A Grammar of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Gabes
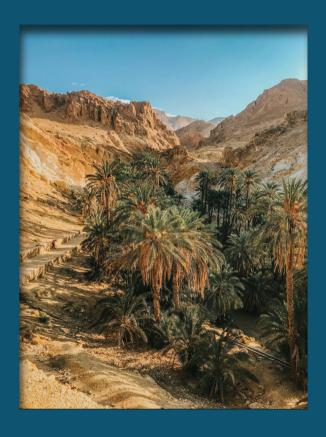
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5. SYNTAX OF NOUNS

1.0. Definiteness

1.1. Introduction

The primary aim of this section is to specify the nature of definiteness in Jewish Gabes based on the data presented below. I am going to study the factors determining the level of definiteness and revisit the rules established for CA and other dialects. The primary question posed in this survey is whether definiteness is a fixed grammatical category, or should rather be perceived functionally as a result of interaction between different grammatical features. The second question addressed in this section is of a comparative nature, namely, whether the same factors condition definiteness in all the North African dialects, or some variations occur.

1.2. Data

Definite

1. *l-kbīra xdāha ṛāẓəl, xda wəld wžīr, wa l-tānya xdāha ṛāẓəl* (2:13)
'He married the eldest to a man, the son of the minister, he married also the second one.'

2. *humma mšāw yāsər, ət-tnīya ṭwīla u ufālhəm əl-ma* (2:56)
'They walked a lot, the way was long and they ran out of water.'

3. *əl-ḅāḅa ṣəḷṭān ža: wīn bənti?* (4:12)
'The father sultan came: where is my daughter?'

Indefinite

4. *ḥaṭṭi šəkkīna u nqaṣṣūha* (1:22)
   'Bring a knife and we will cut it.'

5. *rqāt mṛa ʕamya* (4:18)
   'She found a blind woman.'

6. *dəxlət, təṛqa šūbīrya kbīra* (4:25)
   'She entered and found a big bowl.'

Indefinite Specific

7. *wāḥəd mša yəṭlab ya krīm tāʕ aḷḷa* (1:2)
   'A man went to beg for money.'

8. *qāmət ʕamlətlu wāḥda oxra* (1:31)
   'She got up to make another one.'

9. *šūfu wāḥəd l-əktər agžān, l-əktər məxnān, l-əktər žāwāli, xūdūla* (2:14)
   'Look for the one that is the laziest, the dirtiest and the poorest and marry her to him.'

1.3. The Arabic System of Definiteness and its Challenges

Most grammars of Arabic present the system of definiteness dichotomically, implying that nouns can be either marked by the definite article and therefore definite, or unmarked and therefore indefinite. In the case of Jewish Gabes, as in many other modern dialects, this approach is inaccurate and fails to represent multiple levels of definiteness in natural language. As has been mentioned by Brustad (2000, 18), native speakers of Arabic make flexible use of various shades of definiteness in order to manipu-

late the discourse. The same observation has been made by Dominique Caubet (1993, 185) in her analysis of the morphosyntax of Moroccan Arabic.

What characterises the North African group in terms of definiteness is the use of the article *wāḥəd*, meaning 'someone, one, somebody'. Its occurrence is attested particularly frequently in Moroccan Arabic, but it occasionally appears also in the Eastern dialects, e.g., in Syrian and in Egyptian dialects, in the latter being used exclusively with nouns that refer to humans. In addition to *wāḥəd*, one can find in Maghrebi Arabic also *šəy*, meaning 'some'.[1] The particle *šəy* is also attested in Syrian; however, it has been pointed out that it functions there more as a partitive noun (Cowell 1964, 467). These two articles, therefore, prove that there is a 'grey space' between the classic extrema of definiteness and indefiniteness, within which native speakers exercise different degrees of determination. Caubet (1993, 185) associates them with the action of extraction, as a result of which an item becomes separated from the anonymous whole and acquires some kind of specificity, yet remains anonymous.

Before establishing the rules that govern the system of definiteness and indefiniteness in Jewish Gabes, I would like to discuss some additional grammatical concepts that might have an impact on the notion of definiteness. I will adopt the view of Brustad (2000, 18), who argues that definiteness constitutes a continuum interacting with concepts like number and animacy.

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[1] The particle *wāḥəd* finds its parallel in Berber *jirane* 'one, someone'.

1.4. Animacy—Individuation—Discourse

Definiteness is a notion closely related to a speaker's perception and their idea of discourse. The speaker chooses to assign greater definiteness to items that they can see by themselves or are close and akin to them. The egocentric dimension of definiteness has been already noted by many scholars, including Khan (1988, XXXVI), but it is crucial to highlight also in the present study that the choice of a specific level of definiteness is embedded in the perceptual subjectivity of the speaker, and it therefore might not be correlate with commonly established grammatical rules. There are, however, several other factors which might help explain the system of definiteness and indefiniteness in Jewish Gabes.

To begin with, definiteness as a concept of perceptual salience formally reflected in the language has some parallels with animacy (in general linguistics) and virility (in Slavic languages). Animacy can be explained as the ability of a noun to be alive and animate, i.e., to act in a conscious manner. Thus, in order to establish the definition of animacy, Comrie (1981, 185) proposes the following hierarchy: human > animals > inanimate, arguing that it is relevant for numerous morphosyntactic developments cross-linguistically, but at the same time interacts with other parameters rather than functioning independently. Comrie's hierarchy notwithstanding, the most common and most attested distinction within the category of animacy is that of human and non-human. In terms of definiteness, therefore, human referents are more definite than other items, as they are aware of their acts and thus they acquire more prominence.

However, the concept of animacy is not reflected equally in every language, and therefore the phenomena stemming from it can be manifold.[2] Perception of which nouns have the ability to act in an aware way depends to a large extent on socio-cultural factors in each speech community. Some languages make a more specific distinction as to what deserves an additional marking in the language as being more animate/salient, disambiguating nouns related to kinship from the rest by means of clitic doubling. Both in Berber and in Maghrebi Arabic, the possessors of kinship terms are often doubled, resulting in the construction: kinship term + pronominal clitic + genitive particle + possessor, e.g., *yəmmā-ha ntāʕ bāya* 'the mother of Baya' (Souag 2017, 58). Some examples of the impact of animacy can be found also in North-west Semitic. As argued by scholars of Biblical Hebrew, the direct object marker את *ʔēṯ* occurs often with definite and animate nouns (Khan 1988; Bekins 2014). In terms of subject-verb agreement, it has been argued that, similarly to Ancient Greek, inanimate collectives in Hebrew are accompanied by singular verbs when in the position of subject, e.g., לוֹא תָבוֹא דִמְעָתֶךָ 'and nor shall your tears run down' (Ezek. 24.16; Gzella 2013, 110). This kind of morphological marking reflects the way in which speech communities perceive which referents are more animate and alive.

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[2] As an example, consider Russian and Polish, where in the former, plurality increases the degree of animacy, and causes a noun to admit a special animate accusative morpheme, while in the latter, the situation is exactly the opposite (Comrie 1981, 188).

Another parameter relevant for noun phrases with regard to animacy is gender. This is of special significance in Slavic languages, where the discriminating category has been called 'virility' by Janda (1999, 209). It has multiple morphological implications and as a term is not dichotomous, but, similarly to definiteness in spoken Arabic, demonstrates diversification. Different levels of virility are reflected in the declension of human nouns in Polish, which, when in the nominative, might admit three possible endings: honorific virile, neutral virile and deprecatory non-virile (Janda 1999, 202). As has been suggested by Janda, the most animate and the most prominent category, honorific virile, was shaped by a sociolinguistic concept of the idealised and prototypical self, which is highly specific and unique. The personal and perceptual dimension of virility/animacy therefore corresponds to the egocentric hierarchy of salience. A parallel discriminative distinction was suggested for the Proto-Semitic morpheme /-t/, which originally marked inferiority, being used especially for diminutives and pejoratives, and subsequently acquired the function of the feminine marker (Hasselbach 2014, 324).[3]

Bearing in mind that various aspects of animacy may have an impact on the system of definiteness and indefiniteness, I

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[3] The /t/ morpheme as a marker of inferiority is a widespread phenomenon not only in Proto-Semitic, but in the entire Afro-Asiatic group; it is attested, among others, in the Bantu languages. The cross-linguistic regularity of this morpheme was observed at an early stage of Semitic scholarship (Brockelmann 1908).

would now like to discuss another satellite concept, namely individuation. This serves as one of the key factors relevant to the Transitivity Hypothesis formulated by Hopper and Thompson (1980) in their cross-linguistic study of transitivity and its discourse implications. In their view, transitivity is a global phenomenon which is central in every natural language and has multiple, predictable grammatical consequences. Rejecting the classical definition of transitivity as the presence or absence of an object, they propose to interpret it as a continuum consisting of various components that determine whether a clause is more or less transitive. Their hypothesis also has other aspects relevant for discourse analysis, but for the time being, I would like to focus on the parameters of transitivity formulated by Hopper and Thompson (1980, 252):

Table 62: Hopper and Thompson's parameters of transitivity

	HIGH	LOW
PARTICIPANTS	two or more participants	one participant
KINESIS	action	non-action
ASPECT	telic	atelic
PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
MODE	realis	irrealis
AGENCY	agent high in potency	agent low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS OF OBJECT	object totally affected	object not affected
INDIVIDUATION OF OBJECT	object highly individuated	object not individuated

This table shows that individuation correlates with other grammatical categories and participates in much wider processes like

transitivity, which subsequently has serious discourse implications. Definiteness, animacy, and individuation of an object affect the syntax of most of the natural languages. Hopper and Thompson illustrate the importance of these features in several languages. In Hungarian, the word order of a sentence reflects the level of individuation of the object, while in Chukchee, when the object is non-referential and non-individuated, it is incorporated into a verb, which is in turn marked as intransitive (Comrie 1973, 243–44; Hopper and Thompson 1980, 257). It can be assumed, therefore, that there is a clear correlation between the categories of individuation of an object and transitivity of a verb. This statement can be reformulated in the following way: individuated nouns tend to occur in telic and punctual verbal clauses expressing actions. Contrary to this, atelic, non-punctual verbal forms, which do not significantly affect the object, attract non-individuated and indefinite objects.

The Transitivity Hypothesis has been widely discussed and reanalysed, especially within the framework of a single language. Čech and Pajas (2009) have tested its effectiveness in Czech and, based on their data, rejected some of Hopper and Thompson's predications related to the number of participants. I would like to pay special attention to their findings regarding the language form (spoken vs written), as it is of a special relevance for the study of individuation/definiteness in Jewish Gabes. Hopper and Thompson (1980, 53) have argued that spoken language forms like conversation are low in transitivity, because speakers tend to talk about themselves, describing views and attitudes rather than relating actions, which, as has been pointed out, have high levels

of transitivity. This hypothesis was rejected for Czech, as the data analysed by Čech and Pajas (2009, 47) clearly indicate that, statistically, there are no differences in distribution between one- and two- and more-participant clauses in spoken and written language. Hence, a corpus of transcribed spoken language can serve as a basis for analysis of definiteness.

A dichotomic hierarchy parallel to that of Hopper and Thompson has been proposed by Khan (1988) in his study of object marking and agreement pronouns in Semitic in the context of individuation. According to this model, there are eight qualities that determine whether a noun is individuated and salient or non-individuated and non-salient. Brustad (2000, 23), in turn, has expanded Khan's hierarchies by adding, among others, the notion of agency, understood as an ability to act independently. Both Hopper and Thompson and Khan define individuation as distinctness of a nominal form from other forms found in a clause, but also from the background. Out of all the hierarchies proposed by the aforementioned scholars, some are more accurate, while others contain qualities not necessarily applicable in Jewish Gabes. Below I propose a provisional hierarchy of individuation, which matches my findings in the most accurate way:

Table 63: Hierarchy of individuation based on Khan (1988)

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
Definite	Indefinite
Animate	Inanimate
Specific	General
Count	Mass
Textually prominent	Secondary for the discourse
Concrete	Abstract

These features designate tendencies rather than fixed rules.[4] Nonetheless, I would like to pay special attention to the relationship between discourse and individuation, which in my view has a critical impact on the syntactic behaviour of nouns. Nominals that are of relevance to the line of discourse are almost always more individuated and definite. Therefore, the pair singular vs plural that appears in Hopper and Thompson's hierarchy is not always relevant, since plural entities relevant to the discourse will usually be definite and individuated. On the other hand, the category of agency proposed by Brustad would acquire more importance, as entities acting independently are usually more prominent in the discourse.

The correspondence between discourse and definiteness is of special importance in this study, as the vast majority of the collected text corpus consists of folktales, where discourse span and topics are clearly marked. In a situation where a speaker delivers to a hearer a story that is unknown to them, the definiteness of the entities appearing in this story depends to a great extent on the degree to which the hearer is familiar with them (Khan 1988, XXXVII). Therefore, if the storyteller assumes that the hearer is able to retrieve a nominal from their memory or knowledge, this nominal will acquire more individuation and definiteness, namely, a noun will function as an associative anaphora. The new information in a story can therefore be twofold; it can be either discourse-related, or part of assumed famil-

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[4] The vagueness of this kind of hierarchy has already been highlighted by Brustad (2000, 24).

iarity-related newness/givenness. This distinction was first introduced by Prince (1981) and subsequently extended by other scholars including Rudy Loock (2013). The latter proposed the following hearer-orientated definition of information in the discourse: HEARER NEW vs HEARER OLD INFORMATION—is the information given or new, depending on the speaker's assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her addressee(s) (Loock 2013, 88)? Hence, the speaker matches the degree of definiteness of the nominals used in the story to the state of knowledge of the hearer.

Theoretically, it could be established, therefore, that there is a straightforward correspondence between individuation/textual prominence and definiteness. This hypothesis, even though it is applicable in many cases, has some impediments. In particular, in Arabic, as in many other languages, abstract and generic nouns attract the definite article. An example of this exceptional behaviour is found in passage (1:3). This sentence appears at the very beginning of the story and the house at which the beggar arrives is unknown to the reader. The house itself will not play any significant role in the further discourse of the story, neither will the door. Nonetheless, they are both marked with the definite article. The first is definite due to its generic character. As argued by Krifka (1987, 19), a kind-referring generic nominal phrase can occur in an object position and can fulfil several roles, one of them being representation. A representative object in this case refers to a "typical representative of this kind." Namely, the speaker did not mean any specific house, as it does not have any

significance for the story, but rather refers to an entity representative of the ontological category of houses.[5] The definiteness of the noun 'door' can be explained by the phenomenon of associative anaphora. As every house usually has a door, the speaker uses the definite article in the frame of cognitive psychology. Löbner (1998, 1) argues that "associative anaphora involves a hidden link or anchor which has to be introduced earlier." In the analysed passage, therefore, the definiteness of the door is anchored in the cognitive frame of the house.

1.5. The Indefinite-Specific and New Topic Marking

I already have pointed out that this study takes a particular interest in the space between absolute definiteness and absolute indefiniteness, namely, different degrees of individuation. As observed by Khan (1988, XXXVIII): "It is more accurate to state that some [nominals] are more individuated than others." One instance of such ambiguity is the indefinite-specific, which designates nouns that are syntactically indefinite, but possess a higher level of referentiality than indefinite nouns normally do (Wald 1983; Brustad 2000, 26). In Jewish Gabes, *wāḥəd* functions as the marker of indefinite-specific nouns, while simultaneously playing an important role in the discourse, namely, introducing a new topic. This article seems to be well-established in the dialect and its occurrence is relatively high, as can be inferred from the data

[5] Similar interpretation of the term 'generic' appears in the Egyptian joke provided by Brustad (2000, 32). There, parallel to the definiteness of the house in the passage I am analysing, a restaurant occurring at the very beginning of the joke bears the definite article.

presented above. This calls into question the statement made by Marçais (1977, 163), who claims that the distribution of *wāḥəd* in Maghrebi Arabic follows a decreasing tendency from West to East, with extremely high occurrence in Morocco and vestigial distribution in Libya and Tunisia, where it is "impossible." Both my findings and a text from Jewish Tripoli prove this statement to be wrong (Yoda 2005).

Brustad (2000, 36) argues that a new topic can be introduced in many ways in different dialects of Arabic, and can be indefinite, indefinite-specific, or sometimes definite. Based on her data, she established that the last option is particularly well attested in Moroccan. In contradistinction, in Jewish Gabes, the indefinite-specific almost always introduces a character who is new to the hearer but will reoccur and play a significant role in the discourse, like in the following example:

(1) *mša* ***l-wāḥda*** *ʕažūža   u   qālla*
     go.SFX DEF-one.FS old woman and say.SFX.3MS.her

     aʕməlli   mžīya əmši   u   əxṭbīha
     make.IMP.FS.me favour go.IMP.FS and ask.IMP.FS.her

     'He went to an old woman and said to her: please do me a favour, go and ask her for her hand.' (5:16)

Here the old woman is preceded by *wāḥəd* by virtue of her newness in the story, but simultaneously, soon she will become one

of the key figures in this part of the tale, and the speaker there-
fore needed to highlight her textual prominence.[6] Very often, a
nominal that is at first marked by *wāḥəd* is immediately repeated
followed by the definite marker and proximal demonstrative pro-
noun:

(2)   *təmma ṣəḷṭān **wāḥəd** əṣ-ṣəḷṭān hāda*
       there.is sultan   INDF   DEF-sultan   this
       ʕandu bənt   ʕžīža ʕalī yāsər
       at.him daughter dear.FS on.him a lot
       'There was a sultan, this sultan had a daughter who was
       very dear to him.' (4:1–2)

Example (2) illustrates the mechanism by which a figure that was
introduced as unknown to the hearer is at the same time one of
the key players of the discourse. Apart from the discourse dimen-
sion of this example of indefinite-specific marking, a sultan, as
an entity of high animacy and agency, always attracts definite-
ness and individuation. A similar way of introducing a textually
prominent yet indefinite figure entails a relative clause. The fol-
lowing example comes from Jewish Tunis, and the boy who ap-
pears in this passage is at the same time the main topic of the
discourse:

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[6] Another difference between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes is that, in the
former, *wāḥəd* is followed by the definite article and a noun. By con-
trast, in Jewish Gabes, the noun is usually not preceded by the definite
article.

(3) *māš*   *nədūyu*   *ʕla* *wāḥəd*   *wləd* **alli**
go.AP.MS talk.PFX.1PL on   INDF   boy   REL

ža   *l-waqt*   *tāʕu*   *bāš* *yəlbəš*   *tfəllīmu*
come.SFX.3MS DEF-time of.him SUB wear.PFX.3MS tefilin.his

'Nous allons parler d'un garçon qui a atteint l'âge auquel on procède à la cérémonie de la majorité religieuse.' (Cohen 1964, 28)

Contrary to this example, in some instances, a nominal which will not play any role in the discourse and is of low animacy is not marked in any way:

(4) **təmma bīr** **ġārəq** **yāsər** *wa* *l-bīr*   *hāda*
there.is well deep   a lot   and DEF-well this

li   *yədxal*   *fī*   *ymūt*   *ma* *yəṭlaʕṣ*
REL enter.PFX.3MS in.it die.PFX.3MS NEG leave.PFX.3MS.NEG

'There was a very deep well and whoever goes in dies, does not go out.' (2:57)

As the above example indicates, the adjective that follows the nominal changes its status from indefinite to something that can be described as unmarked indefinite specific. The speaker states the existence of the specific water well, but at the same time, it will not reappear in the discourse and it could therefore not admit *wāḥəd.*

The same rule of a lack of any marking on textually non-prominent nouns applies also to animate entities, as in the following example:

(5) *rqāt*   **mṛa** **ʕamya** *u*   *tərḥi*   *fi-l-qamḥ*
     find.SFX.3FS woman blind   and grind.PFX.3FS in-DEF-wheat
     'She found a blind woman, she was grinding wheat.' (4:18–
     19)

Here again, the indefinite and general character of this woman is
cancelled by additional information about her provided by the
adjective and the following verbal clause. Nevertheless, the ref-
erent does not have discourse prominence and therefore is not
flagged by the indefinite specific.

1.6. Definite Marking in Jewish Gabes
as opposed to Moroccan

To delineate the fundamental characteristics of the definiteness
system in Jewish Gabes, I intend to scrutinise specific examples
from Moroccan Arabic and subsequently juxtapose them with
analogous usages in Jewish Gabes. According to Brustad's (2000,
36) analysis, among all Arabic dialects, Moroccan Arabic exhibits
the highest prevalence of definite nouns, often contravening es-
tablished definiteness norms. Consequently, this typological com-
parison has the capacity to unveil substantial disparities in the
definiteness framework within the same dialectal cluster, i.e., the
Maghrebi varieties. One notable instance of unexpected definite
article usage occurs in the initial mention of an entity in a story:

Table 64: Points of divergence between the system of definiteness in Jewish Gabes and Moroccan Arabic

	Jewish Gabes	**Moroccan[7]**
(1)	*l-məštaġni ma ʕandūš wlād u l-ẓāwāli ʕandu yāsər ẓġār* (3:3) 'The rich one does not have children and the poor one has a lot of them.'	*hāda wāḥəd ər-rāžəl maʕandūš l-wlād, ʕandu ġi[r] l-mra* 'This is a man who has no children. He has only a wife.'
(2)	*kīf ənti māši l-ṛabbi, aṭəḷbu ʕalāš āna ma ʕandiš ḥūt fi-l-bḥar* (3:19) 'Once you go to God, ask him why I do not have fish in the sea.'	*maši tšūf b-ʕīnk tqūl rāh kāyn l-ḥūt* 'You will see with your own eyes and say there are fish.'
(3)	*hrab mən-l-blād u ṣfāṛ l-blād oxra* (6:66) 'He fled from the town and travelled to another city.'	*xəllāwha b-l-kərš w xwāw blād w ʕamməru blād* 'They left her pregnant and moved to another city.'

As can be seen in the first two examples, the dialects differ in terms of the use of the definite article. In example (1) in Moroccan, the non-existent noun is marked as definite despite the low level of salience. On the other hand, the same noun in Jewish Gabes is treated as non-individuated and therefore indefinite. In a similar vein, in example (2), a generic and non-specific noun 'fish' is marked as definite, while in this specific passage in Jewish Gabes, it is indefinite.[8] Contrary to this, an indefinite noun

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[7] The examples have been borrowed from Brustad (2000, 36-37).

[8] In the final part of the story, this noun reappears in the same question and is marked as definite. This discrepancy is presumably owed to the fact that 'fish' were mentioned previously and are therefore textually more specific in this context.

occurs in both dialects in the third example. The syntactic behaviour exhibited by Jewish Gabes is in line with the usual grammatical rules, namely, first mentions of non-individuated nouns are usually unmarked.

The unexpected definite marking in Moroccan, according to Brustad (2000, 38), is best explained by the specificity and animacy factors. All three examples from Moroccan are of low individuation and salience, but the first two are animate and hence the definite marking appears. In Jewish Gabes, the animacy factor is operational, but only in a limited way, namely, inanimate nouns of low individuation are almost always unmarked, but, as the above examples show, some animate entities are not marked either. Passages (1:22), (4:25), (4:63), and (4:92) contain exclusively inanimate nouns with zero marking. Passage (7:85) is an example that could theoretically call this statement into question, since animate entities with low individuation are marked as definite:

(6)   *qām*   *f-əṣ-ṣbāḥ*   *u*   *lqa*   **l-qaṭṭūṣa**
      get up.SFX.3MS   in-DEF-morning   and   find.SFX.3MS   DEF-cat

      tmaʕʕwi   *u*   **l-ǧāǧa**   *tgərgər*   *u*   *hāda*
      meow.PFX.3FS   and   DEF-hen   chirp.PFX.3FS   and   this

      qāllu: *šnūwa hāda?*
      say.SFX.3MS.him what   this

      'He woke up in the morning and found a cat meowing and a hen crowing and he said: what is that?' (7:85)

Similarly to passage (4:18–19), one would expect here zero marking, signalling the first mention on the one hand, and the hearer's unfamiliarity with the referent on the other. The sultan fell victim

to his wife's ambush and woke up in a completely unknown place. The reason why these nouns are definite is their high agency, as they are agents of verbs. Here, in this particular topic span, they play an active role in the dynamic of the situation; it is the end of the story, and this scene leads the sultan to the final confrontation with his wife, hence the agency and definite marking.

Another example of an unusual use of the definite article is related to what has previously been mentioned in this chapter as virility. Brustad (2000, 38) quotes a woman who, when referring to giving birth to a girl, does not use any marking, but the definite article appears when she says that she delivered a son. Below, one can find the example in question with parallel examples from Jewish Gabes containing word *wəld* 'son':

(7)   Moroccan:

gā[l]t-lu wlədt bənt. gāl-lha gūli-li šnu wlədti rāh ʔila wlədti l-bənt⁹ ġa-ndəbḥk wndbəḥha. Ta šāft-u zāyd-lha b-l-mūs, gā[l]t-lu hda, wlədt l-wəld

'She told him, "I had a girl." He told her, "Tell me what you had—if you had a girl, I will slay you and slay her." Until she saw him coming at her with the knife. She told him, "Calm down, I had a son."'

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⁹ The definite marking of the 'daughter' in this sentence is presumably due to its mention in the previous sentence.

(8)   Jewish Gabes:

    mᾱṛtu əl-lūwla kānət žᾱrbīya mātᾱtlu, kānu ʕandu bənt u wəld,
    əl-bənt xdāha rəbbi bīrəṣ, u l-wəld ḥrəq rūḥu, xāṭᾱr šāf ša ʕamlu
    fi-ruṣalayim, ma tāqəṣ (8:20)

    'His first wife was from Djerba, she died, he had a daughter
    and a son, the daughter got married to rabbi Peretz, while
    the son killed himself because he had seen what they did in
    Jerusalem, he did not stand it.'

(9)   *əl-mṛa ḥablət, tžīb wəld, ma təmmaš škūn yaqtlu* (2:55)

    'The woman was pregnant, gave birth to a son, there is no
    one to kill him.'

(10)   *baʕd yāmāṭ, hīya žᾱbət wəld* (4:45)

    'After some time, she gave birth to a boy.'

(11)   *hīya žᾱbət wəld, ḥaṭṭᾱtlo bᾱžawonk ʕal fxᾱddu* (6:12)

    'She gave birth to a boy and put the bracelet on his shin.'

The examples from Jewish Gabes clearly indicate that the con-
cept of 'virility' does not attract definite marking as it does in
Moroccan. The gender of a child notwithstanding, it is the first
mention which brings about the encoding of the item as indefi-
nite.[10] Similarly, in the Bedouin dialect of Douz, the factor of vi-
rility does not seem to affect the system of definiteness (e.g.,

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[10] In Jewish Tripoli, similarly to Jewish Gabes, the gender of a child
does not affect the indefinite marking (Yoda 2005, 298).

yžaḥḥim ʕalā wᵢlad b-is-sīr kābis nuṣṣa,[11] Ritt-Benmimoun 2011, 280).

Nonetheless, there are some similarities between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes in terms of definite marking. One of them is inalienable possession, especially in the context of nouns designating familial relations. As has been observed by Brustad (2000, 39), these nouns in Moroccan almost never occur without any marking. This is also the case in Jewish Gabes, where all of them either are preceded by the definite article or have a possessive pronoun.

(12) *oṃha   ʕṭātam   flūš   ʕṭātam*
      mother.her   give.SFX.3FS.them   money   give.SFX.3FS.them

      əlbāš   u   mšāw
      clothes   and   go.SFX.3PL

      'Her mother gave them money, gave them clothes and they left.' (2:21)

(13) *waqt l-oṃṃa   kānat   fi-l-kūžīna   əl-bənt*
      when   DEF-mother   be.SFX.3FS   in-DEF-kitchen   DEF-daughter

      ḥaṭṭətla   šəmm   wa   l-oṃṃa   ma   ʕarfətš
      put.SFX.3FS.her   poison   and   DEF-mother   NEG   understand.SFX.3FS.NEG

      'While the mother was in the kitchen, the daughter put poison [in the mother's food], but the mother did not know that.' (4:118)

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[11] Ritt-Benmimoun gives the following translation: "Es jagt einem Jungen Furcht ein, der mit einem Riemen seine Körperhälfte zusammenschnürt."

Another point of convergence between Moroccan and Jewish Gabes is an asymmetry of noun-adjective phrases. According to the rules of Arabic, when a phrase is definite, both its members should be definite.[12] However, as shown by Brustad (2000, 41), in Moroccan, a definite phrase where only the noun bears the definite article is permitted. A similar example has been found in Jewish Gabes:

(14) Moroccan:

    ka-ytbāʕu   *f-l-ḥānūt* *ʕaṣri*

    PVPT-be.sold.PFX.3PL   in-DEF-shop modern

    'They are sold in a modern house.'

(15) Jewish Gabes:

    xdāw   *ṛəbṭū*   *fi-l-ḥbəl*   *ġlīḍ*

    take.SFX.3PL tied.up.SFX.3PL.him in-DEF-rope thick

    u   *daxxlū*   *hbaṭ*   *ḷūṭa*

    and enter.SFX.3PL.him descend.SFX.3MS down

    'They took him and tied him up with a thick rope and put him [in the well], he descended.' (2:62)

This inconsistency can potentially be explained by the continuum of individuation. The less individuated the noun, the higher the probability that the adjective will not be definite (Brustad 2000, 42). Such an explanation would be valid for Jewish Gabes, since the 'thick rope' from the above example is inanimate, non-individuated, and textually non-prominent. Nonetheless, the phrase

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[12] Despite this general tendency, there are in Classical Arabic cases of noun phrases where only the first part of the construct state is marked by the definite article, e.g., *ath-thalāthu rijālin* 'the three men' (Wright 2005, II:264).

is definite by virtue of associative anaphora, i.e., the action of tying someone up presupposes the use of a rope.

Lack of agreement between definiteness of noun and adjective is not only a characteristic feature of the aforementioned North African dialects, but also plays a part in the discussion regarding the very origin of the definite article in Semitic. According to the common explanation, the definite article in West Semitic, reconstructed as *han* for Arabic and Hebrew, derives from an attributive demonstrative (Rubin 2005, 72–76). However, as has been shown by Pat-El (2009, 42), this theory is at odds with numerous examples of the use of the definite article in Semitic languages. Based on her findings, she argues that, originally, the article was attached only to non-predicative adjectival forms, and only later was it expanded also to the head noun. Indeed, there are numerous languages, including Judaeo-Arabic and modern Arabic dialects (especially those of the Gulf and the Levant), where only the adjective bears the definite article (Blau 1952, 33; Pat-El 2009, 33). Both Blau (1961, 161) and Feghali (1928) attempted to explain this inconsistency through 'compositum', namely, according to this theory, speakers treat a noun modified by an adjective as one entity. Pat-El (2009, 37) rejected this assumption, arguing that, if the phrase were supposed to be understood as a whole, the article would be prefixed and not medial. In the case of Jewish Gabes and Moroccan, where the nominal phrase is indeed preceded by the definite article, this assumption would be valid, and thus it may be concluded that speakers would indeed treat a nominal phrase of low animacy and individuation as a single whole.

1.7. The Animacy Factor in Jewish Gabes

It has previously been mentioned that textually non-prominent entities with low animacy usually tend to be unmarked. None-theless, in my data from Jewish Gabes, there are a few excep-tional instances, where an inanimate noun acquires animacy through a literary device. Text (7) contains several examples of anthropomorphism, which is the principal feature of the meta-phoric language of the main character of the story:

Table 65: Anthropomorphism in Text (7)

Inanimate definite article	Anthropomorphic use
əṣ-ṣəlṭān tʕadda, lqā yəẓṛa fi-l-bṣəl (7:7)	*qāllu: əl-bṣəl hāda, tāklu wəlla yāklək?* (7:8)
'When the sultan was passing by, he found [him] planting onion.'	'He asked him: this onion, you will eat it, or will it eat you?'
qāllu: tuwwa nḥabbək tqūlli əž-ẓṛāṛa (7:21)	*kīf yṭaḷḷʕu ṣṭaḷḷ mən bīr, šnūwa yqūl* (7:22)
'He said: now I want you to tell me, a water well.'	'When people take out a bucket from a well, what does it say?'
nḥabbək tqūlli: šnūwa yqūlu, əš-šəžwa, kīf ḥaṭṭūha ʕal əl-ṇāṛ (7:16)	*šnūwa tqūl, kīf yṭəyybu əl-qahwa bə-šəžwa, šnūwa tqūl?* (7:16)
'I want you to tell me now: what they would say, a coffee kettle, when they put it on the fire.'	'What does it say? When people prepare a coffee in a kettle, what does it say?'

In all three examples, the highlighted nouns occur in questions and seemingly do not have any textual prominence, yet they are marked as definite. Their definiteness is best explained as being rooted in their level of animacy. Every question presupposes that the entity is able to speak. In the answers given to the sultan, these entities turn out also to be able to act independently, and thus they possess some degree of agency.

1.8. Conclusions

This section has shown that the notion of definiteness does not function independently, but rather coexists with other linguistic concepts in creating various shades of specificity present in a natural language. Of the wide array of different qualities that condition the definiteness of a noun, there are in Jewish Gabes two factors that should be highlighted: animacy and textual prominence. The latter is of special importance, since, as this study has proven, textual prominence as a quality is more important than other features. The comparison with Moroccan indicates that Jewish Gabes is not governed by the same rules of definiteness, and the factors of animacy and virility do not operate in the two dialects in question in the same way. Finally, this study has confirmed that the traditional dichotomic approach to definiteness is inaccurate in the case of Jewish Gabes, and speakers utilise other syntactic devices in order to differentiate levels of definiteness.

2.0. Genitive Constructions

This section aims to explore genitive constructions present in Jewish Gabes. As in virtually every modern Arabic dialect, the genitive can be expressed in two ways, namely synthetically or analytically. Eksell (2009, 35) argues that these two forms of a genitive relationship in fact represent two parallel systems, each possessing its own dynamics. From a historical point of view, the analytic system, which encodes the genitive by means of a special exponent, is a dialectal innovation (Eksell 1980, 10). Indeed, in CA, the default way to express a genitive relationship is through

annexation of two terms and inflection of the second one with the genitive case. Nevertheless, throughout the history of Arabic, there also existed alternative, analytic, means of expressing a genitive. Blau (1965, 82) mentions the particles *li* 'for, belonging to' and *min* 'of' as ways of introducing genitive constructions in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic. The emergence of a fully established and functional analytical genitive construction can be accounted for by the fact that almost all modern Arabic dialects have lost their case system.[13] Nowadays, both systems coexist and encode different types of possession. The present study will attempt to determine the factors conditioning the distribution of the two types of genitive construction in Jewish Gabes, as well as identifying some cross-dialectal parallels.

2.1. Data

Construct State

1. *šnūwa* **yhūd žbəl** *yaʕmlu? ya žbāli, əl-ʕōmər kla bhīm*
    'And what were the Jews of mountains doing? O mountaineer, a donkey has eaten the Omer.'

2. *qāl: āna* [HE]*ʕaní*[HE] *u əl-xabža nḥabb nākəlha, aʕṭīni* **ṇfayyəṣ** **xabža**, *wa aʕṭīni ḥžīna šmīʕa, u* **qrīṭīṣ wqīḍ** *bāš nəšʕlha* (1:19)
    'He said: I am poor and I would like to eat the bread, so give me half of it and give me a (poor, miserable) candle and a box of matches so I can light it.'

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[13] Vestiges of the case system can be found in some Bedouin dialects of the Gulf, especially in the poetic register and in speech of some less educated speakers, where a suffix /-in/ denotes an indefinite noun (Brustad 2000, 28).

3. *aʕmlīlu ḥžīna oxra u dəxlīlu **kəmša lwīž** fi-l-ʕažīn* (1:38)
   'Make another [pitiful bread] and put a handful of coins inside the dough.'

Genitive Exponent

4. *yāxdu šwəya mən **məlḥ tāʕ ōmer** waqt yəmšīw yṣaḷḷīw*
   'They were taking a bit of the Omer salt when they were going to pray.'

5. *təmma wāḥəd, yəqʕad taḥt **ṣəẓra tāʕ blaḥ*** (2:15)
   'There was a man who was sitting beneath a date palm.'

6. *mšāt **l-naxla tāʕ ṛman**, qaṣṣət l-ʕarūf, nəẓṛəthum u təḍṛəblu fi-rəžlīh mən lūṭa* (2:23)
   'She went to the pomegranate tree, collected some branches, bound them, and started hitting his feet from beneath.'

2.2. The Genitive Exponent
from a Cross-Dialectal Perspective

The distribution of genitive exponents is uneven, both typologically and geographically, across the Arabic-speaking world. It has been pointed out by many scholars (Marçais 1977; Eksell 1980; Naim 2011) that the synthetic construction is preferred in the Bedouin dialects of the Sahara, while the analytic one prevails in sedentary dialects. One can expect, therefore, that the distribution of *iḍāfa* in Jewish Gabes will be considerably limited. Below, one can find some selected genitive exponents from different geographical regions:[14]

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[14] The table is based mostly on Naim (2011).

Table 66: Genitive exponents in selected dialects of Arabic

Genitive exponent	Region
dyāl / d-	Morocco
əddi (Djidjelli), *əlli* (Constantine)	Algeria
ntāʕ, mtāʕ, tāʕ	Libya, Tunisia
ḥagg, ḥaqq	Arabian Peninsula, Galilee Bedouin, Sudan
māl	Iraq, Oman, Yemen
dīl, dēl	Qəltu dialects of upper and lower Iraq, Anatolia, Syria–Lebanon–Palestine
lēl	Qəltu dialects, Daragözü, Sudan
bitāʕ	Egypt

This provisional comparison clearly indicates that the genitive exponent in various dialects has different etymological origins. Eksell (2009, 39) divides them in two main groups: those deriving from a noun denoting possession, e.g., *ḥagg* in Ṣanʕānī Arabic, which, when isolated, means 'property, right' (Watson 1993, 220), and those that originate in a relative/demonstrative pronoun, e.g., CA *allāḏī* > Moroccan *dyāl*. Tunisian *ntāʕ* would therefore fall into the first category, as it originally denoted property or possession.

From a historical point of view, the function of *ntāʕ* as a genitive exponent is already attested in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic (Blau 1961, 159). It is well established in a wide array of the North African dialects and is particularly operative in sedentary dialects. Similarly widespread is Moroccan *dyāl*, which, according to Brustad (2000, 85), is found in the highest frequency of any genitive particle among all Arabic dialects covered by her research. On the other hand, *dēl–lēl* exponents in Mesopotamia and Anatolia are obsolete and not productive. This discrepancy

has been explained by Eksell (2009, 48) by means of an Aramaic substratum. According to Eksell, while Moroccan *dyāl* seems to derive from *allāḏi*, Mesopotamian *ḏēl* presumably originates in the Aramaic particle /d-/ and therefore has ultimately been rejected as a foreign element. Nevertheless, as argued by Heath (2015), the Arabic-internal origin of the Moroccan particle *dyal* is dubious. Instead, it has been suggested that *dyal* stems from the Late Latin genitive particle *dē* and reflects the earliest stages of the formation of Moroccan Arabic.

2.3. The Synthetic Genitive in Jewish Gabes

In this section, I shall discuss two types of synthetic genitive present in Jewish Gabes, namely, an annexation phrase consisting of two nominals, and an annexation phrase in which the annexed term is modified by a pronoun.[15] Several restrictions govern the first type of annexation: the annexed term cannot admit the definite article, nor can it be an inherently definite noun, like a proper name or pronoun. When a phrase is definite, only the annex takes the definite article. In an annexation phrase, when the annexed term ends with /-a/, this is replaced by an allomorph -ət/at. Jewish Gabes, like many other modern Arabic dialects, does not usually permit a phrase consisting of more than two nominal annexes.[16] Potential multiple annexation strings are broken by the genitive exponent. An annexation phrase can be

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[15] These terms have been borrowed from the syntax of Ṣanʕānī dialect (Watson 1993, 173).

[16] The same rule exists, *inter alia,* in Ṣanʕānī Arabic and in other Maghrebi dialects (Marçais 1977, 171; Watson 1993, 176).

modified attributively by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun, in which case the attribute is mandatorily in agreement with the annexed term.

An annexation phrase is applied in a number of genitive constructions associated with certain semantic fields. Below I present the main types of genitive occurring in Jewish Gabes, named after the semantic value of the relationship they denote. Their character can be either identificatory, indicating the relationship of possession, or classificatory, indicating a type or kind of the annexed term.[17] The examples come from both the text corpus and questionnaires.

2.3.1. Synthetic Genitive of Place

The first example is clearly classificatory, as it distinguishes the group of the Jews living in the mountains from other Jews. The next two examples are identificatory and indicate an inalienable possession. While, in the first and second examples, the synthetic genitive could be replaced respectively by the analytic prepositional construction with *ntāʕ* and by the preposition *fi* 'in', i.e., **yhūd ntāʕ žbəl* and **žāra fi-l-ḥamma* (lit. 'pilgrimage in El-Hamma'), in the third one, meaning literally 'the heart of the house', such replacement is rejected as ungrammatical, probably due to the fixed character of the phrase.

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[17] This distinction has been borrowed from *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic* by Mark W. Cowell (1964, 458).

1. *yhūd əž-žbəl*   'Jews of mountains'
2. *žyārat əl-ḥamma* 'pilgrimage to El-Hamma'
3. *qəlb əḍ-ḍāṛ*   'the house interior'

2.3.2. Synthetic Genitive of Quantity

This type of annexation is exclusively classificatory and, contrary to Moroccan, cannot be replaced analytically by means of *ntāʕ*.[18] As can be inferred from the following examples, the genitive of quantity is very often indefinite:

1. *ṇfayyəṣ xabža*   'little half a bread loaf'
2. *nəfṣ šāʕa*   'half an hour'
3. *ṛāṣ əl-bṣəl*   'one onion'

2.3.3. Synthetic Genitive of Description

The basic function of the genitive of description is to add an attributive value to the annexed term. Therefore, the type of annexation it represents should be defined as classificatory. It can be replaced periphrastically by the genitive exponent.

1. *lḥam ʕallūš*   'lamb meat'
2. *ṣəṭṭ əl-bḥar*   'seashore'
3. *žīn əl-gumra*   'the beauty of the moon'

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[18] Brustad (2000, 89) gives an example of *xəmsa d drāhəm* 'five drahms', which in Jewish Gabes was categorically rejected as ungrammatical. Similarly, in Ṣanʕānī Arabic, the use of the genitive exponent is not permitted in this case; nonetheless, a periphrasis with the preposition *min* is acceptable (Watson 1993, 186).

2.3.4. Synthetic Genitive of Possession

This type of genitive covers both alienable (e.g., house) and inalienable (e.g., parts of the body) possession. It is particularly operative in the semantic field of kinship and parts of the body. As the first example demonstrates, the annex can be indefinite. While an alienable possession can be expressed analytically, e.g., *ḍāṛ ntāʕ ḅāḅāy* 'my father's house', some phrases expressing human relationships cannot. An informant categorically rejected the forms **l-uṃṃ ntāʕk* 'your mother', **l-ḅū ntāʕk* 'your father', and **l-xū ntāʕk* 'your brother' as ungrammatical, but accepted the form *wəld ntāḥḥa* 'her child' as an indicative equivalent of *wəldha*. On the other hand, body parts are acceptable in a periphrasis, e.g., *l-wdən ntāʕk* 'your ear'.

1. *məṛt xūya*   'the sister of my brother'
2. *wəld əṣ-ṣəḷṭān*   'the sultan's son'
3. *ḍāṛ ḅāḅāy*   'my father's house'
4. *wədnək wa yəddək*   'your ear and your hand'

2.4. The Analytic Genitive in Jewish Gabes

The genitive exponent *ntāʕ* in Jewish Gabes has several truncated allomorphs: *tāʕ, taʕ,* and *ta.* Eksell (2009, 36) points out that, in Morocco and Algeria, the analytic genitive is the ordinary way to express the genitive. This suggests, therefore, that its occurrence would be high in Tunisia also, especially among sedentary dialects. Indeed, as can be inferred from my data, the use of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes is much more frequent than that of the synthetic one. As has been mentioned above, in many

cases, the analytic annexation can replace the synthetic one, but there are cases where only the periphrasis is possible.

In Jewish Gabes, the exponent does not exhibit number or gender agreement with the annexed term. Despite the fact that lack of agreement is the prevalent option in the Maghrebi dialects, some Bedouin dialects of Algeria and Morocco possess also feminine *mtāʕət* and plural *mtāwʕ* forms. Similarly, parallel forms have been attested in several Bedouin dialects of Southern Tunisia and Libya, where one finds also distinct plural forms: *mtāʕīn* and *mtāʕāt* (Marçais 1977, 168). However, among all the Arabic dialects, only in Egyptian are gender and number agreement obligatory (Brustad 2000, 72).

Following the taxonomy applied to the synthetic genitive, I shall now itemise the main types of the analytic genitive in Jewish Gabes.

2.4.1. Analytic Genitive of Alienable Possession

This type of genitive can be used interchangeably with the synthetic genitive of possession; however, the analytic genitive highlights the annexed term, often in a contrastive manner:

1.	*l-žnəbb ntāʕ l-bənt*	'the daughter's side'
2.	*əṣ-ṣūra tāʕ l-ʕarūṣa*	'the bride's dowry'
3.	*l-məžān tāʕkəm*	'your scale'
4.	*ləbša tāʕ* ^{HE}saba^{HE} *u* ^{HE}sāvta^{HE}	'grandfather and grandmother's clothes'

2.4.2. Analytic Genitive of Attribution

This corresponds to the synthetic genitive of description and can potentially be replaced by it. It seems, however, that the analytic annexation denotes more individuated referents:

1. *ṣəẓra kbīra tāʕ blaḥ*   'the big fruit tree'
2. *naxla tāʕ ṛmān*   'the pomegranate tree'
3. *məlḥ tāʕ* [HE]*ōmer*[HE]   'the Omer salt'

2.4.3. Analytic Genitive of Time

While the first two examples can be replaced by synthetic annexation, expression of time can only be achieved analytically, either by means of the genitive exponent, or by the preposition *fi*.

1. [HE]*xōdəš*[HE] *tāʕ* [HE]*nissan*[HE] 'the month of Nissan'
2. *līl tāʕ* [HE]*bišaḥ*[HE]   'the night of Passover'
3. *tlāta tāʕ ṣbāḥ*   'three in the morning'

2.4.4. Analytic Genitive of Place

The basic function of this type of genitive is to narrow the focus of the annexed term. It can potentially be replaced by the synthetic construction, but the two types of genitive differ in meaning. While *yhūd tūnəš* bears the meaning of classification, pointing taxonomically to the distinctiveness of the Jews of Tunis from other Jews, *yhūd tāʕ tūnəš* is focusing on the place of their origin. In the sentence: *žāw yhūd tāʕ tūnəš* 'the Jews of Tunis came', the speaker is stressing the fact that the Jews came <u>from</u> Tunis, and therefore the focus is on their place of origin, and not on their ethnic distinctiveness from other Jews.

1. *yhūd tāʕ tūnəš*   'the Jews of Tunis'
2. *əẓ-ẓġār tāʕ škūla*   'the children of the school'
3. *xabž tāʕ ṣūq*   'bread of the market'

2.5. Formal Restrictions

As has been observed by many scholars (Marçais 1977, 171; Eksell 1980, 106; Brustad 2000, 74), the choice between the synthetic and the analytic genitive is very often restricted by some formal factors. In the case of Jewish Gabes, a few motivations can be distinguished. The first of them is related to the high occurrence of Hebrew loans, which never form synthetic annexation. My data includes the following examples: [HE]agada[HE] *ntāʕna* 'our Aggada', [HE]abīl[HE] *ntāʕu* 'his mourning', [HE]šəbbat[HE] *ntāʕu* 'his shabbat', *məlḥ tāʕ* [HE]ōmer[HE] 'the Omer salt'. Secondly, a multi-term noun phrase is usually broken by the genitive exponent, e.g., [HE]rōš[HE] *əl-*[HE]xōdəš[HE] *tāʕa* [HE]nissān[HE] 'the beginning of the month of Nissan'. Finally, the syllable structure of some words does not permit direct annexation, namely, when a noun ends with a vowel other than the feminine marker /-a/, e.g., *əl-kərši ntāʕi* 'my chair', *əḍ-ḍuww ntāʕha* 'her light'.

2.6. The Genitive and Definiteness

It is widely accepted that the genitive exponent in the dialects of Arabic is the domain of specific and individuated phrases, as opposed to the construct phrase, which tends to be correlated with general relations of kinship and possession (Brustad 2000, 80). I also previously mentioned another distinction, namely, that any

type of genitive can function either for individuation, or for classification. The former is closely related to the notion of possession, and therefore denotes highly individuated items, which can potentially also be expressed by synthetic annexation with a pronoun. Contrary to this, the classificatory genitive is associated with annexation phrases of low individuation and general identity, which function as generic examples of their kind (Brustad 2000, 80). Nonetheless, this distinction is not always completely clear. For example, Brustad (2000, 80) argues that the example from Egyptian given by Eksell (1980, 87), *il-kitāb bitāʕ is-siḥr* 'the book of magic', demonstrates the use of a classificatory construction, since it refers to a specific type of book. This interpretation rather goes against the rules established by Cowell (1964, 461) for Syrian Arabic. Even though the phrase is definite, the type of genitive indicates a type of book, i.e., a book of magic and not, for example, a book of prayers, and thus does not contain the element of possession required for identification.

Brustad (2000, 81) also noticed that, while Egyptian Arabic uses the exponent only to identify and not to classify, in Moroccan and Kuwaiti it serves both purposes. It could be assumed, therefore, that the individuation and specificity of a noun do not entirely dictate the use of the genitive exponent in Moroccan, as it also fulfils a classificatory function, which is usually associated with low-individuation phrases. The situation in Jewish Gabes seems to resemble that of Moroccan, namely, the individuation and definiteness of the annexed term are only tangentially related to the distribution of the genitive exponent, i.e., the genitive exponent does not occur exclusively in definite phrases. However,

depending on the definiteness of the phrase, it can fulfil different functions. When it is found in a definite phrase, it can have contrastive or deictic value, while in an indefinite phrase, its function is mainly classificatory. An example of the latter is seen in the following passage:

(1) *mšāt*   *l-**naxla tāʕ ṛmān***   *qaṣṣət*   *l-ʕrūf*
      go.SFX.3FS to-palm   GEN pomegranate   cut.PFX.3FS   DEF-branches
      'She went to the pomegranate tree, cut some sticks.' (2:23)

The reference here is the type of tree, namely, the speaker highlights that it is a pomegranate tree because it has sharp branches, and this in turn will be important in the following part of the story. On the other hand, when the exponent functions as identificatory in a definite phrase, it can have a contrastive aspect:

(2) *ʕamlət*   *kəṣkṣu*   *u*   *ḥaṭṭətla*
      make.SFX.3FS couscous and put.SFX.3FS.her
      šəmm *fi-l-žnəbb* *tāʕ l-bənt*
      poison in-DEF-side   GEN DEF-daughter
      'She prepared couscous and put poison on the daughter's side.' (4:116)

In this example, the exponent introduces a contrast between the side of the daughter, which has poison, and the side of the mother. This distinction plays a key role in the story, because ultimately the daughter will change the sides and, as a consequence, cause the death of her mother-in-law.

Another role of the analytic genitive particle is to draw special attention to the annex through the function of deixis, e.g.:

(3)   *əl-wəld **tāʕ** hādi əl-mṛa*

      DEF-boy   GEN this   DEF-woman

      'The child of this woman.'

However, in some cases, the definiteness of an analytic annexation is affected by associative anaphora. In the following example, there is no reference to any specific dowry. The passage comes from the description of a typical wedding in Gabes, and the general and universal dimension of this narrative is reflected by the impersonal verb form. Nonetheless, the dowry, notwithstanding its non-individuated character, is definite, since every wedding presupposes the existence of a dowry:

(4)   *l-nhār   yəxšlu   əṣ-ṣūra   tāʕ l-ʕarūṣa   yaʕmlu*

      DEF-day   clean.PFX.3PL DEF-dowry GEN DEF-bride   make.PFX.3PL

      u   mən   ġadwa   ṣḥābha   yḥaddədu

      and from   tomorrow   friends.her   iron.PFX.3PL

      'One day they would clean the dowry of the bride, make it up, the day after the friends of the bride would iron.'

In sum, it can be established that the genitive exponent in Jewish Gabes plays a classificatory role when in an indefinite phrase, and an identificatory (contrastive, expositive, deictic) role when in a definite one. This assumption confirms Cowell's (1964, 458) argument that "identification is fundamentally a function of definiteness and classification a function of indefiniteness."

3.0. Grammatical Concord[19]

In this section, I will present the main features of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes, simultaneously outlining the historical background of this phenomenon in Semitic. The term 'agreement' denotes a syntactic congruence of words in gender, number, person, and determination (Levi 2013). My investigation will focus primarily on the agreement between adjective and head noun and between subject and predicate. As argued by Hasselbach (2014, 35), agreement depends either on syntax, or on semantics of the phrase. She gives an example of the word 'committee', which can be perceived as a unity and therefore take singular agreement, or the focus can be placed on the plurality of its members, in which case the agreement will be plural.[20] The semantic perception of the head noun by the speaker will be of particular interest in the following part of the discussion.

3.1. Historical Perspective

Semitic languages exhibit several agreement systems, the origins of which are still matter of discussion among scholars. In North-West Semitic, and especially in Biblical Hebrew and in Aramaic, strict agreement in gender and in number is a general rule gov-

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[19] An extended version of this section can be found in a paper 'Between Analogy and Language Contact: A Case Study of Grammatical Change in Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic Dialects' (Gębski, forthcoming b).

[20] Following Corbett (2006, 4), in my study, I will apply the following terminology: 'controller', i.e., the element determining agreement, and 'target', i.e., a form determined by agreement (Hasselbach 2014, 35).

erning syntactic relationships between both head nouns and at-tributive adjectives, and subjects and predicates.[21] In Classical Ethiopic, on the other hand, only nouns denoting human beings form agreement, while all other animate and inanimate entities lack any agreement. Somewhere between these two extrema is CA, where agreement depends both on animacy, i.e., inanimate nouns take feminine singular agreement, and on position in the sentence, i.e., the subject agrees with the predicate only when it precedes it, not when it follows.

From a historical point of view, nominal agreement arose in different circumstances from verbal agreement. The latter, as argued by Givón (1976) and Hasselbach (2014, 41), is closely related to the grammaticalisation of pronouns, which began with appositional constructions, and subsequently became incorpo-rated into the verb. This theory is supported by evidence from Akkadian and Neo-Aramaic dialects. However, the origin of nom-inal agreement is less straightforward. One of the theories is re-lated to grammaticalisation, namely, that nominal agreement could have arisen from weak deictic pronouns (Lehmann 1988, 59–60). An alternative explanation, based on parallels found in the Bantu languages, suggests that agreement stems from noun classifiers such as 'human', 'abstract/mass', etc., which originally had their own markers.

The emergence of agreement is closely related to the rise of gender marking. In Semitic, masculine is the default gender and

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[21] There are numerous examples of incongruence in Biblical Hebrew, stemming from re-writing and editing of the biblical text in different periods of time (Levi 2013).

is unmarked, while feminine is marked by the /-(a)t/ suffix. There are, however, numerous exceptions to this rule, and every Semitic language has a set of unmarked feminine nouns denoting basic vocabulary, like, for example, *ummum* 'mother', as well as nouns of variable gender (Hasselbach 2014, 44). Moreover, Semitic has many examples of heteroclisis, i.e., some nouns exhibit mismatch between plural form and gender marker. How exactly the feminine marking arose is still matter of debate among scholars. It is widely accepted that, at an early stage of Semitic, the gender was not marked by an affix, but rather through vowel ablaut and suppletion, and only highly animate nouns were marked for gender. Subsequently, gender marking by means of suffixes started appearing on some targets, while controllers remained unchanged. This suggests that nominal agreement is a secondary development, stemming from gender marking on adjectives, which later spread onto controllers. Beyond this point, each language applied its own rules governing agreement. In the case of CA, two restrictions were imposed, i.e., animacy and position.

3.2. Data Analysis

The data presented below has been obtained by means of a questionnaire:

1. Human feminine plural head nouns:

    1. *ən-nša žāw yəṭlbu l-ma*
        'The women came to ask for water.'

    2. *ən-nša l-oxrīn kānu yxāfu mənhu*
        'Other women were scared of him.'

   3. *bnāt məžyānīn yžīw l-ʕarš*
      'Beautiful women will come for the wedding.'

   4. *šāʕāt l-bnāt yəmšīw yəṣṭḥu*
      'Sometimes girls go to dance.'

   5. *qbəl kānu nša yūldu fi-l-gīṭūn*
      'Earlier women would give birth in tents.'

2. Human masculine plural head nouns:

   1. *fi-bdu l-ʕarš əržāla yəṣrbu qahwa*
      'At the beginning of the wedding men drink coffee.'

   2. *zġīrāt dīma yəlʕabu f-əṣ-ṣətwān*
      'Boys would always play in the court.'

   3. *l-nās l-əkbār žāw*
      'The elders have arrived.'

   4. *nāš l-kull/kulla žāw yšūfu l-ʕarūsa*
      'Everyone came to see the bride.'

   5. *l-ʕbād l-kbār ma yəṭlaʕūṣ mən ḍāṛhəm*
      'The elderly people do not leave their homes.'

3. Singular nouns denoting groups of people:

   1. *ḍāṛ l-ʕarīš bdāw yġannīw*
      'The family of the groom started singing.'

   2. *l-būlīṣīya žāw u ḥabbšūhum l-kull*
      'The police came and arrested everyone.'

4. Animal head nouns:

   1. *l-ʕalālīš mšāw əl-l-wād yəṣrbu l-ma*
      'Lambs went to the river to have some water.'

   2. *l-ʕṣāfīr əlli šəfthəm āməš žāw mən əṣ-ṣaḥra*
      'The birds that you saw yesterday had come from the desert.'

3. *l-ṭyūr žāw*
    'Birds have come.'

4. *tlāta aḥṣānāt, xamṣa bgār*
    'Three horses, five cows.'

5. *əl-bgār ndəbḥu qbəl l-ʕīd*
    'The cows are slaughtered before the festival.'

5. Inanimate head nouns:

    1. *ṣrīna bībān əždəd*
        'We bought new doors.'

    2. *əl-nhārāt yətʕaddu bə-šwīya*
        'The days pass by slowly.'

    3. *tmənya nəxlāt hādu*
        'These eight palm trees.'

    4. *tlāta xabžāt hādu*
        'These three loaves of bread.'

    5. *šəbʕa ḥaẓrāt mdəwwrīn u nfatḥīn*
        'Seven round and flat rocks.'

The data presented above clearly demonstrate that there is strict agreement in Jewish Gabes in both the nominal and verbal phrase. The examples have been classified according to the categories of animacy and gender. As can be inferred, regardless of the gender or level of animacy of the controller, almost all the targets are in complete agreement. In what follows, I shall discuss this phenomenon in the wider context of the Jewish and Muslim dialects of North Africa.

Patterns of grammatical agreement have recently gained a lot of attention in scholarship on both literary and dialectal forms of Arabic. The general interest in grammatical concord resulted in several pioneering studies that cast new light on its diachronic

development. In dialectology, agreement patterns in Tunisian Arabic are well described thanks to studies on the Southern Bedouin dialects of Tunisian Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017), as well as those of the urban north (Procházka and Gabsi 2017). There exist numerous studies on this phenomenon in Cairene Arabic (Belnap 1991; 1993; 1994; 1999), the Libyan dialect of Fezzan (D'Anna 2017), and Omani Arabic (Bettega 2018). Similarly, in the realm of Quranic and Classical Arabic, the topic has received a lot of scholarly attention (Ferguson 1989; Belnap and Shabaneh 1992; 1994; Dror 2013; 2016; D'Anna 2020). Finally, the problem of grammatical concord in both written and spoken forms of Arabic has been extensively treated in Bettega and D'Anna (2022). Against this background, grammatical concord in Jewish varieties of North African Arabic remains *terra incognita*. The exception to this tendency is the grammar of Jewish Tripoli, where Yoda (2005, 285) mentions that plural nouns always agree with their arguments.

A study of grammatical concord in Judaeo-Arabic has the potential to make a significant contribution to our knowledge of this grammatical phenomenon for two reasons. Firstly, there exists a wealth of textual Judaeo-Arabic sources, which reflect both the literary and the colloquial language alike, and therefore might reveal invaluable information about the diachronic development of agreement. Secondly, since Judaeo-Arabic dialects were, in the second half of the twentieth century, transplanted from their natural environment into Hebrew-speaking Israel, one can assume that the Israeli Hebrew system of strict agreement

has affected the Judaeo-Arabic system. The study of this phenomenon could be crucial for establishing the sensitivity of grammatical concord in a language contact situation. To this end, in the following paragraphs, I will analyse several examples of grammatical concord in a few dialects of North African Arabic, simultaneously providing historical data where possible. I argue that, as in the case of the /t-/ prefix marking the passive (see chapter 3, §2.2), the generalisation of strict agreement in modern dialects of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic took place at the intersection of analogy and language contact.

One of the most striking features of the syntax of the surviving varieties of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic is their strict grammatical agreement. This tendency stands in striking contrast to the Muslim and Bedouin dialects, where plural controllers low in animacy and individuation trigger agreement with the third person singular feminine. This latter type of agreement will, in the present study, be called 'deflected'.[22] The situation prevalent in these Muslim and Bedouin dialects has in fact a long historical tradition. Some modern dialects, like Cairene and Damascus Arabic, feature a variation between strict and deflected agreement similar to that found in Old Arabic sources (e.g., pre-Islamic poetry) and Christian Middle Arabic, where it reflects colloquial language (Belnap and Gee 1994, 131). In contradistinction to this tendency, in Classical Arabic, a rapid generalisation of the rule

[22] This term has been chosen following Belnap and Gee (1994) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2017).

of deflected agreement with nonhuman controllers took place.[23] Against this historical background, two questions arise regarding the evolution of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic. Firstly, do Judaeo-Arabic sources reflecting the spoken language point to a similar level of variation, or rather, has the distribution of deflected agreement in this variety always been rather limited? And secondly, has the prevalence of strict agreement in modern varieties been caused by language contact with Israeli Hebrew, or is it rather rooted in the internal development of Judaeo-Arabic?

In order to better understand the nature of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic, let us first discuss this phenomenon in non-Jewish Arabic from a diachronic perspective. As pointed out below, we can assume with a high degree of certainty that, in contradistinction to Classical Arabic, the system of agreement in non-Jewish Arabic has remained relatively stable, exhibiting variation between the strict and the deflected options. Belnap and Gee (1994), in their quantitative study of the occurrence of different variants of agreement in textual sources from between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrate that agreement with nonhuman plural heads was at first almost equally distributed between feminine singular, feminine plural, and broken plural. For instance, in works of Imruʾ al-Qays, from the sixth century, these categories account respectively for 38, 31, and 31 percent of the occurrences, while in Al-Xansaaʾ, from the seventh century, they

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[23] As argued by Belnap and Gee (1994, 141), the generalisation of the pre-existing deflected agreement in CA might have taken place due to the scribal practices of non-native speakers of Arabic, who were unsure of the rules of variation between the two types of agreement.

account for 48, 27, and 25 percent. These proportions are disrupted from the seventh century onwards, when deflected agreement becomes the only option for non-human heads. The explanation for this development is rather complex, but we can assume that, with the introduction of the Quran and the activities of grammarians and intellectuals who were not native speakers of Arabic, written Arabic became more prescriptive and more detached from the spoken language.

As stated above, many modern dialects of Arabic still reflect the OA system, which exhibits the two types of agreement. This is also the case in North African dialects when the head is low in individuation and generic. Some examples from Muslim Tunis can be found below (elicited from an informant):

(1) *l-klēb   bdēt   tēkəl*
     DEF-dogs start.SFX.3FS eat.PFX.3FS
     'The dogs started eating.'

(2) *kif   l-ʕbēd   bdēt   təžri   l-qtaṭes harbət*
     when DEF-people start.SFX.3FS run.PFX.3FS DEF-cats flee.SFX.3FS
     'When people started running, the cats fled.'

However, controllers with a higher degree of individuation are in strict agreement with their targets:[24]

(3) *ər-ržēl qāʕdīn yošrbu   fi-qahwa*
     DEF.men sit.AP.PL drink.PFX.3PL in-coffee
     'The men are drinking coffee.'

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[24] As pointed out by Brustad (2000, 38), the gender of the controller can also affect the choice of agreement, with masculine nouns being more individuated and animate.

As confirmed by Procházka and Gabsi (2017, 245), deflected agreement with human controllers is rather rare and limited to *nās* and *ʕabēd* as collectives denoting people, but other groups of nouns demonstrate a wide array of variation. A similar tendency is attested in the Bedouin dialect of Nifzāwa (Tunisia) and in Benghazi (Libya; Benkato 2014, 88; Ritt-Benmimoun 2017).[25]

Against this background, in several Jewish dialects of North African Arabic, strict agreement is the only available variant. This has already been pointed out by Yoda (2005) with regard to Jewish Tripoli. Jewish Gabes (Southern Tunisia) and Wad-Souf (Eastern Algeria) are an additional two dialects where, at least synchronically, we observe this tendency. Let us have a look at several examples from Jewish Wad-Souf:

(4) *kān   ṣəkkāt kānu   yuḏrubu   nṣāwīnhəm maʕrūfīn*
     be.SFX.3MS families be.SFX.3PL hit.PFX.3PL women   know.PP
     'There were families, which were known for hitting their women.'

(5) *kānu   nās   ygūlu   hāḏi əṣ-ṣakka ṣəkkət əẓ-ẓəbda*
     be.SFX.3PL people say.PFX.3PL this DEF-family family DEF-butter
     'People would say: this family is very mild (literally: this family is a family of butter).'

[25] This tendency is attested to a lesser extent in the south-Libyan dialect of Fezzan, where deflected agreement accounts for only 10% of occurrences of plural heads. Nevertheless, the data for this dialect do not contain abstract and less individuated nouns and are therefore not representative of the overall distribution of deflected agreement (D'Anna 2017, 119).

(6) *l-mʕāz   mātu   bi-l-mṛāḍ*
DEF-sheep die.SFX.3PL in-DEF-disease
'The sheep perished because of the disease.'

(7) *l-wlād   l-kull xaržu   mǝn madrāsa*
DEF-children DEF-all exist.SFX.3PL from school
'All the children went out of school.'

(8) *kānu   ʕanda tlāṭa   arbaʕ xarrāfāt tʕāwǝd*
be.SFX.3PL at.her three   four   tales   repeat.PFX.3FS
ʕalīm   kull   maṛṛa hāḏākum   xarrāfāt
on.them.3PL every time   those.3PL   tales
'She had three or four tales, she would repeat them every time, those tales.'

These examples clearly indicate that strict agreement is the general rule in the dialects in question, regardless of the level of individuation, human/non-human distinction, or abstract/concrete distinction. Since neither the dialect of Gabes nor that of Wad-Souf preserved the feminine forms of the plural, all the plural controllers are followed by targets in the masculine form of the plural. This tendency is particularly surprising in the case of Wad-Souf. Inasmuch as Gabes is a first-wave, sedentary dialect, Wad-Souf exhibits numerous Bedouin features, e.g., the realisation of /q/ as /g/ as in *ygūlu* 'they say'; preservation of interdentals, as in *hāḏi* 'this (FS)'; and the plural form *nsāwīn* 'women', instead of the sedentary form *nsa*. One would expect, therefore, that this explicitly conservative dialect would also reflect the Bedouin-type pattern of agreement, characterised by widespread variation between the strict and deflected options. Since no case of deflected agreement has been attested in this conservative variety,

it seems that either its distribution in the past was only marginal, or that it has never been an option. This assumption is further confirmed by a statistical survey of agreement in Jewish Tunis. Below one can find a table summarising my survey of Cohen's text corpus from 1964:[26]

Table 67: Agreement patterns in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964)

	Verbs	%	Adjectives	%	Pronouns	%	Total %
Masculine plural	104	**90**	17	100	31	100	**93**
Feminine singular	11	**10**	0	0	0	0	**7**
Total	115		17		31		

The corpus in question contains mainly transcriptions of free-speech narratives related to the Jewish community in Tunis, but several poems have been included too. The survey has revealed several striking tendencies. Firstly, deflected agreement occurs only in verbs. No occurrences of deflected agreement have been found in adjectives or pronouns. Secondly, out of 163 occurrences of plural heads with targets, only 11 of the targets are in 3FS, which amounts to only seven percent of all the examples. It is important to notice, however, that out of the 11 examples of deflected agreement, three appear in poetry, where they were apparently conditioned by rhyme, as in the following example (Cohen 1964, 123):

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[26] If a plural head is followed by more than one target in the same person, they have been counted as one. Generic sentences without a subject always contain the verb in the 3PL form and have therefore not been considered in the survey. The system of transcription used for the examples from Jewish Tunis has been adopted from the source.

(9) *yūm žəmʕa ʕal-bəkrīya*
 Friday   early

 *rūḥi xaržət **wəntfāt***
 spirit.mine leave.SFX.3FS and.extinguish.SFX.3FS

 'Early on Friday, my soul left and extinguished.'

 ḥīn šəmʕat ənnāš bīya
 immediately hear.SFX.3FS people in-her

 *ẓġāṛ u-kbāṛ ʕalīya **bkāt***
 small.PL and-big.PL on-her cry.SFX.3FS

 'Immediately people learn about it, young and old cry over
 me.'

Another unexpected tendency is that all 11 occurrences of de-
flected targets accompany human controllers; these are usually
nāš 'people', *nša* 'women', or *ʕawwadīya* 'musicians'. Surprisingly,
non-human controllers that are low in individuation trigger strict
agreement: *daxlu lə-qṭāṭoṣ* 'the cats entered', *wel-fonctions ntaḥḥa
yəlzəmməm yəbdāw doubles* 'her functions must start being double'
(Cohen 1964, 136, 49). This significantly differs from the
situation found in Muslim Tunis, where groups of animals treated
as a whole and abstract nouns trigger deflected agreement
(Procházka and Gabsi 2017).

The data from Jewish Tunis is of paramount importance, as
it has been recorded in its natural environment, without any in-
terference from Israeli Hebrew. The question arises as to whether
this type of marginal deflected agreement with non-individuated
plural human controllers reflects a situation common to all the
varieties of spoken Judaeo-Arabic of the region, or different dia-

lects utilise different types of agreement. Unfortunately, a diachronic survey, which could potentially elucidate this issue, is hindered by a lack of available textual Judaeo-Arabic sources from the Maghreb that reflect the spoken language. Nevertheless, various studies on pre-modern Judaeo-Arabic suggest that deflected agreement has never reached the same level of distribution there as in the Muslim varieties, but has rather remained marginal throughout history.

Blau (1961, 131) points out that, in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic, strict agreement is almost the rule in verb-subject alignment. Both animal and non-animate heads trigger strict agreement in this type of sentence. Interestingly, the only exception to this rule is human controllers, in which case the verb is occasionally in the 3FS form. Similarly, non-human controllers are in strict grammatical agreement with their targets as far as subject-verb alignment is concerned. On the other hand, human controllers sporadically trigger deflected agreement. This situation reveals a striking resemblance to Jewish Tunis, where no cases of non-human heads with deflected agreement have been attested. The rule of strict grammatical agreement has also been attested in sources containing the Egyptian *šarḥ*, i.e., translations of the Bible into Judaeo-Arabic. Although one might argue that this tendency could stem from verbatim translation of the Hebrew text, where strict agreement prevails, Hary (2009, 275) argues that strict grammatical concord is a feature of both Classical Judaeo-Arabic and colloquial Jewish Egyptian. This evidence could potentially point to a difference between the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement, and the Muslim one, where, as argued before, deflected

agreement remained an option with non-individuated plural heads.[27]

  After discussing patterns of agreement from a comparative perspective, let us now return to the question posited in the first paragraphs: has the strict agreement of some Jewish dialects of the Maghreb (Tripoli, Gabes, Wad-Souf) been triggered by Israeli Hebrew, or is it rather a result of the internal evolution of Judaeo-Arabic? The textual evidence from Judaeo-Arabic, in conjunction with Cohen's transcriptions from 1964, suggests that the system of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic differs from that in the continuum of pre-Classical poetry and modern Muslim dialects. Specifically, in the latter group, deflected agreement exists as an option with both human and non-human plural controllers, while in the former it is primarily applied with human ones, and only

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[27] I am aware of two types of Judaeo-Arabic sources where deflected agreement appears with non-human plural heads. I have spotted a couple such cases in Egyptian folktales and letters of merchants also from Egypt and the Maghreb (Connolly 2018; Wagner 2010). Nevertheless, since no transcription corpus is available, nor does a systematic description of agreement in these sources exist, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Naturally, Judaeo-Arabic did not evolve in complete isolation and one should therefore assume that there were cases of interference of the Muslim variety, or imitation of it. Wagner (2010, 14) points out that the Egyptian varieties of Judaeo-Arabic, which were more central within the Muslim empire, were generally more progressive than the peripheral Maghrebi ones, which retained more conservative features. Thus, examples of deflected agreement with non-human controllers from Egyptian sources should be taken with a pinch of salt, as they might have been affected by the non-Jewish varieties.

to a very limited extent. It is rather difficult to offer a historical explanation of how this discrepancy emerged, as the past of the spoken language is poorly documented. Nevertheless, one can assume that the correlation between deflected agreement and non-individuated controllers has never been fully adopted in spoken Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic. This state of affairs might tentatively be accounted for by languages that Jews had been speaking before the first wave of Arabisation of the Maghreb, i.e., Late Latin, Berber, and presumably Punic, as in none of these languages does deflected agreement exist. The liturgical usage of Hebrew and Aramaic could also potentially have contributed to the emergence of the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement. Nevertheless, if we accept the assumption that there existed a limited usage of deflected agreement in different Jewish dialects of Arabic, how do we explain its complete absence in Jewish Tripoli, Gabes, and Wad-Souf? *Prima facie* the easiest explanation is the influence of Israeli Hebrew, which does not utilise agreement with 3FS. However, as the above study demonstrates, deflected agreement has never been used to the same extent in Judaeo-Arabic as in Muslim Arabic. I would thus like to raise the possibility that, as in the case of the /t-/ prefix, the rejection of deflected agreement came about at the intersection of language contact and analogy. Since there existed within Judaeo-Arabic itself potential for the analogical extension of strict agreement, i.e., deflected agreement has never been fully adopted as a viable option, language contact with Israeli Hebrew triggered the definitive extension of this pattern. It is plausible that analogical extension of the strict pattern

had been operating at different stages of the historical develop-ment of Judaeo-Arabic, preventing the spread of deflected agree-ment, whose presence is attested in historical sources. In this way, in the second half of the twentieth century, deflected agree-ment, additionally weakened by Israeli Hebrew, has been entirely replaced through analogical extension of strict agreement, which, historically, had been by far the most common variant.[28]

3.3. Conclusions

As has been demonstrated, Jewish Gabes exhibits a pattern of strict agreement. In this respect, it aligns with several other Jew-ish dialects of the region. It is reasonable to presuppose that, at an earlier stage, it had a mixed type, similar to that of Jewish Tunis, in which both animacy and position played a role. I have argued that the uniformity of the agreement system in Jewish Gabes could potentially be explained by a conjunction of two fac-tors: analogy and language contact with Modern Hebrew. The historical sources suggest that deflected agreement has never been fully adopted in the Jewish dialects. A North-West Semitic substrate, in which strict agreement prevails, could be a plausible

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[28] Using Optimality Theory, the divergence between the Jewish and Muslim dialects in terms of their choice of agreement pattern can be accounted for by distinct ranking of the output constraints (Prince and Smolensky 2004; Archangeli 1999). The Evaluation mechanism in the Jewish dialects ranks the rule of grammatical agreement between the subject and its modifiers higher than the level of its individuation and animacy. On the other hand, the evaluation of the input in the Muslim dialects is conditioned by the requirement to adjust the grammatical form of the modifier to the identity of the subject.

explanation of the peculiarity of the Jewish varieties in this sense.[29] A historical investigation involving a text corpus reflecting spoken language in Gabes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as a comparative study of Jewish Gabes with its Muslim counterpart, would certainly shed more light on the development of agreement patterns.

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[29] A hypothesis related to a North-West Semitic substrate in Judaeo-Arabic is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6, §2.0.