

# A Grammar of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes

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### **3. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY**

#### **1.0. General Characteristics of the Verbal System of Jewish Gabes**

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

#### **2.0. Stem Patterns of the Verbal System**

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

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

<sup>2</sup> I will discuss this topic in greater detail in chapter 4, §5.0.

occured in those forms in CA have been transferred to other stems. For instance, verbs with passive meaning in form VII that have active counterparts in form I, have been transferred to the /t-/ passive form (according to the scheme presented below), or form the passive in a descriptive way.<sup>3</sup> In addition, a purely dialectal stem has emerged with a prefixed /t-/, presumably by analogy to CA stems V and VI. Like other North African dialects of Arabic, Jewish Gabes possesses the XI stem, which corresponds to the IX stem in the eastern group (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014, 383). As pointed out by Yoda (2005, 143), this stem has in fact substituted for the ninth form of CA. Consequently, ten verbal forms have been attested in Jewish Gabes, each of the forms possessing a regular form (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup>); a second radical geminated form (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>); and forms with a first radical semi-vowel (w/y C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup>), second radical semi-vowel (C<sup>1</sup> w/y C<sup>3</sup>), and third radical semi-vowel (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup> w/y). Thus, the system of the verbal forms of the Jewish Gabes dialect can be represented as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Table 10: Triliteral verb stems attested in Jewish Gabes

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

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

<sup>4</sup> The list includes only perfect forms of the strong verb.

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

## 2.1. Basic Form

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

Table 11: Vocalic variants of the I stem in CA

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

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

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

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

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<sup>6</sup> Transcription according to the source.

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

## 2.2. Development of the Passive<sup>7</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 2.3. Development of Form IV

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

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

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

## 2.4. Vestiges of Form VIII

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

## 2.5. Reflex of Form IX

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

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

### 3.0. Inflection

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

Table 13: Suffix conjugation

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

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

Table 14: Prefix conjugation

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



### 3.1. Stem I

#### 3.1.1. Strong Roots

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

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>ḏrəb</i>	<i>yəḏrab</i>	
3FS	<i>ḏərbət</i>	<i>təḏrab</i>	
2MS	<i>ḏrəbt</i>	<i>təḏrab</i>	<i>aḏrəb</i>
2FS	<i>ḏrəbti</i>	<i>təḏrbi</i>	<i>aḏrbi</i>
1SG	<i>ḏrəbt</i>	<i>nəḏrab</i>	
3PL	<i>ḏərbru</i>	<i>yəḏrbu</i>	
2PL	<i>ḏrəbtu</i>	<i>təḏrbu</i>	<i>aḏrbu</i>
1PL	<i>ḏrəbna</i>	<i>nəḏrbu</i>	

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

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

#### *Suffix Stem*

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

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

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

### *Prefix Stem*

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

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

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

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

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

*lʕab–yəlʕab* ‘to play’, *ʕrah–yəʕrah* ‘to herd’, *qtaʕ–yəqtaʕ* ‘to cut’, *mnaʕ–yəmnaʕ* ‘to prohibit’, *ʕʕab–yəʕʕab* ‘to get tired’, *ʕmaʕ–yəʕmaʕ* ‘to listen’, *ʕbaḥ–yəʕbaḥ* ‘to get up early’, *ʕbaʕ–yəʕbaʕ* ‘to eat one’s fill’, *fraḥ–yəfraḥ* ‘to rejoice’;  
 /a/–/ə/: *ḡlab–yaḡlab* ‘to defeat’, *xdəm–yaxdəm* ‘to work’, *qʕəm–yaqʕəm* ‘to divide’, *xmər–yaxmər* ‘to ferment, to go rotten’, *ḥfar–yahfər* ‘to dig’, *ḥʕəb–yahʕəb* ‘to count’, *ḥbəʕ–yahbəʕ* ‘to arrest’, *ḥləb–yahləb* ‘to milk’, *ḥləm–yahləm* ‘to dream’, *ʕarəf–yaʕarəf* ‘to know’, *ḥbəʔ–yahbəʔ* ‘to go down, to descend’, *qbəl–yaqbəl* ‘to agree’, *ḡʕəl–yaḡʕəl* ‘to wash’, *ʕʔəʕ–yaʕʔəʕ* ‘to be thirsty’;

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

/u/–/u/: *ʕkər–yuʕkur* ‘to thank’;

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

### *Active and Passive Participles*

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

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

**Active participle:** *qāʕəd, qāʕda, qāʕdīn*

**Passive participle:** *məktūb, məktūba, məktūbīn*

### 3.1.2. Geminated Roots

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

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

Active participle: *šədd, šədda, šəddīn*

Passive participle: *məšdūd, məšdūda, məšdūdīn*

### *Suffix Stem*

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

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

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

### *Prefix Stem*

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

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

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

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

Thematic vowel /a/: *ʔadd–yʔadd* ‘to bite’, *ḍarr–yḍarr* ‘to harm’, *ḥašš–yḥašš* ‘to feel’, *ḥatt–yḥatt* ‘to put’;

Variation between /ə/ and /a/: *qašš–yqašš* / *yqəšš* ‘to cut’, *raḍḍ–yraḍḍ* / *yrəḍḍ* ‘to return’, *rašš–yrašš* / *yrəšš* ‘to pressure’.

### 3.1.3. Weak First Radical

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

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

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

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

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

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

Passive participle: not attested

### *Suffix Stem*

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



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

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

### *Prefix Stem*

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

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

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

### 3.1.4. Weak Second Radical

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

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

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

Active participle: *ṣāyēm*, *ṣāyma*, *ṣāymīn* ‘to fast’<sup>14</sup>

Passive participle: not attested

<sup>14</sup> In paradigms where participles are not attested, forms from different verbs are provided.

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

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

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

Active participle: *ṭāyəḥ, ṭāyḥa, ṭāyḥin*

Passive participle: not attested

Also in this form: *žād-žādət<sup>15</sup>-yžīd* ‘to add’, *ṣāš-ṣašt-yṣīš* ‘to live’, *ṣāf-ṣaft-yṣīf* ‘to be fed up with’, *ṣār-ṣart-yṣūr* ‘to happen’, *ṭāḥ-ṭaḥt-yṭīḥ* ‘to fall’, *ṭār-ṭart-yṭūr* ‘to fly’, *rād-radət-yrīd* ‘to desire, to want’, *ṭāb-ṭabət-yṭīb* ‘to be cooked’, *ḡāb-ḡabt-yḡīb* ‘to disappear’, *fāq-faqt-yfīq* ‘to wake up’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>16</sup> All the following pairs designate respectively 3MS and 1SG.

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

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

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

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

## 3.1.5. Weak Third Radical

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

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

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

Also in this form: *ṣṭa-yaṣṭi* ‘to give’, *bnā-yəbni* ‘to build’, *bka-yəbki* ‘to cry’, *mša-yəmsi* ‘to go’, *šra-yəšri* ‘to build’, *žra / zra-yəžri / yəzri* ‘to run’.

Table 23: Paradigm of *ṛda-yərda* ‘to agree’ (pattern CCa-yəCCa)

	<b>S-stem</b>	<b>P-stem</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
3MS	<i>ṛda</i>	<i>yərda</i>	
3FS	<i>ṛdāt</i>	<i>tərda</i>	
2MS	<i>ṛdīt</i>	<i>tərda</i>	<i>aṛda</i>
2FS	<i>ṛdīti</i>	<i>tərdāy</i>	<i>aṛdāy</i>
1SG	<i>ṛdīt</i>	<i>nərda</i>	
3PL	<i>ṛdāw</i>	<i>yərdāw</i>	
2PL	<i>ṛdītu</i>	<i>tərdāw</i>	<i>aṛdāw</i>
1PL	<i>ṛdīna</i>	<i>nərdāw</i>	

Active participle: *rādi, rādyā, rādyīn*Passive participle: *mənši, mənšya, mənšyīn*

Also in this form: *bda-yəbda* ‘to start’,<sup>18</sup> *bqa-yəbqa* ‘to stay’, *nša-yənša* ‘to forget’.

<sup>18</sup> I have recorded also a variant *bda-yəbdi*.

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

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

Table 24: Paradigm of *kla* ‘to eat’

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

Active participle: *wākəl*, *wākla*, *wāklin*

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



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

### 3.1.7. Two Weak Radicals

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

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

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

## 3.1.8. Irregular Forms

Table 26: Paradigm of *ža* ‘to come’

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

Table 27: Paradigm of *ra* ‘to see’

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

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

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

### 3.2. Derived Stems

#### 3.2.1. Stem II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.2. Stem III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.3. The /t-/ Passive Stem

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

	S-stem	P-stem	Imperative
3MS	<i>təktāb</i>	<i>yəktəb</i>	
3FS	<i>təktəbt</i>	<i>əttəktāb</i>	
2MS	N/A	N/A	N/A
2FS	N/A	N/A	N/A
1SG	N/A	N/A	
3PL	<i>əttəktbu</i>	<i>yəktəktbu</i>	
2PL	N/A	N/A	N/A
1PL	N/A	N/A	

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

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

## 3.2.4. Stem V

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

	<b>S-stem</b>	<b>P-stem</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
3MS	<i>tkəlləm</i>	<i>yətkəlləm</i>	
3FS	<i>tkəl(l)mət</i>	<i>tətkəlləm</i>	
2MS	<i>tkəlləmt</i>	<i>tətkəlləm</i>	<i>ətkəlləm</i>
2FS	<i>tkəlləmti</i>	<i>tətkəl(l)mi</i>	<i>ətkəl(l)mi</i>
1SG	<i>tkəlləmt</i>	<i>ntkəlləm</i>	
3PL	<i>tkəl(l)mu</i>	<i>yətkəl(l)mu</i>	
2PL	<i>tkəlləmtu</i>	<i>tətkəllmu</i>	<i>ətkəl(l)mu</i>
1PL	<i>tkəlləmna</i>	<i>nətkəllmu</i>	

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

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

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

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

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



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

### 3.2.5. Stem VI

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.6. Stem VII

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

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

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

## 3.2.7. Stem VIII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.8. Stem X

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

	<b>S-stem</b>	<b>P-stem</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
3MS	<i>ʃtaǵna</i>	<i>yəʃtaǵna</i>	
3FS	<i>ʃtaǵnət</i>	<i>təʃtaǵən</i>	
2MS	<i>ʃtaǵnīt</i>	<i>təʃtaǵən</i>	N/A
2FS	<i>ʃtaǵnīti</i>	<i>təʃtaǵni</i>	N/A
1SG	<i>ʃtaǵnīt</i>	<i>nəʃtaǵən</i>	
3PL	<i>ʃtaǵnu</i>	<i>yəʃtaǵnu</i>	
2PL	<i>ʃtaǵnītu</i>	<i>təʃtaǵnu</i>	N/A
1PL	<i>ʃtaǵnīna</i>	<i>nəʃtaǵnu</i>	

Participle: *məʃtaǵni*, *məʃtaǵnya*, *məʃtaǵnyin*

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

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

## 3.2.9. Stem XI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **4.0. Conclusions**

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



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

