š/, /*z/ > /ž/), e.g., *tbəššəm* (<*tabassama* 'he smiled'), *žmān* (<*zamān* 'time'). Nonetheless, when occurring next to emphatic consonants, the neutralized phonemes are pronounced [ṣ] and [ẓ], e.g., *ṣṭaḥ* 'terrace', *əẓṛaq* 'blue'. The [s] and [z] realizations are found only when adjacent to non-emphatic [r], e.g., *yāser* 'much' (D. Cohen 1975: 20–26).

While sibilant neutralization is prevalent in Moroccan and Tunisian Judeo-Arabic, the distinction between the four sibilant phonemes /s/, /š/, /z/, and /ž/ is maintained in Algerian Judeo-Arabic (the cities of Algiers and Constantine) and Libyan Judeo-Arabic (the city of Tripoli), e.g., *nsa* 'women', *šra* 'to buy', *zbəl* 'garbage', and *žbəl* 'mountain' (M. Cohen 1912: 23–24; Tirosh-Becker 1989: 290–291; Yoda 2005: 17–20). Specific realizations of these phonemes vary throughout these regions. Speakers of the Jewish community of Constantine (Algeria) realize the phoneme /ž/ as either [ž] or [ǧ] (= [dž]) (Tirosh-Becker 1989: 296–297). The distinction between the four sibilant phonemes is also maintained in the northeastern Moroccan Jewish dialects of Debdou and Oujda, which are near the Algerian border (Heath 2002: 132), and by bilingual Judeo-Arabic/Berber (Judeo-Berber) speaking small rural Jewish communities in Morocco (in Berber there is a distinctive differentiation between the realizations of these consonants) (Chetrit 2017: §2.1).

When two sibilant phonemes appear within the same word, assimilation or dissimilation may occur in dialects that maintain the difference between the four sibilant phonemes. Such assimilation/dissimilation is observed in various Maghrebi Muslim dialects as well (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 252–253). For example, CA *šams* 'sun' undergoes assimilation to *šəmš* in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers and a different assimilation to *səms* in the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli. Additional examples are CA *zawǧ* 'two, pair' > *zuz* by the Jews of Tripoli, CA *ǧayš* > *ǧays* by the Jews of Constantine (M. Cohen 1912: 85; Tirosh-Becker 1989: 291; Yoda 2005: 74).

2.1.3 Interdentals

The shift of the interdental fricatives to their plosive dental-alveolar counterparts *ṯ* > *t* (ت < ث), *ḏ* > *d* (ذ < د), *ḏ̣* > *ḍ* (ظ < ض) is characteristic of urban North African dialects (Watson 2011: 872; Ph. Marçais 1977: 8–9). This shift is prevalent in North African Judeo-Arabic dialects as well, as the majority of Jews in this region were city and town dwellers (sedentary dialects). Examples are **ṯāni* > *tāni* 'second', **ḏirāʕ* > *drāʕ* 'arm', *ḏ̣alām* > *ḍlam* 'darkness'. The only known Jewish community that preserved the interdental fricatives is in the desert community of Tozeur, Tunisia (Saada 1981: 125). In Tunis the pronunciation of the historical interdental fricatives is one of the conspicuous differences between the Arabic dialects of Jews and Muslims in this city. While Tunis'

Muslims preserve the fricative pronunciation of these consonants *t̠*, *d̠*, *ḏ*, the city's Jews pronounced them as plosive *t*, *d*, *ḍ* in line with other sedentary Maghrebi dialects (D. Cohen 1970).

2.1.4 /t/

The realizations of the synchronic phoneme /t/ vary from one dialect to another, regardless of its origin (**t* or **t̠*). They range from a dental [t] to a slightly affricated [ṭ], the clearly affricated [tˢ] or [t�], to clear-cut affrication in the form of a double consonant [ts] or [tš]. A palatalized realization [tʸ] and an aspirated realization [tʰ] are also documented in Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic dialects, although these are less common.

[t]: This realization is found in the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis and Algiers (M. Cohen 1912: 21; D. Cohen 1970: 19). It is also heard in Constantine, although the prevalent pronunciation in the Judeo-Arabic of that city is [tˢ] (Tirosh-Becker 1989: 298). It is also found in the Moroccan Judeo-Arabic of the towns along the Atlantic coast (e.g., Marrakesh), where the realization varies from [t] to [ṭ], although it is always pronounced [t] before the liquid consonants [l], [n], and [r] (Chetrit 2017: §2.1).

[tˢ]: In the old urban Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic of Meknes, Fes and Sefrou the /t/ is either moderately [tˢ] or strongly [ts] affricated, except before [l], [r], and [n], e.g., *tlatˢa/tlatsa* 'three', *tˢaḥt l-frās/tsaḥt l-frās* 'under the bed' (Stillman 1988: 31–32; Chetrit 2017: §2.1). The realization [tˢ] (with variation to slight affrication [ṭ]) is found in the Moroccan Judeo-Arabic of communities east of the Atlas range, from Oujda in the north, through Tafilalt in the center, to Zagora in the south (Chetrit 2017: §2.1). In Constantinian Judeo-Arabic the affrication [tˢ] is frequent in final position, e.g., *imūtˢ* 'he dies/he will die' (Tirosh-Becker 1989: 298).

[tˢ]: This realization is characteristic of the Judeo-Arabic of Constantine regardless of position in the word, e.g., *yətˢkəlləm* 'he talks/he will talk', *tˢkəltˢ* 'I trust'. Both [tˢ] and [tˢ] are found throughout the entire borough of Constantine (Tirosh-Becker 1989: 298).

[č] (=[tš]):[5] The affricate alternant [č] is characteristic of the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya), in contrast to the pronunciation [t] by that city's Muslims, e.g., *čmənya* 'eight', *kəčbəč* 'she wrote'. This affrication does not take place when /t/ stands before *l, n, s, š, ṣ*, e.g., *tlāča* 'three', *tsəkkər* 'you shut' (Yoda 2010: 53–54).

2.1.5 Glottal consonants

/ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/ weakened in North African Judeo-Arabic dialects, regardless of its position in the word, whether initial, medial or final. In many dialects the glottal stop was lost in an initial position, e.g., *ʔiyyām > iyyām* 'days', *ʔana > ana* 'I', *ʔinsān > insān* 'man'. The glottal stop sometimes disappears together with its vowel: *ʔawlād > ulād* 'children'. In Tunisia hyper-restoration of the silenced /ʔ/ sometimes leads to forms such as *halaf* (< *alaf*) 'thousands', *hummo* (< *ʔummo*) 'his mother' (Saada 1964: 16).

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5   As the examples with this realization are from Tripoli, Libya, we adopt here the notation [č] used by S. Yoda (2005).

At times the silencing of the /ʔ/ causes a morphological change, such as the disappearance of the fourth verbal stem *ʔafʕala* from many Maghrebi dialects, such as the dialects of Algiers, Constantine (Algeria), Tunis, Sefrou (Morocco), and Tripoli (Libya). For example, *ʔaʕṭa > ʕṭa* 'gave', which conjugates as the first verbal stem (M. Cohen 2012: 211–212; D. Cohen 1975: 37; Tirosh-Becker 2012: 417; Yoda 2005: 142; Stillman 1988: 47). The weakening of initial glottal stop also affects the morphology of the pattern *ʔafʕalu* that is used to denote colors, disabilities, and the elative (e.g., CA *ʔaḥmar* 'red', *ʔaʕwar* 'blind', and *ʔakbar* 'greater'). In Algiers and Constantine, but not in Tunis, these terms are constructed using the pattern *fʕəl*, e.g., *ḥməṛ* 'red', *kbər* 'greater' (M. Cohen 2012: 314–315; D. Cohen 1975: 203).

In a medial position, when the glottal stop appears in CA with a *sukūn*, it drops in these dialects, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, for example, *biʔr > bīr* 'a well', *kaʔs > kās* 'a glass'. When the medial glottal stop is vocalized with a *kasra* it weakens and is realized as [y], for example, *dāʔim > dāyəm* 'always', *xāʔif > xāyəf* 'afraid'.

Silencing of the glottal stop in final position is also common, e.g., *nisāʔ > nisa* 'women', *xibāʔ > xba* 'tent', *šaqāʔ > šqa* 'hard work'. Similar examples are found already in medieval Judeo-Arabic manuscripts, e.g., *samāʔ > sama* (סמא) 'sky'.

The silencing of the glottal stop may lead to changes in conjugation of verbs whose roots contain a glottal stop, as will be detailed in the discussion on verb morphology below.

Preservation of the glottal stop is rare in North African Judeo-Arabic. In Constantinian Judeo-Arabic the glottal stop is sometimes preserved between two vowels, either within a single word or between two consecutive words. Examples are verbal forms of roots whose first radical is a glottal stop, such as *ʔaddbuni* 'they tormented me'. The glottal stop is preserved in Constantine also in monosyllabic words such as *əl-ʔax* 'the brother', and in some retained CA words. In Morocco the glottal stop exists only as a demarcation in loanwords, as in *iṣraʔil* 'Israel, the modern state', vs. *iṣṛayl* 'the Jewish people' (Chetrit 2017), or is reintroduced in literary borrowings (Heath 2002: 179).

/h/

In many Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects and in the Judeo-Arabic of Constantine (east Algeria), as well as in most Muslim dialects throughout North Africa, the glottal fricative /h/ is preserved. An exception is the enclitic 3SGM pronoun *-hu > -u* postconsonantally, e.g., in Morocco *bn-u* 'his son', but *bən-ha* 'her son' (Chetrit 2017; Heath 2002: 180–181, 240–241), and in Constantine *fūmm-u* 'his mouth', but *waqqəṛū-h* 'respect him!'.

In contrast, in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers and Tunis the glottal fricative /h/ has dropped, leaving only the accompanying vowel, e.g., *den* (< *dhen*) 'he painted', *alál* (< *hilāl*) 'crescent moon'. In some cases, the missing *h* is echoed by compensatory lengthening of the adjacent vowel or doubling of the adjacent consonant, e.g., *qāwa* (< *qahwa*) 'coffee', *ddab* or *dabb* (< *ḏahab*) 'gold'. In Algiers, the /h/ was silenced in the speech of most of the city's Jews, and could be heard mainly in eloquent speech, where the /h/ was reconstructed imitating dialects which preserved this consonant. In Tunis, the pronunciation of /h/ (by Muslims) or lack of its pronunciation (by Jews) is a

known communal distinction, leading to different pronunciation of words such as the demonstrative pronoun: *hāḏa* (M) vs. *āda* (J) 'this' (D. Cohen 1970). The loss of the *h* affects the conjugation of verbs with an original third-radical *h*, which subsequently conjugate as weak verbs, e.g., *šba* (< *šbah*) 'resembled'. In the Tunisian towns of Tozeur and Djerba the *h* is retained, at least in certain cases (M. Cohen 1912: 32–33; D. Cohen 1975: 34–35; Tedghi 2016).

Loss of the glottal fricative /h/ is also characteristic of the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya), where it is one of the most conspicuous differences between the city's Muslim and Jewish dialects. When the original *h* appears before a vowel it tends to be silenced, e.g., *ādā* (< *hāḏa*) 'this (M)', but following a consonant it tends to be pronounced as a voiced *h*, [ɦ], e.g., *ḍḥəṛ* (< *ḍahṛ*) 'back', *šḥəṛ* (< *šahṛ*) 'month'. When a word with an original *h* is followed by a suffix pronoun beginning with a vowel, the *h* drops and the adjacent vowel is lengthened in compensation, e.g., *ḍāṛ-i* (< *ḍḥəṛ* + *-i*) 'my back'. Lengthening of the adjacent vowel may occur in other cases as well, e.g., *kṛā* (< *kariha*) 'he hated' (Yoda 2010; Yoda 2005: 75–79).

2.1.6 Pharyngeal Consonants

In North African Judeo-Arabic the voiced and unvoiced fricative pharyngeal consonants /ʕ/ and /ḥ/ are preserved. However, as is found in many eastern and western Arabic dialects, they undergo assimilation when they are adjacent to each other or adjacent to the glottal fricative /h/: *ʕh* > *ḥḥ*, *ʕḥ* > *ḥḥ*, *ḥh* > *ḥḥ*, and *ḥḥ* > *ḥḥ*. For example, *itebbaḥ-ḥum* (< *itebbaʕ-hum*) 'he will chase them', *bṛuḥḥa* (<*bi-rūḥihā*) 'by herself' (M. Cohen 1912: 75; Yoda 2005: 79–80).[6]

The voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ is occasionally lost in the X-teen numerals of many Moroccan dialects, e.g., *ḥḍaš* 'eleven', *ṭnaš* 'twelve' (Heath 2002: 179). The same forms appear in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers and Tunis, with a long *ā* (M. Cohen 1912: 356–357; D. Cohen 1975: 231–232).

2.1.7 Spread of emphasis

Emphatic pronunciation of consonants via pharyngealization (or velarization) is fundamental to Arabic and is known as *tafxīm* (تفخيم). The emphatic consonants in CA[7] are /ṭ/ (ط), /ḍ/ (ض), /ḏ̣/ (ظ), and /ṣ/ (ص). In most modern Arabic dialects, the presence of an emphatic phoneme in the word causes adjacent consonants to be pronounced emphatically and adjacent vowels to be lowered or backed. This assimilation is often denoted as 'spread of emphasis' or 'harmonization'. In some dialects it is only the consonant or vowel immediately adjacent to the emphatic consonant that is affected, whereas in other dialects emphasis may spread to the entire word (and even beyond the word boundary), namely as a suprasegmental phenomenon. This phenomenon is prevalent in all North African Judeo-Arabic dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 56–57; Heath 2002: 149–159).

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6   This phenomenon is already mentioned by the famous 8ᵗʰ century Arab grammarian Sībawayhi in his treatise *al-Kitāb* (Levin 1994: 220–221).

7   The Arab grammarian Sībawayhi (8ᵗʰ century) adds several additional emphatic consonants (as allophones), whose emphasis is not reflected in the Arabic script.

The emphatic pronunciation of consonants that were not emphatic in CA is usually not phonematic, except for the *r*, as in many Maghrebi dialects there is a phonematic distinction between /r/ and /ṛ/, e.g., *žrā* 'he ran' vs. *žṛā* 'it happened' (Fischer and Jastrow, 1980: 253). Consonants that tend to accept secondary emphasis are first and foremost the non-emphatic counterparts /t/, /d/, and /s/ of the emphatic CA consonants /ṭ/ (ط), /ḍ/ (ض), /ḏ̣/ (ظ), and /ṣ/ (ص). Other phonemes that may accept an emphatic realization are *ḅ, f̣, ḷ, ṇ, ṃ, ɣ, ẉ, ẓ*. Examples, *ṭḷəḅt* (< *ṭalabtu*) 'I asked', *əṣ-ṣəḷṭāṇ* (< *əs-sulṭān*) 'the sultan', *ḍāḷəṃ* (< *ḍālim*) 'unjust', *tṣeḷḷi* (< *tuṣallī*) 'you (SG) will pray', *f̣i ḍ-ḍayqa* (< *fī ḍ-ḍayqa*) 'in distress'. While in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers emphasis may spread in both directions, affecting phonemes that precede or follow the emphatic CA consonants, in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Fes and Meknes (in Morocco) and Tunis (in Tunisia) emphasis tends to spread mainly to phonemes that precede the original emphatic consonant (M. Cohen 1912: 90; Heath 1987: 321; Heath 2002: 149ff.; D. Cohen 1975: 14, 32).

Fieldwork interview with Haim Twito, hailed from Constantine, Algeria

2.1.8 Vowels

The CA vowel system includes three long vowels (*ā, ū, ī*), three short vowels (*a, u, i*) and the *sukūn* (سُكُون ;ْ-), which marks the absence of a vowel after a consonant. The three long vowels *ā, ū, ī* were preserved in most North African Judeo-Arabic dialects, although in many Moroccan dialects they are no longer pronounced as long rather as full vowels (Heath 2002: 187). In many of the North African Judeo-Arabic dialects two additional long vowels were added to the vowel system as a result of monophthongization:

ay > *ē* and *aw* > *ō*. Short vowels are often omitted in open syllables in most Maghrebi dialects. These dialects typically have only two short vowels in their vowel system, a centralized short vowel *ə* and one of the 'original' short vowels, e.g., in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tunis the short vowels are /ə/ and /u/. In the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers and Constantine there is only a single short vowel phoneme /ə/, which may be colored as [a] adjacent to emphatic and back consonants, as [i] near the consonant *y* and as [u] when adjacent to labial consonants (M. Cohen 1912: 104).

2.1.9 Diphthongs

In the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers the CA short diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are frequently monophthongized as *ay* > *ī* and *aw* > *ū* (M. Cohen 1912: 111). The same is frequent in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects although the vowel is realized as full and not long. In contrast, in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Constantine (Algeria) and of Tunis these diphthongs are typically preserved, although they are monophthongized in certain contexts e.g., *kayfa* > *kīf* 'how' (Constantine), *yawm* > *yūm* 'day' (Tunis). In Constantine the monophthongization is sometimes *ay* > *ē* and *aw* > *ō*, e.g., *lawz* > *lōz* 'nut', *rāʔiha* > *rayha* > *rēḫ* 'smell' (D. Cohen 1975: 67–70; Tirosh-Becker 1988: 123–133). In many North African Judeo-Arabic dialects new diphthongs were formed as a result of various processes, such as the disappearance of the original *hamza*, e.g., *min ʔayna?* > *mnayn?* 'from where?' (many Moroccan dialects), or the addition of the plural morpheme *-u* to a singular form ending with a vowel, e.g., *ktəbti + -u* > *ktəbtīw* (Constantine), *bakā + -u* > *bkāw* (Algiers).

2.1.10 Consonant Clusters and Syllable Structure

One of the outstanding features of the Maghrebi dialects is the omission of short vowels in open syllables, which results in consonant clusters even at the beginning of words. For example, *ǧabal* 'mountain' or *zibl* 'garbage' > *zbəl* (Sefrou), *nahār* > *nhāṛ* 'day', *buhūr* > *bhūṛ* 'seas', *kataba* > *ktəb* 'he wrote' (Constantine), *ḥanaš* > *ḥnəš* 'snake' (Tunis), *qafaṣ* > *qfọṣ* 'cage', *tələbsu* > *tləbsu* 'you will wear' (Algiers). This is especially marked in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Morocco, where consonantal clusters of three, four, five, and even more elements are frequent, in particular when morphemes are added to triliteral or quadriliteral verbs, e.g., *kṭəbt-lha* (CCəCC-CCV) 'I/you wrote her' (Stillman 1988: 36–37; Chetrit 2016: 22).

As a result of phonological processes or morphological concatenation a consonantal cluster of three (or more) consonants may be formed. In such cases, an epenthetic auxiliary vowel (either ultrashort or short) may be inserted to break up the cluster. Dialects have one of three choices with regards to the auxiliary vowel: insert the vowel after the second consonant CC_2VC, insert the vowel before the second consonant CVC_2C, or leave the consonantal cluster CC_2C without epenthesis. The addition of an auxiliary vowel often leads to the phenomenon of syllabic alternations, either CCVC > CVCC that is known as *Aufsprengen* or *ressaut*, or CVCC > CCVC that is known as *Umspringen* or *sursaut*.

The process of the *Aufsprengen* (or *ressaut*) syllable alternation, CCVC > CVCC, can be described as follows: Starting from *taktubu* (CVC_1-C_2V-C_3V) the short vowel in

the open syllable C$_2$V is omitted, forming a consonantal cluster > *taktbu (CVC$_1$C$_2$-C$_3$V). Then an auxiliary vowel is inserted after C$_1$ to break up the cluster, initially as an ultrashort vowel which then becomes a short vowel > *tək$^{\partial}$tbu (CV-C$_1$$^{\text{v}}C_2$-C$_3$V) > *təkətbu (CV-C$_1VC_2$-C$_3$V). Finally, the short vowel that precedes the cluster, which is now in an open syllable, is omitted > tkətbu (CCVC-CV) 'you will write/you are writing' (Constantine, Algeria). The word msəlmin 'Muslims' (Tripoli, Libya) is another example for the CCVC > CVCC *Aufsprengen* syllable alternation: məsləm + in > *məslmin > *məsəlmin > msəlmin. The second process of syllable alternation CVCC > CCVC, known as *Umspringen* or *sursaut,* is the following: qaṣr (C$_1$VC$_2$C$_3$) > *qaṣ$^{\partial}$ṛ (C$_1$VC$_2$$^{\text{v}}C_3$) > *qaṣəṛ (C$_1$V-C$_2VC_3$) > qṣəṛ (C$_1C_2VC_3$) 'palace' (Constantine, Algeria). These processes were first described by Stumme (1896: 5–6) and are realized in various North African Judeo-Arabic dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 254–256; D. Cohen 1975: 76–79; M. Cohen 1912: 147–148; Tirosh-Becker 1988: 136–142).

In CA long vowels can only exceptionally occur in closed syllables (participles of verbs *mediae geminatae*), while in North-African Judeo-Arabic dialects this is possible in general. For example, zdād 'born', nqūm 'I will rise', xōf 'fear' (Constantine, Algeria). Of special note is the imperative SG form of hollow verbs – xāf (خَف) 'fear!', fīq (فِق) 'wake up!', qūm (قُﻢ) 'rise!' – which is common to many Maghrebi dialects, including the Jewish dialects of Algiers, Tunis, and Constantine.

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Verb

Conjugation

The most conspicuous morphological phenomenon that characterizes Maghrebi Arabic dialects, both sedentary and nomad, and distinguishes them from other Arabic dialects is the conjugation of the imperfect 1SG and 1PL forms. In Maghrebi dialects the 1SG form has the prefix n- (and not ʔa- as in CA and in eastern dialects) and the 1PL form received the transparent plural morpheme -u. Thus, in the 1$^{\text{st}}$ verbal stem (Grundstamm) these forms are nəfʕəl (1SG) / nəfʕlu or nfəʕlu (1PL), while in CA the forms are ʔafʕalu (1SG) / nafʕalu (1PL) (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 261–262). Examples: nsərb / nsərbu 'I/we (will) drink' (Verbal Stem I; Sefrou, Morocco), nəktəb / nəktbu 'I/we (will) write' (Verbal Stem I; Tunis), nkəddeb / nkəddbu 'I/we (will) lie' (Verbal Stem II; Algiers), nəčʕalləm / nəčʕallmu 'I/we (will) learn' (Verbal Stem V; Tripoli, Libya).

In many Maghrebi sedentary dialects, the distinction between the 2SG.M and 2SG.F perfect forms was lost, and the common 2SG.C form that is used is either ktəbt (e.g., Judeo-Arabic of Algiers, Tunis and many Moroccan towns) or ktəbti (e.g., Judeo-Arabic of the Moroccan northwest from Rabat to Marakesh). In many Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects the converged form ktəbt is used not only for 2SG.C but also for 1SG (Heath 2002: 220–221). In the Judeo-Arabic of Constantine (Algeria) there is a free alternation between the two 2SG.C perfect forms, ktəbt and ktəbti. This phenomenon reflects the location of the city of Constantine on a regional dialectal junction, where the form ktəbt is used to its northwest (e.g., Algiers' Jews and Jijel's Muslims) and the form ktəbti is used to its northeast (e.g., by Skikda and Edough Muslims). When a pronominal object suffix is added to a 2SG.C perfect form in Constantin's Judeo-Arabic the alternant ktəbti is

always selected, e.g., *trəktīh* 'you left him' (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 424). In contrast to the above, the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya) maintains the distinction between the 2SG.M and 2SG.F perfect forms: *kčəbč* (2SG.M) 'you (M) wrote' / *kčəbči* (2SG.F) 'you (F) wrote' (Yoda 2005: 146).

The distinction between 2PL.M and 2PL.F forms in the perfect conjugation has ceased to exist in many sedentary Arabic dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 61–64). The common form in North African dialects ends with the suffix *-tu*, for example *ktəbtu* ('you [PL] wrote'). However, in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Constantine (Algeria) and of the Moroccan Atlantic strip the 2PL.C perfect suffix is *-tīw* (e.g., *ktəbtīw* 'you (PL) wrote', *qultīw* 'you (PL) said'). In this form the plural morpheme *-u* is realized as a semi-vowel *w* when added to the 2SG.C morpheme *-ti* that ends with a vowel: *ktəbti + -u > ktəbtīw* (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 424–425; Heath 2002: 221).

Verbal stems

The Simple Stem (Stem I)

In CA, Stem I verbs are classified according to the C_2 vowel in their perfect form – *CaCaCa*, *CaCiCa* or *CaCuCa*. While a distinction according to stem vowels is preserved in most modern Arabic dialects, it is not preserved in North African Judeo-Arabic dialects due to the phonetic processes that converged all three forms to a mono-syllabic form *CCəC*, with the short central vowel *ə*. Namely, the short final vowel of *CaCaCa* drops > *CaCaC,* then the short vowel in the open syllable drops > *CCaC*, and finally the remaining short vowel is centralized > *CCəC* (the same occurs for *CaCiCa* and *CaCuCa*). Examples: *kataba > ktəb* 'wrote', *šariba > šrəb* 'drank', *kaṯura > ktər* 'increased (in number)'.

Verbal Stem IV

The CA verbal Stem IV (*ʔafʕala*) has ceased to function as a productive category in Maghrebi dialects, including North African Judeo-Arabic dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 46). A few participle forms of this verbal stem are found in the conservative language of the Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) from Constantine (Algeria), Meknes, and Fes (Morocco). Such forms were also documented in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Algiers where they are used as adjectives or nouns. Examples are the adjective *muxīf* 'awe-inspiring, revered', *muġīt* 'savior', *muʕīn* 'assistant' (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 417; Bar-Asher 2001, 2: 54, 399, 518; Tedghi 2006: 305; M. Cohen 1912: 212).

Passive Voice Verbal Stems

In CA the passive voice of the simple verbal stem (Stem I) is denoted by the 'internal passive' form (*fuʕila*) or by verbal Stem VII (*ʔinfaʕala*).[8] In modern Arabic dialects there are two verbal stem options to denote the passive voice of a simple verb: a verbal stem with an initial *n-* that originates from CA verbal Stem VII (*ʔinfaʕala > nəfʕəl*) and a verbal stem with an initial *t/tt-* (*ttafʕəl, tfəʕəl*). While in some Maghrebi dialects both verbal stems are used side by side, in other dialects the *t/tt-* stem is dominant and the *n-* stem is disappearing (Retsö 1983; Ph. Marçais 1977: 62–67; Fischer and Jastrow 1980:

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8   We will not discuss the 'internal passive' forms as they are not used in these dialects.

264). The *n-* stem is in common use, often alongside the *t/tt-* stem, in the western and central Maghreb, including the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Algiers and Constantine in Algeria, and of Fes, Tetouan, Sefrou, and Tafilalt in Morocco. It is also in common use in the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli in Libya (M. Cohen 1912: 218; Tirosh-Becker 1989: 305–309; Tirosh-Becker 2012: 417; Stillman 1988: 244; Heath and Bar-Asher 1982: 68; Yoda 2005: 177). In the eastern Maghreb there is preference for the *t/tt-* stem over the *n-* stem, including in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tunis and in Tunisian Muslim dialects (D. Cohen 1975: 123, 125). Examples for *n-* stem forms: *ntəmm* 'was finished', *yinǧāt* 'will be saved' (Constantine), *nəǧla* 'he was exiled' (Algiers), *nəkšəf* 'her was found (Tripoli); examples for *t/tt-* stem forms: *tfəžʕu* 'they were scared' (Tunis), *ttənsīt* 'I was forgotten', *yittaṛma* 'he will be thrown' (Constantine).

Verbal Stem VIII

The use of Verbal Stem VIII with the infix *t* (*ʔiftaʕala*) has diminished in Maghrebi dialects, including Judeo-Arabic dialects throughout this region. This verbal stem, *ftəʕl* (< *ʔiftaʕala*), is documented mainly in Judeo-Arabic Bible translations (*šarḥ*, pl. *šurūḥ*) from Constantine (Algeria) and from Morocco, a literary genre that is known to preserve many archaic language features. Examples from Maghrebi *šurūḥ* are: *ʕətməl / ʕətmal* (עתמל/עתמאל) 'was done' (Morocco), *irtaʕdu* (ירתעדו) 'they will tremble' (Constantine, Algeria). Limited use of verbal Stem VIII is found in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Algiers, Tunis, Sefrou, Tafilalt (Morocco), and Tripoli (Libya). Example, *ḥṭaz* 'was needed' (Sefrou), *xṭaṛ* 'he selected' (Algiers), *ždād* 'he was born' (Tunis), *ščaq* 'he longed' (Tripoli) (M. Cohen 1912: 222–227; D. Cohen 1975: 126; Ph. Marçais 1977: 63–64; Yoda 2005: 179–181; Tirosh-Becker 2012: 416; Stillman 1988: 47; Bar-Asher 2010: 184).

Verbal Stem X

The modern Arabic verbal stem *stəfʕəl*, which reflects CA Verbal Stem X (*ʔistafʕala*) without the prosthetic *alif*, is common in Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic dialects, although its use lessens in some dialects (e.g., the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tafilalt in southeast Morocco and in some Maghrebi Muslim dialects). The initial *st-* is often pronounced emphatically *ṣṭ-* when the adjacent consonant is emphatic. Examples, *stənǧəm* 'he consulted the stars' (Algiers), *stəʕrəf* 'he acknowledged' (Tripoli), *ṣṭaṛǧīt* 'I hoped' (Constantine). Assimilations of the prefixes *st > ss* and *ṣṭ > ṣṣ* are frequent and freely alternate with the unassimilated form. Examples, *ssənna* (< *stənna*) 'he expected' (Algiers), *əṣṣəṛǧa* (< *əṣṭəṛǧa*) 'hope!' (Constantine). Assimilation is apparent also in the verb *ṣqṣi* (< *staqṣii*) 'he asked',[9] which is very common in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects (M. Cohen 1912: 235; Heath 2002: 393–394; Tirosh-Becker 2011b; Yoda 2005: 181). In the Jewish dialect of Tunis, where *s > š*, the prefix of this Verbal Stem is *št-*, e.g., *štaʕžəb* 'he was surprised', *štaġla* 'he found it expensive', *štənna* 'he expected'. Near emphatic consonants the prefix becomes *ṣṭ-* in agreement with the emphatic realization of **s* in this context, e.g., *ṣṭḥaqq* 'it lacked', *ṣṭaṛwaḥ* 'he has a cold' (D. Cohen 1975: 130–131).

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9   The word *ṣqṣi* has local variants according to the local realization of the /q/ (see section on phonology above).

The Verbal Stem fʕāl / fʕal

A well-known North African dialectal phenomenon is the use of the verbal stem *fʕāl /
fʕal* to indicate a process of change in the properties of an object or a person, e.g., *smān*
'he gained weight', *ḍyāq* 'he became narrow'. The verbal stem *fʕāl* with a long vowel is
used in the Judeo-Arabic of Algeria and Tunis, while the verbal stem *fʕal* is used in the
Judeo-Arabic dialects or Morocco and Tripoli (Libya), e.g., *sman* 'he gained weight',
zyan 'he became beautiful'. It was suggested that this verbal stem originates either from
CA verbal Stem XI (*ʔifʕālla*) or CA verbal stem IX (*ʔifʕalla*) (Fischer and Jastrow 1980:
264). However, while CA verbal stems IX and XI were limited to colors and defects, in
Maghrebi Arabic dialects the *fʕāl / fʕal* stem has a much broader use, also indicating a
process of change in material properties and human psychological aspects, e.g., *čqal* 'he
became heavy', *qbaḥ* 'he became impudent' (Tripoli) (M. Cohen 1912: 236–237; D.
Cohen 1975: 121; Heath 2002: 2019; Tirosh-Becker 2012: 423; Yoda 2005: 183).

Verb types

Following are a few comments on the conjugation of some verb types. The silencing of
the glottal stop may lead to changes in conjugation of verbs whose roots first radical is a
glottal stop. Of special note are the CA verbs *ʔakala* (أَكَلَ 'ate') and *ʔaxaḍa* (أَخَذَ 'took'),
which have undergone a variety of changes in Arabic dialects once the initial glottal
stop was lost (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 67). Among the Jewish dialects of the Magh-
reb there are three distinct paths of change in these verbs (Heath 2002: 379–386, 571).[10]
In most Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects the perfect forms of these verbs are *kəl* and
xəd, reflecting a strong bilateral stem. In Tafilalt (southeastern Morocco), the forms *kal*
and *xad*, that reflect a hollow triliteral stem, are used.[11] In the Judeo-Arabic dialects of
eastern Morocco, Algiers, Constantine, Tunis, and Tripoli (Libya), the perfect forms of
these verbs reflect a weak triliteral stem, *kla* and *xda*. In these dialects the imperative
forms of these verbs are *kūl* and *xūd*, reflecting a hollow triliteral stem, and not a weak
triliteral stem as in the perfect forms (on the long vowel in the imperative form of hol-
low triliteral stems in Maghrebi dialects see in the phonology section above). Finally,
the imperfect forms *nākul*, *tākul* (CA *taʔkulu*) exhibit a long vowel compensating for the
loss of the original glottal stop (M. Cohen 1912: 198–199; D. Cohen 1975: 108–110;
Tirosh-Becker 2012: 423–424; Yoda 2005: 189).

Another example for a paradigmatic stem-shape alternation is in the passive parti-
ciple forms of hollow triliteral roots, which follow the pattern of roots with a weak first
radical. Examples from Constantinian Judeo-Arabic are the participle forms *mawxūf* 'is
feared' of the hollow triliteral root √ *xwf*, *mawğūb* 'is brought' of the hollow triliteral
root √ *ğyb*, and *mawqūl* 'is told' of the hollow triliteral root √ *qwl*. While their perfect
forms are *xāf, ğāb*, and *qāl*, as expected of hollow triliteral roots, their dialectal passive
participle forms *mawxūf, mawğūb*, and *mawqūl* follow the pattern of roots with a weak
first radical, such as *mawğūd* 'exists' whose root is √ *wğd*. In CA we would have ex-

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10   A fourth possibility, *kəll*, with a geminate triliteral stem, occurs in a few Muslim Moroccan dialects,
       but is not documented in Jewish Moroccan dialects, see Heath 2002: 381.

11   The Jews of Tafilalt pronounce it *tal*, due to the *k > t* shift in their dialect, see Heath and Bar-Asher
       1982:67.

pected the passive participle *maxūf* (مَخُوف) for the root √ *xwf* (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 422). Similar examples, without the diphthongs *aw*, are found in other North African Judeo-Arabic dialects: *mūṣūb* 'is found' from the root √ *ṣwb* (Algiers), *muqul* 'is told' (Tripoli, Libya) (M. Cohen 1912: 191; Yoda 2005: 162).

Preverbs

In Arabic dialects a variety of preverbs (or their contracted forms) precede the imperfect form of the verb to denote temporal aspects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 75). In North African Judeo-Arabic dialects a durative aspect of an action that is taking place right now is denoted by preceding the imperfect form with the preverbs *kāyən* 'lit. existing' or *qāʕəd* 'lit. sitting', or their phonetically contracted forms *ka-*, *ta-*, or *qa-*. The marker *ka-* is dominant in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects of the urban belt (Rabat-Meknes-Fes) with scattered attestations further south, while the marker *ta-* is the dominant form in southern Moroccan Jewish dialects, e.g., *ka ymsi w-izi* 'he is coming and going'. In the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis and Tripoli (Libya) the preverb is *qāʕəd* 'lit. sitting' or its shorter version *qa-*, e.g., *qāʕəd iṣāwəb ḥwālu* 'he is improving', *qa yākəl* 'he is eating' (Tunis), *ša qa čəʕməl* 'what are you doing?' (Tripoli) (D. Cohen 1975: 136–137; Chetrit 2017; Yoda 2005: 193).

Future actions are denoted by preceding the imperfect form with the future preverb *maši* 'lit. going', or its contracted forms *maš* or *ma-*. The preverb *maši* is dominant in Moroccan Jewish dialects (especially in the urban belt from Rabat to Fes-Sefrou and in the Marrakesh area) and in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Algiers and Tunis, e.g., *mas tʔtelni* 'it will kill me' (Fes), *māši nəxrəǧ* 'I am about to exit' (Algiers) (Heath 2002: 216; M. Cohen 1912: 258).

In the Judeo-Arabic of Tunis and of Tripoli (Libya) a desire for a future action, i.e., 'I would like to do something', or an intent, is expressed by preceding the imperfect verb with the preverb *ḥebb* 'to love', e.g., *nḥebb nakəl ksəsu* 'I want to eat couscous' (Tripoli) (D. Cohen 1975: 137; Yoda 2005: 194).

In the Judeo-Arabic of Sefrou (Morocco) the future is indicated by prefixing the marker *a-* to the imperfect form, e.g., *a-nsmaʕ* 'I will listen', *a-ihezzu* 'they would lift'. The future marker *a-* seems to be unique to the Jewish dialect of Sefrou. The imperfect verb with the prefix *a-* is also used to express the subjunctive mood of CA (Stillman 1988: 40–41).

2.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns
Demonstrative pronouns for near deixis
North African Judeo-Arabic dialects have the following system of demonstrative pronouns for near deixis, with appropriate phonetic adaptations in each dialect. In the Judeo-Arabic of Constantine (Algeria) these pronouns are:

SG.M   *hāda*   ⎫
SG.F   *hādi*   ⎬ *hād*
PL.C   *hādu*   ⎭

These pronouns reflect the phonetic shift of the fricative interdentals to their plosive counterparts (*ḏ > d*) that is characteristic of urban North African Judeo-Arabic (see above): CA *hāḏā* (هٰذَا) > *hāda*, CA *hāḏihi* (هٰذِهٖ) > *hādi*. Before a definite noun, a single short form *hād* is used regardless of gender or number, e.g., *səddūr hāda* but *hād əs-səddūr* 'this book', *hād əl-bnāt* 'these girls.' The short form *hād* is common throughout the Maghreb (Ph. Marçais 1977: 197). In Moroccan dialects the first vowel in these pronouns is *a*: *hada* (SG.M), *hadi* (SG.F), *hadu* (PL.C). The *h* is often omitted in the dialect of Algiers. In the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Tunis, where *h* is not pronounced, the demonstrative pronouns for near deixis are *āda* (SG.M), *ādi* (SG.F), *ādu* (PL.C). Before a definite noun these pronouns are shortened to *ād*. The same is true for the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya) with slight variations: *ada* (SG.M), *adi* (SG.F), *aḍun ~ aḍuni* (PL.C); before a definite noun these pronouns are shortened to *ad* (Heath 2002: 271; M. Cohen 1912: 346; D. Cohen 1975: 225; Yoda 2005:127).

In the conservative language of some North African Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) the plural demonstrative pronoun for near deixis is *hāwlay* (האולאי), which reflects the CA form *hāʔulāʔi* (هٰـؤُلَاءِ) and differs from the local dialectal form *hādu*. The pronoun *hāwlay* is found in the *šarḥ* traditions from Constantine (Algeria) and from Meknes and Fes (Morocco), e.g., *hāwlay əḍ-ḍālmīn* (האולאי אלצ׳אלמין) 'these evil people' (Constantine). Although there are other Maghrebi *šarḥ* traditions in which the colloquial form *hādu* is employed (Bar-Asher 2001, 3:94; Bar-Asher 2010: 184; Tirosh-Becker 2012: 412–413).

Demonstrative pronouns for distal deixis

The following system of demonstrative pronouns is used for distal deixis in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine (Algeria):

SG.M   *hādāk*
SG.F   *hādīk*
PL.C   *hādūk*

The corresponding CA pronouns are *ḏālika* (ذٰلِكَ), *tilka* (تِلْكَ), *ʔūlāʔika* (أُولٰئِكَ). In Moroccan dialects these pronouns are: *hadak* (SG.M), *hadik* (SG.F), *haduk* (PL.C), and the *ha* is dropped before a definite noun, e.g., *dak l-wəld* 'that boy', *dik l-bənt* 'that girl'. The *h* is often omitted in the dialect of Algiers. In the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Tunis, where *h* is not pronounced, the demonstrative pronouns for distal deixis are *adāk* (SG.M), *adīk* (SG.F), *adūk* (PL.C). The same is true for the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya) with slight variations: *adak ~ dak* (SG.M), *adik ~ dik* (SG.F), *aḍuk ~ ḍuk* (PL.C) (Heath 2002: 272; D. Cohen 1975: 225; Yoda 2005:127).

2.2.3 Relative marker

In North African Arabic dialects, the relative marker has evolved in one of two ways, each preserving a different element of the CA relative marker *ʔallaḏī* (أَلَّذِي). The first is the relative marker *əlli ~ lli* that preserves the alveolar liquid element *ll* of the CA marker, and the second is *əddi ~ ddi ~ di* that reflects the original interdental element *ḏi* (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 84–85).

In the Judeo-Arabic dialects of the central and eastern Maghreb – i.e., the Jewish dialects of Algiers, Constantine (Algeria), Tunis and Tripoli (Libya) – the relative marker is *əlli ~ lli ~ li*. Of interest is that while the Jews of Constantine used both *əlli* and *lli*, the Muslims of that city use only the marker *lli* (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 415–416; M. Cohen 1912: 349; D. Cohen 1975: 221; Yoda 2005: 131; Laraba 1981: 109).

Unlike the rest of the Maghreb, Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects use *di* as the relative marker, and it is attested in all regions of Morocco (Meknes, Sefrou, Casablanca, Marrakesh, Tafilalt, and more). In contrast, the ubiquitous relative marker used by Muslims throughout Morocco is *lli*. The marker *lli* is sporadically used by Moroccan Jews as well, suggesting an influence of the local Muslim dialects (Heath 2002: 474).

It is noteworthy that the main relative marker that is used in the conservative language of Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) from Constantine is *əldi* (אלדי), which reflects the CA form *ʔallaḏī* (اَلَّـذِي). However, in contrast to the inflection of *ʔallaḏī* in CA, the marker *əldi* was mostly invariable already in Medieval Judeo-Arabic (Blau 2002: 55) and is completely invariable in the Constantinian *šarḥ*. Example, *əldi tnəbba ʕla Yehuda wi-Yerušalayim* '(a person) who prophecized on Judea and Jerusalem' (Isaiah 1:1). The relative marker *əldi* is also characteristic of the literary language of the Jews of Tunis (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 416; D. Cohen 1975: 221).

2.2.4 Genitive exponents

The genitive (possessive) exponents that are common to many Maghrebi dialects are *ntāʕ ~ mtāʕ ~ tāʕ, dyāl,* and *di ~ d-*. All, except for *di/d-*, may accept a pronominal suffix, e.g., *mtāʕ-u* 'his', *dyāl-hum* 'theirs' (Ph. Marçais 1977: 168–170, 223). These forms are used interchangeably in Judeo-Arabic dialects throughout the Maghreb, although *dyāl*, and its shorter versions *di ~ d-*, are the dominant forms in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects. While *dyāl* is frequently used in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic alongside *ntāʕ ~ tāʕ*, the short form *di* is not attested in this dialect. As described in the phonology section above, sometimes the assimilation *ntāʕ-hum > ntāḥ-ḥum* may occur (Tirosh-Becker 2019: 206–207; M. Cohen 1912: 74–75, 363–364; D. Cohen 1975: 252; Stillman 1988: 52; Heath 2002: 461). Examples:

ntāʕ ~ mtāʕ: *l-mḥəbba ntāʕ-kum* 'your love' (Gahrdaia, Algeria), *məsyāsa mtāʕ addāb* 'a gold bracelet' (Algiers)

tāʕ: *l-kəlb tāʕ-kum* 'your (PL) dog' (Constantine, Algeria), *ṣḥāb tāʕ-u* 'his friends' (Tunis)

dyāl: *l-braxa dyāl ṇṭiḷat yadayim* 'the blessing of washing hands' (Constantine, Algeria), *ət-tšuva dyāl-u* 'his repentance' (Algiers), *ḍ-ḍaṛ dyali* 'my house' (Sefrou, Morocco), *lə-qbūṛ dyal-u* 'his tomb' (Tunis)

di / ddi: *ḍ-ḍaṛ ddi-l-i* 'my house' (Rabat, Morocco), *l-ʕamr di bənadam* 'the life of a human being' (Algiers)

d-:   *r-rabban d-l-blad* 'the Rabbi of the town' (Sefrou, Morocco)

2.3 Lexicon

The Jews of North Africa lived in a thriving multi-lingual environment that included local Arabic and Berber dialects, French, Spanish (mainly Morocco) or Italian (Libya), alongside Hebrew (and Aramaic) which is central to Jewish culture and heritage. Many of the speakers were in as state of *multiglossia* (see detailed discussion in the introduction above). All aforementioned languages have left footprints in the lexicon of Judeo-Arabic speaking Jews in North Africa.

2.3.1 Hebrew (Aramaic) component

North African Judeo-Arabic, like all other Jewish languages, has a significant Hebrew and Aramaic component embedded within it. These mainly include terms and phrases that reflect Jewish religion, culture and heritage, Jewish life cycle events, communal functions and roles, and the like. For the sake of simplicity, this component can be referred to as 'Hebrew' as the Aramaic element in itself is limited and there is no distinction in usage between the two. However, only the rabbinic elite possessed broader knowledge of Aramaic, and thus their *sociolect* includes more Aramaic lexemes. These Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords undergo phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptations upon embedding into Judeo-Arabic (M. Cohen 1912: 388–408; Stillman 1988: 53–58; Yoda 2005: 361).

Among the considerable Hebrew component, we find many Jewish religious and communal concepts, such as *t-tōra* 'the Torah' (< תורה), *skka* 'Sukka' (< סכה), *ṭəbila* 'ritual immersion' (< טבילה), *l-gifen* 'Qiddush wine or Qiddush blessing' (< הגפן) (Sefrou, Morocco); *qaʰal* 'congregation' (< קהל), *šəmmāš* 'beadle' (< שמש), *məṣva* 'a commandment to be performed as a religious duty' (< מצווה) (Algiers), *məggid* 'a person who assists the reader of the Torah in the synagogue' (< מגיד) (Constantine, Algeria); *ḥačan* 'bridegroom' (< חתן), *ẓdaqa* 'charity' (< צדקה), *muil* 'circumciser' (< מוהל) (Tripoli, Libya). Nonetheless, Hebrew secular concepts are also in wide use, e.g., *ṣāṛa* 'trouble' (< צרה), *ṣaʕar* 'sorrow' (< צער), *gibboṛ* 'a strong person' (< גיבור) (Sefrou, Morocco); *mamon* 'money' (< ממון), *maggefa* 'plague' (< מגיפה) (Algiers); *šəggi-noṛ* 'blind' (Aramaic *saggi nəhor* סגי נהור), *šəkkana* 'danger' (< סכנה) (Tunisia). "Function" words of Jewish Aramaic origin were also used, e.g., *(ə)ḍrabba* 'all the more' (< Aramaic אדרבא) (Tunisia).

Hebrew elements are prominent in blessings, greetings and similar expressions exchanges between community members, such are *sabbaṭ salom* 'a peaceful Sabbath' (< שבת שלום), *sabuʕa ṭob* 'have a good week' (< שבוע טוב), *barux hab-ba* 'welcome!' also 'you are free to do what you like' (< ברוך הבא), *hassim iṭbarax* 'the blessed Lord' (< השם יתברך), *bs-simman ṭob* 'congratulations! (< בסימן טוב; lit. with a good sign)' (Sefrou), *rəbbono šēl ʕolam* 'Good Lord! (< ריבונו של עולם; lit. master of the universe!)' (Algiers), *šibaḥ la-(y)il* 'praise the Lord' (< שבח לאל) (Tunisia).

Many Hebrew personal names undergo local adaptations in Judeo-Arabic so that they seem closer to Arabic forms. In Sefrou (Morocco) we find *Bṛaham* 'Abraham', *Ṣḥaʔ* 'Isaac (Heb. *Itzḥaq*)', *Müsi* 'Moses (Heb. *Moše*)', and *Dabi* 'David', while in Tripoli (Libya) these are pronounced *Muši* 'Moses' and *Dawid* 'David'.

Some Hebrew roots were weaved into Arabic verbal stems making them an integral part of Judeo-Arabic. Examples from Algiers – *tməlšən* 'he informed on (someone)' (< Heb. *malšin* מלשין 'informer'), *tšəbbəš* 'he was confused, bewildered, perplexed' (< Heb. root √ *šbš* 'to disrupt'), *itmūmar* 'he converted' (< Heb. *mumar* מומר 'a convert'); from Morocco (Sefrou) – *piyyəṭ* 'he sang a religious poem' (< Heb. *piyyuṭ* פיוט 'religious poem'); from Libya (Tripoli) – *čfənnəq* 'he was spoiled' (< Heb. *hitpanneq* התפנק 'he was spoiled'), *xnəb* 'he stole' (< Heb. *ganav* גנב 'he stole').

While many Hebrew loanwords are shared by Jews across many communities (with local adaptations), some vary from area to area. An example is the Hebrew loanword used to denote a Jewish cemetery that differs between eastern and western Maghreb. Jews of the western Maghreb communities (Morocco and western Algeria) use the Hebrew word *meʕara* (מערה 'cave') to denote a cemetery, while Jews who live in central and eastern Maghreb communities (Algiers, eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya) use the Hebrew phrase *betaḥayim* (בית החיים 'house of the living') for the same purpose. Another example, the Jews of Algiers and Constantine use the original Hebrew term *miqve* (מקווה) to denote the 'ritual bath' used for ritual immersion, while in western Algeria and in Morocco it is referred to as *ṭabila* (Sefrou) (טבילה 'immersion'), probably referring to the term בית טבילה 'house of immersion' that is used in the Mishnah. A variety of Hebrew terms were used in different communities to denote the anniversary of the day of death of a loved one, also known by the Yiddish term *yahrzeit*: in Constantine (east Algeria) the term for *yahrzeit* was the Hebrew word *həzkir / həzker* (< הֶזְכֵּר; from the root √ *zkr* that denotes 'memory'); in the towns of Tlemcen and Aïn Témouchent (western Algeria) the term was *həsgir* (< הֶסְגֵּר, from the root √ *sgr* that denotes 'closure'); in Tétouan and other northern Moroccan towns, as well as some speakers in eastern Algeria (Tlemcen and Aïn Témouchent) the Hebrew term was *naḥala* (< נחלה, 'heritage'); in Tafilalt (southeastern Morocco) as well as in Libya, the easternmost part of the Maghreb, the term used was *pəqida* (< פְּקִידָה; from the root √ *pqd* that denotes 'to remember' [biblical]); finally, many Moroccan Jews adopted the Yiddish term *yahrzeit* itself in their Judeo-Arabic speech, which was sometimes pronounced *yaʔerṣyaṭ* based on "spelling pronunciation" of the written word יארצייט (Bar-Asher 1999: 154, 300, 312).

Some Hebrew words preserve archaic traditions of Hebrew terms or expressions. For example, while the pronunciation *ha-qadoš barux hu* 'God (lit. the Holy One Blessed be He)' (< הקדוש ברוך הוא) is common across North Africa, the Jews of Algiers pronounce this phrase *a-qodeš baruxu*. The pronunciation *qodeš* (and not *qadoš*) preserved an archaic version of this expression which is documented in ancient manuscripts of rabbinic literature (הקודש ברוך הוא).

In some communities the Hebrew component also served as a *concealed language* understood only by community members, enabling merchants and traders to communicate without being understood by others. Thus, Hebrew words, e.g., for items such as gold, silver or money, replaced their Arabic counterparts within the Judeo-Arabic conversation, and Hebrew numbers or Hebrew letters were used for counting (the simple and widespread alphanumeric code of assigning a numerical value to each Hebrew letter, known as *gematria,* is used throughout the Jewish world). When Algiers' Jews wanted to silence each other in the presence of strangers they said *bla dabar* (< *bəlo*

dibbur בלא דיבור 'without speech') avoiding the more common Hebrew word *šeket!* (< *šeqeṭ!* שקט!) due to its similarity to the Arabic word *uskut!* (أسكت).

2.3.2 French component

As French was the *lingua franca* in North Africa during much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, numerous French words were integrated into North African Judeo-Arabic, first and foremost into Algerian Judeo-Arabic as Algerian Jews received citizenship from France in 1870. Many French words also entered Moroccan and Tunisian Judeo-Arabic when these became French Protectorates. This French component was used to refer to modern (typically secular) concepts, administration and government organizations, modern technology and more.

Among the many French words used by North African Jews are *journal, commander, franc, bureau, monsieur, prezidan* (Fr. *le president*), *l-kumitē* (Fr. *le comité*), *timbr* 'stamp' (Fr. *timbre*), *əl-gato* 'cake' (Fr. *gâteau*). Modern technical vocabulary is also French, e.g., *lavyon* 'airplane' (Fr. *l'avion*), *l-fr̩en* 'car brakes' (Fr. *freins*), etc. French loanwords were sometimes embedded in Arabic noun patterns, such as the use of the Arabic broken plural form, e.g., *konsul* 'consul' – *kanāsil* 'consuls' (Constantine, Algeria),[12] or the use of the Arabic plural morpheme *-at*.

2.3.3 Spanish component

There is an extensive vocabulary of Spanish loanwords in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects. A considerable number of these loanwords are shared among the urban Arabic dialects of northern and central Morocco, both Jewish and non-Jewish. These words have been penetrating into Moroccan Arabic from the Middle Ages to modern times due to the close interactions with the Iberian Peninsula (Stillman 1988: 59–60). Included are words such as *busta* 'post office' (Sp. *posta*), *familiya* 'family' (Sp. *familia*), *sala* 'living room' (Sp. *sala*), *suppa* 'soup' (Sp. *sopa*), *swerṭi* 'luck' (Sp. *suerte*).

As Jews arrived in Morocco from Spain in several waves during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bringing with them speakers of Castilian Judezmo, there are Spanish loanwords that are unique to Moroccan Judeo-Arabic. The Judeo-Arabic of Meknes, for example, contains a fairly large number of lexical elements of Judeo-Spanish or Spanish origin. These lexemes belong to different categories of material culture and to social attributes and roles. For example, *banyo* 'wash basin' (Sp. *baño*), *küna* 'cradle' (Sp. *cuna*), *rodiyya* 'table napkin' (Sp. *rodilla*), *saya* 'skirt' (Sp. *sayo*), *kutsärä*, pl. *kwätsär*, 'spoon' (Sp. *cuchara*), and even abstract nouns such as *əl-mizirja* 'misery' (Sp. *miseria*) (Stillman 1988; Chetrit 2017).

A smaller number of Spanish loanwords are found also in Algerian Judeo-Arabic, as Algeria also received Jewish immigrants from Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the Spanish loanwords in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers are *šītā* 'brush', *šnūġa* 'synagogue', and *šlāda* 'salad'. Spanish words that were borrowed at a later period are *kānṭara* 'small chest' and *botəlya* 'bottle' (Sp. *botella*). Spanish words are more

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12   The same phenomenon can be seen in the Hebrew component as well, e.g., *fasuq* '[biblical] verse' (< פסוק) pl. *fawāsiq* 'verses'.

common in the Judeo-Arabic of Oran (Ar. Wahrān) due to its long history under Spanish rule and its status as a bustling port city.

Finally, as Castilian speaking Jews who fled the Iberian persecutions and expulsion of the 14th and 15th centuries also reached Tunisia, a few Spanish loanwords were embedded in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic as well. Examples are *garfu* 'fork' (Sp. *garfio* 'fork, hook'), *villu* 'veil of the bride' (Sp. *velo*).

2.3.4 Italian component

Libya was under Italian rule from 1911 until its independence in 1951. Hence, many Italian loanwords have been introduced into Libyan Judeo-Arabic and are an integral part of daily speech. Recent Italian loanwords have not been completely phonologically arabicized and maintain consonants and vowels that are not part of the local phonetic system (e.g., the consonants *v*, *p*, and the vowels *e*, *o*). Examples from the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli, *žornāle* 'newspaper' (It. *giornale*), *bandyēra* 'flag' (It. *bandiera*). Some Italian words take Arabic plural endings (CA *-āt*), such as *žornāliyač* 'newspapers', *banndyērač* 'flags.' Other loanwords, such as *baninu* 'sandwich' (It. *panino*) retain their original plural form in Judeo-Arabic, *banini* 'sandwiches' (It. *panini*). Other examples are *činma* 'cinema', *familya* 'family' (It. *famiglia*), *filəm* (pl. *filmač*) 'film', *firma* 'signature', *fruṭṭa* 'fruit' (Yoda 2005: 6, 313ff.).

Tunisian Judeo-Arabic also includes loanwords from Italian introduced by the Jews from Livorno, who originated from Spain and Portugal, and settled in Tunis and other coastal towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Italian vocabulary integrated in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic encompasses a variety of semantic fields and most particularly those connected with everyday life. Examples, *(a)bukāṭu* 'lawyer' (It. *avvocato*), *šušīta* 'society' (It. *società*), *brīma* 'excellent, unparalleled' (It. *prima*), *rigālo* 'present' (It. *regalo*) (Tedghi 2016).

A limited number of Italian words are present also in the Judeo-Arabic of Algiers, due to immigration of Jewish traders from Livorno to Algeria. Among the Italian loanwords in Algiers' Judeo-Arabic are words such as *sōldi* 'a silver coin', *mərkāṭi* 'trader' (It. *mercante*) also used to denote 'a rich person', and *pyano* 'floor' (It. *piano*).

2.3.5 Berber component

The Berber population is widespread throughout North Africa. However, because the Jews were a sedentary (mainly urban) population, while Berbers are predominantly nomads, the interaction between the two was fairly limited. Hence, Berber loanwords are extremely few in North African Judeo-Arabic, and these are also shared with the Muslim Arabic dialects in the region. Berber loanwords are typically from the semantic fields of agriculture and botany. A few of the Berber words in North African Judeo-Arabic are *šlāġəm* 'mustaches' and *fəkrūn* 'torture, suffering' (Algiers), *aznun* 'a ceiling window', *taʕrabat* 'explicitly' (Tafilalt, Morocco). The Berber feminine form is adopted in some words in the Judeo-Arabic of Sefrou, e.g., *ṭaxerrazṭ* 'shoemaking'. Only a few Berber words were documented as being used by Jews, but not by their Muslim neighbors, e.g., *zāwəš* 'sparrow' (Algiers).

3.   Text specimens with inter-linear glosses

The texts below were chosen to represent a variety of North African Judeo-Arabic dialects, and different genres. Texts 1 is a *šarḥ* (translation) tradition of Psalms Chapter 33 from Constantine, Algeria. Text 2 is an article published in the Judeo-Arabic journal *əl-Ḥikma* from Constantine, Algeria. Text 3 is a folk tale told in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic. Text 4 is a description of the celebration on the eve of *Shavuʕot* (Tabernacles) from Sefrou, Morocco. Text 5 is a fairy tale from Tripoli, Libya, Texts 1 and 2 were printed in Hebrew characters, while texts 3, 4, and 5 are oral texts.

A Judeo-Arabic translation (*šarḥ*) of Psalms from Constantine, Algeria (Yosef Renassia 1954(?), *Zikhron Yaʕakov*, Djerba: Ḥadad imprimerie)

Text 1: A šarḥ *of Psalm 33 from Constantine, Algeria*

The *šarḥ* (translation) of Psalms according to the tradition of the Jewish community of Constantine (Eastern Algeria) was put down in writing and published by Rabbi Yosef Renassia (1879–1962), a prominent leader of this community. Rabbi Renassia published more than 100 volumes written in Judeo-Arabic, encompassing Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) and commentaries, translations and exegeses of post-biblical texts, liturgical texts, translations of historiographic and halakhic books, dictionaries, grammar books, and more (Tirosh-Becker 2012). The translation of Psalms was published in the book *Zikhron Yaʕaqov*, 5 vols, Ḥadad imprimerie, Djerba 1954(?). The transcription below is based on my recording of Rabbi Daniel Renassia reciting from the book *Zikhron Yaʕaqov* (recorded in 1987; Dimona, Israel). Rabbi Daniel Renassia was the son of Rabbi Yosef Renassia, and studied the *šarḥ* tradition from his father. I indicated in foot-notes wherever the version recited by Rabbi Daniel Renassia differed from the printed text (denoting it as DR).

1 רַנְּנוּ צַדִּיקִים, בַּיהוָה;   לַיְשָׁרִים, נָאוָה תְהִלָּה.

רננו יא עאדלין באללאה ללמסגמין[13] תואתי אשוכראן

rannənu yā ʕādlīn[14]   b-aḷḷāh l-ʔl-msəggmīn   twāti   əš-šukrān

sing:IMP.PL VOC virtuous:PL.M in-God,   DEF-righteous:PL.M deserve:IPFV.3SG.F[15] DEF-thanks:SG.M

Sing of God o virtuous! The righteous deserve thanks.

2 הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה בְּכִנּוֹר;   בְּנֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר, זַמְּרוּ-לוֹ.

אשכרו לאללאה באלעוד ברבאב למעשר מגדו ליה

əšəkru   l-aḷḷāh b-əl-ʕūd   bə-rbāb[16]   l-mʕaššər[17]   məǧǧdu[18]   lī-h

thank:IMP.PL to-God with-DEF-ʕūd with-rbāb   DEF-be_ten.PTCP.SG.M[19]praise:IMP.PL to-3SG.M

Thank the Lord with an *ʕūd* (= a type of local string instrument, similar to the lute), praise Him with a ten-string *rbāb* (= a type of local bowed string instrument).

3 שִׁירוּ-לוֹ, שִׁיר חָדָשׁ; הֵיטִיבוּ נַגֵּן, בִּתְרוּעָה.

סבחו ליה תסביח גדיד חסנו אנגׄמא בתבויק

səbbḥu lī-h   təsbīḥ ǧdīd, ḥassnu[20]   ən-nəġma   b-tabḫwīq

praise:IMP.PL to-3SG.M praise new well_perform:IMP.PL DEF-tune in-horn_playing

Praise Him with a new praise-song, improve the tune playing the horn.

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13 In Algerian Judeo-Arabic the *šadda* is indicated by doubling of letters in Hebrew-script texts, e.g., קדדם (*qəddəm*). However, the doubling is not always reflected in this printed Hebrew-script text, although it is pronounced (e.g., ללמסגמין = *msəggmīn*; סבחו = *səbbḥu*).

14 The version recited by Rabbi Daniel Renassia (henceforth DR): *l-ʕādlīn*.

15 *šukrān* is a SG.M form. The 3SG.F form *twāti* may be an attraction to the Hebrew SG.F form נָאוָה.

16 DR: *u-rbāb*.

17 DR pronounced it as *l-mʕassər* influenced by the Hebrew word *ʕaśor* (עָשׂוֹר).

18 Speakers of this dialect realize the phoneme /ž/ (זׄ) either as [ž] or [ǧ] (=[dž]) (Tirosh-Becker 1989: 296–297).

19 This participle form translates a noun denoting a musical instrument.

20 Lowering of the vowel *ə > a* due to the pharyngeal *ḥ*. DR adds an alternative translation to this word: *ġannīw* (= sing:IMP.PL).

4 כִּי-יָשָׁר דְּבַר-יְהוָה; וְכָל-מַעֲשֵׂהוּ, בֶּאֱמוּנָה.

אין מסגם כלאם אללאה וגמיע פיועלו בלאמאן

ʔin[21] *msəggəm* *klām* *aḷḷāh u-ǧmīʕ fuʕl-u* *bə-l-ʔamān*

because righteous:SG.M speech.CS God and-all.CS action-3SG.M with-DEF-faith

Because of all the Lord's words are righteous, and all His actions are with faith.

5 אֹהֵב, צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט; חֶסֶד יְהוָה, מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ.

יחב עדלא וחכם פיצ׳ל אללאה תעמרת אלארץ׳

yəḥəbb *ʕadla u-ḥukm,*[22] *fḍəl*[23] *aḷḷāh tʕammrət əl-ʔarḍ*

love:IPFV.3SG.M justice and-law grace.CS God fill:PF.3SG.F DEF-earth

Loves justice and law, the Lord's grace fills the earth.

6 בִּדְבַר יְהוָה, שָׁמַיִם נַעֲשׂוּ; וּבְרוּחַ פִּיו, כָּל-צְבָאָם.

בכלאם אללאה סמאואת נכ׳לקו ובריח פ׳ומו גמיע גיסהום[24]

b-klām *aḷḷāh smāwāt nxəlqu,* *u-b-rīḥ* *fūmm-u* *ǧmīʕ ǧayš-hum*

by-speech.CS God sky:PL create:PASS.PF.3PL and-by-breath.CS mouth-3SG.M all.CS army-3PL

By God's speech the skies were created, and with the breath of his mouth all their armies [were created].

7 כֹּנֵס כַּנֵּד, מֵי הַיָּם; נֹתֵן בְּאוֹצָרוֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת.

יגממע כיף אצור מייא לבחאר[25] יגעל פ׳למכ׳אזן אתהום

yiǧəmmaʕ[26] *kīf əṣ-ṣūṛ* *miya* *l-bḥaṛ, yiǧʕal* *f-l-mxāzən* *ət-təhom*

collect:IPFV.3SG.M as DEF-wall water:PL.CS DEF-sea place:IPFV.3SG.M in-DEF-storehouse:PL DEF-deep[H]

Collects the waters of the seas as a wall, places the deep in storehouses.

8 יִירְאוּ מֵיְהוָה, כָּל-הָאָרֶץ; מִמֶּנּוּ יָגוּרוּ, כָּל-יֹשְׁבֵי תֵבֵל.

יכ׳אפ׳ו מן אללאה גמיע אלארץ׳ מנו יכ׳אפ׳ו גמיע סוכאן אדנייא

ʸixāfu *mən aḷḷāh ǧmīʕ əl-arḍ,* *mən-u* *yixāfu* *ǧmīʕ sukkān* *əd-dənya*

fear:IPFV.3PL of God all.CS DEF-earth of-3SG.M fear:IPFV.3PL all.CS dweller:PL.CS DEF-world

The entire earth will fear the Lord, all the dwellers of the world will fear Him.

9 כִּי הוּא אָמַר וַיֶּהִי; הוּא-צִוָּה, וַיַּעֲמֹד.

אין הווא קאל וכאן הווא וצצא ווקף

ʔin *huwa*[27] *qāl* *u-kān,* *huwa* *wuṣṣa*[28] *u-wqaf*

because 3SG.M speak:PF.3SG.M and-be:PF.3SG.M 3SG.M order:PF.3SG.M and-stand:PF.3SG.M

Because He spoke it became so, He ordered and it stood [still].

21   The glottal stop is often omitted in this dialect, although it is realized in certain circumstances.

22   DR: *əl-ʕadla u-l-ḥukm* (= DEF-justice and-DEF-law).

23   The entire word is pronounced emphatically.

24   The Hebrew transcription גיסהום reflects a *š* > *s* shift (שׁ < ס), but DR pronounced it with a *š* (*ǧayš-hum*).

25   The mater lectionis א in the word בחאר reflects vowel quality (*a*) and not length. The short vowel is pronounced *a* due to the adjacent pharyngal consonant *ḥ*.

26   The short vowel *ə* of the imperfect prefix *yə-* is frequently pronounced *i* due to assimilation to the adjacent *y*. See additional examples in verse 16.

27   The 3SG.M personal pronoun is pronounced either *huwa* or *huwwa*.

28   Since this verbal form וצצא comes after a word that ends with a vowel, the initial *waw* is pronounced as a consonantal *w* (hiatus).

10 יְהוָה, הֵפִיר עֲצַת־גּוֹיִם; הֵנִיא, מַחְשְׁבוֹת עַמִּים.

אללאה בטטל צ׳בארת אלאומום בטטל תכ׳מימאת אלאומום

ʔaḷḷāh bəṭṭal ḍbārət əl-umūm, bəṭṭal təxmīmāt əl-umūm

God annul:PF.3SG.M counsel.CS DEF-nation:PL annul:PF.3SG.M thought:PL.CS DEF-nation:PL

The Lord annulled the counsel of the nations, annulled the thoughts of the nations.

11 עֲצַת יְהוָה, לְעוֹלָם תַּעֲמֹד; מַחְשְׁבוֹת לִבּוֹ, לְדֹר וָדֹר.

צ׳בארת אללאה לדואם תוקף תכ׳מימאת קלבו לג׳יל וג׳יל

ḍbārət aḷḷāh l-dwām tūqəf,[29] təxmīmāt qəlb-u l-ğīl u-ğīl.

counsel.CS God for-ever stand:IPFV.3SG.F thought:PL.CS heart-3SG.M for-generation and-generation.

The counsel of the Lord will stand for ever, the thoughts of His heart [will stand] for generations.

12 אַשְׁרֵי הַגּוֹי, אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו; הָעָם, בָּחַר לְנַחֲלָה לוֹ.

אסקל אלקום אלדי אללאה אילאהו אלקום כ׳תאר ללוראתא ליה

ʔaṣqəl əl-qawm əldi aḷḷāh ilāh-u, əl-qawm xtaṛ l-l-urāta lī-h

blessed:ELAT[30] DEF-people REL God god-3SG.M DEF-people choose:PF.3SG.M for-DEF-heritage to-3SG.M

Blessed are the people that the Lord is their god, the people He has chosen as His heritage.

13 מִשָּׁמַיִם, הִבִּיט יְהוָה; רָאָה, אֶת־כָּל־בְּנֵי הָאָדָם.

מן אסמא מקקן אללאה נצ׳ר אילא ג׳מיע ולאד בן אדם

mən əs-smā maqqan aḷḷāh, nḍər ila ğmīʕ ulād bənadəm

from DEF-sky observe:PF.3SG.M God watch:PF.3SG.M ACC all.CS son:PL.CS son-of-man

From the sky the Lord observed, watched all the sons of man.

14 מִמְּכוֹן־שִׁבְתּוֹ הִשְׁגִּיחַ־־ אֶל כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ.

מן צואב סוכנאנו מקקן עלא ג׳מיע סוכאן אלארץ׳

mən ṣwāb suknān-u maqqan ʕla ğmīʕ sukkān əl-arḍ

from place.CS dwelling-3SG.M observe:PF.3SG.M on all.cs dweller:PL.CS DEF-earth

From his dwelling-place he observed all the dwellers of the earth.

15 הַיֹּצֵר יַחַד לִבָּם; הַמֵּבִין, אֶל־כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם.

אלכ׳אלק ג׳מיע קלבהום אלפ׳אהם אילא ג׳מיע פ׳עאיילהום

əl-xāləq[31] ğmīʕ qalb-hum, əl-fāhəm ila ğmīʕ fʕāyəl-hum

DEF-creator:PTCP.CS all.CS heart-3PL DEF-understand:PTCP ACC all.CS action:PL-3PL

The creator of all their hearts, [He] who understands all their actions.

16 אֵין־הַמֶּלֶךְ, נוֹשָׁע בְּרָב־חָיִל; גִּבּוֹר, לֹא־יִנָּצֵל בְּרָב־כֹּחַ.

ליש אצולטאן ינג׳את בכתרת גיס

layš əṣ-ṣulṭān yinğāt b-kutrət ğays,[32]

NEG DEF-king be_saved:IPFV.3SG.M by-lots.CS army

קוי (גבבאר) ליש ינפ׳ך בכתרת גהד

qwi (ğəbbār) layš yinfəkk b-kutrət ğəhd

mighty_man (hero) NEG be_rescued:IPFV.3SG.M by-lots.cs strength.

The king is not saved by multitude of armies, a hero is not rescued by lots of strength.

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29 In this dialect, imperfect singular forms of verbs with a first radical *waw* have two alternating realizations: *tūqəf* or *twukaf*.

30 Elative form, see Fischer 2001: 76–77.

31 DR: *əldi yəxlaq* (REL create:IMPF.3SG.M; = 'that who creates').

32 DR recited alternative renderings: *əl-ğays, əl-qwi, əl-ğəhd*.

17 שֶׁקֶר הַסּוּס, לִתְשׁוּעָה; וּבְרֹב חֵילוֹ, לֹא יְמַלֵּט.

כדב אלכ׳יל ללמגׄיתא ובכתרת גייסו³³ ליש ימננע (רוחו)

kdəb əl-xēl l-l-məġīta u-b-kutrət ğays-u layš yimənnaʕ (rūḥ-u)

lie DEF-horse:COLL for-DEF-rescue and-by-lots.CS army:3SG.M NEG be_strengthened:IPFV.3SG.M (soul-3SG.M)

The horse is a lie for rescue, and by the multitude of his army he will not be able to escape.

18 הִנֵּה עֵין יְהוָה, אֶל-יְרֵאָיו; לַמְיַחֲלִים לְחַסְדּוֹ.

הודא עין אללאה אילא כׄאיפׄינו ללמצׄרגׄין³⁴ לפׄצׄלו

hawda ʕayn aḷḷāh ila xāyfīn-u l-l-mṣṣərğīn³⁴ l-fəḍl-u

PRES eye.CS God to afraid:PTCP.PL-3SG.M to-DEF-hope:PTCP.PL to-grace-3SG.M

Behold the Lord's eye [turns] to those who fear him, those who hope for His grace.

19 לְהַצִּיל מִמָּוֶת נַפְשָׁם; וּלְחַיּוֹתָם, בָּרָעָב.

ליפׄ׳ך מן אלמות רוחהום וליעייׄשהום פׄ׳לגׄוע

li-yfəkk mən əl-mowt rūḥ-hum u-l-yʕayyəš-hum f-l-ğūʕ

for-save:SUBJ.3SG.M from DEF-death soul-3PL and-for-resuscitate:SUBJ.3SG.M-3PL in-DEF-hunger

To save their souls from death, and to resuscitate them from hunger.

20 נַפְשֵׁנוּ, חִכְּתָה לַיהוָה; עֶזְרֵנוּ וּמָגִנֵּנוּ הוּא.

רוחנא צׄתרגׄאת לאללאה מעוונתנא ומצׄ׳רקתנא הווא

rūḥ-na ṣtərğāt l-aḷḷāh mʕawwənt-na u-mḍərqət-na huwa

soul-1PL hope:PF.3SG.F to-God aid-1PL and shield-1PL 3SG.M

Our soul hopes for the Lord, He is our aid and our shield.

21 כִּי-בוֹ, יִשְׂמַח לִבֵּנוּ: כִּי בְשֵׁם קָדְשׁוֹ בָטָחְנוּ.

אין ביה יפׄ׳רח קלבנא אין ביסם קודשו³⁵ תכלנא

ʔin bī-h yifraḥ qəlb-na, ʔin b-ism qudš-u tkəl-na

because in-3SG.M rejoice:IPFV.3SG.M heart-1PL because in-name.CS holiness-3SG.M trust:PF.1PL

Because in Him our heart will rejoice, because in the name of His holiness we trusted.

22 יְהִי-חַסְדְּךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ: כַּאֲשֶׁר, יִחַלְנוּ לָךְ.

יכון פׄ׳צׄ׳לך אללאה עלינא כיף אלדי צׄתרגׄינא ליך

ʸikūn fəḍḷ-ək³⁶ aḷḷāh³⁷ ʕlē-na kīf əldi ṣtərğīna l-ək

be:IPFV.3SG.M grace-2SG.M God on-1PL as REL hope:PF.1PL for-2SG.M

Your grace Lord shall be upon us, as we hoped for You.

Text 2: The journal əl-Ḥikma from Algeria

Following are two newspaper articles published in the Judeo-Arabic journal *əl-Ḥikma* from Constantine, Algeria. The journal *əl-Ḥikma* (*La Philosophie*) was the only Judeo-Arabic journal published in Algeria in the twentieth century, printed in Hebrew characters in Constantine (eastern Algeria) in 1912–1913 and 1922–1923. The journal's editor Rabbi Avraham Zerbib (1870–1942), though a religious leader, was also an avid sup-

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33 The spelling the Arabic word جَيْش as גייס with a ס (= /s/) and not גייש with a שׁ (= /š/) reflects a dissimilation caused by the proximity of the two sibilants.

34 This is a plural participle form of the tenth verbal stem of the root √ r-ǧ-w, with *st > ṣṣ*.

35 The spelling with שׁ (*š*) instead of ס (*s*) reflects the influence of the Hebrew word קָדְשׁוֹ (*qodšo*).

36 The entire word is pronounced emphatically.

37 DR: *yā aḷḷāh* (added *yāʔ al-nidāʔ*).

porter of the Jewish enlightenment movement (*haskala*). Hence, the journal is a mosaic of articles on religious themes, discussions of secular and philosophical topics, news from around the Jewish world, serialized stories as well as greetings, obituaries, advertisments and more. The first of these two texts, about the passing of Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, the 'reviver' of the Hebrew language, was written by the editor Avraham Zerbib and published in issue 21 of year 2 on January 12, 1923 (for a detailed discussion see Tirosh-Becker 2015). The second text, a news article about the Jewish community in America, published in issue 6 of year 1 on July 21, 1922.

Text 2.1

פנומרו אסאבק עלמנה[38] בלפטירה מתע החכם המפורסם

f-ən-numero əs-sābəq ʕlləmna b-l-fṭiṛa mtāʕ he-ḥaxam ha-məfursam

in-DEF-issue[FR] DEF-previous inform:PF.1PL in-DEF-death[H] GEN DEF-scholar[H] DEF-famous[H]

In the previous issue we informed [our readership] of the passing of the famous scholar

ה׳ר אליעזר בנ[39] יהודה נ׳ע.

ha-rav Eliʕezer ben Yehuda n[uḥ-o] ʕ[eden].

DEF-rabbi[H] Eliʕezer[H] ben[H] Yehuda[H] rest-3SG.M heaven.

rabbi Eliʕezer ben Yehuda, may he rest in peace.

פלג׳ורנל דאר היום סמאה אב אלסאן אלעברי

f-əl-jurnal doʔar ha-yom səmmā-h ʔab əl-lsān əl-ʕibri,

in-DEF-journal[FR] Doʔar[H] ha-Yom[H] entitle:PF.3SG.M-3G.M father-CS DEF-language DEF-Hebrew[H]

In the journal *Doʔar Ha-Yom*[40] he was entitled 'father of the Hebrew language',

פלחיכמה סמאה מוחיי לסאן לעברי.

f-əl-ḥikma səmma-h muḥyī[41] lsān əl-ʕibri.

in-DEF-Ḥikma entitle:PF.3SG.M-3SG.M reviver.cs [DEF-]language DEF-Hebrew[H].

in *əl-Ḥikma*[42] he was entitled 'the reviver of the Hebrew language'.

האד לכייס יסאהל האד אלחוג׳ה ואלו לסאן העברי קדים.

hād əl-kiyyəs issahəl[43] hād əl-ḥuǧǧa[44] wa-law lsān ha-ʕibri qdīm.

DEM DEF-wise_man merit:IPFV.3SG.M DEM DEF-title and-if language DEF-Hebrew[H] ancient.

This wise man merits this title even if the Hebrew language is ancient.

---

38   The 1PL suffix *-na* in *ʕlləmna* is written here with a *he* instead of an *aleph*. In Algerian Judeo-Arabic texts *aleph* and *he* often interchange in the orthography of when denoting the final vowel *a*.

39   In this journal the printer does not use the character ן for final *nun*, and uses the initial/medial *nun* sign נ instead.

40   *Doʔar Ha-Yom* was a Hebrew language journal published in Jerusalem (1919–1936) by Itamar ben Avi, Eliʕezer ben Yehuda's son.

41   In the Judeo-Arabic of Constantine the fourth verbal form had significantly weakened, although some participle forms are still in use, such as *muḥyī* 'reviver'.

42   The Algerian journal in which this article was published (see above).

43   The form *issahəl* is an imperfect of Form X (استأهل > استهلّ), with an *st* > *ss* assimilation; see Ben Sedira 1995: 262. The *aleph* in יסאהל indicates vowel quality and not quantity.

44   Speakers of the Jewish community of Constantine (Algeria) realize the phoneme /ž/ either as [ž] or [ǧ] (=[dž]), see Tirosh-Becker 1989: 296–297.

הווא יתסמא אב לשׁון העברי מן סבב אתנך

huwa yətsəmma ʔab lašon ha-ʕibri mən sabab ət-tanax

3SG.M be_entitled:IPFV.3SG.M father.CS language[H] DEF-Hebrew[H] from cause DEF-Bible[H]

He is entitled father of the Hebrew language because the Bible

לי פיידינה מה פיהש לכלאם אלכול אלמלזום

ᵓlli f-yiddī-na mā fī-hə-š l-kalām əl-kūl əl-malzūm

REL in-hand:PL-1PL NEG in-it-NEG DEF-word:PL DEF-all DEF-be_necessary.PTCP.PASS

that is in our hands does not have all the necessary words,

והחכם אליעזר בן יהודה ראה יבדאע לכלאם

wa-he-ḥaxam Eliʕezer ben Yehuda rā-h yibdaʕ əl-kalām

and-DEF-scholar[H] Eliʕezer[H] ben[H] Yehuda[H] PRES-3SG.M invent:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-word:PL

and the scholar Eliʕezer ben Yehuda invented the words

לי יכוץ מן לסאן ביהא לי יתסמא לי יתסמא אב הלשׁון

lli yixuṣṣ mən lsān bī-ha lli yətsəmma ʔab hal-lašon

REL lack:IPFV.3SG.M from language in-3SG.F REL be_entitled:IPFV.3SG.M father.CS[H] DEF-language[H]

that lacked in the language. [He] was entitled the father of the language,

ראה יולד לכלאם ללסאן לעברי. אוחנה סמינאה

rā-h yūləd[45] əl-klām əl-lsān əl-ʕbri. uḥna sammīna-h

PRES-3SG.M father:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-word:PL DEF-language DEF-Hebrew[H] 1PL entitle:PF.1PL-3SG.M

because he fathered the words of the Hebrew Language. We entitled him

מוחיי אלסאן לעברי מן סבת ליהוד פלגלות

muḥyī əl-lsān əl-ʕibri mən səbbət əl-yahūd f-əl-galut

reviver.CS DEF-language DEF-Hebrew[H] from cause.CS DEF-Jew:COLL in-DEF-diaspora[H]

reviver of the Hebrew language because the Jews in the diaspora

צארו יתכלמו בלסאן לווטן פאין ראהום

ṣāṛu yitkəllmu bi-lsān əl-uṭan fayn rā-hum

became:PF.3PL.M speak:IPFV.3PL.M in-language.CS DEF-country where PRES-3PL

became speakers of the language of the country where they were [living]

ולסאן לעברי תנסא מנהום

u-l-lsān əl-ʕibri ttənsa mən-hum

and-DEF-language DEF-Hebrew[H] be_forgotten:PF.3SG.M from-3PL

and they forgot the Hebrew language (lit. the Hebrew language was forgotten by them),

והאד אלכייס ואקף ילזזם[46] ליהוד יתכלמו

u-hād əl-kiyyəs wāqəf ilazzəm əl-yahūd yətkəllmu

and-DEM DEF-wise_man stand:PTCP demand:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-Jew:COLL speak:IPFV.3PL.M

and this wise man demanded that the Jews speak

בלסאן לעברי פי כל מסאלה. אלמות דייאלו חאיירת ארץ ישראל

b-l-lsān əl-ʕibri fī kəll msāla. əl-mawt dyāl-u ḥayyrət ʔereṣ yisraʔel

in-DEF-language DEF-Hebrew[H] in all.CS matter DEF-death of-3SG.M shake:PF.3SG.F land.CS[H] Israel[H]

Hebrew for all matters. His death shook the entire Land of Israel

---

45 Judeo-Arabic speakers from Constantine use two alternative forms *yūləd* and *yuwləd*, the second
form is with the diphthong *uw*.

46 Printing mistake in the journal: יללזם.

בכמאלהא ועמלולו להספדים למלזומין.

bi-kmāl-ha wa-ʕamlu-lu   əl-hespedim əl-malzūmīn.

in-full-3SG.M and-do:PF-3PL-for-3SG.M   DEF-eulogy:PL[H] DEF-require:PTCP.PASS.PL

and they composed the required eulogies.

ראנה נכתבו לכבודו להספדים לי תעמלו לכבודו

rā-na   nkətbu   li-xvod-o   əl-hespedim lli ttʕamlu   li-xvod-o

PRES-1PL write:IPFV.1PL for-honor-3SG.M[H] DEF-eulogy:PL[H] REL be_done:PF.3PL.M for-honor-3SG.M[H]

We will publish in his honor the eulogies that were composed in his honor

באש נביינו לאבידה מתע בן אדם כביר. מאושי דאע[47]

bāš   nbayynu   əl-ʔaveda mtāʕ bənadəm kbīr.   māwšī ḍāʕ

in_order_to elucidate:IPFV.1PL DEF-loss[H] GEN   person[H]   distinguished he.NEG be_lost:PF.3SG.M

in order to elucidate the loss of [this] distinguished person. He was not only lost

לאהלו פקט דאע אלא דאע לליהוד מתע[48] אלמונדו

l-ahl-u   faqaṭ əlla ḍāʕ   l-əl-yahūd   mtāʕ əl-mundo

to-family-3SG.M only   rather be_lost:PF.3SG.M to-DEF-Jew:COLL GEN   DEF-world[SP]

to his family rather he was lost to the world's Jews

בחאל מה קאל לפסוק "וכל בית ישראל

bḥāl ma qāl   əl-pasuq: "wə-xol   beṯ   yisraʔel

like   REL say:PF.3SG.M DEF-verse[H] "and-entire.CS[H] house.CS[H] Isreal[H]

as the verse says: "and the entire house of Israel

יבכו את השריפה אשר שרף ה׳״.[49]

yivku   ʔet has-sərefa ʔašer saraf   ʔaḏonay".

weep:IPFV.3PL.M[H] ACC[H] DEF-burning[H]   REL[H] kindle:PF.3SG.M[H] t[he-name][H](Lord[H])".

shall weep the burning that the Lord has kindled".

Text 2.2

לאמיריך מן קבל כאנת תחת חכומת אנגליז וחין נאס לאמיריך

l-amərik   mənqbəl kānət   taḥt ḥkūmət ingliz u-ḥīn   nās   əl-amərik

DEF-America[FR] from before be:PRF.3SG.F under rule.CS   English and-when people.CS DEF-America[FR]

America was once under England's rule, and when the American people

חאבו יכונו מחארריν מן חכומת אנגליז, ויחכמו עלה רוחהום.

ḥabbu   ʸikūnu   mḥarrərīn mən ḥkūmət ingliz, u-yaḥkəmu   ʕla rūḥ-hum

want:PF.3PL be:IPFV.3PL free:PTCP.PL   from rule.CS   English and-rule:IPFV.3PL.M on soul-3PL

wanted to be free from England's rule, and rule themselves.

---

47   The orthography in which Hebrew ד is used to transcribe Arabic *ḍ* is not common in Algerian Judeo-Arabic texts. The common transcription for Judeo-Arabic *ḍ* is צ׳. In Moroccan Judeo-Arabic one finds ד or צ׳ to transcribe *ḍ*. See Bar-Asher 1999: 82. For the uses of ד vs. צ׳ in a variety of earlier Judeo-Arabic texts see Blau and Hopkins 2017: 26.

48   The origin of the possession particle *mtāʕ* is the Arabic noun متاع 'belongings'. The particle *mtāʕ* (and its variants *ntāʕ* and *tāʕ*) are in frequent use in Algerian Judeo-Arabic. The orthography of this word is either מתאע or מתע (despite the long vowel *ā* that is typically transcribed with an *aleph*).

49   Lev 10:6.

תמא יהודי איסמו חיים סולימוו⁵⁰ עטא סת מייה וסתין אלף דולאר

təmma yahūdi ism-u Ḥayim Solomon ʕṭa sətt miya wa-səttin alf

there Jew name-3SG.M Ḥayim[H] Solomon give:PF.3SG.M six hundred and-sixty thousand

There was a Jew named Ḥayim Solomon who gave six hundred and sixty thousand

לי הומאן תלאתה מליון ותלת מייאת אלף פרנך

dollar lli hummān tlāta millyon u-tlāt myāt alf frank

dollar[EN] REL 3PL three million and-three hundred.PL thousand franc[FR]

dollars, which are three million and three hundred thousand francs

לדמת מצרוף ריפוליסיון מתע לאמיריך. וחין נפטר,

l-dəmmət maṣṛūf revolusyon mtāʕ l-amərik. u-ḫīn nəfṭaṛ

in-order expenses.CS revolution[FR] GEN DEF-America[FR] and-when die:PF.3SG.M[H]

in order [to pay for] the expenses of the American revolution. And when he died,

אדאוולה ואפקת באיין האד לפלוס ירג׳עו לוולדו

əd-dawla wāfqət bayn hād əl-flūs ʸirəğʕu li-wuld-u

DEF-government approve:PF.3SG.F COMP DEM DEF-money:PL return:IPFV.3PL to-offspring-3SG.M

the government approved that this money will return to his offspring.

אנהאר לי בעתו אלחוכאם לכווארט באש יכתם פיהום

ən-nhār lli baʕtu əl-ḥukkām əl-kwārət⁵¹ bāš yixtəm fi-hum

DEF-day REL send:PF.3PL DEF-authority:PL DEF-document:plᶠᴿ in-order sign:IPFV.3SG.M in-3PL

The day on which the authorities sent the documents for him to sign

ויקבד לפלוס כאן יום⁵² שבת.

u-yiqbəḍ əl-flūs kān yom šabbat.

and-receive:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-money:PL be:PF.3SG.M day[H] Sabbath[H]

and receive the money was Saturday.

מה חאבש יכתם האד לוולד פשבת קאלהום:

mā ḥabb-š yixtəm hād əl-wuld f-šabbat, qāl-l-hum:

NEG want:PF.3SG.M-NEG sign:IPFV.3SG.M DEM DEF-offspring on-Sabbath[H] say:PF.3SG.M-to-3PL

[However] that offspring did not want to sign on the Sabbath, and told them

"חאתה יום לתנין". יום לחאד נפטר לוולד עלה גפלה.

"ḥatta yawm ət-tnēn". yawm əl-ḥadd nəfṭaṛ əl-wuld ʕla ġafla

"until day DEF-second" day DEF-first die:PF.3SG.M[H] DEF-offspring on suddenly

"[wait] until Monday". On Sunday the offspring died suddenly.

ומן האדאך אזמן לפלוס בקאוו פלכיס מתע טריזור.

u-mən hādāk əz-zmān əl-flūs bqāw f-l-kīs mtāʕ ət-trezor

and-from DEM.REM DEF-time DEF-money:PL remain:PF.3PL in-DEF-pocket GEN DEF-treasury[FR]

And from that time the money remained in the pocket of the treasury.

---

50 The name *Solomon* was incorrectly spelled as סולימוו (and not סולומון). Ḥayim Solomon (1740–1785) was a Jewish American businessman who aided the Continental Army and was possibly their prime financier during the American Revolutionary War against Great Britain. See Jane Frances Amler (2004), *Haym Salomon: Patriot Banker of the American Revolution*, New York: Rosen-PowerPlus Books, p. 6.

51 An Arabic broken plural of the French word *carte*.

52 It is not clear whether יום stands for the Arabic word *yawm* 'day' or the Hebrew word *yom*. See also Aharon Maman (1989), "On Identifying the Hebrew Element in Judeo-Maghrebian", *Massorot* 3–4: 171–201 (in Hebrew).

חין כאן פריזידאן מתע לאמיריך, מסיו טאפט[53]

ḥīn   kān   presidañ mtāʕ əl-amərik   məsyu Taft

when be:PF.3SG.M president[FR] GEN   DEF-America[FR] mister[FR] Taft[EN]

When Taft was the president of America

חאב בלינתיריס מתע האד לפלוס יטלעו סכולה[54]

ḥabb   b-l-intiris   mtāʕ hād əl-flūs   iṭəllʕu   skola[54]

want:PF.3SG.M in-DEF-interest[IT] GEN   DEF-money:PL build:IPFV.3PL school[IT]

he wanted to use the interest on this money to build a school

עלה איסם חיים סולומון, אדאוולה מה ואפקתש להאד אשי.

ʕla ʔism Ḥayim Solomon əd-dawla   mā wāfqət-š   l-hād əš-ši

on   name Ḥayim[H] Solomon DEF-government NEG approve:PRF.3SG.F-NEG to-DEM DEF-thing

named after Ḥayim Solomon, [however] the government did not approve it.

אליום חופדאן חופדאנו טלבו האד לוראתה, וקאלו

əl-yawm   ḥufdān   ḥufdān-u   ṭalbu   hād l-urāta   wa-qālu

DEF-day   grandson:PL.CS grandson:PL-3SG.M request:PF.3PL   DEM DEF-inheritance and-say:PF.3PL

Today his great grandsons request this inheritance, and they said

נחבו נדיוו ראץ אלמאל בלא אנתיריס.

nḥabbu   nddīw   ṛāṣ əl-māl   b-lā   intiris

want:IPFV.1PL restore:IPFV.1PL head.CS DEF-money with-NEG interest[IT].

we want to restore the principal sum without the interest.

Text 3: A story on the 'evil eye' from Tunis, Tunisia

The following text is a folk story about the 'evil eye' in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic, told by an informant from the capital Tunis. This oral text was recorded and transcribed by David Cohen, who studied and documented the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tunisian Jews during many years. This short story is included in his book *Le Parler Arabe des Juifs de Tunis: Textes et documents linguistiques et ethnographiques* (The Hague – Paris, 1964). It appears in phonetic transcription accompanied by a French translation on pages 103–104, and is brought here based on this transcription.[55] The text exhibits many of the characteristic llinguistic traits of the Tunisian Judeo-Arabic dialect. Key linguistic features of this dialect are discussed in more detail in the grammatical sketch above and are indicated in footnotes. For a more detailed account of the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tunis see Cohen, David*, 1975. *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis. Vol. II: Étude linguistique*. The Hague – Paris: Mouton.

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53   William Howard Taft (1857–1930) was the 27th President of the United States (1909–1913).

54   Italian *scuola*.

55   Minimal changes to the transcription include transcribing ḫ as *x* (not *ḥ*).

əl-ʕäyn mūš ădṛå[56] *ntāʕ nšä*[57] *bə-l-köll.*
DEF-eye NEG conversation GEN woman:PL.F in-DEF-all
The [evil] eye is not at all women's talk.

u-kān təqra mnīḥ f-əṭ-ṭūṛa təlqa bǎršä klām u-mäʕšiyūt
and-be:COND[58] read:IPFV.2SG.M well[59] in-DEF-Torah[H] find:IPFV.2SG.M many saying:PL and-tale:PL[H]
And if you read the Torah well, you will find many sayings and tales

ʕäl "ʕǎyn ā-ṛǎʕ" ṣīmọṣṣilinu.[60] *ānä ṣāṛət qbālt-i u-qbālət*
on[H] eye[H] DEF-evil[H] God_save_us[H] 1SG happen:PF.3SG.F in_front_of-1SG and-in_front_of
about the "evil eye", God save us. It happened in front of me and in front of

bǎršä nāš… zṛāt ʕlä wāḥəd ṣnǎyʕi məškīn f-əṣ-ṣūq
many people … happen:PF.3SG.F on one craftsman unfortunate in-DEF-market
many people … It happened to an unfortunate craftsman in the market

ʕǎnd-u uləd zġīr, ṣwīnǎʕ, bāš yəbäʕt-u yǎqdi bǎʕd əl-qǎdyāt
at-3SG.M boy young employee:DIM for send:IPFV.3SG.M-3SG.M run:IPFV.3SG.M some.CS DEF-errand:PL
who had a young boy, a junior employee, [that he would] send to run some of the errands for him.

ūwä kān wǎkkāl tbǎṛkoḷḷå mənāk əl-wǎkkälīn lə-ġwāl.
3SG.M be:PF.3SG.M eater be_praised.STAT.3SG.M.God from DEM.PL DEF-eater:PL DEF-monstrous:PL
He [the craftsman] was an eater of those monstrous eaters, God bless him.

ṣbāḥ tʕǎddä ʕlä ḥänūt-u wāḥəd ṣǎyyād mālti yǎʕrf-u
morning pass:PF.3SG.M on store[H]-3SG.M one fisherman Maltese know:IPFV.3SG.M-3SG.M
One morning a Maltese fisherman passed his store, known to him

mäġrūm, ʕǎṛṛa ʕlä qọfft-u wǎṛṛå buṛīya dkǎṛ
enthusiast remove_the_cover:PF.3SG.M on basket-3SG.M show:PF.3SG mullet male
as an enthusiast, removed the cover of his basket, showed a male mullet

tǎʕməl myät ǎlf kǎyf. xdā-ä, bʕǎt-tä
do:IPFV.3SG.M hundred.CS thousand pleasure:PL take:PF.3SG.M-3SG.F send:pf.3SG.M-3SG.F
that makes your mouth water (lit. "a hundred thousand pleasures"). He [the craftsman] took it, sent it

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56 In the Tunisian Judeo-Arabic dialect the unvoiced glottal fricative *h* almost disappeared, e.g., *adṛå* (هذرة), *ūwä* (هو).

57 In the Tunisian Judeo-Arabic dialect *s > š*, except before an emphatic consonant. The pronunciation [s] only occurs before non-emphatic *r*. On the special sibilant shifts in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic see the grammatical description above.

58 Frozen in the be:PF.3SG.M form.

59 An adjective that serves here as an adverb.

60 *ṣīmọṣṣilinu* = Hebrew השם יצילנו (*haš-šem yaṣṣīle-nū* 'God save us').

l-əl-qăllāy mʕä l-ulīyed. qăl-l-u nḥä'bb-ək tqăṛqəš-ša
to-DEF-fryer with DEF-boy:DIM tell:PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M want:IPFV.1SG-2SG.M scale-3SG.F
to the fryer with the young boy. He told him [the fryer]: I want you to scale it,

tfərrăǧ-ġä u-tməllăḥ-hä u-tăqlīy-ä äkkāk mən-ġīr ma tqoṣ-ṣa.
empty-3SG.F and salt-3SG.F and-fry-3SG.F like.DEM from-other REL cut_to_pieces:IPFV.2SG.M-3SG.F
and empty it, and salt it, and fry it like this keeping it whole (lit. "without cutting it to pieces").

ʕănd lūwel l-ulīyəd mšä l-əl-qăllāy u-žāb ḥaš-āk[61]
at mid-day DEF-boy:DIM go:PF.3SG.M to-DEF-fryer and-bring:PF.3SG.M with_all_due_respect
At mid-day the young boy went to the fryer and brought [back], with all due respect,

āk əl-ḥūtä moqlīyä. xdā-ä əṛ-ṛāžəl wə-qʕăd åy åy, åy åy,
DEM DEF-fish fry:PTCP take:pf.3SG.M-3SG.F DEF-man and-sit:pf.3SG.M EXC
that fried fish. The man took it and sat, ay ay, ay ay

bdä b-əṛ-ṛåṣ kəmməl b-əd-dənbä mä xăllä kān əš-šäwk.
start:PF.3SG.M with-DEF-head finish:PF.3SG.M with-DEF-tail NEG leave:PF.3SG.M but DEF-fishbone:PL
started with the head, finished with the tail, leaving nothing but fishbones.

w-āk l-ūləd wāqəf qbālt-u šākət yəqšăʕ fī.
and-DEM DEF-boy stand:PTCP before-3SG.M silent:PTCP look:IPFV:3SG.M at.3SG.M
And that boy stands before him silent, looking at him.

wăqt əlli blăʕ l-äxxər loqmä, ṛma ʕäyn-u ʕāṣ-ṣhan l-ūləd,
when REL swallow:PF.3SG.M DEF-last bite throw:PF.3SG.M eye-3SG.M on-DEF-plate DEF-boy
When he swallowed the last bite, the boy eyed the plate,

ūwä zərbi, u-kīf li l-kəlmä xăržət mən qălb-u, qāl: klä,
3SG.M Djerbi and-as_if REL DEF-word come_out:PF.3SG.F from heart-3SG.M say:PF.3SG.M eat:PF.3SG.M
he is from Djerba, and, as if the word came out of his heart, he said: [he] ate,

l-köll. ăyy, ṣīmoṣṣilīnu. lă-ʕšīyä əṛ-ṛāžəl ṛăwwäḥ əl-dāṛ-u,
DEF-all EXC God_save_us[H] DEF-evening DEF-man go:PF.3SG.M to-home-3SG.M
everything. Ayy, God save us. In the evening the man went to his home,

ḥăšš nəfš-u šwīyä mxălwọḍ, žūf-u tūžʕ-u,
feel:PF.3SG.M self-3SG.M thing:DIM be_shaken:PTCP stomach-3SG.M hurt:IPFV:3SG.F-3SG.M
felt himself a little shaken, his stomach hurt him,

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61 Literally *ḥāšä* (حَاشَا) means 'except' (Beaussier 1958: 207). *ḥaš-āk* literally means 'except you', but it is used here to express the phrase 'with all due respect'. Tunisian Jews warded off the 'evil eye' by saying the words *xämšä* (= five, i.e., the form of the palm) or the word *ḥūtä* (= fish), hence the informant added the phrase 'with all due respect' before saying 'fish' (D. Cohen 1964: 99).

mädäbī[62]   *yitqǎyyä,*   *āt*   *ṭ̣onžīyä,*   *əž-žūf*   *təzri,*
would_like_to throw_up:IPFV.3SG.M bring:SG.M verbena [tea] DEF-stomach run:IPFV.3SG.F
[and he] wanted to throw up. He was given melissa tea , he had diarrhea (lit. "the sto-
mach ran"),

əṛ-ṛāžəl mərxi   rǎxwä qwīyä, *ʕǎyyṭu*   *ṭbīb,*   *ṣīmoṣṣilīnu, ṣīmoṣṣilīnu,*
DEF-man weak:PTCP weakness strong:F call:PF.3 PL.M physician God_save_us[H] God_save_us[H]
the man was very weak, [they] called a physician, God save us, God save us,

əṭ-ṭbīb   *uṣǎl*   *lqā*   *mīyət.*
DEF-physician arrive:PF.3SG.M find:PF.3SG.M.3SG.M dead.
the physician arrived and found him dead.

Text 4: A text on the eve of Shavuʕot from Sefrou, Morocco
This is an oral text in which an informant from Sefrou, Morocco describes the Jewish
celebration customs of this community on the eve of the Jewish holiday of *Shavuʕot*
(Tabernacles). The text was recorded, transcribed, and translated by Norman A. Still-
man, who recorded Sefriwi Jews during the 1970's, and published it among other
recorded texts in his book *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou, Morocco:
An Ethnolinguistic Study*, (Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph no. 11), Louvain:
University of Manchester 1988 (p. 121).[63] The text exhibits many of the characteristic
linguistic traits of this Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialect, which although classified among
the 'old urban Maghrebi Arabic' dialects also reflects other features, including some
unique ones. In the footnotes I refer to key linguistic phenomena discussed in more
detail in the grammatical description above. For a more detailed account of the Judeo-
Arabic dialect of Sefrou see Stillman 1988.

lilt   Sabüʕotˢ   ṭḥak[64] *u-tˢ-tˢora*   *l-ʕaziza.*
eve.CS Shavuʕot[H] laughter and-DEF-Torah[H] DEF-beloved.F
On the eve of Shavuʕot there is laughter and the beloved Torah.

bəzzaf ḍ-ḍyaṛ   kanu   yʕamid   l-ʔaraya[65] *f-ḍ-ḍyaṛ.*
many   DEF-home:PL be:PF.3PL.M hold:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-reading in-DEF-home:PL
In many households they would hold reading sessions at home.

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62 One of the ways to express a wish in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic is *mädäbīya* (= je voudrais bien que),
     see D. Cohen 1975: 263. See also Beaussier 1958: 917 (بيّ ذا ما = je voudrais bien que, lit. "what is in
     me").

63 I thank Prof. Stillman for granting me permission to cite this sample text. The responsibility for the
     glosses is mine.

64 *ḍ > ṭ* (ضحك √).

65 The pronunciation of /q/ as [ʔ] is characteristic of many key urban Judeo-Arabic dialects in Mo-
     rocco.

u-baba *ʕaziz-i* *kan* *izib*[66] *l-ʕaniyyin* *f-ṣ-ṣbaḥ*
and-father dear-1SG be:PF.3SG.M bring:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-poor:PL[H] in-DEF-morning
My dear father would bring in the poor folk in the morning

yiferraʔ-l-hom *l-flüs* *b-s-stˢeṛa* – *ya* *ḥasani,* *ya* *frank.*
distribute:IPFV.3SG.M-to-3PL DEF-money:PL in-DEF-secret – DISJ ḥasani DISJ franc
and distribute money among them in secret – a Ḥasani[67] there, a franc there.

yiʔraw *w-igüzü* *tˢ-tˢḥameḍ* *u-maḥya.*
read:IPFV.3PL and-eat:IPFV:3PL DEF-salad:PL and-maḥya
They would read and eat salads and drink *maḥya*.

f-ṣ-ṣbaḥ *yimsiw* *yṣeḷḷiw* *wi-yirzʕu* *l-s-sʕüda.*
in-DEF-morning go:IPFV.3PL pray:IPFV.3PL and-return:IPFV.3PL to-DEF-feast[H]
In the morning they would go to pray and return for a festive meal.

kunna *nʕamlu* *ṭ-ṭenbor* *d-l-beḍ* *l-məsluʔin* *u-tlatˢin* *kilu* *d-kaʕak*[68]
be:PF.1PL do:IPFV.1PL DEF-kettle GEN-DEF-egg:PL DEF-boil:PTCP.PL and-thirty kilo GEN-kaʕak
We would fill a large kettle with boiled eggs and thirty kilos of *kaʕak*

b-nāfiʕ *u-zinzlan* *u-skakṛ.*
with-anise and-sesame_seed:PL and-sugar:PL.DIM
with anise and sesame seed and lots of sugar (lit. a little sugar).[69]

a-imsiw *r-rzal,* *iziw* *n-nsa* *yedůʔů* *s-sʕüda* *tˢa* *huma.*
FUTM-go:IPFV.3PL DEF-man:PL come:IPFV.3PL DEF-woman:PL taste:IPFV.3PL DEF-feast[H] also 3PL.F
When the men went, the women would come to taste from the festive food as well.

fi *Pisaḥ* *di* *ʕand-ů* *bnitˢa*[70] *aw* *weld* *d-xems* *snin*
on Passover[H] REL at-3SG.M daughter:DIM DISJ son GEN-five year:PL
On Passover, whoever had a young daughter or a son five years old

a-iṣeftů *xiṭba* *a-iʕamlu* *mlak* *Pisaḥ.*
FUTM-send:IPFV.3PL proposal FUTM-do:IPFV.3PL engagement.CS Passover[H]
would send a proposal that they make a Passover engagement.

bü-l-weld *izib* *l-xiṭba* *l-ḍar* *l-bintˢ.* *u-f-Sabüʕotˢ*
father.CS-DEF-boy bring:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-proposal to-home.CS DEF-girl and-on-Shavuʕot[H]
The boy's father would bring the proposal to the girl's house. On Shavuʕot

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66 *ǧ > z.*

67 The ḥasani was a dirham equal to one-half of a franc, see Stillman 1988: 122 fn. 3.

68 A type of a round biscuit.

69 The diminutive form may carry an emphatic meaning expanding the base concept, see Stillman 1988: 122 fn.4. For Classical Arabic, cf. Wright 1955:166D.

70 *bnitˢa* is a diminutive form of *bintˢ* 'daughter'. On diminutive forms in southeast Moroccan Judeo-Arabic see Bar-Asher 1986.

huwa   ṭlaʔ.   a-izi   s-sammas   d-ṣ-ṣla
3SG.M divorce:PF.3SG.M FUTM-come:IPFV.3SG.M beadle^H   GEN-DEF-synagogue
he would make a divorce. The beadle of the synagogue would come

bas   yaSṭi   l-giṭ.
in_order_to   give:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-bill_of_divorce^H
to give the bill of divorce.

a-ya-ṛḅḅ-i,   ṣdaʔ-ha   hada l-xibza   b-l-gṛůn.
EXCL-VOC-Lord-1SG marriage_settlement-3SG.F DEM   DEF-bread with-DEF-horn:PL
"O Lord, her marriage settlement is this braided roll!"

kan   l-weld di   ma yḥebb-s   iṭellaʔ   u-yebki.
be:PF.3SG.M DEF-boy REL   NEG   want:IPFV.3SG.M-NEG divorce:IPFV.3SG.M and-cry:IPFV.3SG.M
A child who did not want to be divorced would cry.

u-kanu   zġaṛt^s ⁷¹ u-d-denya   ṭḥek   ü-tlSeb.
and-be:PF.3PL   ululation and-DEF-everyone laugh:PF.3SG.M and-enjoy_oneself:PF.3SG.M
There would be ululation and everyone would laugh and enjoy themselves.

daʔ⁷² n-nhar l-weld kan   ilbis   z-zellaba, bedSiya, u-belġa
DEM.REM DEF-day DEF-boy be:PF.3SG.M wear:IPFV.3SG.M DEF-jellaba badSiyya and-belġa
On that day the boy would wear a jellaba,⁷³ a badSiyya,⁷⁴ pointed slippers,

u-ṭ-ṭaṛḅůs   l-kḥel. zman kan   silṭan ʔebiḥ
and-DEF-tarboosh DEF-black   time be:PF.3SG.M sultan wicked
and a black tarboosh. Once there was a wicked sultan,

di ʔal   l-ihüd   ilbesu   ġir ṭ-ṭaṛḅůs   l-kḥel.
REL say:PF.3SG.M DEF-Jew:COLL wear:IPFV.3PL   only DEF-tarboosh DEF-black
who said that the Jews could only wear a black tarboosh.

di yilbis   ṭaṛḅůs   l-ḥmer d-l-msilmin   u-xerz   bi-h
REL wear:IPFV.3SG.M tarboosh DEF-red GEN-DEF-Muslim:PL and-go_outside:PF.3SG with-3SG.M
Anyone who wore the red tarboosh of the Muslims and went outside with it

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71   The form *zġaṛt^s* reflects a *d > t^s* shift in the word زَغَارِيد (sg. زَغْرُودَة).
72   The distal demonstrative *daʔ* (< *hadak*) is unique to Sefriwi Judeo-Arabic. The shift of final *k* to *ʔ*
     occurs in a few words in this dialect (Stillman 1988: 33).
73   A long-sleeved, hooded outer robe which was originally a Muslim garment.
74   In its masculine version, this garment was a sleeveless vest.

yigezru-h[75].   *l-bintˢ   l-ʕazmi   u-iʕakkṛů-l-ha.*
tear:IPFV.3PL.M^H-3SG.M   DEF-girl DEF-ʕazmi   and-put_make_up:IPFV.3PL-to-3SG.F
would be torn to pieces. The girl [would wear] the ʕazmi[76] and would have make-up put on her.

f-ḍ-ḍhọr   m-s-sṭiḥan   u-s-srazm   di   ygüz
in-DEF-noon   from-DEF-rooftop:PL   and-window:PL REL   pass:IPFV.3SG.M
At noon water would be poured from the rooftops and the windows upon any passer-by.

yexwiw   ʕali-h   l-ma.   a-itˢrassu[77]   *d-denya.*
pour:IPFV.3PL.M   on-3SG.M   DEF-water   FUTM-be_splashed:IPFV.3PL   DEF-everyone
Everyone would be splashed with water.

yallah, kanü   l-batˢütˢ   d-l-ʔezdir   bas   yʕamru   bi-l-ma.
indeed   be:PF.3PL   DEF-water_gun:PL   GEN-DEF-tin   in_order_to   fill:IPFV.3Pl   with-DEF-water
Indeed, there were tin water guns that people would fill with water.

Text 5: "The Sultan and [the] three sisters" from Tripoli, Libya

This text excerpt consists of the first paragraph of a fairy tale "The Sultan and [the] three sisters", narrated by Mĕrĕ Ḥəžžaž Liluf, a Jew born in 1925 in Tripoli, Libya. The tale was recoded and transcribed by Sumikazu Yoda, who published this text in his book *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005 (pp. 298f.).[78] The text exhibits linguistic features of the Tripolitan Judeo-Arabic dialect. In the footnotes I refer to key linguistic phenomena. For a detailed account of this dialect see Yoda 2005.

kan   u   ma kan   ʕala waḥəṭ[79]*ṣəḷṭaṇ. adak   əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ ma ʕand-u-š*
be.PF.3SF.M and REL be.PF.3SF.M on   one.M   sultan   DEM.REM DEF-sultan   NEG at-3SG.M-NEG
Once upon a time there was a Sultan. That Sultan had no

əzġaṛ. lila məl-lyali   ṭaṛ   əʕl-i   n-nʕas.   ṭəḅḅəḥ   ḥəl-l-uzir[80]
little.PL nightfrom.DEF-night.PL fly.PF.3SG.M on-3SG.M DEF-sleepiness call.PF.3SG.M on-DEF-minister
children. One night sleep evaded him. He called his minister

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75   The Hebrew root √ *gzr* is interwoven into an Arabic stem.
76   A female garment, which was very similar to the Muslim caftan, and was worn only on festive occasions.
77   *š > s* (√ رشش).
78   I thank Prof. Yoda for granting me permission to cite this sample text. The responsibility for the glosses and the translation is mine.
79   *d > ṭ* because of the emphatic consonant *ṣ* in the following word and the spread of emphatic pronunciation.
80   In the hiatus *ḥʕ > ḥḥ*.

ənčaʕ-u[81] *w* *qal-l-u*   *čəʕla,*[82]   *aná ma ʕənd-i-š   ənʕas,   nḥəbb*
GEN-3SG.M and say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M come_on.IMP 1SG NEG at-1SG.NEG sleepiness want.IPFV.1SG
and said to him: Come on, I cannot sleep, I want

ənṭəlʕu.   *nləbsu*   *bŏrgēzě,*[83]   *u* *ənṭəlʕu*   *naṛaw*   *l-blad.*
go_out.IPFV.1PL dress.JUSS.1PL bourgeois[It]   and go_out.IPFV.1PL see.IPFV.1PL DEF-country
that we go out. Let's wear civilian clothes and let's go out to see the country.

lbəs   *bŏrgēzě*   *ṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ u   l-uzir,*   *w   xadu*   *lə-ḥṣəṇṇa nčaʕ-əm*
dress.PF.3SG.M bourgeois[It] DEF-sultan and DEF-minister and take.PF.3PL DEF-horse.PL GEN-3PL
The Sultan and the minister put on civilian clothes, took their horses,

u   *ṭəlʕu.*   *bdaw*   *yəmšiw*   *f-əl-blad*   *yḍəwwṛu*   *na na na na,*
and go_out.PF.3PL begin.PF.3PL go.IPFV.3PL in-DEF-country look-for.IPFV.3Pl IDEOPHONE (x 4)
and went out. They began to go around in the country, looking around,

wəṣḷu   *l-l-xla.*   *ṣaḅu*   *ḍəww zġəyyər məm-bʕid,   mšəʕul.*[84]
arrive.PF.3PL to-DEF-desert find.PF.3PL light   little.DIM from-far   light.PTCP.PASS
and reached the desert. They perceived a little light from afar, lit.

qal-l-u   *əyya nčəbbʕu   ṭ-ṭriq w   naṛaw*   *əḍ-ḍəww ada šawa uwa.*
say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M INTERJ follow.IPFV.1PL DEF-way and see.IPFV.1PL DEF-light   DEM what 3SG.M
He said to him: Let's follow the way and see what the light is.

mšaw mšaw mšaw, ṣaḅu   *zriba zġəyyra. qal-l-u*   *əsməḥ*
go.PF.PL go.PF.PL go.PF.PL find.PF.3PL hut   small.DIM say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M hear.IPT
The went and went, and found a small hut. He said to him: Listen

ḥəss   əd-duwa. sməʕ   əd-duwa, wəqfu,   qəʕdu,   yəṭṣəṇṇču   ysəmʕu
sound.CS DEF-speech hear.PF.3SG.M DEF-speech stand.PF.3PL stay.3PF.PL listen.IPFV.3PL hear.IPFV.3PL
to the sound of the speech. He listened to the speech. They stood still, paying attention
and listening

d-duwa ša   čəmma ša iya d-duwa. kanu   fia   tlač əbnač, adik əz-zriba.
DEF-speech what there   what 3SG.F DEF-speech be.PF.3PL in.3SG.F three girl.PL DEM.F DEF-hut
to the speech. What is there? What is the speech? In it were three girls, (in) that hut.

əl-bənt lə-kbira qalč,   qa čədwi   l-əxč-a,   qalt-l-a,
DEF-girl DEF-big.F say.PF.3SG.F CONT speak.IPFV.3SG.F to.sister-3SG.F say.PF.3SG.F-to-3SG.F
The elder girl said, while speaking to her sister, she said to her:

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81   *mtāʕ > ntāʕ > nčaʕ*. The origin of the possessive exponent *mtāʕ* is the Arabic noun متاع (= belong-
     ings).
82   Classical Arabic *taʕāla* (imperative of form VI). [č] (= t̠š) is the common realization of the pho-
     neme /t/ in this dialect. There are more examples for this pronunciation in the text. See Yoda 2005:
     71–74.
83   Italian *borghese*.
84   *mšəʕul < *məšʕul*, see Yoda 2005:110.

ḥnan žiʕanin, u   ma da bi-ya yaxəd-ni   s-sənfaz[85]   *čə-ṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ,*
1PL   hungry.PL and REL DEM in-1SG take.IPFV.3SG.M-1SG DEF-doughnut_maker GEN-DEF-sultan
We are hungry, and I would like the doughnut maker of the Sultan to marry me,

nəšbəʕ   aná nakəl   aná qbəl ma yakəl   əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ.
be_satiated.IPFV.1SG 1SG eat.IPFV.1SG 1SG before REL eat.IPFV.3SG.M DEF-sultan
I will be satiated, I will eat before the Sultan eats.

ža   əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ qal   l-uzir,   qal-lu   əkčəb, li
come.PF.3SG.M DEF-sultan say.PF.3SG.M to.DEF-minister say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M write.IMP REL
Thereupon the Sultan said to the minister, he said to him: Write (it)!

tsəmʕ-u-kəčb-u.   ət-čanya qalt-l-a,   aná ma da bi-ya
hear.IPFV.2SG.M-3SG.M-write.IMP.3SG.M DEF-second.F say.PF.3SG.F-to-3SG.F 1SG REL DEM in-1SG
Write what you hear! The second (girl) said to her: I would like

yaxəd-ni   ṭ-ṭəḅḅax, li-yəʕməl   makla l-əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ, nəšbəʕ   aná
take.IPFV.3SG.M-1SG DEF.cook   REL-make.IPFV.3SG.M food for-DEF-sultan be_satiated.IPFV.1SG 1SG
the cook to marry me, he who makes food for the Sultan, I will be satiated

qbəl ma yəšbəʕ   əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ. qal-l-u   qəyyəd ya wzir!
before REL be_satiated.IPFV.3SG.M DEF-sultan say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M register.IMP VOC minister
before the Sultan is satiated. He said to him: Register (that), oh minister!

əz-zġira qalt-l-əm,   aná ka yaxəd-ni   əṣ-ṣəḷṭaṇ l-ʕam   l-əwwəl
DEF-small say.PF.3SG.F-to-3PL 1SG if take.IPFV.3SG.M-1SG DEF-sultan DEF-year DEF-first
The youngest (girl) said to them: If the Sultan marries me, in the first year

nžib-l-u   wəld, əl-ʕam ət-čani nžib-l-u   wəld,
give.IPFV.1SG-to-3SG.M boy   DEF-year DEF-second give.IPFV.1SG-to-3SG.M boy
I will give birth to a boy for him, in the second year I will give birth to a boy for him,

u   l-ʕam   l-čaləč nžib-l-u   bənč. qal-l-u,   qəyyəd
and DEF-year DEF-third give.IPFV.1SG-to-3SG.M girl say.PF.3SG.M-to-3SG.M register.IPT
and in the third year I will give birth to a girl for him. He said to him: Register

ya wzir. qəyyd-u   w mšaw, ṛəwwḥu.
VOC minister register.PF.3SG.M-3SG.M and go.PF.3PL return.PF.3PL
oh minister! He registered it, and they went away, and returned.

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85   Note the *n* preceding the *f* in the word *sənfaz* (= doughnut maker), see Yoda 2005: 338. Compare سفنج
    (*sfinǧ*), Beaussier 1958: 477.

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