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A Grammar of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes

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4. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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

1.0. Theoretical Preliminaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. Gender

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

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

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

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

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

Jewish Gabes–masculine	CA–feminine
<i>drāʕ</i> ‘arm’	<i>ḏirāʕ</i>
<i>šbaʕ</i> ‘finger’	<i>ʔiṣbaʕ</i>
<i>fxaḏ</i> ‘shin’	<i>faxiḏ</i>
<i>qdām</i> ‘heel’	<i>qadam</i>
<i>ktəf</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>kataf</i>
<i>bīr</i> ‘well’	<i>biʔr</i>

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

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

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

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

Table 46: Nouns with irregular gender formation

Masculine	Feminine
<i>bu</i> ‘father’	<i>uṃṃ/omṃ</i> ‘mother’
<i>ḥṣān</i> ‘horse’	<i>fəṣa</i> ‘mare’
<i>rāžal</i> / <i>ṙāžal</i> ‘man’	<i>mṙa</i> ‘wife’
<i>šabbāni</i> ‘old man’	<i>šazūža</i> ‘old woman, dowager’
<i>šid</i> ‘master’	<i>lalla</i> ‘madam’
<i>wald</i> ‘boy’	<i>bənt</i> ‘girl’
<i>xu</i> ‘brother’	<i>uxt</i> ‘sister’

1.3. Definite Article

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

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

1.4. Construct State

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

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

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

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

1.5. Number

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

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

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

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

1.5.1. Dual

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

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

1. Parts of the body

Singular	Dual	Meaning
<i>ʕīn</i>	<i>ʕīnīn</i>	eyes
<i>yədd</i>	<i>yəddīn</i>	hands
<i>rʒəl</i>	<i>rʒəlīn</i>	legs
<i>wdān</i>	<i>wədnīn</i>	ears
<i>drāʕ</i>	<i>darʕīn</i>	arms

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

2. Time expressions

Singular	Dual	Meaning
<i>ʕām</i>	<i>ʕāmīn</i>	two years
<i>līl</i>	<i>līlīn</i>	two nights
<i>maṛṛa</i>	<i>maṛṛīn</i>	twice
<i>nhār</i>	<i>nharīn</i>	two days
<i>šāʕa</i>	<i>šāʕīn</i>	two hours
<i>ṣhaṛ</i>	<i>ṣahrīn</i>	two months
<i>tqīqa</i>	<i>tqīqtīn</i>	two minutes

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

1.5.2. Plural

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

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

1. /-īn/

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

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

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

- nouns of the pattern with geminated second radical (CvC²C²v̄C) that denote names of professions and occupations, e.g., *kəddāb–kəddābīn* ‘liars’, *šarrāq–šarrāqīn* ‘thieves’, *xabbāž–xabbāžīn* ‘bakers’, *xaddām–xaddāmīn* ‘slaves, workers’;⁶
- adjectives terminating with /-ān/, e.g., *farḥān–farḥānīn* ‘happy’, *ğədbān–ğədbānīn* ‘angry’, *məlyān–məlyānīn* ‘full’, *ḥafyān–ḥafyānīn* ‘barefoot’;
- adjectives terminating with /-i/:⁷ *axxrāni–axxrānīn* ‘last, final’, *fuqqāni–fuqqānīn* ‘upper’, *lūṭāni–lūṭānīn* ‘lower’;
- some adjectives with second radical semi-vowel, e.g., *ḍəyyəq–ḍəyyqīn* ‘narrow’, *məyyət–məyytīn* ‘dead’;
- some adjectives of the pattern CCūC, e.g., *ḥlūwīn* ‘sweet’, *šxūn–šxūnīn* ‘hot’;

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

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

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

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

2. /-āt/

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

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

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

1.5.3. Collective

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

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

Table 47: Formation of the collective in Jewish Gabes

Singular	Collective	Plural	
<i>bəṭṭixa</i>	<i>bəṭṭix</i>	<i>bəṭṭixāt</i>	‘melons’
<i>xūxa</i>	<i>xūx</i>	<i>xūxāt</i>	‘peaches’
<i>nəmmāla</i>	<i>nəmmāl</i>	<i>nəmmālāt</i>	‘ants’

2.0. Singular Nominal Patterns

2.1. Patterns with One Consonant

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

2.2. Patterns with Two Consonants

2.2.1. C̄vC

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.2. CṽCa

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.3. CCv

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

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

2.2.4. vCC

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

āmš ‘yesterday’, aṛḍ ‘soil, Earth’, ašm ‘name’, ašl ‘origin’, uṃṃ/omṃ ‘mother’.

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

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

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

2.2.5. CāCi

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

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

2.2.6. CvCa

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

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

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

2.3. Patterns with Three Consonants

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

2.3.1. CvCC

- three strong consonants, C¹vC²C³:
ʕarš 'wedding', *ʕaql* 'brain', *baʕd* 'after, afterwards', *bənt* 'girl, daughter', *bard* 'cold', *ḏuww* 'light', *farx* 'little bird, bastard, naughty child', *ǧalt* 'errors (coll.)', *ḥabš* 'prison', *fərn* 'oven', *kəbš* 'lamb', *kəlb* 'dog',¹⁹ *məlḥ* 'salt', *nəfš* 'spirit', *qəlb* 'heart, centre', *šarq* 'east', *šarf* 'change (coins)', *šəlf* 'brother-in-law', *šəmš* 'sun', *taʕb* 'tiredness', *taḥt* 'under, beneath', *taʕf* 'piece', *təž* 'snow', *waqt* 'time', *xabž* 'bread', *xamš* 'five', *žəld* 'leather', *žənš* 'kind';

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

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

2.3.2. CCvC

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

2.3.3. CvCCa

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

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

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

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

- three different consonants, C¹vC²C³a:

ṣaḍma ‘egg’,²² *ṣafya* ‘fire’, *ṣaqrəb* ‘scorpion’,²³ *baqra* ‘cow’, *bəlḥa* ‘a date’, *bəlġa* ‘slipper’, *bašla* ‘an onion’,²⁴ *ḍarba* ‘blow, bump’, *dənya* ‘world’, *dəxla* ‘entry’, *farḥa* ‘happiness’, *fəṣša* ‘mare’, *ġadwa* ‘tomorrow’, *ġašra* ‘worry’, *ḥamra* ‘red (F)’,²⁵ *ḥalwa* ‘candies (coll.)’, *kəlba* ‘bitch’, *kəlma* ‘word’, *kəlša* ‘sock’, *kəməša* ‘handful’, *kəšwa* ‘costume, clothing’, *laġwa* ‘language’, *lahya* ‘beard’, *nədwa* ‘dew’, *nəšda* ‘question’, *nəxla* ‘palm tree’, *qaffa* ‘basket’,

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

²³ The figure of the scorpion in folktales and proverbs is a symbol of danger, e.g., *rəbbi u l-ṣaqrəb rəḍḍi bālək taqrəb* ‘it is better to avoid rabbi and scorpion’.

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

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

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

- second and third radical alike, C¹vC²C²a:

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

2.3.4. CṽCvC

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

fāšəṛ ‘tenth’, *bārəd* ‘cold’, *gāmaq* ‘dark’, *ḥāḍar* ‘ready, prepared’, *ḥāḍəq* ‘stingy’, *ḥāḍəš* ‘eleventh’, *ḥāyəf* ‘barefoot’, *ḥāžəb*

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

‘eyebrow’,²⁷ *kātəb* ‘scribe’, *mālah* ‘salty’, *ṛābaʕ* ‘fourth’, *ṛāzəl* ‘man’, *šāḥəb* ‘friend’, *šārəq* ‘thief’, *šāyəb* ‘hard, difficult’, *šābaʕ* ‘seventh’, *šāḥəd* ‘witness’, *šāḥəl* ‘easy’, *šārəb* ‘lip’, *šātət* ‘sixth’, *tālət* ‘third’, *tāmən* ‘eighth’, *tānəš* ‘twelfth’, *tāšaʕ* ‘ninth’, *wāḥəd* ‘one, someone’, *xādəm* ‘slave’,²⁸ *xāməš* ‘fifth’, *žāyəd* ‘additional’.

2.3.5. CṽCCa

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

- three regular consonants, C¹ṽC²C³a:
fālyā ‘tall’ (F), *fāšṛa* ‘tenth’ (F), *būnyā* ‘fist’ (< Ital. *pugno*), *fāyda* ‘benefit’, *gālyā* ‘expensive’ (F), *ḥādša* ‘eleventh’ (F), *qābla* ‘midwife’, *rābʕa* ‘fourth’ (F), *šābʕa* ‘seventh’ (F), *šāḥba* ‘female friend’, *šāyba* ‘old woman’, *tālta* ‘third’, *tāmna* ‘eighth’ (F), *tānyā* ‘second’ (F), *ṭānša* ‘twelfth’ (F), *xāmša* ‘fifth’ (F), *žābyā* ‘pool’;

²⁷ This word appears in the expression: *ḥāžb tāʕ hlāli* ‘the moon eyebrow’, describing a pretty woman.

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

- second and third radical alike, C¹ṽC²C²a:
dār̄ra ‘second wife’, *šābba* ‘pretty, beautiful’, *šātta* ‘sixth (F)’.

2.3.6. CCṽC

The historical development of the CA vowel system that has led to the reduction of short vowels in open syllables in the Maghrebi dialects has significantly contributed to the productivity of this pattern: the classical patterns *faʿāl*, *fuʿāl*, and *fiʿāl*—and their feminine counterparts with the /-a/ suffix—after losing the short vowel in the first syllable, shifted to the pattern CCṽC (Cohen 1975, 154).

- three regular consonants, C¹C²ṽC³:
blād ‘city’, *ḍlām* ‘darkness’, *flān* ‘anonymous’, *ḥmār* ‘donkey’, *ḥṣān* ‘horse’, *ḥžām* ‘belt, loins’,²⁹ *nzās* ‘pears (coll.)’, *qbūr* ‘grave’, *ṛmād* ‘ashes’, *ṣrāb* ‘wine’, *šlām* ‘peace’, *šmāḥ* ‘pardon’, *šrāḥ* ‘permission’, *štār* ‘curtain’, *trāb* ‘soil’, *wṣif* ‘black person’, *yṣār* ‘left’, *žmān* ‘time’,³⁰ *žnāḥ* ‘wing’, *žwāb* ‘response, letter’;
- second and third consonant alike, C¹C²ṽC²:
ṛṣāṣ ‘lead’, *ṣqāq* ‘exterior, street’.

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

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

2.3.7. CCvCa

This group contains only physical objects and abstract nouns:

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

2.3.8. CCiC

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

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

2.3.9. CCiCa

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

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

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

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

2.3.10. CCūC

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

2.3.11. CCūCa

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

2.3.12. C¹vC²C²āC³

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

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

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

- three different consonants, $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^3$:
bənnāy ‘builder’, *bəyyāf* ‘vendor’, *dəbbāg* ‘tanner’,³⁴ *dəbbāh* ‘butcher’, *dəbbān* ‘flies (coll.)’, *dəllāf* ‘watermelon’, *dəxxān* ‘smoker’, *fəllāh* ‘farmer’, *gəddāb* ‘liar’, *gənnāy* ‘singer’, *həmmāl* ‘porter’, *həššād* ‘jealous person’,³⁵ *həwwāt* ‘fisherman’, *šəyyād* ‘hunter’, *šəbbāt* ‘Sabbath’, *təffāh* ‘apples (coll.)’, *ṭəbbāx* ‘cook’, *xəbbāž* ‘baker’, *xənnāb* ‘thief’, *xərrāž* ‘outdoors merchant’, *xəwwān* ‘swindler, fraud’, *xəyyāt* ‘tailor’, *šəbbāt* ‘shoe’;
- second and third radicals alike, $C^1vC^2C^2\bar{a}C^2$:
faššās ‘guard, watchman’, *həddād* ‘blacksmith’, *həmmām* ‘bath’, *həṭṭāb* ‘lumberjack’.

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

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

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

³⁵ The figure of the jealous person is strongly connected to the phenomenon of the evil eye, and the word *həššād* therefore appears in multiple proverbs and prayers against the evil eye, which are called *təlwidā*, e.g., *šīn l-ahšūd fiha šūd, məlḥ wəddād fi šīn əl-həššād* ‘splinter in the eye of jealousy, salt and repelling smoke in the eye of a jealous person’ (Tobi 2016, 286).

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

2.3.14. C¹vC²C²ūC³

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

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

2.3.15. C¹vC²C²ūC³a

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

2.3.16. C¹vC²C²īC³

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

2.3.17. C¹vC²C²īC³a

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

³⁶ There exists also a variant *šəbbāk*.

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

2.4. Patterns with Four Consonants

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

- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{v}C^4$:
fanzān ‘coffee cup’, *māšmāš* ‘apricots (coll.)’, *qābqāb* ‘wooden shoe’, *ṣaḷṭān* ‘sultan’, *ṣamsār* ‘mediator, go-between’;
- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{v}C^4a$:
māšmāša ‘apricot’, *ṣaqṣāqa* ‘savings box, puppet making noise’, *ṣaqlāla* ‘scandal’, *ṣarḷiya* ‘lock’;
- $C^1vC^2C^3\bar{u}C^4$:
baṣbūṣ ‘female reproductive organ’,³⁸ *barkūn* ‘balcony’,³⁹ *darbūž* ‘balustrade’, *gānfūd* ‘hedgehog’,⁴⁰ *karmūṣ* ‘figs

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

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

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

(coll.), *šəḷšūl* ‘spinal column’, *šərdūk* ‘cock’, *šəndūq* ‘box, case’, *zərbūf* ‘rat’;

- C¹vC²C³ūC⁴a:
ħarbūša ‘pill’, *gərzūma* ‘throat’,⁴¹ *šakšūka* ‘shakshouka’,
xənfūša ‘beetle, cockroach’;
- C¹vC²C³īC⁴:
barmīl ‘barrel’,⁴² *yašmīn* ‘jasmine (coll.)’;
- C¹vC²C³vC⁴:
fəlfəl ‘pepper’, *kərkəm* ‘turmeric’, *šəhləb* ‘sweet beverage
made of sorghum’, *zəftər* ‘thyme’;
- C¹Cv²C³C⁴:
krəmb ‘cabbage’, *šfanž* ‘doughnut’;
- C¹vC²C³C⁴a:
fədkla ‘joke’, *žəlžla* ‘earthquake’.

2.5. Items with Five Consonants

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

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

⁴² Metaphorically, this word also designates an obese person.

2.6. Patterns with Prefixes

2.6.1. Prefix /m-/

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

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

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

- mvCCāCa:
mərwāḥa ‘fan’.

2.6.2. Prefix /v-/

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

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

2.7. Patterns with Suffixes

2.7.1. Suffix /-ān/

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

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

‘drunk’, *ṣəryān* ‘buying, action of purchase’, *ṣafān* ‘hungry’.

2.7.2. Suffix /-i/

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

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

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

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

2.7.3. Suffix /-īya/

gabšiya ‘woman from Gabes’,⁴⁶ *grīgrīya* ‘Greek woman’, *tūnšiya* ‘woman from Tunis’, *žirīya* ‘woman from Algeria’ (also a female proper name), *žərbīya* ‘woman from Djerba’.

2.7.4. Suffix /-āni/

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

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

2.7.5. Suffix /-ži/

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

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

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

2.7.6. Suffix /-ūt/

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

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

2.8. Irregular Nouns

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

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

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

3.0. Internal Plural Patterns

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1. Patterns with Two Consonants and One Long Vowel

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

3.2. Patterns with Three Consonants

3.2.1. CCvC

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

- a) singular feminine forms of the pattern CvCCa:
ṣḍam (< *ṣaḍma*) ‘eggs’, *ṣlḥb* (< *ṣalḥa*) ‘tins’, *ṣlḥq* (< *ṣalḥa*) ‘leeches’, *ṣṣṣm* (< *ṣarṣma*) ‘piles’, *ḡlḥl* (< *ḡalla*) ‘fruits’, *ṣṣṣq* (< *ṣṣṣqa*) ‘blind alleys’;
- b) singular nouns and adjectives with long /ī/:
qḍam (< *qḍim*) ‘old’, *ṣṣṣq* (< *ṣṣṣiq*) ‘roads’, *ḡḍad* (< *ḡḍid*) ‘new’;

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

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

3.2.2. CəCCa

ṭabba (< *ṭibb*) ‘doctors’, *wəžra* (< *wžir*) ‘ministers’.

3.2.3. CCāC

The following groups are associated with this pattern:

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

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

- d) some nouns of the pattern CāCvC:

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

3.2.4. CCūC

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

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

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

- b) nouns of the pattern CvC²C²:

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

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

c) nouns of the pattern CīC:

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

3.2.5. CCīC

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

3.2.6. CvC²C²āC

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

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

3.2.7. CCāyvC

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

ḥdāyəd (<*ḥdīda*) ‘bracelets’, *ḥšāyən* (<*ḥšān*) ‘horses’, *qmāyəž* (<*qməžža*) ‘shirts’, *šlāyəf* (<*šəlfā*) ‘sisters-in-law’, *ṭbāyəx*

(< *tbīxa*) ‘meals, foods’, *dqāyəq* (< *dqīqa*) ‘minutes’, *xlāyəq* (< *xlīqa*) ‘figures, shapes, creatures’, *hwāyəž* (< *hāžza*) ‘things’.

3.2.8. Suffix /-ān/

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

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

3.3. Patterns with Four Consonants

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

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

‘shoes’, *šmāšar* (<šəmšār) ‘brokers’, *šnādaq* (<šəndūq) ‘boxes’, *škākən* (<šəkkīna) ‘knives’, *šnāšəl* (< šənšla) ‘chains’, *xrārəž* (<xərrāža) ‘drains’;

- b) nouns with second radical geminated:

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

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

arānəb (<arnəb) ‘rabbits’.

3.3.1. CwāCəC

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

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

ḥwāžəb (<ḥāžəb) ‘eyebrows’, *mwākəl* (<mākla) ‘foods’, *šwārəb* (<šārəb) ‘lips’, *šwāraʕ* (<šāraʕ) ‘streets’, *ṭwāwīl* (<ṭāwīla) ‘tables’, *žwāmaʕ* (<žāmaʕ) ‘mosques’;

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

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

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

ḏwāfar (< *ḏfar*) ‘nails’, *ṣwābaʿ* (< *ṣbaʿ*) ‘fingers’, *ḏwānaḥ* (< *ḏnāḥ*) ‘wings’.

3.4. Patterns with Suffixes

3.4.1. Suffix /-i/

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

- a) feminine nouns with suffixes /-īya/ and /-ya/:
- fwāki* (< *fākya*) ‘dried fruits’, *wzāgi* (< *wəzga*) ‘lizards’,
zrābi (< *zarbiya*) ‘carpet’;
- b) feminine nouns with geminated second radical and third radical /y/:
- flāli* (< *fəllāya*) ‘combs’, *zrāri* (< *zərrāya*) ‘mattresses’;
- c) feminine nouns with third radical /w/:
- kšāwi* (< *kəšwa*) ‘costumes’, *lgāwi* (< *ləgwa*) ‘languages’;
- d) some nouns of the pattern CCā:
- ʕašāwi* (< *ʕaša*) ‘dinners’, *rdāwi* (< *rda*) ‘curtains, blinds’;
- e) some nouns with first radical /a/ or /y/ due to the loss of *hamza*:
- aṛādi* (< *aṛḏ*) ‘grounds’, *ašāmi* (< *ašm*) ‘names’, *ybāri* (< *yabra*) ‘needles’.

3.4.2. Suffix /-a/

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

CvCCa

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

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

CCāCa

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

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

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

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

CCūCa

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

CwāCCa

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

4.0. Diminutive

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

- biliteral nouns, e.g., *Cv̄C* > *CCv̄Ca*, *dār* > *d̄wīra* ‘little house’;
- trilateral nouns, e.g., *CCvC* / *CvCC* > *CCvyyvC*: *kālb* > *kləyyəb* ‘small dog’, *nəfš* > *n̄fəyyəš* ‘small half’,⁵⁰ *wəld* > *wləyyəd* ‘little boy’;
- *CaCCa* > *CCiCCa*, e.g., *tawla* > *t̄wīwla* ‘little table’;
- *CvCCi* > *CCv̄Ci*, e.g., *kərši* > *kriši* ‘little chair’;
- quadrilateral nouns, e.g., *CvCCūCa*, *CvCCāC* > *CCiCiCa*: *qattūša* > *q̄t̄t̄iṣa* ‘kitten’, *ṣəbbāt* > *ṣ̄b̄ib̄it* ‘small shoe’.

5.0. Numerals

5.1. One to Ten

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

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

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

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

5.2. Eleven to Nineteen

11 *ḥdāš*, 12 *tazḡina*, 13 *ṭəlləṭāš*, 14 *aṛbʕatāš*, 15 *xaməšṭāš*, 16 *šəṭṭāš*,
17 *šəbʕatāš*, 18 *təməntāš*, 19 *təšʕatāš*.

5.3. Twenty to Ninety

The units always precede the tens.

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

5.4. Hundreds and Thousands

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

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

5.5. Days of the Week

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

6.0. Pronouns

6.1. Personal Pronouns

6.1.1. Independent Personal Pronouns

Table 48: Independent personal pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.2. Pronominal Suffixes

Table 49: Pronominal suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 50: Examples of nouns with pronominal suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

3MS	<i>ṣəḍru</i>	his breast
3FS	<i>ṣḍərha</i>	her breast
2MS	<i>ṣəḍrək</i>	your breast
1SG	<i>ṣəḍri</i>	my breast
3PL	<i>ṣḍərḥəm</i>	their breast
2PL	<i>ṣḍərəkəm</i>	your (PL) breast
1PL	<i>ṣḍərna</i>	our breast

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

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

3MS	<i>livro əntāfu</i>	his book
3FS	<i>livro əntāḥa</i>	her book
2MS	<i>livro əntāfk</i>	your book
1SG	<i>livro əntāfay</i>	my book
3PL	<i>livro əntāḥəm</i>	their book
2PL	<i>livro əntāfkəm</i>	your (PL) book
1PL	<i>livro əntāfna</i>	our book

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

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

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

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

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

Table 54: Strong verb with pronominal suffixes

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

6.1.3. Dative Marker /l-/

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

Table 55: Prefix conjugation with enclitic dative marker

3MS	<i>yžībūlu</i>	he brings him to him
3FS	<i>yžībūlha</i>	he brings him to her
2MS	<i>yžībūlak</i>	he brings him to you
1SG	<i>yžībūli</i>	he brings him to me
3PL	<i>yžībūlhəm</i>	he brings him to them
2PL	<i>yžībūlkəm</i>	he brings him to you (PL)
1PL	<i>yžībūlna</i>	he brings him to us

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

Table 56: Suffix conjugation with enclitic dative marker

3MS	<i>žābəthālu</i>	she brought her to him
3FS	<i>žābəthəlha</i>	she brought her to her
2MS	<i>žābəthālək</i>	she brought her to you
1SG	<i>žābəthāli</i>	she brought her to me
3PL	<i>žābəthalhəm</i>	she brought her to them
2PL	<i>žābəthalkəm</i>	she brought her to you (PL)
1PL	<i>žābəthalna</i>	she brought her to us

6.2. Reflexive Pronoun

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

Table 57: Inflection of particle /rūḥ-/

3MS	<i>hažž rūḥu</i>	he raised himself
3FS	<i>qatlāt rūḥḥa</i>	she killed herself
2MS	<i>ḏarṛiti rūḥək</i>	you (FS) harmed yourself
1SG	<i>ḏarṛit rūḥi</i>	I harmed myself
3PL	<i>ḏarbu rūḥḥəm</i>	they hit themselves
2PL	<i>ḏarbtu rūḥkəm</i>	you (PL) hit yourselves
1PL	<i>ḏarabna rūḥna</i>	we hit ourselves

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

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

Table 58: Inflection of particle /waḥd-/

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

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

6.3. Relative Pronoun

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

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

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

6.4. Reciprocal Pronoun

As in other Maghrebi dialects, *mša bḥaḍ* is an equivalent of ‘each other’, e.g., *āna wa ənti nəmšiw mša bḥaḍna* ‘I and you will go together’, *humma tnīn žāw mša bḥaḍhəm* ‘they came together’, *əz-zgār yəḍərbu mša bḥaḍhəm* ‘the children hit each other’.

6.5. Interrogative Pronouns

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

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

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

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

6.6. Exclamative Pronouns

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

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

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

Elative	Masculine	Feminine
<i>akbər</i> ‘bigger’	<i>ma-kabru</i> ‘how big he is!’	<i>ma-kbarha</i> ‘how big she is!’
<i>azğar</i> ‘smaller’	<i>ma-zağru</i> ‘how small he is!’	<i>ma-zğarha</i> ‘how small she is!’
<i>aṭwəl</i> ‘longer’	<i>ša-tūlu</i> ‘how long he is!’	<i>ša-tūlha</i> ‘how long she is!’
<i>axəff</i> ‘lighter’	<i>ma-xaffu</i> ‘how light he is!’	<i>ma-xəfha</i> ‘how light she is!’
<i>aḥla</i> ‘sweeter’	<i>ma-ḥla(h)</i> ‘how sweet he is!’	<i>ma-ḥlāha</i> ‘how sweet she is!’
<i>axyəb</i> ‘worse’	<i>ma-xaybu/xibu</i> ‘how bad he is!’	<i>ma-xayba/xiba</i> ‘how bad she is!’
<i>ṣaḥḥ</i> ‘stronger’	<i>ma-ṣāḥu</i> ‘how strong he is!’	<i>ma-ṣaḥha/ṣḥiḥa</i> ‘how strong she is!’ ⁵⁵

6.7. Demonstrative Pronouns

6.7.1. Near Reference

Table 60: Near demonstrative pronouns

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

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

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

6.7.2. Far Reference

Table 61: Far demonstrative pronouns

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

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

6.7.3. Vestiges of /-ha/

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

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

6.8. Indefinite Pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.9. Pronouns Related to Quantity

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

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

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